JAPANESE CULTURE
IN THE
MEIJI ERA

Outline of
Japanese History

THE TOYO BUNKO
TOKYO JAPAN
OUTLINE of JAPANESE HISTORY IN THE MEIJI ERA

Edited by
JINTARO FUJII

Translated and Adapted by
HATTIE K. COLT
KENNETH E. COLTON

THE TOYO BUNKO
TOKYO JAPAN
Students of the English School at Nagasaki opened by the order of the Bakufu (Tokugawa Government). — about 1856

A Dutch Mansion at Dejima of Nagasaki
Women Students studying abroad —1871—

A Party of Students studying in England —about 1865—
Itō Hirobumi

Emperor Meiji

The First Imperial Diet
Fellow Members of Ken’yū sha

Fellow Members of Bungakkai

The Bust of a Daughter by "Ragusa"

The Garakuta Bunko, which was copied and circulated in the early edition.

"Fallen Leaves" by Ashida Shunsō
This is the introductory volume in the ten volume series on Meiji cultural history published by the Centenary Cultural Council, Tokyo, Japan. Although the initial volume in the series, this is not the first to be made available in English translation, being preceded by others which present detailed studies of specialized themes in the wide context of Meiji culture (volumes on Literature, Religion, Music and Drama, Life and Culture, Manners, and Customs and Society; to be followed by volumes on Arts and Crafts, Thought, and Legislation).

Part of the project to commemorate the one hundredth year of the opening of Japan, which helped propel Japan from her long years of isolation onto the stage of world affairs as a modern state, this volume covers a wide, broad cross section of the cultural history of the whole Meiji era, offering the political, diplomatic, legal, educational, religious, economic, social, literary, theatrical, musical, art and other developments of that forty five-year period. In treating their complex subject, the authors have produced an encyclopedia of information, and have recorded many events not available in readily accessible English language texts elsewhere. While the volume is definitely not an interpretative history of the period, underlying its pages, however, the reader can sense the feeling of a struggle to catch up with the West, which the editors have tried to preserve.

Because of space limitations, abridgement of the original
Japanese text has been necessary, an abridgement which led to the abandonment of most of Chapter I, all of Chapters II and VIII, and to the cutting of portions in the other chapters. The first two chapters dealt primarily with the long historical background prior to the Meiji period itself, while Chapter VIII covered the reactions of foreigners and foreign countries to that era. Not everyone will agree with the omissions made, for interests, preferences and judgments will differ, but the intent of the editors was to preserve those portions which would provide what appears to have been the main purpose of the original text, that is, the listing and chronicling of the representative and important political-diplomatic events, the social-economic changes, and the cultural developments of the Meiji period. Nowhere have the editors attempted to interject their own conclusions, opinions, or corrections, except insofar as the selection of omissions may unconsciously reflect this. Nor have the editors attempted in anyway to rearrange the presentation or to impose their own ideas of structure or organization on the material. In fairness to the original authors, the editors have sought always to let the Japanese writers of the introductory volume speak for themselves of what they deemed significant, necessary or helpful in understanding the crowded record of these years.

Inevitably, however, several problems in translation have remained, despite consultation with resource materials and referrals to the authors of the Japanese manuscript. Among these are the names of Westerners, written in kana, the original titles of Western literary works that had been translated into Japanese and to which Japanese titles had been freely given, plus certain references to Tokugawa laws.

No claim is made for complete accuracy of translation, or even for consistency of style, for this work in its final form is the product of several hands. Particular thanks go to Mr. Yasuhiko Sasaki for his work in initially translating the original manuscript and to Dr. David M. Earl for his assistance in
checking the original and helping with the editing of Chapter V in the English version presented. Much appreciation is also extended to Prof. Daishiro Hidaka, Dean of the Graduate School of Education, International Christian University, Tokyo, the chairman of the Centenary Cultural Council, for his patience, understanding and encouragement. Thanks must also go to those unknown individuals who arranged the format, completed the proofreading, and cheerfully undertook all the troublesome final labors of publication which remained after the editors had left Japan.

The editors will be satisfied if in some small way this volume contributes to a better understanding of Japan and the Japanese people through a better knowledge and appreciation of the kaleidoscopic process of Japan’s transition from a feudal country to a modern state, the achievement of the Meiji Era.

March, 1958

International Christian University, Tokyo

Hattie K. Colton
Kenneth E. Colton
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Chapter One

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE MEIJI ERA

INTRODUCTION

A tremendous transformation in Japanese society occurred, during the twenty years before and after 1868. When that process is observed and its effects reviewed, we find that the transformation was too mild to be called a revolution and too drastic to be labeled a reformation. Historically, the change is called Meiji Ishin or Meiji Restoration. The term Meiji, which means "good government," was derived from the passage in one of the Confucian classics, The Book of Changes by Yiking, "when a sage rules by listening to public opinion, good government will naturally result." The word Ishin, meaning restoration, was also taken from Chinese literature, in a verse found in the Book of Poems by Shi-king, "although Chou is an old country, its life is quite fresh." In view of the character of the renovation of the social structure produced by this transformation, and view of the fact that the Imperial family had held sovereignty since the founding of Japan, it is certainly befitting the significance of the Meiji Ishin that the term be derived from these apt sources.

This transformation had an extensive effect upon diverse areas of activity. Because Nagasaki was the only trading port open to the outside world before the Restoration, foreign cultures were introduced into Japan only gradually and under the surveillance of the authorities at that port; consequently their
development in Japan was very slow. After the Restoration, foreign cultures entered Japan freely, and the Japanese people absorbed them with enthusiasm, praising them as Bum’mei Kaika (civilization and enlightenment) and welcoming things foreign with a feeling of respect.

Despite the fact that that people of Japan were for a long period isolated from the outside world, they accepted and digested foreign cultures well and used them as a source of nourishment for their own culture and built up the national strength for the next generation in an evolutionary way. Thus Japan was able to dispatch expeditionary forces outside the country four times without deterioration in her national strength, raised her standing in international relations, and finally by 1919 was able to secure recognition as one of the five great powers in the world. This wealth in national strength was accumulated during the approximately forty years of the Meiji Era from 1868 to 1912. The rapidity of her national development represented an astounding feat in world history.

The development attained during this period in both material and spiritual civilization was harmonious surprisingly and left no crippling traces. The people absorbed the essence of available world cultures and successfully utilized them as their own food.

There are many examples in world history in which an inferior civilization coming into contact with a higher civilization was overwhelmed and lost its original culture by such an impact. There do not appear to be many examples of a lower stage of civilization making prosperous development by gradually taking in foreign cultures without losing its own.

It can be said that the history of Meiji culture was an excellent and unusual example of the latter type. The reason lies in Japan’s experience and training by contacts with foreign cultures in the long past before the Meiji Era. In her history, Japan accepted the cultures of the Korean Peninsula and those of the Han, Sui and T’ang dynasties of China, blended them into her own, and created a culture unique to Japan even as
far back as the third to the seventh century A.D. Later the
cultures of the Sung and Ming Dynasties of China were intro-
duced. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after taking
in European cultures, Japan adopted a self-imposed national
isolation and leisurely assimilated the foreign cultures she had
acquired into a new culture with its own peculiar individuality.
After the reopening of foreign relations, Japan further enhanced
her culture by digesting the rushing influx of European and
American cultures. Like the culture of the Nara and early
Heian periods, which was an example of a fusion of old Indian,
Saracen, and Western cultures, the culture of the Meiji Era
was a blended model of the cultures of the world in the nine-
teenth century.

Meiji culture was unprecedented in both breadth and height.
Because Japan had been in national isolation since 1639 and
had enjoyed peace for over two hundred and fifty years until
the Meiji Era without contact with other countries, people
leisurely spent this lengthy period for scrutiny and criticism of
already imported cultures, developing their desirable aspects
and discarding their undesirable features. Thus, notwithstanding
the fact that Japan’s culture in the beginning of the Meiji Era
was in a lower stage of development compared with foreign
cultures, it is by no means an exaggeration to say that by the
close of that Era, her cultural achievements in all fields were
already on a level comparable to the world standard.

In the field of politics, the Meiji Era was characterized by
the popular movement to increase political participation in
government on the basis of Imperial rule. In this period every
possible aspect of the political system was built up on models
furnished by Europe and America. Among the outstanding
examples of a political change was the return of administrative
authority to the Throne by the fifteenth Shōgun, Tokugawa
Keiki, on November 9, 1867, and the proclamation of the
“Restoration of Imperial Government” on January 3, 1868.
A phrase in proclamation, “....originating in the national
foundation by Emperor Jimmu,” shows that the old form of administration, based on the principle of the original national foundation, was thus restored. Hence on April 6, 1868, the Emperor swore before the gods an Imperial Oath called the Charter Oath, consisting of five articles. This indicates that the new Meiji administration was begun on the basis of a unity between religion and politics. On June 11 that year, the Seitaisho, or what is frequently referred to as the first “Constitution,” was issued, providing for the principle of the separation of powers—judicial, executive, and legislative—so constituted that one does not infringe upon the other.

Immediately after the Restoration, an upper and a lower house were established, by using clan domains as electoral districts. However, with the abolition of the clans and the establishment of prefectures in August, 1871, this electoral district system was abandoned, and parliamentary politics went into a stalemate.

But efforts to study procedures for inauguration of a Diet and for drafting a national constitution were begun by the Left House (Sain). In 1875, the Genrōin (House of Elder Statesmen) and the Conference of Local Authorities were established, and gradually a parliament based on a bicameral system developed. In 1876, an Imperial decree to begin drafting the national constitution was issued, promising future implementation of constitutional politics in Japan. In October, 1881, the Imperial Rescript to open the Diet by 1890 was issued. Political parties began to appear from around 1877, and their activities increased yearly. Voices for freedom were heard even in remote mountain and fishing villages. In the Edo period of Tokugawa rule before the restoration, there was a saying, “Let the people be depended, but not let them know,” the idea being that common people do not have the right to participate in political affairs. But during the Meiji period, the political structure was altered, and with it, there was introduced a respect for freedom and civil rights. In 1889, the
Constitution of Imperial Japan was promulgated, and in the following year, the Imperial Diet was opened for the first time. From then until the end of the Meiji Era, the Diet held twenty-eight sessions, but instances in which government operated under a pure party cabinet were less than the fingers of one hand. This was due to Japan’s national structure. Liberal Party members, who asserted civil rights the most, were sometimes referred to as insurgents, but their party could not expect to develop without hoisting the banner of Son’nō-ron, “revere the Emperor.” The special political character of the Meiji Era lay in the fact that there existed a semblance of change, but not a real shift in the basis of national administration.

Next, let us look at the diplomatic history of the Meiji Era. From the end of the Edo period to the beginning of Meiji, the European countries concentrated attention upon European affairs, and tended to entrust the handling of Far Eastern affairs to their envoys dispatched to the Far East. However, with the growth of Japan’s national strength, these countries gradually came to place greater diplomatic importance upon the Far East. From 1869, when Japan declared her policy of independent diplomacy, until approximately 1900, the major diplomatic issue for Japan was negotiating with European and American nations a revision of the “unequal treaties” which provided for extra-territorial privileges for foreign powers, and imposed important limitations on Japan’s independent control of her customs duties. To achieve that revision, it was necessary to raise Japan’s culture to the standard of Europe and America, and the government authorities exerted strenuous efforts to that end. Even though superficial, or even no more than an imitation, a rapid promotion of culture was an urgent requirement.

At the same time, the accumulated national strength was gradually directed towards the continent. The Chiang-hua incident that broke out in Korea 1875, aimed to urge to Korea to reopen relations with other countries. The Seoul incidents occurring in 1882 and 1884 led to a serious dispute between
China and Japan which finally resulted in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. Realizing the surprisingly weak position of China, European and American countries, which had been somewhat diffident, began to bustle about to acquire concessions and to protect rights in China. Such an advance of European powers into the Far East finally brought about the Boxer Uprising in 1900, made the Far East a caldron of international disputes, and eventually led to a collision between Japan and Russia over interests in the Korea Peninsula and Manchuria. Thus the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 broke out. By winning this war, Japan assumed leadership in the Far East.

Cultural intercourse increased along with the growth of Japan’s national strength. Because China was always the focus of her problems, stipulations relating to recognition of China’s sovereignty and to equality of opportunity were, without exception, inserted in the treaties Japan concluded with Europe and American countries in the closing period of the Meiji Era. Upon Japan’s becoming the leader of the Far East, anti-Japanese moves began to appear in many parts of the world. As a whole, it can be said that in the Meiji Era, Japan secured the best position warranted by her strength at that time.

When we look into the domestic situation, the reformation of the social system constituted the basis of Meiji culture. In the Edo Period, society was constructed on a military base, with strict social classification of the people into four classes—samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants, and in consequence of feudal military domination, each of these four classes developed a specific culture independently of the others. During the Meiji period, the classes were abolished, making all the people of equal status, and removing obstacles to the free exchange of cultures among them. Moreover, in the Edo Period the economic roles of the various classes were defined: farmers the suppliers of rice for military provisions; merchants the suppliers of military funds; and both offering their property to the feudal government or to clan lords as their contributions
for the kind of order this system maintained. The regular occupation of the samurai was fighting in battle. After the Meiji Restoration, this class collapsed, and all were absorbed into agriculture, industry and commerce. It was an astounding social event that a stratum of over two million people should become a part of other strata. The samurai class, which had been the mainstay of Edo society through a unique education, influenced greatly the various fields of activity during the Meiji Era as its members melted into the other classes.

Such changes in the social situation, as well as the fact that the government structure adopted was patterned on a system of constitutional politics, influenced the idea of legislation. In the closing days of the Edo period, common sense ruled in law, and the law never infringed upon common sense. Of course, laws actually existed, but officials generally disposed of cases on the basis of experience, but without violating the laws. After the Meiji Era began, law reverted to the Taihō Code of 701. In 1871, the General Principles of the New Laws were promulgated, flavored with Western law and based on the Administrative Regulations of One Hundred Three Articles issued by the Eighth Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune and the laws of the Ming and Ch’ing Dynasties of China. Then in 1873, the Revised Laws were promulgated, and after 1882, the Criminal Code, the Criminal Punishment Law and others were enforced, with French law as their model. Due to the pressure from the necessity of treaty revision, the drafting of these codes was hurriedly done through the establishment of the Bureau to Study Legal Codes. In succession, the Law Court Establishment Law and Criminal Procedure Law were enforced in 1890, the Civil Procedure Law in 1891, a part of the Commercial Code in 1893, the Civil Code in 1898, and a part of the Commercial Code in 1899. However, as the rate of social changes was so rapid and the need for preparation of legal codes so urgent, repeated revisions of these laws became necessary; in 1907, the new Criminal Code was enforced.
OUTLINE OF JAPANESE HISTORY IN THE MEIJI ERA

Thus Japan in the Meiji Era was a nation ruled by law, at first modelled after French law, and from around 1885, by a complete adoption of German law. The actual operation of the Commercial Code was carried out along the pattern of British law.

Along with the progress of culture, noteworthy developments were also seen in the industrial field. For example, although coal mining was carried on by hand in the Edo Period, coal cutters pumps were imported in the early years of Meiji; human labor was replaced by electric power; the metal hand lamp by electric torch lamp; something missing of old by boring based on geology. In proportion to the sharp increase in coal output, great capital outlays were required for the operation of coal mining enterprises. Many coal mines were turned over to the government, and made great progress as government enterprises, but between 1881 and 1890, they were gradually re-converted to private management, where with competition, the coal industry underwent further development. A similar tendency was also seen in other industries.

Along with such industrial progress, national finances also continued to expand. In 1869, the national revenue was 1,981,350 koku of rice, and expenditures amounted to 3,246,660 koku of rice. The National Treasury revenue in 1884 was ¥76,669,654, and expenditures, ¥76,663,108. In 1893, revenues had increased to ¥84,235,591, and expenditures to ¥81,848,105. In 1894 to 1895, Japan fought the Sino-Japanese War with an appropriation of ¥225,230,127, paying out ¥200,475,508. Ten years later, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, Japan paid ¥1,508,472,538. In 1910, the settled account of revenues increased to ¥672,000,000, and the settled account of expenditures amounted to ¥559,000,000. Truly the growth of national finances in the Meiji period was phenomenal.

The educational structure of the Meiji Era was completely changed from that of the Edo Period. The old system of clan schools and temple schools was transformed into a diversified
structure of new education from kindergarten, elementary school, middle school to university, and normal and other technical schools. While education in the Ydo Period aimed to match one’s social standing and occupation, the educational principle after the Meiji Restoration was to give equality of opportunity in education to all, and had as its ideal no illiterate house in a village, and no illiterate member in a family. Advanced education under a scrupulously arranged system was provided for, and learning in highly theoretical fields showed a significant development so as to be able to keep up with that of advanced countries in Europe and America.

A conspicuous feature in the history of religion of the Meiji Era was the strict separation of Shintoism and Buddhism, which had been intermingled in the Edo Period, and the combining of Shintoism with politics to provide a basis for theocracy. However, since Christianity, though still restricted, began to show signs of becoming prosperous with the rushing influx of foreign ideas, the government feared a confusion in national thought and mobilized both Buddhist and Shinto leaders for proper guidance of public thought by appointing them as national priests. The Shinto sects, which mainly appeared in the final days of the feudal government, were organized into an influential religious body. Because Western philosophies were imported into Japan during this period, religious organizations were established to study the philosophy of religion, and universities created chairs of religion. Notable is the fact that religious sects began to exert strenuous efforts to conduct schools and social work, Shintoism seemed to have regained a new life and stamina, due to the rise of the idea of preserving the national policy and to the rise of reaction. Christianity was outwardly banned but tacitly tolerated, and was formally recognized only when freedom of religion was granted by the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution in 1889. However, Christianity did not enjoy much prosperity due to the general social situation, as well as the internal theological controversies
besetting the movement. Generally speaking, every religious sect worked toward the incorporation of the characteristic national virtues. Toward the end of the Meiji Era, the government planned to unite and reconcile the three religions, Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity.

What felt the impact of western influence the most was the sphere of ordinary livelihood. The life of the common people in the Edo Period was like that shown in the *ukiyo-e* paintings of the famous artist Hiroshige. Europeans and Americans who visited Japan, drawn by the simple by leisurely life the common people shown in these pictures, were disappointed to find the same food, clothing and shelter as their own in Japan. It is undeniable that Japan after the middle days of Meiji was as westernized as this. It may be strange that the Japanese people, who had a disinclination against things Western until the early years of Meiji, became so quickly infatuated with European and American culture. While we must admit the capricious character of the Japanese people, at the same time we cannot deny that there was a strong undercurrent of determination to preserve the characteristic national virtues. Another point to be noted is that westernization of the routine work-conditions of governmental and public offices played no small part in the westernization of the mode of living among the general public. Moreover, various aspects of each field of culture, such as the currents of thought in literature on the one hand, and singing, dancing, music, sports and amusements on the other, were imported into Japan, and Japanese culture was subjected to their influence to a considerable degree. European and American literary contexts and sayings were used in everyday writing and in daily conversation. In 1883, the Kana Society for a phonetic Japanese alphabet was formed, followed by the Society of Roman Letters; improvement of the national language and limitations in the use of Chinese characters were advocated, and a unified form of written and spoken languages come into use.

It is undeniable that the voluminous influx and diffusion of
European and American cultures much influenced the moral ideas of the Japanese people. Especially, the appearance of laws and regulations influenced by European and American thought resulted in bringing about gradual changes in the concept of the family, social thought, and life philosophy. As to the social standing of women, Japan kept to the social standard of male predominance. But when the idea of equal rights for men and women was introduced, many people began to believe in its truth, an attitude which led to the rise of movements for women suffrage rights.

That the humanities, social and natural sciences made great strides, and that European and American theories were introduced and studied by scholars can well be presumed from the fact that the number of subjects and chairs for instruction and lectures in these subjects in the universities made a sharp increase in this period. The results of these studies were applied in actual everyday business and contributed to the significant advance of industry. Along with the growth of industrial enterprises on a larger and larger scale, social and labor problems, particularly in connection with relations among capital, machinery and labor, began to appear around 1877. Here destiny was brewing to change the time-old relations between labor and capital, such as the paternalism of master and servant in practice since the pre-Meiji Era. Especially after industry made an epoch-making development following the Sino-Japanese War, various problems of this nature began to increase. Supported by public opinion, improved treatment for night workers in factories, dormitory systems for workers, and improved treatment of child labor and other programs were enforced in succession. It should be pointed out that these changes were not made suddenly around 1896, but resulted also from such influences as Christianity which brought with its ideas of philanthropy and equality of human beings. The Hakuaisa (Philanthropic Society), predecessor to the Japan Red Cross Society was established in 1877, and the Rōdō Kumiai Kisei Kai (Association for the
Realization of Labor Unions) was formed in 1897.

When these changes are viewed as a whole, the taking in of foreign cultures was at first limited to the fields of astronomy, calendar study, medical science, military science and physical study, and their study resulted in inducing the collapse of Japan's isolationist policy. From about 1871, the adoption of foreign culture was extended to every possible field, and as this expansion covered a very wide field, all aspects of Meiji fell its impact.

Another notable feature of the period is that Meiji culture made a leaping development after each of the major was that marked the era..
Chapter Two

THE BEGINNINGS OF MEIJI CULTURE

THE Meiji Restoration was originally intended as a political change, to restore administrative power from the hands of the Tokugawa Shogunate government to the Imperial Court, in accordance with the history of the founding of the nation. However, in the process of change, the restoration began to take on the aspect of a social reformation, for the social structure came to have a character and form entirely different from that of the past.

There are various reasons. Why did this reformation occurful. Internally, it resulted from the fact that the Tokugawa Shogunate government was confronted with serious financial difficulties. In its early years, the Tokugawa government had abundant financial resources, but in the reign of Ietsuna, the fourth Shogun, an imbalance developed between income and expenditures. In the days of his successor Tsunayoshi, the fifth Shogun, frequent natural calamities and disasters, together with luxury and extravagance, caused such a financial stringency that the Shōgun was forced to give up visiting the Nikkō Shrine even twice. Finally, the government resorted to frequent recoinage but still could not meet the increasing pressure of expenditures. Austerity policies were adopted in both the Kyōho Reformation by Tokugawa Yoshimune, the eighth Shōgun, and the Kansei Reformation by Matsudaira Sadanobu in the early days of Tokugawa Ienari, the eleventh Shōgun. But the financial pressure became heavier, generation after generation; even emergency taxes imposed
from time to time upon merchants could not alleviate the critical financial situation of the Shogunate government.

From the standpoint of social structure, class distinctions among samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants were strictly observed. The samurai class was considered the backbone of society, and the others deemed the general mass of people. Samurai lived in castle towns, and with a mental preparedness as if always on the battlefield, they devoted themselves to practising the military arts. Their sole aim in life was to die bravely, on horseback, in the sight of their lords, and they were constantly seeking a place where they might do so. However, respectable their attitude might have been, it can be said that they were mere consumers of unearned earnings. Their prestige was preserved by law, while the life and property of the common people was comparatively less protected. The government looked upon the people as the source of war funds and military provisions.

There was also a difference in philosophy of life among the classes, especially between samurai and merchants. The ideal samurai despised gain and profits and abstain from family affections, while the merchant conducted business merely for profits. Those who transacted business within the boundaries of a clan were generally small tradesmen, but some great merchants in Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo (Tokyo) had extensive connections all over the country and were wealthier than clan lords. Toward the end of the feudal period, the clan lords became poorer and poorer, while the merchants accumulated more and more wealth. Consequently, most clan governments could scarcely maintain themselves without the support of wealthy merchants. It can be said that political power in effect fell into the hands of the merchant class. Since there was a discrepancy between the society idealized by law and actual conditions, reform became inevitable.

From the standpoint of political ideas, a reformation was also inevitable. Since the establishment of Japan as a nation, the
superintendence of national administration by the Emperor had been the fundamental ideal. Even in the period of military ascendancy in medieval times, when the authority of the Imperial Court was at its nadir and samurai possessed actual power, the latter did not deny the primary position of the Emperor. That is why we see such an expression in many books as the Shōgun is the chief magistrate to the Emperor. In the closing days of the Edo Period, as a result of more than two hundred years peace, the literary civilization prospered, and with it came a growing interest in the Japanese classics, which in the end led to aspirations for a return to the ancient Imperial Rule. The revival of the idea that the nation should be under Imperial administration, as well as the rise of open disapproval of the feudal administration, began to spread openly. The idea of Imperial Restoration became more prevalent with the growing prosperity of Shintoism.

There thus appeared numerous revolutionary omens within the country at a time when the Far East began to be visited more and more frequently by Europeans and Americans. Strange foreign ships appeared along the coast of Japan causing great excitement among the people who had little knowledge of foreign countries because of the isolationist policy.

Orientals, including the Japanese, have a temperament to respect themselves highly and to despise others. On the basis of feeling mere without any real foundation, the Japanese disliked association with iteki (foreign barbarians), and a kind of chauvinism was dominant among the people. With a majority of the people anti-foreign, the Shogunate government was placed in an embarrassing position. Emperor Kōmei was particularly apprehensive about disadvantages which might accrue from a national reopening of the doors, and His Majesty feared that if the situation turned worse, he could not be excused before the Ise Shrine and the Imperial ancestors. The Shogunate government, being subject to the Imperial will, could not carry out state policies contrary to the will of the Emperor. Finally, the
Shogunate government found itself caught in the midst of serious impending diplomatic issues.

In 1853, when Commodore Perry of the Far Eastern Fleet of the United States Navy arrived in Uraga and urged Japan to open the country, opinions in the Japan were divided for and against the proposal and heated controversies arose among the people. Issues involved in the national reopening were intertwined with the struggle for power and influence among various clans, particularly in naming an heir to the Shōgun. When Ii Naosuke was appointed chief minister in 1858, he resolutely signed the United States-Japan Commercial Treaty, which gave rise to considerable opposition from some of the clans as well as from the Emperor. All of the opposition groups finally became linked in one chain with court nobles, clan lords and vassals, rōnin, scholars of Confucianism and others to challenge openly the Tokugawa government.

On November 9, 1867, Tokugawa Keiki presented to the Imperial Court a memorial of Restoration of Power to the Throne. On the following day, it was approved by the Imperial Court, and on January 3, 1868, the proclamation of “Restoration of Imperial Government” was issued. The power over national administration, which had been in the hands of the Samurai for some seven hundred years, was restored to the Imperial Court. And thus was ushered in the days of the Meiji Restoration.

The Trend Toward Opening the Country

Although the Meiji government renounced in 1867 the policy of isolation and anti-foreignism and adopted the principle that “Japan should have intercourse with all countries based upon the righteous and equitable principle of heaven and earth,” the Tokugawa Shogunate government had begun shifting its policy in favor of opening ever since the conclusion of the Kanagawa
Treaty with the United States in 1854, under pressure from Commodore Perry. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce signed with the United States in 1858 constituted another step in the direction of opening the country. From that time on, provisions of various treaties concluded with foreign countries were without exception based on the policy of opening. The Shogunate government, however, did not willingly conclude these agreements, and sought time and again to solve the serious internal problems confronting it by resorting to treaty denunciation and repulsion of foreigners. Nevertheless, the government could find no way to shake off the pressing advance of foreign influences. Finally, the Shogunate government exerted every effort to gain Imperial sanction for the conclusion of treaties. In 1865, when Imperial approval was given to the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States, the government was greatly relieved and resolved to carry out the policy of opening the country. When in 1866 the Kaiseijō sought approval to give lectures in Western geography, physics, military science and history, the Shogunate government, in approving the request, commented that this "may contribute to national reopening." It can thus be inferred that some officials of the Shogunate government were taking preparatory measures looking toward opening the country.

That the Shogunate government was already adopting an attitude of departing from a policy of national isolation can also be seen from changes in instructions issued relating to the treatment of foreign vessels. Although Tokugawa Yoshimune, the eighth Shōgun, had made the importation of knowledge of foreign countries easier, the Order of National Isolation of 1637 stood firm, and intercourse with any foreign country, whether important or unimportant, was strictly prohibited. Nevertheless, strict as it was, national isolation was a paper policy, without provision for national defense. When no foreign vessels were sighted along the coast of Japan, the law looked stern and majestic, but once foreign vessels began to appear, even though only a whaling boat, the Japanese people were impressed, as if
it were a part of an invincible armada, because they had no knowledge of foreign countries and could not distinguish whether the approaching ship was a whaler, or a surveying boat, or whether it was armed or not. This sense of inadequate defensive ability led to their frustration, and laid the foundation for the idea of national reopening.

When there were frequent reports that Russia might come from the north, in the years of Meiwa and An'ei, Tanuma Okitsugu, the Senior Councillor and the then central figure of the Shogunate government, and his successor, Chief Minister Matsudaira Sadanobu, were gravely concerned and exerted efforts for the development and defense of the Ezo (Hokkaidō) district, and frequently issued instructions relating to the treatment of incoming foreign vessels. From around 1791, the government began to adopt a policy of prudence by issuing an instruction that “treatment shall be amicable, but with the idea of repulsing” these foreign visits. Later in 1807, in retaliation against Japan’s treatment of Rezanov, the Russian envoy, who arrived at Nagasaki in 1804, the Russians invaded Kugarukotan and the Kushana district of Etorofu Island.

Then in 1808, the crew of a British vessel Phaeton committed outrages in the port of Nagasaki, for which the Magistrate of Nagasaki, Matsudaira Yasuhide (Tosho-no-kami), committed suicide from a strong sense of personal responsibility. The instruction issued by the government on that occasion showed a somewhat stern attitude, and when Takahashi Kageyasu, the administrator of astronomical documents, expressed an opinion that the approaching foreign vessels were mere whalers, the government issued a drastic instruction in 1825 that “any foreign vessel approaching the coast of this country shall be driven away without hesitation.”

However, when information concerning the results of the Opium War reached Japan, the Shogunate government issued another instruction to all the ports and coastal towns that “fuel and water shall be supplied to foreign ships drifting to
this shore.” The government’s instructions interpreting the Order of National Isolation thus followed a vacillating line, sometimes stern and sometimes mild, as the occasion might demand. Nevertheless, the general trend was moving towards national reopening.

Most people in the Yedo Period believed that the Japanese people were descendants of the heavenly gods and that foreigners were creatures close to birds or beasts. They rejected Western civilization as the learning of barbarians, from a sense of superiority of the Japanese race as heavenly blessed. However, those who had learned Western science and were fascinated by it asserted that wide intercourse with countries of the world was the only way to secure the prosperity of the country.

Since there were advocates of national reopening even among the Japanese, it was natural that foreigners, especially those with close associations with Japan, concluded that Japan was in a dangerous situation. King Wilhelm II of the Netherlands, which was the only country of Europe that had traded with Japan during three hundred years of isolation in the Edo Period, sent a letter to the Shogunate government in 1844, advising that opening of the country was the best way for Japan to meet the situation. The government did not reply to this communication on the pretext that the Netherlands was a country to trade with, not a country to communicate with. About 1851, when a rumor spread among European countries, that America had an intention of sending a mission to get Japan to open the country, the Netherlands thought it a serious affair and again sent a letter to Japan advising national reopening. The Shogunate government spent days in discussion, but could not reach a decision to send a reply. In 1853, Commodore Perry presented himself at Uraga.

Conclusion of Treaties with Foreign Countries

While the domestic situation was still inclined to deny national
reopening as before, the external situation moved towards pressing Japan to open the country, even by force. In the forefront of this movement were the United States and Russia. In 1853 commodore Perry, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Far Eastern Fleet, arrived in Japan with an official letter from the President of the United States. In the following year he visited Japan again and concluded the Kanagawa Treaty of Peace and Amity. In accordance with this treaty, the ports of Shimoda, Hakodate were opened, the relief of castaways and the supply of ships provisions were approved. Thus a wedge was driven for the opening of the country.

In the month following the first visit of Commodore Perry, Rear-Admiral Putiachin arrived at Nagasaki as an official Russian envoy and proposed to conclude agreements on trade and frontier demarcation. Japan finally signed treaties with Britain in 1854 at Nagasaki, with Russia in the same year at Shimoda, and with the Netherlands in 1855 at Nagasaki. These treaties emphasized friendly relations, following the example of the Kanagawa Treaty of Peace and Amity.

The objective of the American government and her people in opening Japan for foreign intercourse was trade. In order to achieve this goal, Townsend Harris was stationed at Shimoda as a consul from 1856, Harris explained the world situation to Japanese officials, especially the details of the S. S. Arrow incident which led Britain and France to launch a military operation against China and to force further concessions. He persuaded the Shogunate government of the desirability of concluding a treaty with the United States that would set an example for the conclusion of treaties with other countries, so that Japan might not repeat the error of China. The Shogunate government judged that a treaty was an inevitable necessity. The government sent Senior Councillor Hotta Masayoshi of the Satsuma clan to Kyoto to obtain Imperial Sanction, but in vain. Out of sheer necessity, Chief Minister Ii Naosuke took the decisive action of signing the treaty of June 19, against the
Imperial will. This treaty of commerce, composed of fourteen articles, with seven items pertaining to trade regulations contained provisions relating to customs, consular jurisdiction, esplanade of foreigners, currency, stationing of ministers and consuls, freedom of religion, opening of markets and ports of Edo, Osaka, Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Ni’igata, Hakodate and Hyōgo, and other matters. After 1854 a series of treaties containing similar provisions were concluded with Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Russia, and Switzerland.

Dispatch of Students Abroad in the Last Days of the Tokugawa Regime

The development of western science, or Yōgaku, continued to increase until at last direct vassals of the Tokugawa Shogunate government, vassals of various clans, as well as vassals who broke their connections with their clans, began to go abroad openly or secretly. Prior to this in 1860, the Shogunate government had dispatched Muragaki Norimasa and Ni’imi Masaoki as government envoys to the United States, accompanied by not only government officials but many vassals of various clans under assumed names or as servants of members of the mission. Noting the thriving influx of foreign cultures, the government decided to send students to Europe, and in 1861 dispatched them to the Netherlands to study politics and naval science. In 1865 others were sent to Russia for study, and in 1866, some were sent to London University.

In 1867, on the occasion of the international exposition in Paris, the government dispatched Tokugawa Akitake, a young brother of Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the fifteenth Shōgun, as the representative of the Japanese government and let him remain in France, after fulfilling his duty for a study, of various sciences. The study of Western social and economic conditions by another member of the mission, Shibusawa Ei’ichi, at this time later
enabled him to become one of the prominent financial leaders in the beginning of the Meiji Era.

There were other individuals who went abroad by violating the law. Ni’ijima Jō, a vassal of the An’naka clan, was reprimanded by his clan lord for being engrossed in the study of western books, escaped from the clan to Hakodate, and got out of the country by boarding an American ship in 1864. As is well known today, he later became the founder of Dōshisha College of Kyoto. Hanabusa Yoshitada of Okayama, too, while studying at Nagasaki by clan order, geized an opportunity to escape from the country and made a round the world tour. In addition, the leading clans, which were deeply concerned over the world situation, began sending their talented vassals abroad for study. Clans which dispatched large groups of students to foreign countries were, ironically enough, the Satsuma and the Chōshū, which had been the constant advocates of repulsion of foreigners.* Most clans sent students abroad secretly without even informing relatives of the students.

The National Decision to Open the Country for Foreign Intercouse

Under the influence of such trend, the political situation changed, and the proclamation of Restoration of Imperial Rule was finally issued in 1868. Until then the Imperial Court continued to assert an anti-foreign policy and blamed the Shogunate government for failing to observe it. However, when once political power came into its hands the Imperial Court itself was forced to adopt the policy of national reopening to cope with internal and external affairs. Previously, in 1865 Imperial sanction had been given to the Treaty of Amity and Commerce concluded by the Shogunate government with the United States seven years before, and in 1867, Imperial approval was also given to

* Among students sent by the Chōshū were Itō Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru, later outstanding leaders in the Meiji government.
the opening of the port of Hyōgo. This sanction was extended not because the Imperial Court had established the state policy to open the country, but to refrain from openly criticizing the actions of the Shogunate government. In giving Imperial approval to the Shogunate government’s proposal to restore Imperial administration, the Imperial Court issued a decree that the Shogunate government should continue to take charge of foreign affairs. The Imperial Court apparently felt inadequate to handle diplomatic relations.

In 1868, Councillor Iwakura Tomomi issued an instruction that since Imperial sanction had been given to the opening of the port of Hyōgo, the Imperial Court had established friendly relations with foreign countries, therefore, foreign countries should be treated the same as China. From this linking of the opening of Hyōgo to the policy of national reopening, we can judge the great care with which the Imperial Court was shifting its policy. The Imperial Court appointed Ōgimachi-Sanjō Sanenaru (Dainagon), Matsudaira Yoshinaga (Ōkura-dayū), Gotō Shōjirō (a vassal of the Tosa clan), Iwashita Sajiemon (a vassal of the Satsuma clan) and others to the staff of the foreign affairs section, and informed the rulers of foreign nations that Japan would be glad to conclude a treaty of amity after February 3, 1868.

Responding to this attitude of the Imperial Court, Court Councillors Shimazu Tadayoshi of Satsuma, Hosokawa Morihisa of Higo, Asano Shigekoto of Aki, Yamanouchi Toyonobu of Tosa, Mori Hiroka of Chōshū presented a jointly signed opinion in February, stating: “It is highly desirable that officers in high positions of the Imperial Court with their insight wide open and with His Majesty’s sagacity, judge the general world trend and take resolute steps to cast off the stupid opinion of the past to look down on foreigners as dogs, sheep or barbarians, and that the envoys of foreign countries be granted audiences with His Majesty by treating foreign countries the same as China, and in addition, that this purpose shall be made public.”
The cabinet accepted the views expressed and issued a notification on March 10, which stated, "For the time being, friendly relations with foreign countries shall be continued in accordance with the old treaties. However, by taking the special national character of Japan and the public laws of the world into consideration, and by establishing a great principle through the deliberation of all officials and clans through the selective judgment of the advantages and disadvantages of international intercourse, hereinafter the receiving of diplomatic representatives of foreign countries at the Imperial Court shall be permitted." Thus, the French Minister and Acting Minister of Netherlands and others had audiences with the Emperor.

In the following month, the Charter Oath of Five Articles was announced. Among its great principles were two: all absurd usages shall be abandoned; justice and righteousness shall regulate all actions. Knowledge shall be sought for all over the world and thus shall be strengthened the foundation of the Imperial polity. In this way, Japan break the shell of national isolation and tread the road of national reopening.

Reform of the Feudal Social Structure

(1) Collapse of the feudal clans.

The Edo Shogunate government ruled the country under an almost perfect feudal social structure for approximately two hundred and sixty years. The retreat of the Shogunate government symbolized in the Restoration was not merely a transfer of political power, but it also induced a thorough change of the social structure centered in the Shogunate government. It led to the collapse of the samurai class, and with the rise of the masses, society was organized on a basis of equality of all the former four classes. In this newly constructed society Meiji culture put forth its buds and developed from there.

When the basic principles of the structure of the Imperial
Restoration were discussed in the Imperial Palace in 1868, Councillor Iwakura Tomomi expressed the opinion that, "if Tokugawa Keiki really has a sincere intention to restore power to the Emperor, he should resign from all official positions and offer the Imperial Household all the domains of the Shogunate government." To this statement Tokugawa Yoshinaga of the Fukui clan replied that not only the Tokugawa, but all clan lords should do likewise. Previous to that, the Chōshū clan had already proposed to offer the Imperial Household its Buzen and Iwami districts which the clan had occupied during the civil war against it. Besides, some vassals of the Himeji clan also advocated that clan lords should surrender their fiefs to the Emperor. These men were the forerunners of the movement to "return their registers" to the Emperor.

When the army for the subjugation of the Tokugawa families was raised, the Imperial Court confiscated all the domains of the Tokugawa relatives and established ōfu (urban prefecture) and ken (prefecture) in each of these fiefs, and appointed patriots who rendered meritorious services for the imperial cause as prefectural governors. Among these newly appointed governors were men of low social status in the feudal days, and the leading vassals of the neighboring clans were inclined to look down contemptuously upon them. Because each clans had developed individual traditions during the period of some two to three hundred years, it was not an easy task to carry out a unified administration. Therefore, the lords of the four clans, Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Higo, who assumed leading roles in the Restoration movement, presented a joint memorial to return their domains to the Imperial Court, asserting that the true relations of the Sovereign and his subjects were permanent and unchangeable, and that, "the Imperial line is unbroken for ages eternal and there is no land not of its possession and no person not its subject." They stated that the attitude of clan lords to regard their domains as private property was mistaken, and concluded by urging that "an Imperial decree shall be
issued to decide the disposal of clan domains, and that an order to cover everything from institutions, standards, military administration to military supplies and machinery, shall be issued by the Imperial Court, and all affairs under heaven, great and small, shall be united under a single rule.” When the proposal to return their registers was presented by the four clans, other clans followed suit and made similar proposals. Approving the idea, the Imperial Court appointed clan lords as governors in their respective fiefs. Thus the feudal system remained attached to the new gun-ken (county-prefecture) system.

Notwithstanding the fact that Imperial approval of the proposal to return registers to the Emperor was issued to over two hundred and sixty clans in the country and the appointment of governors was carried out, the thorough enforcement of the gun-ken system was not realized. Some clans built up their military strength and piled up funds and provisions in preparedness for any future emergency, of which there was every possibility, and the achievement of a centralized administration seemed extremely difficult.

The Samurai of the Edo Period were directly connected with the Shogunate family or with clan lords. Once a lord was deprived of lordship, the vassals of the clan became masterless; it was quite different with the farmers and merchants who had a connection with the land. When their lords became noble families after the Restoration, the clan vassals were left unsupported as commoners. Since they had depended on hereditary stipends, they did not have enough training to make an independent living.

The signs of the collapse of clan vassals as a class were already increasing before the separation of clan lords and vassals in August 1871. Until then, the samurai in a clan had been classified into various grades. In 1869, an all samurai down to footmen were designated shizoku or gentry. Later, a class of sotsu (footmen) was added, and in 1870, it was ordered that there should be no classes other than shizoku and sotsu.
In 1872, the classification of *sotsu* was abolished again, and the old classification of the four categories of *samurai*, farmer, artisan and merchant, was altered to two: *shizoku* (gentry) and *heimin* (commoners). However, former clan lords and court nobles were called *kazoku* (peers). The change in classification itself had no significant effect upon the people's living, but the reduction in the stipend did seriously effect them, for the reduction was based on the principle of heavier reductions for higher stipend earners and lighter ones for lower stipend earners. In 1876, hereditary pension bonds were issued to every *kazoku* and *shizoku* family, the total amounting to over 170 million Yen.

Thus the samurai class, in process of collapse, sought their livelihood in farming and commerce. However, as they had been accustomed to a life different from pursuing profits, it was natural that they were unfit for business and commerce. In the field of agriculture, they were not habituated to physical labor. The people with whom they had to associate were those farmers and merchants upon whom they had hitherto looked down upon most disdainfully. Clans which had undeveloped lands allotted them to clan samurai to reclaim. Thus, the lands of Makinohara and Koganehara of the Shizuoka clan, the fields of Matsugaoka of the Shōnai clan, Mt. Ōyasumi Yama of the Fukuoka clan were developed by samurai. In clans where undeveloped lands were insufficient, samurai deserted the homes of their ancestors and migrated as far as presentday Hokkaidō, or to the wild fields of the Asaka and Nasu districts. Whole groups of samurai and their dependents of the Watari clan of the Date family of Miyagi Prefecture migrated enmasse into Hokkaidō, and whole families of both the Mita clan (Hyōgo Prefecture) and the Naegi clan (Gifu Prefecture) took up farming.

**The Conscription System**

The troops of the various clans were to be dissolved with
the abolition of the clans, but the Imperial Court could not maintain order in the country with only the small force of the honor guard provided by the Satsuma, Chōshū and other clans. Clan soldiers were therefore retained as before, until the nationwide police system was organized. In October 4, 1871, garrisons were established in Tokyo, Osaka, Kumamoto and Tohoku (Sendai), and former clan soldiers were made the regular troops of these garrisons. This kind of army organization was, of course, not suitable for the Imperial command. The ideal was to dissolve the clan units and place them under a nationally unified military system, but the task was too enormous to be realized in a short time, and the above mentioned tentative arrangement was therefore adopted. What the government had in mind was the enforcement of a conscription law.

Military service may be roughly devided into a conscription system and a volunteer system. A conscription system, based on the principle that all people in a nation should render service, is a system with a standing army, which would become the nucleus of a war-time military organization. As most European nations were adopting this system because of its advantages, the Imperial government intended to follow their example. Moreover, historically, it was the very system used by the Imperial Court in ancient times. In addition, Ōmura Masujirō, Yamagata Aritomo, Saigō Tsugumichi, and others in charge of military administration, believed in the advantages of a conscription system as a result of their bitter experiences in battles against foreign forces at the end of the Shogunate government.

Thus, in 1872 Emperor Meiji issued an Imperial edict on national conscription. The Cabinet issued a special instruction to the people of the country in order to enable them to understand fully the purpose of the Imperial decree. It was a hard-hitting declaration against an obstinate and bigotted part of the samurai class, using fiery and vehement language in stressing the ideal of equality of all the people in relation to the system of universal conscription. It stated: "samurai are not the samurai of
old, commoners are not the commoners of the past. They are all equally people of the Imperial nation and there should, be no difference in their service of gratitude to the country." It also stressed that the duty of national defense is a common duty of all the people of Japan. The text of the conscription law was a very long one, and was an epoch making piece of legislation concerning the military system of the Meiji Era. The military authorities must have exerted painstaking efforts in drafting such a long bill within a comparatively short time during the busy and unsettled situation immediately after the Restoration. Although the law was later revised several times, there was no alteration in the fundamental principle of the national government calling up qualified men for service.

The military forces thus formed constituted the background of the Meiji government and were responsible for the unification of the country. The intrinsic objective of armament is defense against an outside enemy. But in a time of unrest when a new political power is not yet consolidated and national order is not well maintained, the armed forces of a new administration may be used for domestic affairs, such as preserving internal order, a phenomenon found at any period and in any country. It was no exception after the Meiji Restoration. In studying the history of Meiji culture, the enforcement of this conscription law furnishes one of the essential factors in the development of Japan as a modern nation which must not be overlooked.

Changes in the Political Structure:
Acceptance of the theory of politics by public discussion

The administrative principle of the Tokugawa Shogunate was based on the idea: "let the people be depended, and do not let them know." However, after the Restoration, the political organization was reconstructed with a so-called democratic orientation, a system utterly unimaginable to the patriots who had participated enthusiastically in the activities which led
to the Restoration.

While a political structure based on the people can be found in the ancient political thought of China, even in Japan in olden times, during the period of rule by the Emperor, the attitude of listening to the voices of the people was considered one of the Imperial virtues. Thus in the period just before the Restoration, men of learning frequently expressed views that a national policy for negotiating with foreign countries should be established by bringing together the wisdom of many. On Commodore Perry’s arrival in 1853, Head Senior Councillor Abe Masahiro of the Shogunate government translated the letter from the President of the United States into Japanese and issued a public notice welcoming anyone to express opinions, without unreservation. Responding, not only clan lords, but also merchants, scholars, as well as rōnin, expressed their views.

In proportion to the increase in the tension in the political situation, opinions of this kind assumed a more concrete character. In 1864, Ōtori Keisuke, a former official of the Shogunate government, advocated the establishment of an upper and lower council; and in 1866, Ōkubo Ichio, another former official, advocated the opening of a great public council and a small public council. The great council would correspond to the present Diet and the small councils to prefectural assemblies. About the same time, Akamatsu Kosaburō, a vassal of the Ueda clan, proposed the formation of a national assembly by selecting one hundred thirty wise and talented men by vote. Sakamoto Ryōma, a vassal of the Tosa clan, wrote Senchū Hassaku (eight principle of government wrote on ship) in which he expressed the view that “an upper and a lower assembly should be established by drafting an everlasting great charter and by gathering wise men,” by which he meant a constitution immutable for all ages.

Actually, the Imperial Court frequently called together clan lords for a deliberation of state affairs. Yamanouchi Yōdō,
who persuaded Tokugawa Keiki to return administration to the Emperor, also mentioned the establishment of an upper and a lower assembly as one of the measures for adjustment after the Restoration. Nishi Amane, especially, who had studied in the Netherlands, drafted a program to establish a parliamentary system, with the Shogunate family as its center, based on the British example, and presented it to the Shogunate government. In the letter presented by Tokugawa Keiki proposing the return of administration to the Imperial Court, there was inserted a statement regarding the desirability of governing with public discussion. From these facts, it can be seen that the idea of politics by public opinion was considered in the very nature of things by the statesmen of that time.

Establishment of the organization of government

Amidst such a general tendency, the proclamation of the Restoration of Imperial Rule was issued in 1868. The latter part of the proclamation declared: "Since the way of discussion was opened by the adoption of the policy of discarding old evil customs, anyone, irrespective of rank, who has an opinion shall submit it without reservation. And in addition, because men of ability are urgently needed, anyone who has knowledge of any person to be recommended shall promptly inform the government." In 1868, when the Charter Oath of five articles was announced, its very first article pledged that "An assembly widely convoked shall be established and thus great stress shall be placed on public discussion."

Although the immediate organization of Meiji government reverted to the structure that existed under the old Taihō Code of the eighth century, with a Dajōkan, or Council of State, heading various departments, in 1868, the Seitaisho organization of government drafted by Fukuoka Kotei, was announced. Borrowing ideas from the Rempō Shiryaku (An Outline of
American Governments), it was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The main feature of this law was to vest all power under the Emperor in the Dajōkan and to provide for the separation of powers among the judicial, the executive, and the legislative. Previous to this, the governmental organization of 1868 had consisted of seven offices: Shinto, home affairs, foreign affairs, navy and army, finance, criminal law, and systems. In accordance with the organization set forth in the Seitaisho, the following organs were created: Councillors (Giseikan), Administration, Shinto, Finance, Military Affairs, Foreign Affairs, and Criminal Law; under each of these, divisions (ryo) and sections (shi) were established. The Councillors corresponded to the legislative body, the Dajōkan to the present cabinet, while a kan was like a department.

At that time, clans still existed, and fu (urban prefectures) and ken (prefectures) were established in the confiscated domains formerly owned directly by the Shogunate government as noted above, making for a type of local administration called chikata-sanchi three kinds of government in country district. Later, a readjustment of the departments, divisions, and sections was carried out, and by the reform of the governmental structure in August, 1869, the Department of Shinto was made supreme, outranking the Dajōkan. Under the Dajōkan the Head office of government there were created six departments: Civil Affairs, Finance, Military, Justice, Imperial Household, and Foreign Affairs. As legislative organs, the Taishōin (the House of peers) and Shūgiin (the House of Commons) were established. In addition, the Daigakkō (university), which also assumed responsibility for educational administration, the Danjō-dai, the procurator’s office) which corresponds to the present procurator’s office, and such special offices as (Rusukan) (the Office of Kyoto), Shinto propagators (Senkyōshi), Commissioner of Colonization, and Supervisor of Local Administration and others were set up.
Beginnings of a Parliamentary System

Democratic government, flashes of which were seen in the organizational system of the new administration, was steadily brought into realization after the Restoration. First of all, a system of selecting councillors was enforced in 1868. There were two classes of councillors; chōshi, selected by the government to head various bureaus for four years term which could be extended another four years, and kōshi, chosen by clan lords from among the vassals of clans to participate in an assembly, and eligible also to be selected as a chōshi. Kōshi was later redesignated kōmuin (public official) and then kōginin (public councillor). When the organizational system of clan administration was established on December 11, 1868, the duty of kōginin was defined: they “shall deliberate State affairs, in conformity with the Imperial order and representing clan opinions.” The Kōshi Taisakujō (Kōshi Counter-measures Office) was set up as an organ to submit political opinions representing clan views, a kind of public assembly. In the end of 1868, the Giji Torishirabesho (Board of Preparation for Parliamentary system) was established and carried out studies of the parliamentary system. This body was later redesignated the Kōgishō. It can be called a kind of parliament organized by members selected by clan lords with clan domains as electoral districts. A decision of a majority in this body was enforced by obtaining Imperial sanction. It acted upon many kinds of bills, including bills of Imperial inquiry, government bills, bills proposed by officials, its own members and the people. In 1869, its name was changed to Shūgiin (House of General Consultation).

The organizational system of clan administration also provided that each clan should promote public deliberation by establishing an appropriate organ. Accordingly, clans set up assemblies under various names.
Public election of government officials.

We must describe here the public election of government officials, carried out in 1869, based on the suggestion of Ōkubo Toshimichi, the Home Minister. The Imperial Rescript for this election, stated that “by reporting to the souls of the Imperial ancestors the law of public election is hereby provided, and hōshō (prime minister) gijō (secondary official) and sanyō (ministrant member) are to be chosen.” As a result, Sanjō Sanetomi was appointed hōshō, a position corresponding to the present prime minister. It was prescribed that court nobles and clan lords would be eligible for the post, while for the posts of sanyō, no such discrimination prevailed. Along with the election of high officials of the central government, elections for high clan posts in each clan were also carried out, by prohibiting consulating between father and son or with other people. It was said that men of popular reputation or those usually considered to have great administrative ability were elected irrespective of family.

Developments in Criminal Law

Since the Meiji Restoration was a major social reform, an initial concern of the statesmen was how to establish criminal laws to control the people. In 1867, replying to the inquiry of Tokugawa Keiki, the Imperial Court had instructed that until the formal establishment of new ones judicial procedures should be carried on as before, under the existing criminal laws and regulations. The Imperial Court then hurriedly took preparatory steps and established a criminal code affairs section, later enlarging it to the criminal code affairs division, and then making it a department of the criminal code. The department of the criminal code drafted a tentative law by referring to the laws of Tang, Ming and Ch‘ing of China, the Taihō Code, and
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the regulations issued by the eighth Shōgun, using these as working rules for study until the establishment of a new formal code.

In the meanwhile, in those districts formerly the direct domains of the Shogunate government, the judicial process was administered in accordance with the regulations for legal procedure promulgated by the eighth Shōgun, Tokugawa Yoshimune. The various other clans, on the other hand, each administered justice in its own way, according to its independent precedents.

Compendium of the New Law.

Expediting preparations for the compilation of a new criminal code, the government in 1868 instructed Kikuchi Shunsuke to investigate over 2,600 volumes of the trial records of the Shogunate government. Kikuchi compiled what is called Tokugawa Kinrei Kō (Commentary on the Interdicts of the Tokugawa Regime). Around the same time, the government instructed Mizumoto Seibi to make a revised study of the laws of the Ming dynasty of China. From these, we can surmise the basic principle on which the criminal code was compiled after the Restoration. It is evident that it was inclined to mild punishment, as indicated in the notification of the Department of Administration that crucifixion shall be meted out only in cases of high treason (regicide, parricide), that burning to death shall be replaced by exposure of the decapitated head, that expatriation shall be replaced by prison confinement, that exile shall be limited to the Ezo district (Hokkaidō), and that the death penalty shall not be sentenced on thefts below 100 ryō.

In January 1870, execution by decapitation was temporarily suspended until the promulgation of a new criminal code, and in the following month Private Assets Confiscation Law was abolished. There after the Shinritsu Teikō (General outline of the New Law) was completed as the first document on criminal
law drafted by the Meiji government. This draft bill was later amended several times, and finally regulations concerning false reporting of crop, counterfeiting, revenge, sale of opium, leaders of prison breaks, the abolition of the penalty of tattooing, and other matters, were adopted. The tentative criminal laws were abolished on November 3 that year, and it was announced that judicial processes would be administered in accordance with the General Outline of the New Laws. When the Shinritsu Teikō was changed to the Shinritsu Kōryō (Compendium of the New Law) is not known. In February 1871, the Imperial instruction to promulgate the Shinritsu Kōryō was issued. Although in 1869 prior to the promulgation of the new code, Mizukuri Rinshō translated the Criminal Code of France, there was no sign of French influence in the new code. In 1871, copies of the text of this Shinritsu Kōryō were sold to the public at large with the objective of informing the people of the new code. This was an entirely different way of handling the law as compared with the Edo Period.

Although the Shinritsu Kōryō was promulgated as stated above, criticism developed that the laws were anachronistic. The government revised them several times, amending and adding provisions, and in 1873, the government finally presented three volumes of the Kaitei Ritsurei (Revised Laws) to the Emperor for Imperial sanction. This did not mean the abolition of the Shinritsu Kōryō, but the revised laws were to co-exist with the Shinritsu Kōryō. These revised laws were compiled by referring to the criminal codes of foreign countries, especially of France, and differed considerably from the Shinritsu Kōryō which was a pure inheritance of Chinese law.

Idea of the equality of the people.

The main reason for calling the Meiji Restoration a social reformation is that the social system of the Edo Period, organized on the basis of strict class distinctions, was changed in the direction of equality of all the people. The notice issued
on the occasion of the proclamation of Restoration of Imperial Government in 1868 stated that, "Regardless of rank, and without reservation, free expression of opinion is solicited," and "if anyone, no matter who, has any idea of deep insight and wisdom to correct evil habits, he shall submit such opinion." At the same time, the notification declared: "the recent soaring of commodity prices becoming almost uncontrollable, the wealthy increase their wealth more, and the poor suffer poverty more, because of the inadequacy of the laws and regulations. People are the great treasures of the ruler, and the Emperor is deeply concerned about the situation, just at a time when all administrative affairs are to be renovated." This statement showed that the government had in mind reducing the gap between the wealthy and the poor.

The idea of equality, when analyzed in detail, already existed in the Edo Period. Andō Shōeki, a scholar who influenced the people of the Akita and Nambu districts in the years of Kyōho, expressed the opinion in his Shizen Shin'ei Dō (The Way of the True Course of Nature.) that a society without classifications of ruler and subjects was a true society. Shikitei Samba, a writer in the days of Bunka-Bunsei, satirically supported the idea of class equality, referring to the aspects of the public bath in the preface of his work Ukiyo Buro (The Floating Bath).

After the Meiji Restoration, government administration was for the first time carried out on the basis of equality of the people. However, until the extinction of clans in 1871, reality superceded theory in those clans where relations of master and servant between the clan lord and the vassals had predominated for over three hundred years. Even Home Minister Ōkubo Toshimichi, who exercised a powerful influence because of his distinguished service in behalf of the Meiji Restoration, was no more than a rankless Ōkubo Ichizō when he returned to his native Satsuma clan, where the master-and-servant relations based on the old order of lineage and status remained intact under the clan lord, Shimazu Tadayoshi, and his father, Shimazu Hisamitsu. Discri-
mination according to the rank or social status of a person consequently varied according to location.

Constructing a society based on equality of all the people required the lowering of the upper class and the raising of the lower. In 1869, an Ikushima Kosaku of Hanyu Village, Hitachi Province, submitted a petition to the Kōgishō requesting it to deliberate on “the methods to minimize the difference between high and low.” In explaining the reason for this proposal, he stated, “samurai, farmer, artisan and merchant, each have their respective rights, and are serving the country equally as human beings. Only by profession some give orders and others receive them, creating discriminations of high and low status between them. However, this kind of discrimination is harmful for enlightening the people, and especially, when we disclose such discrimination by our example and look down upon our own people disdainfully, we inflict disadvantages on our relations with foreigners. Better correct this undesirable habit quickly and not let foreigners look down contemptuously on our lower classes.

One of the difficult, realistic problems in this connection, was the problem of emancipating the special community. This item was taken up on the agenda of the Kōgishō. Various clan and other representatives submitted their views. Finally in 1871, the designation of eta and hinin was abolished. Previous to that, the Tosa clan published a notification in 1870 with the title “Reasons for the equality of all the people,” giving lengthy explanations that the four classes, samurai, farmer, artisan and merchant, only indicate differences of profession and not the high or low status of a person.

However, it was not easy immediately to cast off ancient class distinctions. For instance, the Seitaisho announced in 1868, stated: “The reason that no one except a prince, court noble and clan lord, shall be promoted to the highest posts is based on the theory of respect for status. Even clan vassals and common people are to eligible to as a position as second class high official according to the rules based on the theory of
respect for wisdom."

Class distinctions remained most conspicuously in the sphere of penalties imposed for violations of law. The idea of class discrimination in the criminal law had already been adopted in the Taihō Code based on the standard of the old Chinese criminal codes. Incorporated in both the Shinritsu Kōryō and the Kaitei Ritsurei, this discriminatory system ignored the principle of equality of all the people in the judicial field. After Restoration, the system of junkei, or reduced penalty, was applied to samurai who were convicted of crimes. For instance, the glossary for the Shinritsu Kōryō under the title "Five Regulation of Junkei, stated that, "In case a samurai commits a crime, in which the regular penalty is whipping, he shall be given domiciliary penitence; for the regular penalty of beating with sticks, confinement at home shall be applied; for penal servitude, prison confinement, and for exile, service as frontier guard; and for the death penalty, self-killing shall be applied. However, in case of such minor crimes burglary and gambling, for the regular penalty of whipping the deprivation of samurai status shall be applied, and for those crimes subject to heavier than penal servitude the regular penalty shall be applied in stead of quasi-penalty." Moreover, various discriminatory provisions were stipulated in the Penalty Reduction Law, and not only the samurai class, but peers, government officials and priests received special grace according to grade.

New Tendencies in Thought, Religion and Media of Communication

1. FORERUNNERS OF THE NEW LEARNING.

The doors of Japan were open for the new civilization to flow into the country in a gushing flood. However, was there a basis in the culture at that time to accept it, or was there any thread of continuity to introduce it to country? Fortunately, as one of the assets left by the period of the Tokugawa Shogunate
government, there existed men of learning suitable to introduce the new cultures a group of scholars who were later called Meiroku sha (men of the Sixth Year of Meiji). They included Nishi Amane, Tsuda Mamichi, Mori Yūrei, Katō Hiroyuki, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nishimura Shigeki and others, who once went to the Netherlands to study or who had immersed themselves in the study of Western science. They formed an academic society in the winter of 1873 (the sixth year of Meiji) and from February of the following year published the Meiroku Zasshi (Sixth Year of Meiji Magazine).

Before the national reopening, their studies had already covered new subjects such as philosophy, social science, pedagogy, logic, political science, chemistry and physical science. This new learning flowed into the country like the ripples of the long river, and dashed forward reclaiming the undeveloped lands of the conservative feudalistic society.

The new civilization concentrated in the Meiroku sha originally had its beginnings in the Tokugawa Bansho Torishira-besho (Tokugawa School of Western study). It went through various transformation from the Yōsho Torishirabejō to the Kaiseijō under the Shogunate government, and then after the Meiji Restoration, to Kaisei Gakkō, then Daigaku Nankō, and finally to Tokyo University. The courses stipulated in the school rules of the Kaiseijō under the Shogunate, included the Dutch language, French, German, English, mathematics, study of products, art painting, and chemistry. The roster of teachers suggested that men of ability had been gathered without discrimination as to whether one was a direct vassal of the Shogunate government or a clan vassal, and contained the names of Kawamoto Yukitami, Hori Tatsunosuke, Ichikawa Saikyū, Tsuda Shin’ichirō, Yanagawa Shunsan, Sugi Kyōji, Katō Hirōyuki, Irie Bunro, Kanda Kōhei, Ka Reinosuke, Tanaka Yoshio, Obata Tokujirō, Toyama Sutehachi, Uchida Yatarō, and others.

Furthermore, among the teachings of Shintoism and the Buddhism which had existed for a long period, were those belonging to the sphere of philosophy. Especially Confucianism,
introduced from China, was a doctrine explaining philosophical reasons and was called a science in China. In this country, Confucianism, Shintoism and Buddhism were thoroughly intermixed. But, before a coordinated theory of these developed, the already systematized Western philosophy entered this country, pressing the people to contemplate on new thinking, and become the central focus of philosophical study.

Among the students of Dutch knowledge, there were a few who in the Edo period already had some knowledge of western philosophy. Takano Chöei has written some comments on the history of Western philosophy in his notebook, and in his Bunken Manroku (Casual Records of Things Heard and Seen), he added a commentary by comparing citations from Western history since the days of Greece with Confucius teachings. However, those who studied philosophy as an independent subject were Nishi Amana, Tsuda Mamichi and others who were sent to the Netherlands by the Shogunate government and who studied under Professor Vissering, outside their major field, political science. While in the Netherlands, Tsuda commented to Nishi that, "You like the philosophic theory of Kant's school, but I like his practical philosophy." As a matter of course; Nishi Amane used such terms as philosophia, seiri-gaku and rigaku to indicate the word "philosophy" in his writings Bimyōgaku-setsu (Theory of Aesthetics) and Seisei Hatsu'un (Revelation on Life and Nature). He started to use word tetsugaku (philosophy) for the first time in the Hyakuichi Shinron (A Hundred and One New Discourses) published in 1874. Nishi's philosophy was originrllly applied philosophy and is said to have tended toward the utilitarianism of John Stuatr Mill. He intended to systematize a philosophic theory by following the classification of chi (wisdom), jō (sentiment) and i (volition). The philosophy of Tsuda Mamichi was closer to materialism and hence utilitarian. Welcomed back to Japan from Europe as leaders of the new intellectuality these men immediately became involved in government and did not have the opportunity to develop as academicians.
In contrast was Fukuzawa Yukichi, the famed founder of Keio Gijuku, predecessor of Keio University. Rather a preserver of many aspects of the new civilization than simply a philosopher; and introduced the Western knowledge of political science, economics, sociology and education into Japan. It is said that his theory was a kind of historical and cultural philosophy based on the ideas of Bentham and Mill. Since his works Gakumon no Susume (Exhortation towards Learning), published in 1872, and Bummeiron no Gairyaku (Outline of Civilization) contained theories advanced beyond the trends of the times, but sold several hundred thousand copies, it cannot be denied that they contributed greatly to the dissemination of the new learning and rendered a remarkable service in the elevation of the general public. Fukuzawa had as his objective first to emancipate each individual from the bondage of feudalistic traditions to an independent human being, then to achieve the independence of Japan as one of the states of the world, and ultimately to establish a culture unique to Japan.

In addition to these men of learning, there is Katō Hiroyuki, who went his own way. A student of Dutch knowledge, who had also studied German learning, although his special field was political science, he held a conviction even in 1868 that a constitutional political structure should be established. He wrote and published Rikken Seitai Ryaku (Outline of the Constitutional Political Structure) and with a post in the highest government academic institution assumed leadership of the academic world. Besides these individuals, there were countless others, such as Nishimura Shigeki who stressed the new moral teaching of the Kōdōkai (Broad Way Society), and Nakamura Masanao of the Dōjinsha (Comrades Society) who believed in enlightenment through scientific education.

Aspects of the new culture rising like a flood tide were reflected in the bills proposed in the Kōgishō. For instance, they included such subjects as permitting formation of commercial firms jointly with foreigners, abolition of sidearms
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except for government officials and soldiers, abolition of designation of eras and establishment of a monistic chronological era, and a host of others designed to bring Japan out of the feudal era.

2. THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF STUDY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

The Meiji government found that dispatching students abroad was the quickest way to introduce the civilizations of foreign countries into Japan. After establishment of the principle to encourage learning, the government enforced the Regulations forDispatching Students Abroad in 1870. In this, it was prescribed that students would be permitted to go abroad for study without discrimination as to high or low status. The government actually gave special encouragement to the sons of peers to go abroad.

When Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary Iwakura Tomomi and his suite visited Europe and America in 1872, many students accompanied the mission. They included clansmen, sons of court nobles, young boys such as Kaneko Kentarō, later a member of the Privy Council and Dan Takuma, later chairman of the board of directors of Mitsui Gōmei, and even several girls selected by the Commissioner of Hokkaidō Colonization. Because there was a great difference in the level of civilization between Japan and foreign countries, these boys and girls could not immediately begin study of any specific subject. Most of them had to study a general course first before proceeding to an advanced grade for special courses, but first of all, they had to master a foreign language. Both Kaneko and Dan entered the elementary course and gradually proceeded to the university course. On their departure from Japan, the Lord of Chikuzen clan encouraged them, "I shall provide you with funds for study until you master any single special subject, however many years it requires." Yamazawa

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Kenjirō, a vassal of the Aizu clan who later became president of Tokyo Imperial University, was already studying at Yale University at that time. It is said that about two hundred Japanese students were studying under both governmental and private auspices in the United States.

3. REFORM OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Reform of the educational system was a powerful factor in the development of Meiji culture. Confucian learning, which had been the major educational influence during the Shogunate, had already lost popularity. Gradually, Western learning became dominant among the fields of education in the Meiji Era. The old educational system based on discrimination by profession or social status was abolished, and a new educational system was established, on the principle that there should be no family with an illiterate member and no village with an illiterate home. In Tokugawa days, only education and attainments befitting one's social standing were allowed. For samurai, education appropriate for that class was provided for. Education suitable for business was given to merchants, and knowledge required for agriculture to farmers. After the Restoration, with the mixing of the four classes, equality of opportunity of education for all the people was realized.

In the closing days of the Tokugawa regime, educational institutions were centered around Kyoto and Edo. The leading ones were the Gakushūin of Kyoto and the Shōheikō of Edo, as well as the Kaiseijō and the Igakkō, also in Edo. The schools of these two capitals had a different spirit and tradition due to the distinctive character of the localities, and of course, differences existed regarding the content of the courses of study. Because education in these schools was based on Confucian learning and the native literature, there arose the question of how to incorporate Western learning.

In the beginning when the new administration was still in
process of completion, educational policies for Kyoto and Edo were not considered together. On April 4, 1868, the Gakushūin in Kyoto was rehabilitated and reopened, its name changed on May 7 to Daigaku Ryōdai. Originally the Gakushūin had been established by Emperor Ninkō as an educational institution for court nobles and aimed at developing men with a Japanese spirit and Chinese talent. The curriculum consisted mainly of Chinese literature. After the Restoration, and especially because of the local character of Kyoto, Chinese learning only was considered insufficient, and two institutions, the Kōgakusho, stressing Japanese studies, and the Kangakusho, emphasizing Chinese studies, were established on October 30. While the Kangakusho was promptly opened, the inauguration of the Kōgakusho was delayed. Later there appeared a project to establish Kyoto University and therefore the two institutions were abolished. Kyoto University itself too was suspended in December, 1869, due to the removal of the Imperial seat from Kyoto to Tokyo.

In Edo, after the delivery of educational institutions from the Tokugawa Shogunate to the new regime, the Shōheikō resumed its academic activities under the new name of Shōhei Gakkō. Later on August 14, 1869, the government changed the name of the Igakusho to Igakkō. Further, on October 27, 1868, the Kaiseijo, which was the center of Western learning in feudal days, was redesignated the Kaisei Gakkō. In July, the Shōhei Gakkō was transformed into a university with three branches, Kaisei, Heigaku and Igaku.

In February that year, the admission of samurai and common people to the Shōhei Gakkō and Kaisei Gakkō was permitted. Further, schools under government management were established in local districts. The government also established local institutions in the fields of medicine and chemistry, such as the Kounkan of Nagasaki, the Osaka Chemical Bureau, and the Osaka Institute of Western Knowledge.

In the clans as well, attention was focussed on extending
opportunity for education to all the people, of whatever social strata, based on ability. Several clans also stressed the importance of Western learning and either established new schools incorporating such learning or added it to the curricula of existing schools. Some clans even invited westerners to serve primarily as language teachers.

Private schools were also established, mostly in Tokyo Prefecture, for the specific study of Western Science. Among them were the Keiō Gijuku of Fukuzawa Yukichi, the Eigakushō of Naruto Yoshitami, the Kaiyūsha of Yamamoto Shūchō. In Kanagawa Prefecture, there was the Ranshadō of Takashima Kaemon; and in Gumma, the Nissei Gakusha of Shidara Temboku.

While the government not only incorporated the new Western knowledge in curricula, it also endeavored to renovate the educational system itself. With the abolition of the clans and the establishment of prefectures in 1871, thereby destroying the feudal local authorities, it became possible to enforce a new educational system uniformly all over the country. Thus on September 5, 1872, the new educational system was inaugurated. The general plan provided for a school district system according to which the country was to be divided into eight university districts, 256 secondary education districts, and 53, 769 elementary school districts.

4. RELIGIONS AFFAIRS

Since a religion controls the spiritual life of men and leads them from their innermost heart, its sudden transformation is generally believed difficult. However, as the changes of the Meiji Restoration were carried out amidst the beginnings of the revival of the ancient regime and a new administration, and because there was a strong political coloration in every aspect of life, religions also were subject to political influences. An uneasy time for people, with emphasis on eliminating old evil
habits, the Meiji Era also introduced a refreshing air into the religious world. However, what can be considered as contributing to the fundamental growth of religion had been the infiltration of philosophical thought into religion. The desire of the people for beauty did not lead them towards the cultivation of creative arts, but was pursued in the contemplative and introspective sphere. Both Buddhism and Christianity had provided only a slight cultural impetus. Although Western music was to be found in the Christian world, Buddhism did not go beyond chorus chanting of invocations by old women as before. However, it is worth noting that religions in these days contributed a great deal to the field of social work.

There is no doubt that religious movements in the beginning of the Meiji Era were affected left and right by political maneuvers, but at the same, the religions themselves took advantage of political moves. The most significant example was the effort to integrate religion and state administration. The religion mobilized for this movement was Shintoism, which had been continuing ideological activities of a political character since the previous era. This integration of religion and state was a concrete expression of the realization of the new administration called the Restoration of the Ancient Imperial Regime. In 1868, the establishment of the Shinto Section, and on April 6, the Emperor’s pledging of the Charter Oath before the gods clarified the political significance of the principle of theocracy. On June 11, the Department of Shinto was reinstated, and on the occasion of an Imperial visit to Osaka for the subjugation of the Tokugawa family, a war-god was enshrined in the South Hall of the Imperial Palace. On November 30 of the same year, upon the transfer of the national capital and the Emperor’s arrival in Edo, an Imperial Rescript designated the Hikawa Shrine, the largest shrine in Musashi Province, to be the tutelary shrine of the province, and a grand state ceremony of the integration of shrine and state was held by an Imperial visit to the shrine. On August 5 of the following year, 1869,
the Emperor visited the Department of Shinto to report to the Imperial ancestors the establishment of the national polity.

While these facts explain the character of Meiji culture for a modern understanding of the classics, at the same time they were manifestations of the Shinto ethics and constituted an aspect of the manipulation of ideology for political ends. In these moves there was a historical repetition of Emperor Jimmu's holding of a memorial service for the Imperial ancestors on Mount Torimi. The character of the moral basis of the new administration was suggested by these memorial services at Imperial mausolea. Two divisions, shrine service and mausoleum service, were added to the organizational system of the Department of Shinto, and the caretaker of Imperial mausolea was reinstated and attached to the department. Because Shinto funerals and other rites were officially acknowledged, and the separation of Shintoism and Buddhism at Imperial mausolea was enforced, the repair of Imperial mausolea had a new significance from the standpoint of the new government which hoisted the banner of uniting the country by moral promotion and placing the basis of its administration on ethics, although an attitude to stay away from and to abhor tombs still strongly remained among some people at that time.

On this principle, shrines were newly established or rehabilitated. For example, the Shiramine Shrine, in which Emperor Sutoku is enshrined, were begun in the preceding era and completed in this, with the objective of consoling the spirit of the Emperor who was a victim of the samurai government. In the Minase Shrine, Emperors Gotoba, Tsuchimikato and Juntoku, are enshrined; and in the Akama Shrine, Emperor Antoku is enshrined. These shrines have historical significance in that these Emperors were looked upon as victims of the samurai government. To designate respect and affection towards the Southern Court, which historically signified the revival of the Ancient Imperial Regime, the construction of the Minatogawa Shrine in memory of Kusunoki Masashige, patriotic hero
of the Southern Court, was planned toward the end of the Shogunate government; and from the same idea came the construction of the Kamakura Shrine in memory of Prince Morinaga, the Iidani Shrine in memory of Prince Munenaga, the Fujishima Shrine in memory of Nitta, Yoshisada and a little later, the Yashiro Shrine, the Yūki Shrine, the Nawa Shrine, the Abeno Shrine and the Reizan Shrine. Shrines to signify the downfall of the Shogunate government and repudiation of the samurai regime included the Toyokuni Shrine, the Kenkun Shrine, and the Yasukuni Shrine. Shrines constructed in response to the desires of the local people were the Hōei Shrine (Yamaguchi), Sapporo Shrine (Hokkaidō), Terukuni Shrine (Kagoshima), Tokiwa Shrine (Mito), Bizan Shrine (Kanazawa). Besides these, there was the creation of a system of special government shrines.

In order to mobilize Shintoism for political ideological control, the new government found it necessary to maintain the purity of Shintoism. It therefore banned on April 9, 1868, the participation of Buddhist priests in Shinto shrines and enforced the segregation of Shintoism and Buddhism. On May 11 of the following year, the government decided to allow Shinto priests, including their dependents, to perform ritual services in shrines. The process of segregation of Shintoism and Buddhism continued from the days of the Shinto Office through the Department of Shinto, the Shinto Ministry, to the Department of Religion and Education, and extended almost all over the country. However, as a consequence, it led to a movement among the people to abandon and destroy things relating to Buddhism despite governmental efforts to prevent this. The move spread over the country and created conflicts, as a result of which many old and noted temples were demolished and valuable cultural properties stored in temples were destroyed.

It was a great tragedy that Buddhism, which had guided the spiritual life of the people for over one thousand years, was about to be torn down as if blown down by a night’s gale.
While Buddhist priests did nothing but to look on with folded arms, others courageously fought to protect the religion, among them priest Shaku Unshō. Some Buddhist followers also stood up to resist the pressure, such as adherents of the Ikko-shu Sect in Ōhama, Mikawa Province, in 1871, natives in a large district in Echigo Province who staged an uprising, and the believers of the Ikkō-shū Sect in Ōno-gun, Imadate-gun and Sakai-gun of Echizen Province, who resisted.

The activities of the government in religious education may be considered from three aspects: the attempt to unify thought, the thorough diffusion of the understanding of the principles of the new administration, and the prohibition of Christianity. Especially because the new government had succeeded the Tokugawa Shogunate which had failed in diplomatic problems, the government keenly felt the necessity of propagating Shintoism to carry out the ban on Christianity, which had been a diplomatic issue. In April, 1869, the government first established the Edification and Guidance Bureau within the Dajōkan. In June the same year, after establishing the unity of state and religion and reinstating the Imperial Way indigenous to this country emphasizing to the people their obligation to the country, the government circulated an inquiry among court nobles, clan lords and officials on measures to protect people from being led astray by foreign temptation. On August 15, the government established the Senkyōshi (Shinto propagators) and announced the principle of proclaiming the "Great Religion." On February 3, 1870, the government held a ceremony initiating the lectures to be given by the Senkyōshi, by performing an austere ritual in the Department of Shintō, and further consolidated its basis by the issuance of an Imperial Rescript proclaiming the "great Religion." On the 14th of the same month, the Emperor visited the Department of Shinto and held the solemn rite of worshipping the Eight Gods, heavenly gods and earthly deities, and the souls of Imperial ancestors. The activities of the Senkyōshi were then begun on a full scale basis.
As early as April of that year, the government dispatched Motoori Toyohide, Assistant Religious Propagation Commissioner, to Nagasaki, the stronghold of Christianity, and assigned him to propagate actively Shintoism. It instructed various clans to establish a religious propagation agency in their clan governments and to give religious instruction to the people. On April 21, 1872, on the occasion of the transformation of the Department of Shinto into the Department of Religion and Education, the government abolished the Religious Propagation Commissioner and established Kyōdo-shoku (edification and guidance officers) to which posts both Shinto and Buddhist priests were appointed without salary to secure effective propagation of the "Great Religion." Through these efforts Shintoism became endowed with the character of a religion.

It is noteworthy that the new government, which stood for change, continued the suppression of Christianity. The day after the proclamation of the Charter Oath, the new government abolished the notice board established by the Shogunate government, and in its place set up a notice board of new policies, in which the evil Christian faith was publicly banned as in the past.

Diplomatic representatives of foreign countries protested the branding of Christianity as an evil faith, for it was a great insult to countries which believed in Christianity, and they requested the withdrawal of the prohibition. The government defended itself by explaining that it was a misrepresentation on the notice board, and that the government did not consider Christianity an evil faith. Although the government amended the notice to "prohibit two religions, Christianity and evil faiths," it refused to withdraw the prohibition against Christianity on grounds that the domestic situation made it impossible. Thus the treatment of Christianity became a live diplomatic issue.

Just at that time arose the problem of the arrest of Christians in the Urakami district of Nagasaki. From the past Christian influence had been dominant in Kyūshū. At one time, it seemed to have waned due to the strong suppression
of the Tokugawa government, but with the frequent visits of foreigners after reopening, Christianity regained its influence and grew stronger, particularly as a result of the strenuous activities of French missionary priests in Urakami in defiance of the prohibition causing dissensions with non-Christians. In 1867 the Shogunate government had resolutely arrested the Christians of Urakami but had provoked such strong protests from foreign countries that it was forced to release them. But in 1868, the Nagasaki District Court arrested them again upon finding them engaged in undesirable activities. In June that year, the new central government dispatched Kido Takayoshi to Nagasaki and scattered the Christians by exiling them to separate clans as an educational admonishment. Foreign countries again filed stern protests and requested their release. Although the government explained that dispersion was not a severe measure and made the excuse that it was necessary to avoid disputes with people of other religious faiths, it could not secure the assent of the foreign countries which pressed for liberating the Christians and the withdrawal of the prohibition against Christianity. When government envoy Iwakura Tomomi and his suite visited Europe and America in 1872, they were greeted with the same reproach against the ban wherever they went. In March, 1873, government finally withdrew the notice board and then released those Christians exiled in various clans and returned them to their native villages. However, these actions of the government did not mean abandonment of the policy to prohibit Christianity, but merely reluctant tacit approval. Only when the Meiji Constitution was promulgated on February 11, 1889, did the government formally admit Christianity.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

The Edo Shogunate government enforced strong control over political comments, and when any publication was found to
be violating the law, not only the author but the publisher was punished, and the printing blocks confiscated and burned. Seikyō Yoroku (Important Memorandum of the Holy Church) by Yamaga Sokō, Daigaku Wakumon (The Great Learning) by Kumazawa Banzan, Ryūshi Shinron (Military Views on the Defense of a Maritime Nation) by Hayashi Shihei met this fate. A saying by Matsudaira Sadanobu, "A wise man should have a mind to worry about state affairs, but he should not have words to worry about state affairs," well expresses the principle of control over speech by the Shogunate government. Even without any relationship to political comments, the publication and distribution of writings liable to corrupt public morals or to stimulate lascivious vice, as well as to disclose secret affairs of the government even in a metaphorical way through an old story, were subject to stern punishment. However, a statement in the notification of the publication of the Dajōkan Nisshi (Council of State Daily Bulletin) circulated by the government on April 5, 1868, read, "... by His Majesty's honorable consideration all the people, without discrimination as to high or low status, should be informed of the great course of the Imperial administration, and thereby be able to perform appropriate actions for the furtherance of Imperial Rule towards the directed course..." This statement suggested a new principle in dealing with speech. The emergence of newspapers and magazines was an epoch-making cultural phenomenon in the early years of the Meiji Era. This development greatly influenced the new cluture which had begun to blossom.

Even in Tokugawa days, there was a publication resembling a newspaper called Yomiuri no Kawaraban which supplied news information to the general public. The Oranda Fusetshō (News Report on Dutch Affairs) presented to the Shogunate government by the head of the Dutch firm in Nagasaki was the only source like a newspaper for obtaining overseas information.

After national reopening, the statesmen of the Shogunate
government began to feel a keen need to provide information about the unavoidable circumstances in the world situation which had necessitated national reopening. Patriots were also eager to acquire knowledge of the current situation in foreign countries. Under these circumstances, the professors of the Banshōshirabejō, the office for the study of barbarian writings, began to put into effect their long-held plan to print and publish translations of foreign newspapers. Called the Kampan Batabiya Shimbun (Batavia News), this is said to be the first newspaper ever published in Japan. Appearing in 1862, about ninety years ago, the emergence of the Japanese newspaper may be dated from this time.

Scholars of Western knowledge, who edited and published this translated newspaper, later established a newspaper publishing organ called Kaitakusha and published a newspaper of translated news. This continued from 1863 to 1865 in an off-and-on way. Together with this publication, several foreign language newspapers were also published. The development of the modern newspaper in Japan owes much to these foreign newspapers. In 1861, to the inauguration of the Batabiya Shimbun, the Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser was published; it later became the Japan Herald, and was followed by the Japan Express, Japan Commercial New and Japan Times.

These newspapers were essentially translation of governmental publications of foreign language news. Kaigai Shimbun (Overseas news) published in 1865 in Yokohama by Hamada Hikozō was the first private Japanese language newspaper to be published in Japan. Yokohama Shimpo-Moshio Gusa (Yokohama News) inaugurated in 1869, was edited by Kishida Ginzō, who had returned from Shanghai the previous year. It should be noted that diplomatic missions dispatched by the Shogunate government were already aware of the beneficial effects of newspapers in the various countries of Europe and America.

The period of transition from Keiō to Meiji was the cradle
period of the growth of modern newspapers in Japan. In 1868, when the name of the chronological era was changed to Meiji, there were approximately thirty newspapers, including *Chūgai Shim bun*, *Yokohama Shimpō-Moshio Gusa*, *Naigai Shimpō*, *Koshi Zappō*, *Enkin Shim bun*, *Kairiku Shim bun*, *NICHINICHI Shim bun*, *Shimbun Jiryaku* and *Soyofuku Kaze*.

The *Chūgai Shim bun*, published by Yanagawa Shunzō of the former *Kaiyakusha* is said to be the originator of the newspaper and magazine in Japan; it had the closest similarity to a newspaper and was a well organized one. Fukuchi Gen'ichirō (pen name Fukuchi Kōji) was in charge of editing the *Kōko Shim bun*, known for its political commentaries. However, in its sixteenth issue, a commentary written by Fukuchi attacking the new government, invited governmental displeasure; and the writer was thrown into prison the printing blocks confiscated, and publication of the newspaper suspended. Probably because many writers and editors of private newspapers were formerly connected with the old Shogunate government, the newspapers had a tendency of being critical of the new government. To deal with this, the government promulgated a newspaper control regulation which almost prohibited the publication of any newspaper directly after the *Kōko Shim bun* case. As a result, almost all newspapers, except the *Yokohama Shimpō*, *Moshio Gusa* and *Naigai Shim bun* of Osaka, were subject to disapproval or had to give up publication. The Meiji Government, after thus getting rid of private newspapers of pro-Shogunate sympathies, had the *Dajōkan Nisshi* (Colinet Bulletin) and *Chinshofu Nisshi* (Bulletin of the Pacification Commander's Office) serve as newspapers, although they were obviously government-controlled.

However, the people, especially the intellectuals who had once experienced the important benefits of the press, were not satisfied without free and impartial newspapers. The government, since it had pledged democratic freedom and respect for freedom of speech on its establishment, could not ignore their demands. Therefore, in March 1869, the government softened its control
by enforcing the Newspaper Publication Ordinance, and four newspapers, including the Chūgaku Shim bun of Yanagawa Shunzō, resumed publication with government approval. Following them, the Meiji Shim bun and several other new newspapers made their debut. Their publication was, however, irregular. But within a few years, the major cities in Japan all had one or more newspapers; and beginning in 1869, publication of newspapers was also started in local districts.

In this way, the publication of newspapers spread all over the country. However, the news presented consisted mostly of daily events with extremely few political commentaries. The only exception was the Kōko Shim bun under the management of Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, in which, for example, in reporting the battles fought between the Imperial Army and the Shogunate Army in the Kantō district, Fukuchi encouraged the samurai of the Shogunate government who lived primarily in the Kantō district, by writing up the defeats of the Shogunate Army as if they were winning the war.

Infiltration of the New Civilization into Popular Life.

Although the country was reopened for foreign intercourse, it did not mean a sudden change in the people's way of living and testes. The only difference was that, during the days of isolation, those who had wanted things Dutch could not satisfy their desire openly, and those who did, did so in secrecy, or at least in a conservative way. But now no prudence was necessary. In addition, utility defeated conventionalism, and Western civilization infiltrated into the daily life of the people. In concert with the slogan Bummei Kaika (civilization and enlightenment), the manners and customs of the people slowly became westernized.
1. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

After the country was reopened, cropped hair became conspicuously popular. Among the popular town songs of that time, there was one which went, "When you knock on a semi-knotted head, it rumbles conservative and stop-gap. When you knock on a bushy-haired head, it sounds like Restoration of Imperial Rule. When you knock on a head with cropped-hair, it sounds like civilization and enlightenment."

In September 1871, the government issued a notification that any one might cut his hair at liberty, and barber shops came into existence in Tokyo and Yokohama. Various prefectures issued instructions ordering haircuts for all males. Short hair for men became prevalent, and even women began to cut their hair, but this style for women did not win popular favor. Tokyo Prefecture even issued an instruction prohibiting women from cutting their hair.

Because building construction became westernized, household furniture, tools, implements, and daily utensils were also inevitably westernized. Desks and chairs were installed in government offices. In 1871, the fourteenth issue of the Shim bun Zasshi announced that, "Recently, officials of the prefectural government are performing routine official duties by sitting on chairs." As home utensils, cups and glass-made nursing bottles were apparently in use. Oil lamps were used by curiosity-seekers before the Meiji Restoration, and around 1870, a Matsumoto Jūtarō of Osaka started selling oil lamps. Besides, European candles and spills were used. Safes were also introduced, and in 1869, a Takeuchi Genbei of Kanagawa Prefecture manufactured and sold strongboxes under the name dorubako. Occasionally, men carrying umbrellas were seen on the streets. In 1871, a mechanical fire-fighting pump was used to quench a fire which had broken out in Asakusa, Tokyo.

Western culture also infiltrated into the field of architecture.
Already before the Meiji Restoration, the Enryōkan mansion, called the “stone house” of Hama Goten Edo, was of Western architecture. The Tsukiji Hotel, designed by Shimizu Kisuke, was completed in 1868. At that time, this building invited such public curiosity that it was even taken up as a subject for nishikie, printed on wood-black and sold widely. To explain this hotel of Western architecture, it is interesting that the terminology of old-style architecture was used. There were other buildings constructed in the Western style. The Yokohama customs house built in the spring of 1870 was a Western style two-storied stone structure. The Kawase Kaisha (exchange company) and a business firm built in the summer of the same year in Yokohama were both two-storied Western style buildings, as was the Kawase-Za (exchange association) constructed in Tokyo in July 1872. The utilisers of these aspects of the new civilization were limited to those in a special position or status, or those with wealth.

The influence of Western culture upon food habits is more readily to be found in the diffusion of Western cuisine. Western dishes were already available in such trading ports as Yokohama and Nagasaki before the Meiji Restoration. After national reopening, a restaurant called Kaiyōtei was inaugurated in 1871 at Komagata Daichi. In 1872, a small pamphlet in two volumes entitled Seiyō Ryōri Tsū (A Western Cookbook), edited by Kanagaki Robun, was published. In the following year, such restaurants as Seiyōken (Unemetchō), Nisshintei (Tsukiji), Kaiyōtei (Kayabachō) opened their doors. However, there was a considerable difficulty in obtaining beef, an essential ingredient in Western cooking. Because people had a habit of detesting beef from the days of the Shogunate, the slaughtering of cattle and fowl was exclusively handled by a special class of people. It is said that the foreign residents in Yokohama depended upon a supply of beef from imports from distant countries. At that time, people believed that slaughtering of cows would pollute the village, and almost no one would agree.
to rent his land as a slaughtering place. If land were borrowed for slaughtering, it was usually performed by erecting four green bamboo poles, attaching sacred ropes and cut-paper pendants, for purification against pollution.

As for wearing apparel, the new civilization was represented by Western style dress. In 1861, there had been a notification issued by the Shogunate government that, “Notwithstanding that an instruction was previously issued by the Shogunate government prohibiting the wearing of strange tight-sleeved clothes and peculiar head-gear, it is reported that there are some people secretly wearing them,” but “no one should misunderstand the instruction.” Although special approval to wear tight-sleeved clothes was given to those in special professions which particularly required tight sleeves, such as the crews of warships and large vessels, or people under military training, there were issued limitations on the place where tight-sleeves might be worn, precautions that clothes should not be tailored so as to be liable to be confused with the dress of foreigners. These tight-sleeved clothes spanned a bridge for Western style dress to follow.

Thus changes in the manners and customs of the society, including the change in military uniforms, influenced the clothing of the Japanese, and in the fall of 1871, there appeared a commentary on the mode of dress of some people, which read “Strange and funny are the styles of the people in Western attire. Prussian hats on their heads, French shoes, the tight-sleeves of the British Navy, and the tight-fitting trousers imitating the full-dress trousers of the American Army. The undergarments of women coil about the body, and the raincoat from China hangs down below the knees.” In addition, it was recorded that mantles, cloaks, mufflers, invernesses, and handkerchiefs were in use by some people. The government could do nothing against this trend and practical utility, and in December, 1872, the Meiji government issued a cabinet notification, abolishing the old ceremonial dress regulations for court
nobles and *samurai*, and adopted regulations prescribing full-dress court uniforms and ordinary court uniforms. Tailor shops began to appear, and in the advertisement of the Tokyo Branch of a Yokohama stove, established in 1871, there appeared the statement, the making of clothing of mixed combinations and simulation of styles of various Western countries are not the fault of the customers. They are probably the productions of uniformed old Chinese clothes dealers or of tailors who were once pouch-makers. We have invited a Western tailoring expert and are able to produce the best tailored suits of woolen cloth and of flannel, and so forth and are also importing the finest Western masterpieces ever introduced to the Japanese people..."

2. THE RAILWAYS AND THE POSTAL SERVICE

Traveling in the Edo Period was under the strict supervision of highway magistrates. Even to visit a neighboring village, especially if located within another clan domain, a complicated procedure for ingress and egress was required. In July, 1868 the checking stations and guard boxes installed along the highways were abolished. In March of the following year, the main checking stations on the major highways, including that of Hakone, were abolished.

The system of town message carriers which had previously been under private enterprise, was reformed into a new postal service system in March 1871. The postal service officer was established, and from May that year, transportation of mail gradually became a government enterprise, and in May 1873 the private message carriers system was totally abolished. Postal service lines were broadened, and government bulletins, newspapers, documents and sales samples were treated as mail, and the system was disseminated all over the country. Postal charges were much lower than in the days of old Shogunate government. The increase in post offices is recorded as follows: 180 post offices in 1871, 1060 in 1872, 1501 in 1873, and 3245
in 1874. The number of post offices in 1875 classified by grade were: eight first class post offices, sixty second-class post offices, 59 third class post offices, 204 fourth class post offices, and 2914 classless post offices.

With respect to the development of railways, which had close relations with traffic, the construction of a railroad between Tokyo and Yokohama, started in March 1870, was completed in October 1872. In May 1874, a railway service between Osaka and Kōbe was inaugurated, and in November, 1881, a railroad was put into service between Temiya and Sapporo. Other railroads were also under construction.

Section 3. Collision of Old and New Ideas.

During those twenty-odd turbulent years at the end of the Shogunate government, anti-foreignism was the main current of thought. Patriots, who desired to die for the country in the days of the Restoration, had blind confidence in anti-foreignism as the best way to serve the nation. However, after the policy to reopen the country had been decided, foreigners, upon whom they had looked down as of low status and with whom they hated to associate, were now admitted to the Imperial Palace and received in audience by the Emperor at a very short distance. It was an utterly unheard of situation.

Upon hearing the government decision to reopen the country, Tamamatsu Misao, said to be the trusted henchman of Iwakura Tomomi, stopped visiting him, saying “I was betrayed by the hero.” Not only Tamamatsu, but many others had the same feeling, and controversies between the advocates of reopening the country and the advocates of anti-foreignism intensified.

In February 1868, clan soldiers of the Bizen clan clashed with Englishmen in Hyōgo. In March that year, clan soldiers of the Tosa clan shot to death a French soldier who by chance had landed at Sakai-ura Beach, and Minoura Motoaki and other Tosa samurai committed suicide at Myōkokuji Temple to assume responsibility for the incident. On March 21 of the same year, on the occasion of the visit of the British, American, French
and Dutch Ministers to the Imperial Palace, the patriots Saegusa Shigeru and Sujaku Misao attacked British Minister Sir Harry S. Parkes. In February 1869, patriots from Totsugawa district waylaid Councillor Yokoi Shōnan who was coming out of the Imperial Court, through the Teramachi Gate, Kyoto, and assassinated him. The reason was that Shōnan believed in Catholicism and was propagating the new religion. In August that year, clan soldiers of the Chōshū clan attacked Ōmura Masujirō, the Minister of Military Affairs, at Sanjō Kiyamachi, Kyoto; Ōmura died after being admitted to the Osaka Hospital. The attack occurred because the assassins opposed his rumoured program to reform the Japanese military system along Western lines. In the spring of 1870, an uprising of soldiers who had deserted the Chōshū clan broke out. This was also an action to protest the clan’s reform of the military system. Oraku Gentarō, the ring-leader, was later assassinated by his comrades of the Kurume clan on the banks of the Chikugo River, but he had confidence until his death that the days of prosperity for anti-foreignism would return. Because the government’s decision to reopen the country was made suddenly, it was not thoroughly understood by the people. However, no one could resist the current of the time, and those who had a firm confidence in anti-foreignism had to suffer a sad plight, and the unrest continued until the outbreak of the Disturbance of Jimpuren in Kumamoto in October, 1876.

The Establishment of Modern Industries.

1. THE TRANSITION FROM A FEUDAL TO MODERN INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

The major purpose of Meiji economic history is to analyze how the modern industrial economy of this country under European and American influence was consolidated. Since its process is very complicated, we shall limit ourselves here to general observations.
THE BEGINNINGS OF MEIJI CULTURE

The modern industrial economy mentioned here refers to industry by modern mechanized techniques, and the capitalistic economy centering upon this industry. A modern industrial economy as this was an inevitable conclusion to the arrival of Commodore Perry. It came into existence with the social reformation, urged by the national reopening or the Meiji Restoration, as its basis. The new government adopted the principle of supplementing shortcomings by taking in the strong points of others and carried out state policies to enrich national wealth and military strength and to push industrial promotion, civilization and enlightenment, by importing and transplanting the new productive methods and economic systems of Western European advanced countries.

Therefore, although the strong color of Europeanization was found in the industrial and economic measures in the early Meiji years, it was by no means a transplanting of novel things on an utterly empty soil. The stages of the development of the modern industrial economy from the Meiji Restoration until today can be divided approximately as follows. The first period from 1868 to 1879 involved change of the feudal economy and the beginnings of the modern industrial economy. The second period from 1880 to 1893 was one of conversion of industrial policy and readjustment of banking and finance. The third period from 1894 to 1903 showed the first remarkable advance of modern industrial economy. The fourth period from 1904 to 1913 covered the second remarkable advance of the modern industrial economy. The fifth period from 1914 to 1919 represented the third remarkable advance of the modern industrial economy. The sixth period from 1920 to 1932 is one of reactionary depression and panic. The seventh period of controlled and wartime economy dates from 1933 to 1945, and the eighth period from 1945 to date is the period of post-war economic rehabilitation.

The constructive periods were the first and second when the foundations of the modern industrial economy were laid. In
the third period, modern mechanized production in light industry was established, and in the fourth and fifth periods modern mechanized production was established in the heavy and chemical industries. The next period saw the establishment of the precision machine and machine tool industries. Although the Meiji Era has been treated as one of economic consolidation, it was a period when the industrial economy of Japan got on the proper road to modern capitalism. After the Meiji Era, the influence of advanced countries of Europe and America became partial and supplementary rather than complete.

The establishment of the modern industry and economy found its turning point in the Meiji Restoration, but it would seem unnecessary to point out that it was not realized without any preceding background. To investigate such previous history, the definition of a period to start with might become a question; we shall here begin with the Edo Period, because it is believed that a phenomenon, which can be called a bud of modern capitalism, appeared for the first time in Edo society.

Although the structure of the politics, society and economy in the Edo Period was feudal, the background of the modern economy was developing in this period. This background included the gradual growth of capitalistic elements, with the development of a trading economy and circulation of currency brought about by the remarkable progress of productive power, or speaking of phenomena, of the development of traffic, cities and commerce. A conspicuous characteristic in this growth of capitalistic elements which made it so far behind and distorted, when compared with those of Western countries, lay in the effects of national isolation for approximately two hundred and twenty years during the Edo Period. Leaving its impact even after the Meiji Restoration, national isolation adversely affected the process of building modern industry and economy, and was thus an extremely disadvantageous policy for the country.

At any rate, even during this period of isolation, feudal economic relations were collapsing on the one hand, and the
elements of a modern economy were growing on the other. Because contact with the advanced Western economy was strictly restricted, the dissolution of feudal economic relations was extremely slow. At the same time, modernization was also slow and distorted, in contrast with the spectacular progress of modern economic systems in the Western countries.

In a feudal society the principle of the agricultural economy is self-supply and self-sufficiency. From the preceding era into the Edo period, however, self-sufficiency gradually began to disappear. The production of agricultural products for sale, exchange of merchandise, and circulation of currency gradually came into existence. These circumstances naturally gave birth to business capital, so that a type of capital had already started infiltrating into rural communities. Besides, as under any feudal system, a system of serfdom had existed, but it was also in process of collapse. The system of tenant farmers, servants under indenture, or employment of seasonal and day laborers by land-owners to till the land can be considered as manifestations of a growing modern economy.

In the field of industry, a self-sufficient manual industry of farmers, a feudal form of production, as well as manual industries in a guild system, was widely in practice. Out of these, however, the type of management called early stage capitalism emerged and gradually led to the development of the cottage industry and factory systems.

In addition, foreign vessels made frequent visits to this country, and along with the beginning of political and economic negotiations between the Western capitalistic countries and feudal Japan, accompanied by military pressure, the Shogunate government, as well as such clan governments as the Saga, the Kagoshima, and the Mito, were driven to prepare promptly for modern defenses, and out of necessity imported Western mechanized production methods and began factory production, especially in armaments.

A new form of development was also found in the field of
commerce. The za (guild) system in the Kamakura, Muromachi, and Azuchi-Momoyama periods, were mostly associations of craftsmen, though there were some which were monopolistic associations of merchants. Although these associations still remained in the Edo Period, stock-holding associations of merchants who played the role of middlemen in domestic trade made a significant development. In addition to the then existing commerce based on castle towns of local districts, the sphere of commercial activities gradually expanded to large and small cities. The city of Edo especially grew into the largest city in the Japanese world of that time with a population of over one million. It became a great center of consumption, accelerated by the sankin-kōtai system. With this city as its center, commerce developed on a nation-wide scale. The development of trade invited the establishment of a system of credit transactions. As a result, merchants who began to finance the Shogunate government and clan lords accumulated wealth, especially in Edo, Osaka and Kyoto. Many daimyō borrowed money from wealthy merchants so that merchants gripped control of the greater portion of clan products, as redemption of principal and interest on loans. It was said that Gamou Kumpei once commented, “Once the wealthy merchants of Osaka get angry, clan lords in the realm shudder.” This phenomenon of the expansion of monetary power based on the development of commerce was certainly disturbing to a feudal society. However, commercial activities were confined to the domestic market due to the policy of isolation and extremely restricted foreign trade. There was no active development of foreign trade capital, a fact which greatly retarded the development of modern industry.

The monetary system also underwent an epoch-making development during the Edo Period when a unified monetary system was established for the first time. From the early period there were three kinds of coins, i.e., gold silver and sen (copper, iron and brass were used for sen). Besides, issuance of a type of paper currency called hansatsu (clan notes), circulation of which
was limited within a clan domain, was initiated from the middle of the early Edo period and gradually increased. In the later feudal period, almost all the clans were issuing *hansatsu* for circulation. Moreover, they were issued in abundance as inconvertible notes, and inflation occurred in many clans. Hard currency had also been frequently recast since the Genroku Era. Although the currency system of that time was not so completely integrated as after the Meiji Restoration, a certain fixed type of currency was used for the first time on a nationwide scale from this period on. This phenomenon reveals that the economy was changing from one based on an area to the nation as a whole.

Lastly, what were the economic conditions of the Shogunate government, clan governments and the general *samurai* class? The Shogunate government and various clans gradually got into financial stringencies and came into an almost catastrophic situation in the latter part of the feudal age. Various measures such as reclamation of new paddy fields, tax increases, increases in the issuance of *hansatsu*, enforcement of an austerity policy, among others, were adopted. What is noteworthy was the adoption of a policy of monopolistic sales, designed to meet the gradual advance of a merchandise economy and currency circulation. This policy aimed to corner the products within a clan domain and bring them to market for sale for profits for the clan governments. Actually it revealed a process by which feudal lords were turning into merchants.

The hardship of the ordinary *samurai* class was especially great, for they depended for their source of income principally on the tax tributes from agricultural districts. This income was stationary and almost unchangeable. While the majority of *samurai* were forced to live in urban districts in the Edo Period, some had to maintain two residences because of the *sankin-Kōtei* system. To lead an urban life by depending on an agricultural district is itself a contradiction, and *samurai*, almost without exception, were in difficult economic straits.
In cities where goods were available, an increase in demand for consumption goods was inevitable. Besides, *samurai* were unable to avoid the effects of rising commodity prices. Wealth left their hands and gathered in the hands of merchants. Townspeople secured immense purchasing power, but *samurai* could not compete with them. Their borrowing increased, and high interest rates drove them further into doomed circumstances.

Different from the past the majority of *samurai* in the Edo Period lived in urban districts off government-stored rice, having no direct relation with the agricultural community. They also sought extra earnings by manual production at home. Because of the long years under a peaceful feudal system, the family lineage system was stabilized so that the road was closed for talented *samurai* to rise in society. Lower ranks of *samurai* were thus becoming critical of the feudal system.

Many progressive patriots, who acquired a nationalistic spirit by studying the national literature and became enthusiastic imperialists, appeared. There were also many reformists, who keenly felt the necessity of reforming the country along the lines of European and American civilization, by acquiring a scientific and rational spirit through study of conditions in Western countries. Parallel with the increase in anti-foreign elements, there was a marked increase in those who believed that the independence of the country and the development of national strength could not be achieved without modernization by following European and American examples. They held it necessary to establish a unified country with the Emperor as its head and to abolish the Shogunate. Leaders during the process of change from the end of the Shogunate government to the Restoration of Imperial Government, were both retrogressive, and modernistic and progressive as well.

Just at this time, in 1853, Commodore Perry visited Japan, and after him other foreign countries requested Japan to open trade. Although the Shogunate government finally opened
several trading ports in 1859, the result was that various commodities were exported in large quantities, and gold coins flowed out in exchange for silver dollars, due to foreign traders taking advantage of the parity between gold and silver. Because of this trade, an extraordinary rise in commodity prices occurred, even as much as ten times in the immediate period after the opening of the ports. This situation led to great economic fluctuations and throw the livelihood of samurai especially, who depended upon the rice price, into a doomed situation. Besides, the opening of the ports did not lead to trading on an equal basis. This condition probably resulted from the differences in military, economic and cultural strength between Japan on the one hand and European and American countries on the other.

Although the feudal society was breaking down, and a modern society was beginning to evolve, the country did not have the power to bring about an industrial revolution by itself. European and American countries of that time had already completed their respective industrial revolutions. Especially in England at that time, a century had passed after the start of the Industrial Revolution, modern capitalism had been established, her industry and economy had made a conspicuous development, and she was called the factory of the world. It was natural that there was a great difference between the national strength of Japan and others, and Japan had to tolerate disadvantageous conditions in the conclusion of trade treaties.

When the economic development of Western countries in the Edo Period is reviewed, beginning with early capitalism from the viewpoint of economic structure, or the age of mercantilism from the viewpoint of economic policy, modern capitalism had achieved a high level. Passing through the Industrial Revolution, it was at its period of highest prosperity under a system of free trade. Japan did not experience these phenomena in the development of her modern industry and economy. While the
objective of mercantilism is to increase national wealth by protecting and fostering industry, by promoting exports, and by making the balance of trade advantageous to one's own country, Japan did not have the conditions required for the enforcement the mercantilist policies under isolation. To carry out mercantilism, to foster industry, to increase national wealth and to accumulate wealth and military strength under an isolationist policy was an impossible undertaking. While mercantilism held sway in Europe at the same time as the acquisition of overseas colonies, Japan had no overseas colony before the establishment of her modern industry and economy. The fact that Japan did not go through a period of mercantilism constitutes one characteristic in the history of her development of a modern industry and economy. Nor during this period did Japan suffer aggression in the same meaning as India or China by Britain and other countries. Yet a serious crisis confronted and her position was but a hair breadth different from that of China.

The period of transition from mercantilism to modern capitalism was marked by the Industrial Revolution, which was generally completed in the European and American countries by the middle of nineteenth century. The Industrial Revolution in England can be said to have developed from the lower strata. In countries other than England, too, though not of spontaneous generation, the development of a civilian economy constituted one of the major factors for the accomplishment of an industrial revolution. In Japan, however the industrial revolution was almost exclusively carried out under governmental guidance, protection, and encouragement. At that time, most merchants and craftsmen did not have a knowledge of modern industry, and lacking capital strength and will for enterprises, it was almost impossible for them to import and implant modern industry by themselves. Thus, leaders who became the statesmen of the Restoration government, acting as path-finders, enthusiastically studied the conditions of Western countries, enlightened the people with industrial knowledge, imported and implanted
new industries from abroad, and protected and fostered them.

The Industrial Revolution in the European and American countries was practically completed by the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the industries of modern capitalism were at the height of their prosperity in the first half of the century, they entered the golden age of free trade in the 1860's. Just at a time when the tendency toward free trade was heightening in the 1850's, Japan was requested by foreign countries to reopen the country. However, those requests of did not necessarily give equal status to Japan. In 1858, Japan concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with five countries, the United States, Russia, the Netherlands, Britain and France, and in 1866 concluded the Tariff Convention but not on an equal basis. Japan had to recognize extraterritoriality of foreign countries until 1899. Because Japan was deprived of tariff autonomy until 1911, she could not enforce a policy of trade protection, so long as the setting of flexible tariff rates was restricted by foreign countries. Despite such restrictions, Japan exerted strenuous efforts for the development of her industry and trade during the forty four years of the Meiji Era.

2. ECONOMIC CHANGES DIRECTLY AFTER THE MEIJI RESTORATION

The government, as well as civilians, exerted extraordinary painstaking efforts to establish political measures and remedy shortcomings, in order to overcome the backwardness of the country and inequality in diplomatic relations. To secure real independence, the fundamental aim was to accumulate national wealth, and to promote industry, civilization, and enlightenment. The introduction of modern capitalism and modern science were particularly urgent requirements. The adoption of the policy of national reopening revealed the intention of the new government not only to promote an active foreign trade, but also to import various economic systems from Europe and America.
Various economic policies enforced after reopening were clearly designed to develop a modern industrial economy.

Among them were changes in systems which retarded free economic activities. In feudal days, economic activities or professions were regulated by social status or special privileges. Five years after the Restoration, the government abolished the rigid four-class social structure of samurai, farmer, craftsmen and merchant, and established the principle of freedom of economic activities of professions. For instance, in 1868 stock-holding associations of commerce and industry were disestablished; in 1871 samurai were permitted to start any calling in agriculture, industry or commerce; and in 1872 farmers were freely allowed to take up any profession.

Secondly, various restrictions which prevented freedom of interchange and communication were cleared away. Even after the opening of trading ports in 1859, various kinds of trade control existed. The Restoration government made trading freer and repealed the restriction on travelling abroad. In addition, restrictions on communication and transportation controlled by the checking stations and guard boxes were lifted directly after the Restoration, and the mail-horse system was also abolished.

Thirdly, the government acknowledged private ownership. Among many feudal limitations on private ownership in feudal days, there were the system of goyōkin (government benevolence imposed upon merchants) and restrictions on land rights. The Restoration government discarded these in succession. As a whole, the Meiji Restoration government changed almost all the feudal limitations by 1872 and established the so-called free industrial system, which paved the way the development of the modern industrial economy.
3. NEW INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE IN HOKKAIDO.

The district of Hokkaido in the early years of the Meiji Era had a unique significance in the cultural history of Japan. One was from the standpoint of national defense, and the other from the viewpoint of promotion of industrial exploitation. The district did not have any complicated relations with old clan administrations as in other parts of Japan, and the government could develop any project on its own.

With respect to national defense, we shall take up here the process of negotiations on frontier demarcation between Japan and Russia. When Putiachin, the Russian envoy, visited Nagasaki in 1853, he proposed a boundary settlement and projected a treaty, drawing the national border between Eturup Island and Urup Island and making Saghalien a district of mixed habitation of the people of the two countries. However, in 1859 Russia filed a request to the Shogunate government to delimit the border by the Soya Strait. The Shogunate government then dispatched Takenouchi Yasunori, Matsudaira Yasunao and others to the Russian capital to negotiate on the boundaries. Japan proposed a border at Latitude 50° North, but the negotiations were unsuccessful and Saghalien remained a district of mixed habitation. The Meiji government took over the installations of northern defense from the Shogunate government at that time when there was the problem of how to take care of the collapsed samurai class. The government allotted lands in Hokkaido to the clans of the north-eastern district and other clans, as well as to the Department of War and the Honganji Temple for sending samurai there to develop the uncultivated lands.

In May 1868 the new government decided to develop Hokkaido, established the Hakodate District Court on May 14, changing it shortly thereafter to the Hakodate administrative office. However, before the completion of any governmental
establishment, Hakodate was attacked by insurgents led by Enomoto Buyō, a vassal of the former Shogunate government, and Governor Shimizudai Kiminaga had to retreat to Aomori. In the spring of 1869 the Imperial Court dispatched an army and navy, and defeated the ex-Shogunate army at Hakodate on July 7. The Meiji government attached importance to Hokkaidō, and presented an inquiry concerning its development before the National Policy Conference held in Toky in the same month. In the text of the Imperial inquiry on that occasion, there was a sentence, reading, "The land of Ezo is the north gate of the Imperial nation, directly neighboring Saghalien.... Since it is important to prevent trouble before it happens, the hand of Ezo should be turned into a district of prosperity for the people, after the situation in Hakodate is settled, by enforcing such measures as to guide its development. Members are therefore requested to express their opinions on the advantages and disadvantages of such measures."

In the Imperial order of July 12, 1869 appointing Nabeshima Naomasa, former lord of the Saga clan, as superintendent of the Office of Commissioner of Hokkaidō Colonization, it was stated that "Since the destiny of the Imperial country depends much on the colonization of Ezo, it should not be neglected even for a day...." On August 19, Naomasa was appointed the Governor-General of Colonization, and in September the name of Ezo was changed to Hokkaidō. In March 1870 the government established the office of the Commissioner of Saghalien Colonization and appointed Kuroda Kiyotaka as Vice Governor-General of Colonization and assigned him to take charge of Saghalien affairs. Kuroda recommended that a company of standing troops should always be stationed in Sapporo-Gun, and at least two warships should be commissioned in defence of Hokkaidō and Saghalien. But the armed strength in Hokkaidō in 1871 was no more than 174 strong. In February that year Kiyotaka was sent abroad to study land development and colonization, and when he returned in Sep-
tember, he submitted a statement emphasizing the urgent necessity of colonizing Hokkaidō and of taking up national defense against Russian aggression. Then in 1873, Hori Motoi, Director of the Office of the Commissioner of Colonization, and others tendered a petition to approve the establishment of a colonial militia, a recommendation which the government accepted. The scale of the initial militia was 1500 households, or a total of approximately 6,000, based on an average of four members per household. In June 1874 Kiyotaka was appointed the Inspector-General of Military Police Affairs of the Hokkaidō Militia. The words “military police” were added to take international relations into consideration. Thus, in January 1875, the First Company of the First Battalion of the Colonial Militia, mainly composed of samurai of former Tate-Ken and the three prefectures of Miyagi, Aomori and Sakata, was established in Kotoji village on the outskirts of Sapporo City.

Aside from these political and diplomatic consideration, there had been attempts to develop this district in feudal times. In 1856 the Shogunate government had started excavation of the Shironuka coal mine, Shironuka-gun, Kushiro Province. In 1861 it had invited Raphael Pumpelly, a foreign engineer, to conduct a geological survey, and in 1863 had excavated a coal mine at Tomari Village, Iwauchi-Gun, Shiribeshi Province. Thus it had made efforts to develop the mining industry. Further in 1867 a railroad of over two miles’ distance at Chinuma coal mine for coal transportation had been constructed. After the Office of the Commissioner of Colonization was established, strenuous efforts were exerted for the development of Hokkaidō. In 1871 the government invited Anchisel and in the following year some Americans named Lyman Monroe and Kaplan, and endeavored to improve coal mines, to plan a program of livestock farming and horticulture, and to conduct geological surveys throughout the district.

The Sapporo Nōgakkō (Sapporo Agricultural School), established in 1875, was the educational center of Hokkaidō and
exhibited the highest cultural standard in Japan of that time. As special courses indicated in the school rules of 1875 of the Temporary School of the Commissioner of Colonization, the predecessor of Sapporo Nōgakkō, there were chemistry, mechanics, drawing, mining, geology, architecture, surveying, medical herbage, zoology and agricultural science.

4. REFORM OF THE STRUCTURE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

Japanese industry in the early Meiji years saw the gradual infiltration of Western style modern industry into the primitive and small scale cottage industry of the Tokugawa Period. Although not separated into various special branches as they are today, it is noteworthy that even in feudal days, the system of Western industry was taken up by the Kagoshima clan and others.

In the end of the Shogunate government, Shimazu Shigehide and Shimazu Nariaki, daimyōs of the Kagoshima clan, were turning their keen eyes toward Western culture. Nariaki himself was well informed in the field of general science and exerted efforts in the application of such knowledge. Especially interested in physics and chemistry, he had Kawamoto Kōmin, a scholar Dutch knowledge, translate some thirty odd volumes of the semi Dokuhon (Reader in Chemistry) and collected industrial art objects brought by ships by sending his vassals to Nagasaki. There were thus many books pertaining to physics and chemistry among the articles left by him. Using physical science as the basis, for economic change, he expanded his refinery shop, and in the winter of 1852 he constructed a large reverberatory furnace by bringing clay from as far away as Amakusa (Higo Province). He also constructed a melting furnace for the production of wrought iron in the same year. He then built a San-Kairo (chiselling kiln?) and succeeded in the production of blue, purple, yellow and white glass. He also
tested the lighting of a gas-lamp and tried to encourage people of his castle-town to use gas light. Besides, he made efforts to produce telegraphic apparatus, a land mine, an under-water mine, gun-cotton, sulphuric acid, nitric acid, hydrochloric acid, ice, refined sugar, sumac wax, camphor, a camera, and other products, and his productive activities ranged even to printing types of European letters, agricultural implements and weapons. What draws our special attention is the use of spinning machinery on an enterprise scale. Previous to that, Hamazaki Taheiji, a wealthy merchant of the clan presented Nariaki with a bundle of imported into Japan. Inspired by it, Nariaki studied and experimented, and finally started weaving by machines and produced canvas for ship sails. As the motive power for driving the machines, he used the water-wheel. The Satsuma clan was thus already actively utilizing mechanical power for industry.

The birth of the new chemical industry began when the government established the Osaka semikyoku (Osaka Chemical Institute) on December 12, 1868. At the end of that year, the government invited Gratham an interpreter as instructor at the institute to teach the making of nitrate of soda and methods to produce powder. After a year and a half, Gratama returned to his own country, and in his place, Hermann Ritter, a German, was assigned to teach physics and chemistry.

In the meanwhile, instruments ordered from foreign countries during the days of the Shogunate government arrived and were installed in the school, and Roscoe’s textbook of chemistry was used in teaching. Experimental analysis of a simple nature was also performed there. Takamine Jökichi and Ichikawa Seizaburō were among the graduates of this institute. The Osaka Rigakujō (Osaka Institute of Physics), believed to be the successor of the Osaka Semikyoku, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Mint Bureau in 1870, and another chemical institute was also established in Kyoto in 1870 by Governor Makimura Masanao, which started the production of ceramic ware, glass ware,
dyeing and soap, by inviting Wagner, a German.

During the days of the Shogunate, Western-type shipbuilding had already been introduced into Japan. The Mito clan established a shipbuilding yard at Ishikawajima and dispatched clan vassals to Nagasaki to study shipbuilding techniques. When a Russian warship suffered serious damage by an earthquake in 1854 at the port of Shimoda, Western type vessels were constructed by the Russians at Nita in that district. *Battreira* (rowing boats) of the Mito clan were running up and down the Tone River. Besides, Western type ships were built by the Saga and the Kanazawa clans. The shipyard of the Kanazawa clan later became the Nanao Shipbuilding Yard, moved to Hyōgo and became the *Kashū Seitousūjō* (Kaga Province Iron Works).

The largest scale enterprise was the shipbuilding and iron works of the Shogunate government. The government established a shipbuilding yard at Uraga in 1854 and the Nagasaki Iron Works in 1856, later expanding them by inviting engineers from the Netherlands. In 1865, it established the Yokohama Iron Works for a naval repair yard, and then established a shipbuilding yard at Yokohama in the same year by inviting Verny, a French engineer. In the early years of Meiji, an iron works factory was established at Onohama, Kōbe, and Kirby, an Englishman, was assigned to be its superintendent.

With the emergence of pig iron works, tools for mechanical engineering began to be imported. Name-plates attached to various tools, still stored in the Shuseikan, Kagoshima, are marked with the letters, NSBM EYE NO-ORD and the date 1863. Among the machine tools of the Nagasaki Shipbuilding Yard, such as lathes, horizontal planers, vertical planers and die casts, there are indications of their manufacture in 1856 and with the letters 18NSBM 56 FYENOORD. Some are marked Dwrry & Walker Brothers Co. of Sheffield, England. Among the machines of the Yokosuka Shipbuilding Yard, purchased in 1858, are some marked J. Ducommun Mulhouse 1866. The first machine tools were imported from the Netherlands, Britain
and France. The first engines for warships built by the Japanese were produced in Nagasaki and were installed on the "Chiyoda" type warships constructed in 1862 at the Ishikawajima Shipbuilding Yard.

One of the Western scientific techniques which had a great influence upon Japanese industry was the mining technique. Although coal mines existed in Japan, mining was carried on mostly by hand, except in one or two mines, merely depending on manual power with the use of very simple tools. Exposed deposits were mainly worked at, and the depth of the mines did not go lower than a few yards. In 1868 the Western technique was applied at the Takashima coal mine, Nagasaki, when the lord of the Saga clan Nabeshima Kansō had his vassal Matsubayashi Shinzō excavate in cooperation with T. B. Golliver an Englishman, and the method was adopted in the coal fields in the Chikuhō and Miike districts. At the Takashima coal mine, a pit with a depth of 150 feet was dug and struck a coal bed of a depth of eight feet, and by digging 138 feet farther down in 1871, a bed eighteen feet deep was struck. As to machines, pumps were placed in the pits, and team winches were used at the Takashima coal mine in 1869. Parallel with the mechanization of mining and increase in coal output, demands for coal increased. Hitherto coal had been used only in households and in salt fields, but it began to be utilized as motive power.

Metal mining also made extraordinary progress. Coanie, a French engineer employed by the government, arrived in 1868 at the Ikuno silver mine under government management, and various novel techniques were adopted. Many foreigners were employed by the government in the early years of Meiji as mining engineers. Thus, in the various fields of prospecting, excavation, transportation, pit lighting, and ore dressing, which had been carried out for many centuries by old, traditional methods, depending on manual labor in a clumsy and small-scale way, there appeared new techniques to revolutionize the entire
industry.

5. RENOVATION OF THE TRANSPORTATION INDUSTRY

In the days of the Shogunate, the means of land transportation were by palanquin, carts and horses, and shipping was by sailing or rowing vessels. Not all rivers were spanned by bridges, and ferries were used for crossing. In addition, for communication under the feudal system there were various restrictions concerning couriers, post-towns, checking stations, and river ferries, and traveling was not an easy affair. It took approximately ten days to cover the distance of 150 ri (approximately 366 miles) between Kyoto and Edo. The construction of railroads made it possible to shorten the time to cover that distance in only several hours as is done today.

While in olden days when clan lords made frequent trips under the system of sankin-kōtai, the Tōkaidō was the avenue for the dissemination of Japanese culture, the construction of railroads made possible the rapid spread of culture all over the country. Scholars of Dutch knowledge in the Edo Period already knew about railways, and when the envoys of the Shogunate government visited Europe and America, they witnessed the actual functioning of the railways. When Commodore Perry arrived in Japan in 1854, he presented the Shōgun with a model train and its operation was displayed by constructing a railroad in the back-yard of the reception house. The man who projected railway transportation on a large scale was not a Japanese, but a man named A. L. Westward, who was residing in Yokohama, and who submitted a petition for permission to construct a railroad between Edo and Yokohama in 1866 to chief financial administrator Oguri Kōzukenosuke Tadayori. This petition was approved by Senior Councillor Ogasawara Iki-no-Kami Nagayuki, on January 17, 1868, but was not realized due to the collapse of the Shogunate government. In 1869, the new Japanese government projected the construction
of a railroad connecting Tokyo and Kyoto, and the Railway Affairs Bureau was established on April 19, 1870. The surveying, designing and construction were begun by foreign engineers under the leadership of the Chief Construction Engineer E. L. Morell, and the purchasing of machines was financed by the Eikoku Tōyō Bank of Yokohama. Railroad connections between Shinagawa Station and Yokohama Station were inaugurated on June 12, 1872, taking thirty five minutes to cover the distance, and with trains making return trips six times a day. The opening of the railroad between Osaka and Köbe was inaugurated in May, 1874, and that between Temiya and Sapporo in November 1880.

With respect to maritime transportation, the Meiji government confiscated the ships and war vessels of the Shogunate and clan governments and parcelled out the Western style vessels to establish shipping companies for navigation between Tokyo and Yokohama and Osaka and Köbe in February 1870.

THE WORLD OF LITERATURE AND PUBLIC ENTERTAINING ARTS.

1. Main Trends in Early Meiji Literature.

The early years of the Meiji Era are sometimes referred to as the vacuum period of literature. Certainly, there was no new literature in the Western style, or worthy of world attention. However, although not recognized, there was a national literature which expressed the traditional spirit of Japan with its feudal sentiment. From the standpoint of the theory that literature is a product of a society of abundance and leisure, it is not unreasonable that no literary work truly deserving to be called literature was produced in the days of the Restoration. This was a time when people’s attention was riveted upon more crucial affairs—politics and economy—due to the disturbances amidst the unprecedented maelstrom of a violent convulsion, both internally and externally.
Essentially the literature of this period inherited that of the Tokugawa era. It was generally of the gesaku type, mostly written by authors continuing their work from the previous epoch for popular pleasure reading. As openly stated by such writers as Robun and Arindo, these works "take fabrication as their essentials and truth as auxiliary, perhaps use well-known places for locale, or recast the episodes of authentic history . . . .", and "from the beginning, gesaku is not written for intellectuals, but for non-intellectuals . . . ." For these reasons, we call the literary world of this period gesaku jidai. Among fiction the main products of Tokugawa literature were realistic novels by Saikaku and Kiseki, kokkeibon (humorous books) by Samba and Ikku, novels of human affections or sharebon (gay quarter novalettes) by Shunsui and others, and tales based on true historical episodes such as those written by Bakin, Kyōden, Tanehiko and others. In the early Meiji years, the following authors, who followed in the wake of these schools, represented the literature of the era.

Kokkeibon (humorous books)—(lineage of Robun):
Kanagaki Robun, Kanise Sabun, Kochōen Wakana, Kubota Hikosaku, Itō Kyōtō.

Ninjōbon (love stories)—(lineage of Tamenaga Shunsui):
Somezaki Nobufusa, Sansantei Arindo, Baitei Kinga, Tamenaga Shunkō, Furukawa Kairaishi.

Kusazōshi (picture story book)—(lineage of Ryūtei Tanehiko):
Ryūtei Senka, Takahata Ransen, Okamoto Kisen, Ryūsuitei Tanekiyo, Mishina Rankei, Maeda Kōsetsu, Aiba Kōson.

These types of novels struck the public fancy most and included such works as: Jiraiya Gōketsu Monogatari (Heroic Tales of Jiraiya), Shaka Hassō: Yamato Bunko (Tales of The Eight-faced Buddha: A Home Library), Shiranui Monogatari (Tales of Lady Shiranui), Hokusetsu Bidan Jidai Kagami (A Noble Tale of The Snowy North: the Mirror of the Era.), Shintō Suikoden (Tales of Heroes of Shinto), and others of a similar nature. Although published in the Meiji Era, they belong
to the Tokugawa period.

Although within the limits of the literary form inherited from the previous age, the works of Kanagaki Robun somehow breathed the air of the new era and brought to life his individual talent in contrast with earlier writers. Written in the so-called old-new style of fictional expression, and realistically depicting the world of his day, Robun's works can be called truly representative of one of the literary arts of the Meiji Era, though Robun himself lacked confidence as a man of letters.

The early years of the Meiji Era, in which Robun was active, was a period in which the practical sense of the general public which had been limited to affairs within the country became broadened to include the entire world. In a word, the Meiji Era was a period of enlightenment. Acting as forerunners in the trend of the times and becoming a detonating fuse to the enlightenment movement, the following works directed public attention specifically towards the West: Seiyō Jijō (Things Western), Sekai Kunizukushi (All About the Countries of the World), and Kyūri Zukai (To Enlighten: An Explanation of Natural Law), by Fukuzawa Yukichi: Bankoku Shinwa (New Stories of Nations of the World), by Yanagawa Shunsan; Seiyō Kembunroku (Things Seen and Heard in the West) by Murata Fumio; Seiyō Kikō Kōkai Shinsetsu (A Western Trip, New Stories about the High Seas) by Nakai Hiroshi; and Yochishiyaku (Outline of World Geography) by Uchida Masao. While the works of Fukuzawa in particular were so widely diffused as if almost to overwhelm the age, Robun quickly perceiving the trend produced his series of fiction pieces.

First, there is Bankoku Kōkai: Seiyō Dōchū Hizakurige (A Voyage of Myriad Countries: A Hiking Tour in the West), written by Robun at the age of forty two. This piece belongs to the kokkeibon genre, taking the form of kusazōshi (picture story book), with frontispieces and illustrations drawn by Ōchiai Hōki, Hiroshige III, and Shōjō Gyōsai; it is composed of thirty volumes and fifteen parts in all. One of Robun's repre-
sentative works, it exerted a great influence upon the world of novels. Drawing on materials from Fukuzawa’s *Seiyō Jijō* and information provided by Miyata Saen, and written in a facile and unconventional style patterned after the method of *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige* (Hiking along the Tōkaidō) by Ikku, it made realistic sketches of a trip from Shanghai to England by two men upon whom befell numerous humorous misfortunes wherever they visited. Using the turn of expressions in Chinese literature, unconcernedly using false substitute characters by phonetic equivalents, writing descriptions in a literary style and utilizing the vernacular language only for dialogue, giving *kana* side marks to difficult Chinese characters, and inserting remarks in parenthesis, Robun could not free himself on the whole from the conventionalism of the *gesaku* writers. The author’s own preface reveals that he did not regard this piece as of a high literary standard.

In the following year, Robun wrote *Ushiya Zōdan: Aguranabe*, or *Doronken* (Idle Talk at a Sukiyaki Shop: a Cross-legged Session). In this book, he candidly sketched the state of affairs of the worshippers of civilization, such as those imbued with westernization: idlers, rural samurai, low-class jesters, various craftsmen, quasi-literate, merchants, quack physicians, shopkeepers, and the ignorant, who frequented a sukiyaki shop, which had just come into existence, under the pretense of free discussion on current topics around a sukiyaki table.

Another of his works written later was *Kappa Sōden: Kyūrizukai* (Imps’ Talks on Science: How to Use Cucumbers), which is, of course, a parody of Fukuzawa’s *Kyūri Zukai*, poking fun at the principle of natural law and human morality. These satirical works by Robun hit the public favor and were widely read. The reason for such public interest, despite the dependence upon the *gesaku* pattern, was that Robun cleverly utilized the trend of thought of civilization and enlightenment in every way. Robun had no personal knowledge of the West but depended on the works of scholars of Western knowledge.
Thus we can secure a glimpse of the society of the times for even works such as these tempted the people and absorbed them in reading.

Besides the vivid social description by Robun, there were in vogue a group of books of fiction, such as Katawa Musume (The Deformed Girl) by Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nihon Jokyōshi (Women Teachers) by Mantei, Ōga and other works which satirized or lampooned school life. Shortly afterwards, there appeared many stories based on the Imperial Restoration, she-devil stories, vengeance stories, and human interest stories. Although these writings can be classified as realistic novels, they differed from the works of Robun who sketched the transitional phenomena of the social aspects of civilization and enlightenment. They were based on broader and more historical materials, in part political events, or again legendary accounts of past history, to which embellishments were added. Basically, they belonged to the traditional gesaku genre and cannot be classified as part of the new literature of the Meiji Era.

There is no need to say much about the achievements of Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kanda Kōhei, Nakamura Masanao and others, who were among the first to work to import and introduce Western literary works during the reform period from the end of the Shogunate to the Meiji Restoration, and who became the greatest stimulants for the construction of a new civilization of the reopened Japan. Here we would merely like to explain some of the books written by Fukuzawa which played a leading role in the establishment of a new literature.

The first of these is Seiyō Jijō, (Things Western). The first part, composed of three volumes, was published in 1866. Later an extension in three volumes appeared in 1868, and the series were completed by the publication of two additional parts, composed of four volumes, in 1869. The author compiled these volumes by using his personal knowledge acquired through observation of Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, the Netherlands, Portugal and other countries when he accompanied the envoys
dispatched by the Shogunate government to Europe in 1861, and by selecting from translations of books relating to national structure, social systems and general manners and customs of peoples, what he believed serviceable for the Japanese people, he chose what he had read relating to the history, geography, society and political economy of England as the west of his work. The description of its contents is arranged in the topical order of historical facts, politics and economy, and society and culture. This was a most exhaustive guide book, as well as an important text for study, from which governmental official and private individuals acquired knowledge about foreign countries without going abroad. This book was diffused so widely that the author himself stated that over 150,000 copies of only the first part of the series were sold out. It quenched the thirst of the intellectuals of that time and greatly contributed to the civilization and enlightenment of Japan.

*Kummo: Kyūri Zukai* (To Enlighten: An Introduction to Science) composed of three volumes and published in 1868, was based on original works in Britain and America, and can be paid to be a book of illustrated natural science for young people who could by this book for the first time peep beyond the gate of the new Western knowledge. And in addition, as stated previously, this book became the source of the novel written by Robun.

*Sekai Kunizukushi* (All about the World), composed of five volumes and a supplement, published in 1869, was written according to the author’s preface to disseminate Western knowledge in order to establish a new civilization, and especially, “with a humble intention to let women understand the general situation of the world, to open the way for their first step to knowledge, and thereby to lay the foundation for the happiness of the country.” The book begins with the sentence, “Though the world is wide and the countries are many, it can be divided into five regions, i.e., Asia, Africa, Europe, North and South America, and by drawing borders, they are called the Five
Continents, in addition to which Oceania is also called the Islands of South." The book outlines the geography, manners and customs of the Five Continents, in seven-five-syllable stanzas for the convenience of recitation, and as a supplement, an outline of natural and cultural geography and astronomy was described. This book was so widely read all over the country that children and women did daily recitation from it.

Next, *Gakumon no Susume* (Exhortation of Learning) which was published from 1872 to 1876 and completed in fifteen volumes, is a work clearly exhibiting Fukuzawa's thought. In this book he stressed the attitude of study involved in practical science, and asserted that imitation of the West was indispensable in achieving that objective. The contents expounded the necessity of boosting learning to contribute to an active society, and in his polished style of writing, it began with the renowned phrase, "It was said that Heaven did not create man above man, and did not create man below man." Widely read by intellectuals, the influence of this book, needless to say, was extremely great.

These works fulfilled the important task of helping the construction and development of the new culture of the Meiji era, by providing a tremendously profound inspiration and influence.

Fukuzawa's way of writing is worth special mention in the history of writing in the Meiji Era. As Fukuzawa himself wrote: "From the first I resolved that my style of writing would be in the vernacular in order to lead the public to civilization by the use of the common language prevailing among them: I would insist upon an ordinary and easy style of writing and imitate the example of the priest Shinran, founder of the Shinshū sect, who created a meat-eating public by himself taking a meat diet. Thereby, I desire to arrive at the delightful realm of civilization together with the people." His pen name Sanju Ikkoku Jin which he assumed himself, he obtained by breaking down the character *sezoku*, which means "common" or "ordinary." Although common, his expressions were certainly neither
of a low standard nor simple, but were rich with a carefully prepared elegance. Although he did not achieve the perfect unification of the written and spoken languages, Fukuzawa was able to free himself from the coarse stiffness of the Chinese literary style and to utilize skillfully the softness and round tones of the spoken language. A great significance can be attached to the point that he made efforts to achieve the unification of the written and spoken languages. In this sense, he was one of the pioneers who left an imperishable achievement in the history of Meiji literature. The effects of Western culture upon the new culture of the Meiji Era were so great that some people even said that Meiji culture was a culture of translation, or of adoption.

2. Dictionaries

We shall give here a brief description of dictionaries which became the medium for the study of Western knowledge. Since the publication *Oranda Yakusen* (A Translation of the Dutch Language) in 1785 and *Rangaku Kaitei* (Dutch Knowledge Step by Step) in 1788, there were many publications relating to the Dutch language before the Meiji Era. In 1854, *Sango Bensan* (Manual of Three Languages) was compiled by Murakami Hidetoshi, who was called the pioneer of French knowledge. This was a dictionary treasured as a lexicon comparing three languages, Dutch, French and English. The two dictionaries, *Furansu Shrin*, published in 1859 and *Futsugo Meiyō*, a revised and supplemented edition of the former, published in 1864, are also the works of Murakami Hidetoshi. These dictionaries helped the students of French knowledge a great deal for a long period after the Meiji Restoration, for the publication of *Futsuwa Jirin* (French-Japanese Dictionary) edited by Nakae Tokusuke (alias Chōmin) which had the format of a modern dictionary, occurred only in 1887.

The first German-Japanese dictionary ever published in Japan
was the Wayō Doitsu Jiten, edited and published by Shiba Ryōkai in 1872.

With respect to the Russian language, the Robumpō Kihan was published in 1814, edited under the instruction of the Shogunate government by Baba Sajūrō, an interpreter, who studied Russian from Golovnin, captain of a Russian warship at Matsumae. The Rogo Shōsei written by the same author became the guiding manual for students. In addition, we should remember that there were Waro Tsugen Hikō, a Russian-Japanese dictionary published in 1857 in the Russian capital, St. Petersburg by Tachibana Kōsai, and Roshia no Iroha published in Hakodate in 1861.

It is said that the study of the English language can be dated from the arrival of the British ship Phaeton at Nagasaki in the summer of 1808. Because of national defense needs and other reasons, the Shogunate ordered Motoki Shōzaemon and other interpreters of the Dutch language at Nagasaki to study English. In 1811, the pen-copied ten-volume book called Anguria Kōgaku Shōsen for guidance in the first steps of vocabulary and conversation with side-notes in kana was edited by them. This was also called Anguria Koku-go Wakai, and in 1814 the editing of Anguria Gorin Taisei, a pen-copied fifteen-volume book, believed to be the first English dictionary produced in this country, was completed by the collaborative efforts of interpreters Motoki, Narahashi, Yoshio and others. Later, Egiresugo Jishō Wakai was edited by Nishi Seiryō and others from 1851 to 1854.

At the time Commodore Perry visited Japan in 1853, an American named MacDonald came to Nagasaki to teach English. There were also publications such as Eibeī Taiwa Shōkei, edited and published in 1859 by Nakahama Manjirō, who had drifted to the shore of the United States, stayed there for several years and was sent back to Japan on an American ship shortly before natural reopening, and who was active as a man of English knowledge. Kaei Tsūgo, which was a translation
of a Chinese book for studying English with guide marks by Fukuzawa Yukichi, was published in 1860. Students studying English gradually increased in the closing days of the Shogunate. As a dictionary, there was *Eitā Taiyaku Shuchin Jisho* published by the *Bansho Shirabe jō* in 1862. Although incomplete, it was the first type-printed English dictionary produced in Japan, and has an important significance in cultural history as the pioneer among dictionaries published in the golden age of English study in later days. As the *Banshoshirabe jo* was re-named the *Kaiseijo* in 1863, this dictionary was popularly known as the *Kaiseijo Jisho*. A revised and supplemented edition was published in 1867, and a reprint was offered in 1869. The *Waei Gorin Shūsei*, the first edition of which was published in 1867, was a great dictionary of laborious effort, carrying the legend "Translated and edited by Professor Hebun (Hepburn) of America; published in Yokohama, Japan." This Hebun is J. C. Hepburn, an American, but this dictionary was produced jointly with Kishida Ginkō. It was mainly a Japanese-English dictionary, but a brief English-Japanese appendix was included. At that time Japan did not have a sufficient quantity of printing types, so that this dictionary was printed in Shanghai. Besides, the form of *rōmaji* used in this dictionary controlled the world of *rōmaji* of Japan for a very long period, as the so-called Hepburn style, and it is unforgettable from this point as well. A supplemental edition of this dictionary was published in 1873, and another supplemental edition in 1886 by Maruzen.

In 1869 *Wayaku Ei Jisho*, which was popularly known as *Satsuma Jisho*, was published. This was edited by Takahashi Shinkichi and Maeda Kenkichi of the Kagoshima clan, for the benefit of younger men. This was edited by taking the *Kaiseijo Jisho* as its basis and by obtaining the assistance of a missionary father, Guado F. Verbeck; it was printed by the American Presbyterian Mission Press of Shanghai.

Besides these books, the following English dictionaries were
published in the early years of the Meiji Era: Eiwa Taiyaku Jisho edited by Arai Iku in 1872, commonly called Kaitakushi Jisho or Makura Jisho. It was thus named because this dictionary was projected for use at the temporary school of the Commissioner of Colonization established in the precincts of the Zojoji Temple, in Tokyo, as a provisional school before the establishment of the No-gakko at Sapporo by Kuroda Kiyotaka. A small type dictionary of Western binding called Eiwa Jiten was published by Chishinkan in the same year. A large-type of Western-binding dictionary Fuon Sozu, Eiwa Jii edited jointly by Shibata Masakichi and his son Yasutoshi was published by in 1873. In the same year Wayaku Eigo Renju edited by Kishida Ginko was published. The two volumes of Eika Wayaku Jiten were published in 1879. These dictionaries contributed a great deal to the development of study of Western knowledge in the early years of Meiji and helped to lay the foundation for the development of the new culture of the Meiji Era.

3. Trends in the Theater: the No and Kabuki

Now let us investigate the course taken by the theatrical world in this period of transition.

The principle of Westernization, one of the major political principles of the new Meiji government, led to an excessive tendency to destroy old things. Directly after the Restoration, the value of the no drama, which had already developed into a refined and excellent stage art through years of tradition, was totally ignored. In addition, since the no was an important samurai ceremonial art in the Tokugawa period, it inevitably followed the fate of the breakdown of the samurai administration. Like samurai, who lost their stipends, no actors, who were employees of the Shogunate government or of clan lords, suffered hardships. Especially those actors with ability in their traditional art were clumsy at making a living and were embar-
rassed at changing their line of work. Many sold their property to make ends meet. However, in the days when old things were destroyed, their valuable artistic nō masks and costumes were not articles in demand. Some nō actors even became boatmen at Tameike, Akasaka. The four schools of the nō, the Kanze, the Hōjō, the Kongō, who were employed directly by the Tokugawa Shogunate, as well as those in the line of the Kita school, were no exception in having to find other ways to earn their living. Among actors of kyōgen, the same situation prevailed, in which followers in the Ōkura school and the Sagi school, who were under direct Shogunate employment had to turn to other occupations after the Meiji Restoration. However, a majority of the former clan lords remained devotees of the nō even after the new era began. Although they sometimes invited actors of the nō as their partners, they did not employ them nor guarantee their living.

In 1871, the new government issued a notification that antiques and old articles should be respected and preserved. Among the list of articles to be preserved were, "Masks, costumes and musical instruments of sarugaku, and other accessories and implements to be used for dancing and singing." (Sarugaku mentioned here indicates the nō, since the term nōgaku was not yet in use at the time.)

In 1873, Umewaka Rokurō and Kanze Tetsunojō of the Kanze school asked permission to give nō performances to raise funds for religious purposes, and presented performances for ten days beginning on March 21. In October, a nō recital was given jointly by the Kanze and Hōjō schools in honor of the Prince of Russia. The Russian prince also enjoyed the kabuki at the Morita-za, which was newly constructed and opened for the public at Shintomi-cho, but no doubt the government believed the nō to be preferable to kabuki for entertaining distinguished foreign guest. In 1869, the government had entertained the Crown Prince of Britain with a nō performance, and government officials, many of whom were former samurai were probably
reminded of the Shogunate tradition of entertaining Imperial messengers and other guests with a _nō_ drama and considered it suitable for entertaining distinguished guests from foreign countries. Although on the decline, the _nō_ maintained its slender existence supported by these occasional events.

Toward the end of the Edo Period, the three leading theaters the _Nakamuraya-za Ichimura-za_ and _Morita-za_, were concentrated in Saruwaka-chō, Asakusa. They were forcibly moved into this area from the central part of Edo by order of the Shogunate government in 1842. In 1868, the last year of the Edo Period, attendance at the three leading theaters showed a sharp drop due to the turbulent social situation. And because of difficulties in earning a living, some actors cast off their prestige as actors in the government-approved theaters and made their appearance on the _miyashibai_ stage. _Miyashibai_ were small theaters established within the precincts of leading shrines in Edo and were welcomed by the common people because of their low admission fee. But they did not enjoy the approval of the Shogunate government and were looked down upon by the three leading theaters.

With the gradual stabilization of people’s minds after the Meiji Era, the three leading theaters regained their prosperity, but the _kabuki_ still retained its decadent tendencies and invited government interference because of its undesirable influence upon public morality. On February 22, 1872, the _Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun_ reported that the managers and playwrights of the three leading theaters were summoned to the office of the Tokyo Prefectural government and warned that "with more noblemen and foreigners attending the theater, plays which might corrupt morals or which are undesirable for parents and children to view together, shall not be presented, and stories shall be written so that they might serve the edification of the people...." That is, the government tried to hew even the _kabuki_ plays to the path of civilization and enlightenment.

In the following month after the Department of Education
and Religion was established, the role of educating the people was placed under the jurisdiction of this department. In May, singing, dancing and musical performances were also placed under its supervision and the government adopted the policy of utilizing public entertainers to push forward its project of popular education. Government interference with the kabuki was further intensified. Among the top entertainers summoned by the Department of Education and Religion included writers of stories for the kabuki. Impressarios and protagonists of the three leading theaters, Nakamura-za, Yamamura-za (formerly Ichimura-za) and Morita-za, were also summoned and instructed to submit the program of performances to be presented for approval a month before they were scheduled. In August that year, a notification with written explanations for a thorough understanding of the government's policy was issued. In the following month, other theaters besides the three leading ones were approved by the Prefectural Ordinance, and at the same time, treated as taxable entities.

The influence of the social trend to pursue civilization can be clearly, found in the contents of kabuki plays in this year. For instance, Rashamen (The Mistress of a Foreigner) was given in the January presentation of Kokusenya Sugata no Utsushie (A Portrait) Sketch of the Coxinga Story) at the Yamamura-za (formerly Ichimura-za), and in December, the theaters of both the south and north sides of Shijō Street in Kyoto coincidently presented a dramatized part of the Saikoku Risshi Hen (Biography of a Self-made Man of the West.) The dramatization was by Sahashi Tomisaburō, a play wright, from a book translated by Nakamura Masanao and published in the preceding year. The characteristic feature of theatrical plays of the time lay in the fact that it was accompanied by the conventional chobo (gidayū singing and music accompanying plays), despite its being a new play translated from a foreign source.
4. Music

The principal original Japanese music still remaining in the beginning of the Meiji Era were gidayū-bushi, tokiwazu-bushi, kiyomoto-bushi, shin'nai-bushi, tomimoto-bushi, etchū-bushi, katō-bushi, miyazono-bushi (or sonohachi-bushi), nagauta, utazawa, kouta, hauta, jiuta, sōkyoku and shakuhachi. Besides, gagaku and nōgaku can be considered original Japanese music. Gidayū-bushi to jiuta are to the accompaniment of the samisen, developed among the townsfolk in the Edo Period. Gidayū-bushi and jiuta enjoyed popularity in Osaka, while tokiwazu-bushi, kiyomoto-bushi, shin'nai-bushi, called Edo-jōruri, flourished in Edo at the end of the Edo Period. Gagaku was monopolized by the Imperial Household and the court nobles, nōgaku by the Shogunate government and the samurai class, and samisen music belonged to merchants or the urban class. It was a common practice for daughters of townsfolk to learn dancing and to play the samisen while daughters of the samurai class or upper merchant class learned sōkyoku. Many kinds of musical activities prospered during the peaceful years of the Tokugawa Era. Yōkyoku was a samurai cultural attainment, but many in the closing days of the Edo Period turned to imitate the life of merchants and began to patronize samisen music. Quite a number of people earned their living as teachers of various kinds of musical instruments.

However, the Restoration did not fail to exert a great influence upon these musical performances too. Above all, the Nō drama suffered a severe blow. The system to protect sōkyoku enforced by the Shogunate government was abolished in 1871, and the blind, who had been sōkyoku instructors, were deprived of their official ranks and positions and driven into difficult economic circumstances. Because the Fukeshu (Mendicant Sect) was disestablished in that year, the komusō (shakuhachi-playing mendicant Buddhist priests) also had to find other jobs. The
Meiji government abolish special rights given by the Shogunate government to people in the professions of other kinds of singing, dancing and musical performances, and expanded its interference to include folk songs which had no relation with any special rights, in order to utilize them for the maintenance of good manners and decent customs. This interference was further intensified when the Department of Education and Religion took over the control of singing, dancing and musical performances in 1872. A report of the Tokyo Nichinichi Shim bun of May 25, 1873, showed that this interference had the objective of promoting civilization.

In such days only gagaku enjoyed governmental protection. This was because special importance was attached to Shintoism as the national religion with the Restoration of Imperial Rule, and the promotion of gagaku was projected as the music affiliated with Shintoism. A Gagaku-kyoku (Court Music Bureau) was established within the Dajōkan in December 1870, and kagura (shrine music) and were gagaku (court music) were placed under its supervision. In September of the following year, this bureau was transferred to the Imperial Household Ministry and designated the Gagaku Section, Board of Ceremonies, and the old title of gakunin (court musician) was changed to reijin. There were many excellent musicians among the reijin, and in addition, as the government ordered an end to the transmission of secrets on an exclusive basis and other old customs, musicians came to enjoy freedom of study. The reijin did not consider the gagaku to be exclusively for Shinto ceremonies, but worked to promote its artistic value, and also paid special attention to Western music as well. Thus their efforts resulted in playing a large role in the development of Western music in Japan in later days.

A Western style army had already existed in Japan in the Edo Period. Drum and fife music, composed of fifes, small and large drums, was used for drilling in the army, and there is a record that vassals of the Shogunate government received
instruction in martial music from a Dutchman in Nagasaki in 1864. Around the time of the Meiji Restoration, many clans were using this drum-and-fife music for drilling troops. The use of the signal trumpet in the army was begun in 1866 when the Fukui clan invited a military attaché of the French Lega-
tion from Yokohama and carried out French-style military training under his instruction. The first army band of wind instruments in Japan was created in 1869. When Kimotsuki Kanehiro, a vassal of the Satsuma clan was dispatched to Yokohama to inspect the methods of training a British infantry unit, he was impressed by the parading of the army band led by wind instruments, and asked the band-master, John William Fenton, to give instruction. He taught twenty selected clan soldiers. Takasaki Yoshiyuki, band-master of the Navy Band of later days, was one of these clan soldiers. This army band, after returning to Satsuma, trained many more and increased the number of its members.

In April 1871, the government commandeered troops from the three clans, the Satsuma, the Chōshū and the Tosa, and assigned them as the Imperial Guard under the supervision of the De-
partment of War. This department created an army band in the summer of that year, using the band members of the Satsuma clan as a nucleus. An independent navy band was created and affiliated with the marine corps under the jurisdic-
tion of the Suihei Hombu (Seamen’s headquarters); Nagakura Suketsune, formerly of the Satsuma clan, was appointed as band-master, and Fenton was assigned as instructor. The pro-
gram issued when Emperor Meiji attended the opening cere-
monies of the railroad between Tokyo and Yokohama on October 14, 1872, stated, “the Naval Band shall be on duty at Shimbashi to play on the occasion of His Majesty’s arrival and departure”

About the same time as the establishment of the Navy Band, the army discarded British style martial music, due to the adoption of French style military training. As Gustave de
Dagron, a Frenchman invited as an army trumpet instructor in 1872, knew general military music, the army assigned him as the instructor, appointed Nishi Kenzō the band-master, and began the teaching of French-style military music.

As stated above, the army and navy bands of Japan came into existence through the work of people who had no relationship with native Japanese music. Beginning in 1874 the musicians of the Gagaku Section of the Imperial Household Ministry started learning European music from Nakamura Suketsune, the Navy band-master.

5. Fine Arts

Beginning with the Restoration, the world of fine arts in Japan made a great change and Meiji fine arts began to develop. With increased frequency of contacts with Europe and America, Western techniques were introduced into the fields of architecture, sculpture, drawing and industrial arts. The traditional arts of Japan were, however, on the verge of ruin. The five-storied pagoda of the famous temple was about to be sold, treasures owned by clan lords and temples were scattered and lost, and many flowed out into foreign countries. Artists, who had been under the patronage of the Shogunate government or clan lords, lost their means of livelihood, and some changed their professions, or went into the production of low-quality articles for export to tide them over.

In the world of architecture after the Meiji Restoration, Western architecture was adopted in rapid order accompanied by great changes in the mode of people’s living. Architectural methods were basically altered from the beam-type wooden building to the square-based stone building. However, as there were not a sufficient number of able architects or materials, Western style buildings constructed were mostly of wood, hence quasi-Western. Built by carpenters and master-builders who acquired their techniques by assisting in the construction of
houses in the foreign concessions, they were of a wooden hipped-roof type with pantile roofing with the outer walls made of stone, plaster or tile. Representative buildings of this type were the Hotel-kan, Tsukiji, completed in 1872, designed and built by Shimizu Kisuke II, and several governmental buildings designed and constructed by Hayashi Tadahiro.

The government also invited architects from foreign countries to aid in the construction of governmental buildings in a genuine Western style. Many foreign architects came by invitation from 1868 to 1877, and in 1872 as many as twenty were invited. Englishmen exceeded others in number, though there were several each of Americans, Germans, Frenchmen and Italians. The most distinguished among them was T. J. Woters, an English architect, who after arriving in Japan in 1868 built the brick buildings such as the Osaka Mint Bureau completed in 1871, the Senpukan of Osaka also in 1871, the Takebashi Army Barracks 1871, the British Legation, completed in 1872. In addition, he designed the brick pavement of the Ginza from Kyōbashi Bridge to the Shimbashi Bridge and completely changed the appearance of the city of Tokyo.

In the world of sculpture in this country, the carving of Buddhist images which had once predominated continued to decline during the Edo Period so that there was almost no one who could be considered as famed sculptor of Buddhist images at the end of the Shogunate government. Only Takamura Tōun continued to hold the mantle and later led in the revival of wood carving. There was almost no one who could be called a master-artist in other fields besides the carving of Buddhist images, such as architectural decorations, netsuke-shi, or dolls. Due to the social reform after the Meiji Restoration, the demand for these crafts decreased, and many craftsmen lost their jobs. But after a short period when foreign trade began to thrive, ivory carving, which pleased the fancy of Europeans and Americans, began to prosper.

The Kanō school, the Tosa school, the Kōrin school, the
Maruyama School, the Shijō school, the *Bunjinga* school (literary school of painting) and the *Ukiyoe* school of painting, which had made outstanding developments in the Edo Period, went into decline after the years of Bunka-Bunsei (1804-1830). At the time of the Restoration, only the *Bunjinga* maintained its influence in Tokyo, and the Maruyama, the Shijō and the *Bunjinga* schools were the ones that could be mentioned in Kyoto. *Bunjinga* was welcomed because about the time of the Restoration, Chinese literature was meeting greater public favor than the national literature. And in Tokyo, there were such artists as Watanabe Shōka, son of Watanabe Kazan, Kawakami Tōgai, the pioneer of Western style painting, Yasuda Rōzan, who visited Shanghai and introduced the style of Hu Kung-shou into Japan, and the woman artist Okuhara Seiko. Besides, Taki Watei, who studied the painting of flowers and birds according to the style of School of the Imperial Academy of Sung of China, Noguchi Yūkoku, who was a student of Tsubaki Chinzan and an excellent painter of flowers and birds, and Tazaki Sōun who moved from Edo to Ashikaga, were the noted *Bunjinga* artists.

Other than *Bunjinga* artists, there were excellent painters such as Kikuchi Yōsai who drew historical pictures by blending the styles of the Tosa school and the Shijō school; Shibata Zeshin of the Shijō school, noted also as a master-artist of gold-lacquering, who used to draw *haiku* pictures and lacquer pictures by facile touches of his brush; Kawanabe Gyōsai of the Kanō school who left unconventional pictures by applying the *Ukiyoe* style; and Tsukioka Hōnen who studied *Ukiyoe* and used to draw the manners and customs of the Meiji Period.

In Kyoto, there were Mori Kansai of the Maruyama school, Yukino Bairei who studied both the Maruyama school and the Shijō school, Kishi Chikudō of the Kishi school. These artists inherited the tradition of realistic delineation of the Kyoto artists and laid the foundations for the rise of modern Japanese-style paintings in Kyoto. Notable *Bunjinga* artists were Hine
Taizan, Tonomura Naoto, Nakanaishi Koseki and Taniguchi Aizan. Western style painting made significant progress after the Meiji Restoration. With increased contacts with foreign countries, the Shogunate government was forced to acquire new knowledge of foreign countries for national defense, and encouraged the Bansho-shirabejo, then under government management, to study Western style drawing, as well as to translate diplomatic documents. The central figures in the study of Western style drawing was Kawakami Tōgai, who was appointed as Drawing investigation official of the institute in 1875. In 1862, the Gagakukyoku (Drawing Bureau) was established when the Bansho-shirabejo was expanded, and Tōgai was appointed drawing expediting official. Later the institute was renamed the Yōshoshirabejo, then the Kaiseijo, and the organizational structure was further expanded. In 1866, Tōgai was concurrently appointed drawing investigation officer and drawing expediting official.

They first studied the techniques and theories of Western style drawing from Dutch books, exercised their ingenuity in production of oil colors, fusain and drawing implements, and minutely sketched pictures of Western style etching and lithographs on Japanese paper by using the portrait brushes of Japanese style painting. Around 1864–1868, as British and French books were imported, and those envoys sent to Europe by the Shogunate government brought back oil colors, pigments and brushes, oil painting gradually increased. As evidence nine artists, including Takahashi Yūichi and Miyamoto Sampei of the Gagakukyoku, exhibited their oil paintings at the Fifth International Exhibition held in Paris in 1867.

In addition to the studies at the Kaiseijo under the leadership of Tōgai, there were two Foreigners who taught Western style drawing in the closing days of the Shogunate government. One was Charles Wirgman of England; the other was the wife of Raphel Schoyer of the United States. Schoyer lived in Yokohama and was publishing an English newspaper Japan
Express around 1862. His wife was a good painter, and Tōgai, Yūichi and Shimo'oka Renjō learned from her. Wirgman came to Japan as a correspondent of the Illustrated London News and had lived in Yokohama since 1859, and was sending back to England his drawings of historical events, manners and customs of Japan. He was excellent in oil and water-color painting, and Yūichi, Yoshimatsu, son of Goseida Hōryu, Kobayashi Kiyochika, a wood-block artist, Tamura Soryu of Kyoto and others learned from him. Wirgman's role, at a time when there was no other teacher of actual technique, was outstanding; Wirgman influenced the early works of both Yūichi and Yoshimatsu.

The rapid progress of Western style painting after the Meiji Era was generally due to the broadened experiences of the people by national reopening and by the principle of seeking widely knowledge of the world and of taking in and adopting the strong points of foreign countries. More specifically, the construction of Western style public buildings and the rise of modern industries required a study of the techniques of Western style drawing. The truthfulness to life of Western style paintings was also welcomed by the general public.

Parallel with the enforcement of the educational system in 1872, Western style drawing and linear drawing were incorporated as subjects in primary and secondary schools; the textbook, Saiga Shinan (the Teaching of Western Drawing) by Tōgai and other translated books were used, and pencils instead of the brush were used for drawing. Tōgai was appointed by the government as pictorial affairs official, and then middle assistant instructor of the Ministry of Education, and put in charge of research in drawing education. Takahashi Yūichi was once professor of Western drawing at Nankō (Southern University).

However, as there was no specific institution specializing in Western art, private schools maintained by artists of Western style painting did much in that area. One of them was the Chōkō Dokugarō, established by Kawakami Tōgai at Okachimachi
Shitaya, around 1869. This school produced such artists as Koyama Shōtarō, Matsuoka Hisashi, Nakamura Seijūrō, Matsui Noboru, among others. Another was Tenkairō established by Takahashi Yūichi at Hamachō, Nihombashi, in 1873, which later became the Tenkai Gakkai, a school of painting authorized by the Tokyo Prefectural government which produced many artists. Among its graduates, were such noted artists as Takahashi Genkichi, Andō Nakatarō, and Harada Naojirō. Among those of the Japanese schools were Kawabata Gyokushō and Araki Kampo who once studied at this school. Yokoyama Matsusaburō also established a private school at Ikenohata, Shitaya around this time. Kunizawa Shinkurō, who went to England for study, established at Shogidō at Hirakawa-chō, Kōjimachi, in 1875, and gave a fairly well-arranged education by preparing Western plaster statues rare in Japan and books on Western drawing. When he died while still young, his student Honda Kinkichirō succeeded in the management of this school. As artists taught by Kunizawa, there were Asai Tadashi, Nishi Kei, Isayama Renkichi, Tazaki Enjirō, Morizumi Yugyo, and others. In addition, as stated previously, Wirgman was residing in Yokohama and taught Takahashi Yūichi, Goseida Yoshimatsu and other artists. Hōryū, father of Yoshiamatsu, created a new blended style of Japanese and Western painting by self-study and operated a private school at Yokohama, and from this school there emerged artists such as Watanabe Bunzaburō, Watanabe Yūkō, Yamamoto Hōsui, son-in-law of Hōryu II, and others.

The early Meiji years of Meiji were thus the cradle period of Western style painting in Japan. Artists endeavored to sketch landscapes, portraits and still-lifes as they were. The best of three artists was Takahashi Yūichi, whose work entitled Salmon can be said to be the representative piece of this period.
Chapter Three

CULTURE OF EARLY MEIJI

A. SOCIETY AND POLITICS OF THE PERIOD.


WHEN the fiefs were abolished and the prefectures established in 1871, the feudal structure of the Tokugawa Shogunate, based on some two hundred and sixty clans, was completely swept away. Then, alteration of the structure of the Meiji government which was based on the old feudal clans became essential. As a consequence, the beginnings of parliamentary politics, using clan domains as electoral districts, lost their basis.

On September 13 1871, the governmental system based on the Dajōkan was reformed, and the Shōin (Main House), Sain (the Left House) and Uin (the Right House) were established. The Shōin became the Prime Minister’s Office, the Sain the legislature, and the Uin composed of ministers and vice ministers of various ministries, was an organ to prepare bills and to deliberate the business of the ministries. With regard to the duties of the cabinet ministers, it was stated that, “A cabinet minister is a competent ministerial subject who respectively carries entrusted duties that His Majesty the Emperor has divided among His Majesty’s general administration and charges him with; a cabinet minister shall bear the fullest responsibility for the faultless execution of the departmental affairs entrusted, take responsibility if anything goes amiss, and not implicate His Majesty in difficulties.” In the Left House, there were a speaker, and first, second and third class members,
who carried on the function of the former Giseikan. Together with the provision that cabinet ministers shall hold governmental responsibility, the establishment of an organ to respect public discussion is a point worth nothing in the political history of early Meiji.

With regard to local politics, the designation of chiji (governor) was changed to rei (governor) in December 1871, and in the same month as the establishment of a system of prefectural government, a basis for local government was set forth. Although local administration was provided for in this way, there remained the problem of former clansmen numbering four to five thousand households who had lost their basis of livelihood and were left destitute in their local districts. These clansmen, belonging to the intellectual class of that time, still cherished their bushidō spirit, which was a product of generations of training. To leave these people at large presented a serious social problem. Eventually it resulted in inciting the movement for a Korean expedition, and at the same time, led to the rise of the movement for popular rights.

Western political ideas were introduced into Japan by books translated by far-sighted pioneers and were read among the literate people. Books of this kind translated and published between 1872 to 1875 included several on Dutch, French, English, American national and local law and constitutions, as well as others on election systems, manuals on parliamentary procedure, and analyses of parliamentary systems. Montesquieu’s L’esprit des lois and John Stuart Mill’s On Representative Government were also introduced in this manner.

The discussions in these books were quite new and were read avidly. Many readers become ardent admirers of these views. Miyajima Seiichirō, minor councillor of the Left House and chief of the Ceremonial System Section, wrote in 1872 in his Rekkoku Kengi (Opinion on a National Constitution) that:

“Nowadays intercourse with foreign countries is increasing day after day, thriving year after year. Just at this
time the illiterate and unenlightened people are gradually acquiring knowledge of the national structure of foreign countries and are beginning to assert exaggeratedly their own rights in the name of autonomy and freedom, to despise their own duties, and some are terrible enough to argue and to advocate a republican administration.”

Because the social trend showed such an inclination, Kido Takayoshi, who had returned from a tour to Europe and America in July 1873, expressed an opinion on the necessity of promulgating a code of governmental administration, that is, a constitution and said:

“If public affairs in a country are served by welcoming popular opinion, regulating governmental duties, executing the judgment of the courts, thereby restraining the self-willed actions of government officials, by the sublime decision of His Majesty the Emperor, then even the autocratic Constitution of today will invite public deliberation some day, will become the basis of a constitution of joint administration (of the ruler the people), and the basis of the welfare of the people.”

Okubo Toshimichi also asserted the necessity of a constitution and stated:

“Determine monarchical rights above and bind the people’s rights below, and be most fair and most righteous, and both the monarch and his subjects should not become despotic. The idea of determining monarchical rights and of binding the people’s rights comes from a sincere love of country and is the way to leave the monarch at ease on the everlasting heavenly Throne and to let people continue their natural and innate heavenly life.”

Consequently, the Sain also undertook study relating to the establishment a national diet and the enforcement of a national constitution.

While the central government was pushing forward a basic investigation on the course of the national government, some
prefectures established prefectoral assemblies and were actually implementing popular participation in politics. A notification issued by Kisarazu Prefecture in 1874 stated:

"This time it was decided to open the gijisho (assembly hall), to select the best possible representatives and to let them discuss civil affairs. Since these representatives are to be elected in the belief that people have confidence in them and do not object to whatever they might discuss and assert, what the representatives deem right or wrong should of course match the opinions of the general public within its jurisdiction."

It explained that an assembly was to be established in accordance with the principle of representative government. Prefectures which already had their own assemblies between 1872 and 1874 included Aichi, Oitama, Chikuma, Ashiha, Ishikawa, Aomori, Shizuoka, Hamada, Kumamoto, Oita, Tokyo, Osaka.

About this time, the problem of Korea arose. Directly after the Restoration, and new government sent a notice to the Korean government, which had had diplomatic relations with the Tokugawa Shogunate government, regarding the Restoration of Imperial Rule. The Korean government refused to reply on some minor pretext concerning the phraseology of the note. Japan made several overtures, but was rebuffed. Among government officials, there developed an opinion in favor of sending an expeditionary force to Korea since there was no prospect of solving the problem by peaceful means.

Just then, upon returning home from their trip to Europe and America, the top figures of the government Iwakura Tomomi, Minister of the Right, Ōkubo Toshimichi, and Kido Takayoshi, heard of the problem. As might be expected of those who had just personally observed the world situation they declared that the time was not ripe for dispatching an expeditionary force abroad, thus disagreeing with the opinion to chastise Korea. However, the attitude of the Imperial Court was already determined, and the only remaining action was for
Sanjō Sanetomi, the Prime Minister, to report the decision to the Throne and to ask for Imperial sanction. But Sanjō was confined in bed because of a sudden illness, and Iwakura Tomomi was deputized to his office. Iwakura was reluctant to report the decision because he opposed it; but persuaded by the advocates of the Korean expedition, he was cornered into doing so, and in the process included also his own opinion. The result was the Imperial decision that the time was not appropriate to dispatch forces abroad. With the Imperial decision thus made, the advocates of chastising Korea could take no action, and many of them resigned from office. Realizing that nothing could be done if a single man in a crucial post opposes a decision, even if supported by the general mass, they began to propose the establishment of a parliament organized by members elected by popular vote and to propose ways and means of enhancing public opinion. Thus, in its aftermath, the attempt to chastise Korea furnished considerable impetus to the idea of popular rights.

In such a situation, Komuro Nobuo, Furusawa Sakurō, Itagaki Taisuke, Gotō Shōjirō, Soejima Taneomi, Etō Shimpei and others established in Tokyo, a society called the Kōfuku Anzen Sha (Happiness and Security Society) as a gathering place for comrades. Then, as it was felt necessary to establish a political party, they organized the Aikoku Kōtō. Under their joint signatures, Itagaki Taisuke, Etō Shimpei, Soejima Taneomi, Furusawa Sakurō, Fukuoka Kōtei Yuri Kimimasa, Gotō Shōjirō, and Okamoto Kenzaburō, submitted a written memorial to the Dajōkan the same month requesting the establishment of a national diet by popular election. The memorial stated in part:

"Recently, governmental power exists neither in the hands of the Imperial Court nor the people, and is exclusively in the hands of government officials.... And in addition, hundreds of ordinances are inconsistently issued in the morning and are revised at night, administration and court judgment are carried on by private consideration,
and commendations and punishments are given according to whim. The road of speech is tightly closed and there is no way to appeal a grievance. . . . The only way to remedy these situations lies in the enhancement of public opinion, there is no way but to establish a national diet by popular election."

In addition, thousands of words were spent on such assertions that if the people have an obligation to pay taxes, they have the right to preliminary information of, and to argue for and against, the policies of the government. Once this memorial was made public, the arguments of informed people were concentrated upon it. The major argument lay in the controversy between those who asserted that the intellectual level of the people was still too immature to apply the method of election by popular vote, and those who denied this point of view.

While this problem was being publicly debated, high officials and distinguished citizens out of power held a conference in February 1875 in Osaka. It was attended by Ōkubo Toshimichi, Itō Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, and Kido Takayoshi who came to Osaka from Chōshū, and Itagaki Taisuke who happened to be in Kyoto. They established a program to organize a governmental system by establishing a cabinet under the Emperor, consisting of a prime minister, a minister of the left, a minister of the right, and councillors under them, and as subordinate organs the Genrōin (Elder Statesmen), a prefectural governors' conference, and administrative offices as legislative organs, and a supreme court as judicial organ.

In that way, the first local governors' conference, consisting of prefectural governors and vice-governors, was convened in June 1875, an event popularly called the "Rehearsal of the Diet." At this conference, the organization of local assemblies, regulations for voters, eligibility and disqualifications relating to election were discussed. Then in September 1876, the Emperor summoned Prince Arisugawa Taruhito and handed him the Parliamentary Government in England written by
Tott(?), an Englishman, together with an Imperial edict:

"We in accordance with the principles of the national foundation, hereby intend to promulgate a national constitution by referring to the established laws of countries abroad. You shall prepare a draft of it and report to upon it. We shall take notice of the same."

Thus, the great principle that Japan was to proceed towards the establishment of a constitutional government was set forth.

2. Local Upheavals and the Satsuma Rebellion.

Although the samurai class was in process of collapse, there were many former samurai who were seriously concerned over the state of their affairs, particularly in Saga Prefecture, and who formed parties in accordance with their own political principles in the spring of 1874. The group who were indignant over the failure of the policy to chastise Korea but who stubbornly adhered to that opinion were called the Seikantō (Chastise Korea Party). The group who were dissatisfied with the excessive trend toward Westernization of systems and manners after the Restoration was called Yūkokutō (National Worry Party). There were others who stood on neutral platforms.

On February 18, 1874, the Seikan and Yūkoku were amalgamated into a single group. Prevailing upon Etō Shimpei and Shima Giyū to be their leaders, and taking up arms, they captured the prefectural government office located in Saga Castle. Prior to this, on February 7, the government had already been informed of the threatening situation in Saga and had instructed the Kumamoto Garrison to be on the alert. Shots were finally exchanged, and the government troops re-captured Saga Castle on February 28. The uprising subdued, leaders Etō, Shima, and others were arrested and punished.

In Kumamoto, too, there were a group of malcontents dissatisfied with social conditions after the Restoration and the reforms carried out by the government. This group was called
the Shimpūren, or the Keishintō. They opposed the diffusion of Western manners and customs all over the country. At midnight on October 24, 1876, one hundred seventy of them, led by Ōno Teppei (Ōtaguro Tomo’o) and Kaya Narikata, took up arms. A part of them assaulted the prefectural government office, and other group the Kumamoto Garrison. The garrison was thrown into utter confusion, but after daybreak the garrison troops returned to the battle-front and subdued the insurgents. The Garrison Commander, Major-General Taneda Masa’aki and the Prefectural Governor Yasuoka Ryōsuke, were killed in the battle.

In Akizuki, Fukuoka Prefecture, too, there were almost four hundred vassals of the former Akizuki clan, including Miyazaki Kurumanosuke, and Imamura Hyakuhachirō, who were displeased with the turn of affairs. With the outbreak of the Shimpūren Revolt, they took up arms in sympathy on October 27. Prefectural Governor Watanabe Kiyoshi requested the garrison to dispatch troops to subdue them. The insurgents fled into the Toyotsu district, Bizen Province, and tried to raise supporters, but were put down by the troops of the Kokura Garrison. Kurumanosuke killed himself, and the others were captured.

Following these uprisings, the Hagi Revolt broke out in Yamaguchi Prefecture. The leader was Maebara Issei, a loyalist of the Chōshū clan, famous by the alias of Sase Hachijūrō. His comrades, Yokoyama Toshihiko, Okudaira Kensuke and others gathered at Meirinkan Hall, Hagi. Their handbill with an inflammatory appeal to purge out undesirable elements from the Imperial Court stated:

“Scores of high officials under Prime Minister Sanjō Sanetomi have stolen high positions despite their base quality and are carrying out an administration of unjust extortions like robbers, imposing heavy taxes on every inch of land all over the country....” Also “several groups of private individuals including ministers on the left and the right of His Majesty, though in the name of dutiful
service, are actually making a prisoner of His Majesty. Heaven will not mitigate punishment, and the gods and men are equally indignant at them."

They tried to make an assault upon the prefectural government office, but upon learning of the approach of garrison troops, they fled by sea into Shimane Prefecture. But seizing an opportunity they made a counter-attack upon the garrison troops of Hagi, were defeated and again fled eastward to the sea, and were arrested in Shimane Prefecture. Some of the remnants resisted at Hagi, but were easily put down.

Along with the Hagi Revolt, former vassals of the Aizu clan Nagaoka Hisashige and several of his group planned to make an assault upon the Chiba prefectural office, but the plot was discovered by the government, and Nagaoka was arrested at Shiambashi Bridge in Nihombashi, Tokyo, on October 29. This is called the Shiambashi case.

The Satsuma rebellion had its beginnings when Saigō Takamori, General of the Army and Commander of the Imperial Guard, failed to realize his Korean objective, and resigned from office in October 1873, then returning to his native Kagoshima. He established a private school for the people of the Kagoshima clan with the intention of developing "chivalrous men reverent toward the Emperor and sympathetic to the people." He was assisted by Major-Generals Shinohara Kokkan and Kirino Toshiaki, who accompanied him from Tokyo.

Misunderstanding gave birth to misinformation. The central government and Kagoshima failed to achieve a mutual understanding; both groped blindly in the dark, suspicious of the other, and the situation became menacing. In December 1876 Nakahara Hisao, Takasaki Chika'aki, and Araku Kanemichi, who were in Tōkyō from the Kagoshima clan, returned. Students of the school guessed that they had come back with a secret mission to assassinate Saigō Takamori, and were suspicious of the intentions of the central government. At that moment, in January 1877 the War Office instructed the Osaka Branch
Ordinance Factory to move arms and ammunition in storage at Kagoshima to Osaka, but before the move took place, the students of the school stole the rifles and ammunition. The moral influence and power of Saigō could not ease the situation, which moved towards the outbreak of open warfare.

Thereupon, Saigō Takamori, Kirino Toshiaki, and Shinohara Kokkan jointly informed Governor Ōyama Tsunayoshi of Kagoshima Prefecture that they were proceeding to Tokyo to make an inquiry of the government, and that many former soldiers would accompany them. Governor Ōyama informed prefectural governments and garrisons along their route. On February 15, troops 15,000 strong, consisting of former soldiers and students of the private school, proceeded northward from Kagoshima guarding Saigō. The Satsuma Army had a considerable amount of weapons, powder and other war supplies, although not quite enough. Based upon a plan to place all Kyūshū under their influence by taking Kumamoto Castle they besieged the castle as their first step. Many former samurai joined them en route.

On February 19, an Imperial command to subjugate the Satsuma Army was issued, Prince Arisugawa Taruhito was appointed Commanding-General of the Subjugation Army, garrison troops were collected, converted into battalion formation and sent to the battlefront. In Kumamoto Castle, Garrison Commander Major-General Tani Kanjō decided to defend the castle, gathered all the troops stationed at Kokura and Fukuoka in the castle, and tried to prevent the northward advance of the Satsuma Army. The Satsuma Army besieged the Kumamoto Castle on February 22 and exchanged fire for about two months. Bitter battles were fought in the district of Ueki and Tawara-zaka. On April 15, a unit from the Kumamoto Castle succeeded in securing liaison with the government army which had come south from Nankan, as well as with the troops which had landed in the vicinity of Yatsushiro in the south. And thus, the Satsuma Army had no recourse but to retreat southward.
Prior to that, the Imperial messengers Yanagiwara Sakimitsu and Lieu.-General Kuroda Kiyotaka had arrived at Kagoshima by sea on March 8, had persuaded the local people to distinguish between loyalty and treason and not to take a wrong course, and had confiscated a powder factory and machinery belonging to the Satsuma Army. The troops under the Subjugation commander Prince Arisugawa, after rescuing Kumamoto Castle, established a united front by gathering all available troops and started a southward drive in pursuit of the Satsuma Army which was retreating to Kagoshima.

Battles erupted all over Southern Kyūshū. The Satsuma Army entrenched on Mt. Shiroyama on the back side of Kagoshima City found itself endangered. On September 24 the government army, consisting of seven battalions and a police corps, launched a grand offensive upon Mt. Shiroyama, and broke through the enemy line with a sweeping assault. Saigō and other leading generals of the Satsuma Army killed themselves or were killed, bringing an end to the rebellion.

The Satsuma Rebellion has no small significance in the history of the Meiji Era. In the first place, it is related to the consolidation of the conscription system. Although the conscription system was planned to build up a new national army on the principle that "citizens are all soldiers," in the beginning, garrison soldiers, consisting mainly of farmers and townsfolk, were considered to be much inferior to the Satsuma Army, composed of former samurai. However, this belief was destroyed by the victory of the conscript troops. Because the government suffered from a shortage of combat troops in the midst of the fighting, the recruitment of volunteer samurai soldiers (sōhei) was discussed, but a sōhei corps was not formally organized, a fact which contributed to preventing the collapse of the conscription system. Yet, the recruiting of sōhei was actually carried out, and former samurai, of various clans were organized into police squads and joined the war as reinforcement. But they were not by any means genuine soldiers.
The second significance was the destruction of the last of the remaining feudal armed influences. The armed rebellions in the southwestern part of the country were launched in the belief that the rebels possessed the ability to challenge the government army. Even in other minor rebellions, it was presumed that elsewhere in the country others would take up arms in sympathy, and that these forces could seriously challenge the government. However, such armed forces and even the tremendous armed might of the Satsuma Army were easily crushed by the government forces. After the Satsuma Rebellion, no group appeared which tried to resist the government by military power. In its place, a war of ideas, with the catchphrase of *jīyū minken* or popular rights, developed.

Thirdly, by the military experience gained through these uprisings, a movement grew to separate the army into two organs, the military administration and the military command. In December 1878, the army created an independent control organ for the military command called the General Staff Office. The dispute over the independence of the Imperial right of commanding the forces, which became a political issue in later days, has its origins here.

3. The Evolution of Political Movements

The end of the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877 was a turning point in the popular resistance against the Meiji government which had concentrated power in the hands of few clan factions. The basis for the popular rights movement (*jīyū-minke n’undō* which spread like wild fire after the rebellion was the rise of political societies in various districts before 1877. The idea of popular rights, which had developed from knowledge gained from translated books, made a deep impression upon the people. Kōno Hironaka, a House member from Fukushima Prefecture and called the brave fighter of the political world in the Taishō Era, awakened to the importance of the rights of man and
popular sentiment by reading *Jiyū no Ri* (Reason for Freedom) translated by Nakamura Keiu. He wrote in his autobiography that all thoughts he had had before, except the moral principles of loyalty and filial piety, were completely altered. In April, 1874, Itagaki Taisuke, who was defeated in arguing for the Korean expedition, returned to his native district, Tosa Province. Together with his comrades Kataoka Kenkichi, Hayashi Yūzō, Tani Shigeyoshi, and others, he formed a political society called the *Risshi-sha*. Many other political societies also appeared in Tosa, such as the *Gakuyō-sha* in Kōchi, *Nanzan-sha* in Sagawa, *Gōritsu-sha* in Shukuge. In 1875, political societies spread all over the country and the *Sōai-sha* in Kumamoto, the *Shōshi-sha* in Kasazu, Izumo Province, the *Kiritu-sha* in Nogoya, the *Kōkyō-sha* in Matsuyama, Iyo Province, the *Sekiyū-sha* in Fukushima, came into existence. The activities of these political societies began to take on a brazen appearance. The members of the *Risshi Sha* of Tosa Province took the initiative in February 1875 in planning the amalgamation of these political societies. Calling together Komuro Nobuo of Awa, Shimada Ichirō and Oka Yoshinao of Kaga, Ōchi Hikoshirō of Chikuzen, Masuda Sōtarō of Buzen, Imai Tetsutarō of Inaba, Samejima of Satsuma among others, they established the *Aikoku-sha* (Patriotic Society). With the outbreak of the Satsuma Rebellion, the activities of these societies were discontinued, but after the end of the disturbance, proposals appeared to rebuild the *Aikoku-sha*, and twenty one political societies from eighteen prefectures held a meeting in Ōsaka in March 1879. The objective of this meeting was to realize their desire to establish a national diet. At their third meeting held in November, it was decided to hold the fourth national convention of the *Aikoku-sha* in the spring of the following year and to submit a petition on a nation-wide scale for opening the national diet. However, in January, 1880, without waiting for that convention, representatives from 31 countries, 1 ward, 1171 villages and 106 town-ships of Bitchū, Bizen and Mimasaku Provinces of
Okayama Prefecture presented on appeal to the Genrōin to open the national diet; the Kyōai-Kōshū-Kai of Chikuzen Province submitted a similar petition to the Genrōin in the same month. At the fourth national convention of the Aikoku-sha held in March that year, 140 representatives from 27 member-societies changed the party name from Aikoku-sha to Kokkai Kaisetsu Gambō Yūshi Kai (Society of Comrades Desiring to Open a Diet), and decided its rules. Kōno Hironaka, Kataoka Kenkichi and others went to Tokyo from Osaka in April and tried to submit a “Petition for Approval of the Establishment of the National Diet to the government, signed by ninety-seven members representing more than 87,000 people of twenty four prefectures. But both the government ministers and the Genrōin refused to accept the petition under the pretext that it was not written in conformity with regulations. In this month, in an effort to suppress political gatherings, the government issued the Public Assembly Ordinance.

As might be inferred from this attitude of the central government, political movements in local districts became extremely virulent. Speech meetings laying stress on popular rights were held in many places, and many people came to Tokyo to observe the political scene. These activities spread from Hokkaidō to Kagoshima, and even to the Island of Sado. In March, 1880, the Kyōchū Dōshin Kai was organized in Yamanashi Prefecture, which elected committees to visit Tokyo. In December, 1881, a political speech meeting was held in Komagun. Typical of titles of speeches at this meeting were: “There is no official tyrant above the strongwilled people,” “Isn’t it suppression when the Governor of Yamanashi dismisses primary school teachers”; “Who owns Japan?; Who can be called a loyal subject of the country?” A certain Kimura of Kumamoto Prefecture submitted a memorial to the Director of the Peerage Administration Department, stating, “There is no reason to confer court rank upon incapable and untalented members among the peers.”
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Coincidentally with the promotion of popular rights, the case of the sale of government property by the Commissioner of Hokkaidō Colonization came to light. In the beginning, in the early years of Meiji, the government sought the resources of the new civilization for Hokkaido and started miscellaneous new enterprises there. Government investment in Hokkaidō exploitation amounted to as much as 13 to 14 million yen in 1880. The government then secretly planned to sell the enterprises in Hokkaidō to merchants Nakano Gōichi (formerly a high official of the Tokugawa Shogunate government and ex-Governor of Yamaguchi Prefecture) and Godai Tomoatsu (a former vassal of the Satsuma clan and an ex-accounting official and assistant judge) at a price of 300,000 Yen payable in thirty years' instalment without interest. It was a price which almost gave the enterprises away for nothing. The plan leaked out to the public, and public criticism turned to bitter attacks against the government. In addition, by bitterly blaming the government, public opinion began to insist that a parliament by popular election be established, for it was alleged, the sale of government property on special conditions to persons with special connections with high officials was due to the absence of a proper organ for the people to judge actions of the government. The attack upon the government became so vehement that it went beyond vocal opposition and was on the verge of turning into rioting in Tokyo. People of similar beliefs in local districts gathered in Tokyo, and many petitioners for the establishment of a national diet swarmed in front of the homes of cabinet members, members of the Genrōin, Prince Arisugawa, the former President of the Genrōin, and Iwakura Tomomi.

About that time, the Emperor was traveling in the north-eastern district, but on October 11, 1881, he returned to a temporary Imperial Headquarters in Senju, Tokyo. Iwakura Tomomi visited the headquarters and reported the situation in Tokyo in detail. The Emperor promptly returned to the Imperial Palace, held an Imperial conference, and on October 12
issued an Imperial decree calling for the opening of a national
diet. The Imperial decree, stated, "We intend to call House
members and to open the National Diet in 1890, and to realize
our initial purpose..." "Now We entrust officials of the
Imperial Court to assume responsibility for setting up the
program by spending sufficient time,"..."We believe that
people’s minds are pushing too much in looking ahead and are
competing for hurried acquisition of new ways. Groundless
rumours spread and make people forget the far-reaching national
policy. Therefore, at this time, it is deemed necessary to
clarify the significance of the precepts of our Imperial ancestors,
and it shall be announced publicly to all people in the country.
Further, if there is anyone who particularly hastily seeks for a
new change, investigates subversive actions or inflicts damage to
the national peace, he shall be prosecuted under the national
statutes." Thus, the desire of the people for many years was
destined to be realized by 1890.

The speeches and behavior of Councillor Ōkuma Shigenobu
on that occasion invited the reproach and criticism of other
cabinet members. Some even charged that the development of
the problem of the sale of government property in Hokkaidō
erupted into a serious social issue because Ōkuma always leaked
the internal situation of the government to the public. On the
day of the issuance of the Imperial Decree, Ōkuma resigned
from office. Others closely associated with him, such as Kōno
Togama, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Yano Fumio,
Director of the Board of Statistics and Grand-Secretary of the
Cabinet, Ushiba Takuzō, Minor Secretary of the Board of Sta-
tistics, Inukai Tsuyoshi, Assistant Minor Secretary of the Board of
Statistics, Ozaki Yukio, Assistant Minor Secretary of the
Board of Statistics, Nakamigawa Hikojirō, Assistant Grand
Secretary of the Foreign Office, Ono Azusa, First-class Inspector,
Nakaguchi Gengaku, Grand Secretary of the Agriculture and
Commerce Ministry, Komatsubara Eitarō, Assistant Minor
Secretary of the Foreign Office, Nakano Buei, Assistant Minor
Secretary of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry, and Shimada Saburō, Assistant Grand Secretary of the Ministry of Education, followed his example.

Other complicated reasons for Ōkuma's resignation existed in the background. After the issuance in 1876 of the Imperial instruction to the Genrōin to draft a national constitution, the Genrōin had promptly begun to work on a manuscript. In December 1880 the drafting committee submitted a bill to Ōki, President of the Genrōin. This draft mainly distinguished between the rights of the Emperor and the rights of the people. The rights of the Emperor consisted of three mainstays, the legislature, the judiciary and the executive. There was opposition to this draft bill even from cabinet members. Iwakura Tomomi commented that the Genrōin draft "has a part which does not suit the national standing of this country." From December 1879 to March 1881, cabinet members Yamagata Aritomo, Kuroda Kiyotaka, Yamada Akiyoshi, Inoue Kaoru, Itō Hirobumi, and Ōki Takato, responding to an Imperial order, each submitted a letter with opinions on the draft of the national constitution to the Throne. Cabinet Councillor Yamagata stated that the establishment of a national constitution was necessary to orient the public mind towards the government. Cabinet Councillor Kuroda asserted the need for stern control of the advocates of popular rights. Cabinet Councillor Yamada stated that the general trend had already turned uncontrollable and that enforcement of a national constitution was necessary. Cabinet Councillor Inoue expressed an opinion that in drafting the civil code and the national constitution it was desirable to establish several cabinet committees and not to entrust the job exclusively to house members. Cabinet Councillor Itō stated that the principle of the constitution should be decided by following the Imperial decision and by judging the general situation, and Cabinet Councillor Ōki asserted that an organ to determine the national structure should first be established.
Although all the other cabinet councillors had submitted their opinions, Cabinet Councillor Ōkuma was hesitant to turn in his views, but persuaded by President Prince Arisugawa, did so in March, 1881. His essential points were that a date for opening the Diet should be announced, that the election of members of the Diet should be carried out toward the end of 1882 and that the Diet should be opened in the beginning of 1883, that political party officials and permanent officials should be distinctly separated, that appointment of high officials should be made by taking public desire into consideration. He even asked, "Where is the place for public desire to be expressed in constitutional politics? It is the National Diet. What is the public desire? It is the desire of a majority of house members. Who shall be called the persons representing the president of the Majority political party. This was truly a radical opinion requesting the organization of a cabinet based on political parties. Itō Hirobumi bluntly expressed his unwillingness to be a colleague with Ōkuma in the cabinet, stating, "Upon carefully reading the recent memorial presented by Ōkuma, I find that it is an extremely radical opinion, and it is impossible for this stupid Itō to play second fiddle to it...." Thus, Ōkuma resigned from office, taking advantage of the opportunity of the political crisis of 1881.

Because feudal traditions remained directly after the Restoration so that people were still bound by groupings based on the district conception of old clans, the party rules of the Risshisha of Tosa of April, 1874, stipulated that those eligible for membership be limited to those who had registered their residences in Tosa. The Aikoku-sha, formed around 1877, as well as its successor Kokkai Kisei Dōmei, was composed of political parties of local districts. But gradually political parties without significant ties with local districts came into existence.

The first such political party was the Aikoku Kōtō (Patriotic Party), organized in January, 1884. When the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei was formed in November, 1880, Kôno Hironaka, Matsuda
Masahisa, Yamagiwa Shichishi, Numa Morikazu, Ueki Emori, Hayashi Kaneaki and others advocated the formation of a liberal political party. After several meetings in Tokyo, they decided on "The Pledge to form the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party) with for articles. Article 1 reads, "This party shall be organized by the united efforts of those who aim to expand the freedom of the Japanese people, to promote their rights and to preserve them."

Upon the proclamation of the Imperial decree relating to the establishment of a national diet on October 12, 1881, the Jiyūtō and the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei made a move to amalgamate and to create a large political party. Meeting in Asakusa, Tokyo, on October 18, they nominated Gotō Shōjirō as chairman and Baba Tatsui as vice chairman. Holding conferences for several consecutive days they decided on October 28 the party rules of Jiyūto. Article 1 of the general rules of party organization, stated, "The primary objective of this party is to enhance the true meaning of freedom, to build up the influence of public opinion, and thereby to restrict artificial power and to secure heaven-given happiness." They prevailed upon Itagaki Taisuke to be party president and Nakajima Nobuyuki to be vice president, and nominated a standing committee and other party officers. The Liberal Party had quite a large number of members with a deep patriotic sentiment, but their claims were extremely radical. However, since intellectuals and the wealthy were reluctant to participate in it, men of ideas suggested the desirability of organizing a political party backed by men of reputation, intellectuality, and wealth. Fukuzawa Yukichi once tried to convince Gotō Shōjirō of this opinion.

Eventually, the man who established a political party from this standpoint was Ōkuma Shigenobu, who then held no governmental post. Together with his comrades, who had left government office following his example, Ōkuma established the Rikken Kaishintō (Constitutional Progressive Party) in March, 1882. Its party platforms and party rules declared in part:
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“If there is any one who belittles the augustness and prosperity of the Imperial Household and the happiness of the people, who steals momentary ease and takes no heed of permanent harm, this party shall consider them public enemies. We intend to unify this party by the concerted desire for eternal continuation of the augustness and prosperity of the Imperial Household and the permanent happiness of the people.”

“This party desires the improvement and progress of politics. However, this party does not desire radical alterations. To plot hasty changes without taking orderly steps would disturb the social order and hamper the progress of politics.”

Around that time, another political party called the Rikken Teiseitō (Constitutional Imperial Rule Party) came into existence. Established on March 18, 1882, it was initiated by Itō Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, Yamada Akiyoshi, and with Fukuchi Gen’ichirō, President of the Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun, Maruyama Sakuraku of the Meiji Nikkan, Mizuno Torajirō, president of the Tokyo Shimpō, Okamoto Takeo, President of the Akebono Shimbun, and others participating. This was a party of extreme rightists, and the first chapter of the party platform, stated, “To establish the National Diet in 1890 was clearly indicated in the Imperial Rescript. This party respectfully observes this Imperial Rescript and does not argue over the question of hastening or delaying it.” Chapter II declared that, “It was clearly indicated in the Imperial Rescript that the Constitution shall be made by the sacred decision of His Majesty the Emperor. This party respectfully observes this principle and will not transgress against the Constitution granted under Imperial Authority.

In this way, political parties came into existence, and in addition, independent political parties appeared in local districts. For instance, in Osaka, the Rikken Seitō (Constitutional Political party) was organized under the leadership of
Kusama Tokifuku, Furusawa Shigeru (Sakurō), Doi Tsūyo and other liberals in the Kansai region. The principle of this party was similar to that of the Jiyūtō. In March, 1882, the Kyūshū Kaishintō was established, formed by the amalgamation of various local political societies in Kyūshū. Its political platform asserted among other points the promotion of freedom, the expansion of rights, the establishment of constitutional government, and the improvement of society.

4. New Tendencies in Law Making

The establishment of a unified modern nation after the Meiji Restoration required the bring of all the people under the jurisdiction of the same laws. At that time, France was considered to have best equipped legal codes in Europe, and was exerting a great influence upon the law-making process in various European countries. Therefore, when Japan began the compilation of various legal codes after reopening, she first imported French law. Many people translated foreign law, among the Mizukuri Rinshō who began the translation of the Furansu Roppō (Compendium of French Law) in 1869, through which the general outline of French law became known and enthusiastically studied in Japan. Students of French law, including Mizukuri Rinshō, held the leading positions in the Ministry of Justice, and more Frenchmen were employed as foreign instructors by the ministry than any other nationality. The Ministry of Justice also established a law school of its own, in which lectures on French law were given in French, and students dispatched abroad were mostly sent to France.

In October, 1873, Ōki Takatou, a former vassal of the Saga clan, became Minister of Justice in place of Etō Shimpei. Establishing a criminal code compilation section in the Ministry of Justice, he invited Gustave Boissonade, a Frenchman, in November as advisor, and began the drafting of a criminal code. The compilation of a criminal code was necessary not
only to meet the requirements of the changed times by revising the *Shinritsu Kōryō* (Compendium of the New Law) and the *Kaitei Ritsurei* (Revised Regulation) to conform with the progressive criminal codes of European countries, but was also designed as a means to abolish extraterritorial rights. In January, 1875, to secure reference material for its compilation the government instructed all the old clan domains of the country to submit survey reports on usual practices in court processes. Based on these materials, and with Boissonade’s advice and guidance, the criminal code compilation section gradually pushed forward the investigation and drafting of a criminal code. In September that year, the government established the criminal code compilation committee within the Ministry of Justice, of which Boissonade was also a member. The program was to compile a criminal code by blending the codes of Europe and America, especially of France, and the old laws of Japan. On January 4, 1876, Justice Minister Ōki submitted a memorial to the Throne on revision of the Criminal Code, and with Imperial sanction, the Ministry of Justice continued its task.

The criminal code compilation committee surveyed and scrutinized the original draft of a revised law prepared by Boissonade based on the Codo of Napoleon of 1810, taken old Japanese laws into consideration. On December 28, President Ōki of the committee presented a draft revision to the Throne. By a change of the bureaus and sections of the Ministry of Justice on January 12, 1877, four sections, criminal code, criminal code compilation, civil code, and civil code compilation, were established in the Legislation deliberation bureau, and after innumerable studies and amendments, the criminal code compilation committee finally completed in July that year the drafting of a manuscript of the new Criminal Code of Japan, composed of four parts and 278 articles.

Then, the criminal code bill investigation bureau was established with the *Dajōkan*. A criminal code investigation
committee was also selected with Itō Hirobumi as its head, and including ten officials from among the secretaries of the Dajōkan and the Genrōin, who were assigned to investigate the manuscript of the Criminal Code. In January 1878, the criminal code bill investigation bureau was place under the jurisdiction of the Genrōin, and Yanagiwara Sakimitsu was appointed head in place of Itō. This bureau completed the investigation and amendments of the manuscript and forwarded it to the Genrōin in June 1879. After study and further amendments the Genrōin passed the bill, in four part and 430 articles. Thus on July 17, 1880, the Criminal Code was finally promulgated, to be enforced from January 1, 1882. This code remained in effect until October 1, 1908, and, is called the old code in contrast of the present Criminal Code.

No specific law prescribing procedure in criminal cases existed in the early years of Meiji. As a principle, the customary procedure under the old Shogunate government, or regulations pertaining to litigation, fugitive capture and sentences for crims selected from the old regulations for legal procedure promulgated by the eighth Shōgun and the Tokugawa Yoshimune (Temporary Penal law were applied mutatis mutandis in court trials. Although immediately after 1868, the administration of justice was coordinated through a series of changes in administrative reorganization no single law for court procedure was promul-
gated.

However, in 1870 with a real need for regulations pertaining to court procedure in criminal cases, the Law Court Regulations were adopted. Although these were the first regulations relating to criminal procedure in Japan, they merely followed the customary procedure used under the Shōgunate. After their enforcement such laws as the Shinritsu Kōryō, Litigation law, criminal judgment law, and fugitive capture law, were established. In the main, feudalistic class distinctions were preserved. Then, in 1872 equal status of all classes in court procedure was realized by regulations relating to photo-
graphing of convicts, forms of written acceptance of trial, regulations of the duties of the Ministry of Justice, and procedure in criminal judgments and in November that year the Court Regulations were revised.

In 1873, while a new procedure in criminal cases was being worked on by copying the codes of European countries, especially those of France, changes were effected in the existing law of criminal procedure. In February that year, the fixed forms of criminal protocol, supplementary fixed forms of criminal protocol, and explanatory notes on forms of criminal protocol were revised, and then the regulations for crime determination were promulgated. This last regulation also generally inherited the procedure in criminal actions used by the Shōgunate government, but the principles of inquiry documents and of opening trials to the public adopted were not found in the Shogunate litigation procedure.

In May, 1874, the Law Court Control Regulations were enforced, and in August, torture was abolished in principle, but existed in reality. In May, 1875, with the establishment of the Supreme Court, appellate procedure was amended and a system of three appeals was adopted. In April, 1876, the Temporary Regulations Relating to the Duties of an Arraignment Judge were set forth; the system of a pre-trial judge was adopted; it was stipulated that conviction for any crime shall be based on evidence; the principle of requiring a confession was abolished; and the principle of conviction by evidence was adopted. In August, the regulation on conviction by evidence was promulgated, thereby paving the way for the total abolition of torture. In February, 1877, the Bail Ordinance was promulgated, and the Rules of the Duties of Procurators, the Rules of Duties of the Ministry of Justice, Rules of Duties of the Supreme Court and Various Other Courts, as well as the Procedure for the Institution of Public Action to the Supreme Court, were revised. On June 29, the rules relating to re-examination were decided; in October the handling of damages in civil suits was stipulated;
in June 1878, conviction for a crime was to be based on public prosecution by procurators, excluding certain exceptional cases. In February 1879, it was decided that when an original judgment found it appropriate, a demand for appeal presented by procurator in a trial of a minor offense shall be dismissed, and in September, a decision on a gambling case was ordered to be given within three days. Then in October, Cabinet Notification No. 42 proclaimed that, "When revision of Article 318 of Kaitei Ritsurei. Notification No. 86 of June, 1876, comes into effect, torture will become null and void, as therefore, it shall be proclaimed that all related laws and regulations shall be eliminated, and thus finally, the system of torture was completely abolished.

However, as there were no independent laws prescribing procedure in criminal cases, the government instructed Boissonade to draft the manuscript of a criminal procedure law in July, 1877, a task which he began, based on the French Criminal Procedure Law of 1808. In December, 1878, the government established the criminal procedure law investigation section in the Ministry of Justice and appointed six members, including Boissonade, to study and make necessary amendments to the original manuscript prepared by Boissonade. The draft of the criminal procedure law took until 1879 to complete. Then it was forwarded to the Genrōin where it underwent further study and changes. It was then promulgated on July 17, 1880 as the Criminal Procedure Law, to be enforced from January 1, 1882.

It is noticeable that, as stated above, French law was chosen as the model for the compilation of laws in 1877, due to the fact that France was the originator of the ideas of freedom and equality. It can be said that such principles as punishment by law, opening of trials to the public, and conviction by evidence were adopted in accordance with the spirit of French law. However, it can also be said that around 1877 ideas of freedom and equality were predominant in this country, and people eagerly desired the realization of these principles in the
compilation of laws. Although imitations of foreign law, these laws might not have been established had they lacked popular appeal, for in later years the former Civil Code of Japan based on French law was opposed by public opinion and fell into the fate of postponed enforcement.

5. Development of the local Autonomy System

While the compilation of French-type law was progressing, the movement for the establishment of constitutional government was also intensifying. Local autonomy, which has an interdependent relationship with constitutional government, was being gradually established.

Originally the clans of the Edo Period each had the character of a self-governing dominion. However, due to the great pressure of the Shogunate government, the clans had gradually lost that independence. The system of autonomy was preserved in the towns and villages which were subordinate to the clans. The three top officials of a local community were originally selected by the vote of independent farmers in a village, though some cases of hereditary transmission of authority within an esteemed family of a village existed in later years. The solution to various village problems was decided by an assembly of villagers. As stated previously, although clans each had their own assemblies when the local tripartite administration of fu-han-ken was organized in the early Meiji years, the central government attempted to place them under a unified government and proclaimed a system of clan administrative organization on December 21, 1868, stating that, "The national structure can be established only by the unification of the tripartite administration of fu-han-ken." In 1871, with the proclamation abolishing clans and establishing prefectures, the local government system was organized on the basis of the fu-ken (urban-prefecture and prefecture) administration.

At the county, town, and village levels, the government
enforced the Family Registration Law in May 1871, and established a ward system based on family registration. A ward was generally composed of four to five towns or seven to eight villages, which were headed by a community-head and a vice-community-head. Further, in November 1872, large wards and small wards were specified, with a ward-chief to head a large ward and a vice-ward-chief in a small ward, these officials to be appointed by the government. A community-head and a vice community head were placed in each town or village in a ward, and were to be publicly elected.

Thus, at the first conference of local governors held in June, 1875, the establishment of local assemblies was discussed as an important issue. At this times, only prefectural assemblies and ward assemblies were taken up as problems; town and village assemblies were not considered. Chairman Kidō reported during the session that the number of prefectures having assemblies was seven, the number of prefectures having assemblies of ward-chiefs and community-heads was one fu and twenty two ken, and those without any assemblies were two fu and seventeen ken, while others were unascertained. The agenda of this conference was to deliberate whether local assemblies to discuss local expenses and public enterprises should be publicly elected or be organized by ward-chiefs and community-heads. On the issue of public election, one opinion suggested that a gradual step be taken by first having ward-chiefs and community heads as assembly members, and then proceeding to public election. Finally, the vote on this use showed twenty one supporters of public election to thirty nine supporters of appointment of ward-chiefs and community heads. Next, a bill to organize prefectural assemblies by ward-chiefs and a bill to organize ward assemblies by community-heads were discussed, but no conclusions were reached.

Ward-chiefs and community-heads were originally in charge of affairs relating to family registration, but they later took charge of the administrative affairs of town or village. This
resulted because town and village heads were concurrently assuming the post of community-heads. In October 1876, regulations concerning finance, products, common property and civil engineering works in wards, towns and villages, were promulgated, providing also that any plan for public borrowing of money or products, sale or purchase of common property and undertaking of civil engineering works required the joint signatures of over sixty per cent of the owners of immovable assets within a town or a village, including the ward-chief, vice ward-chief, community-head and vice community-head. Besides, owners of immovable assets could represent themselves by selecting a deputy. Generally speaking, developments toward town and village assemblies were very slow.

In July 1878, the government put into effect three major new laws on local government: the County, Ward, Town, Village Organization Law, the Local Tax Regulations, and the Prefectural Assembly Regulations. According to the third law five or more members of each prefectural assembly were to be elected from one gun (county) or ku (ward), depending on the size of the gun or ku. All males over twenty five, registered and residing three full years within a prefecture and paying over ten yen of land and tax in the prefecture, were eligible to vote for their representatives. A quorum for meetings of an assembly session was set at over one half of the fixed number of members with decisions to be adopted by a majority vote. The competence of a prefectural assembly was limited to discussing and determining affairs relating to the budget, expenses to be defrayed by the local tax, that is, the prefectural tax, and methods of collecting the tax. The governor of the prefecture gripped the initiative in the introduction of bills, and bills decided by the assembly were put into effect after approval by the governor. The adoption of the principle of public election was more progressive than the decision of the conference of local governors held in 1875. Fu assemblies, which began in this way, gained considerable influence, because the
popular rights movement was flourishing, and because there were many leading men of insight among the assembly members. In later years they became the basis of a threat to the central government. Outstanding assembly members included Fukuzawa Yukichi, Numa Morikazu, Minoura Katsundo, Taguchi Ukichi, Kōno Togama and Takagi Seinen of the Tokyo Prefectural Assembly, Matsuda Masahisa of the Nagasaki Prefectural Assembly, Kōno Hironaka of the Fukushima Prefectural Assembly, Kataoka Kenkichi of the Kōchi Prefectural Assembly, and Yamagiwa Shichishi of the Ni’igata Prefectural Assembly.

After the enforcement of the three new laws, new town and village assemblies also made rapid progress. In April 1880, the Ward, Town and Village Assembly Law promulgated, and town or village assemblies were established in every prefecture, as organs to debate all affairs of a public nature concerning the people. However, there was a provision under which the approval of the governor of the respective prefecture was required, and in addition, prefectural governors maintained control by the right to dissolve a town or village assembly. In May 1884, a thorough revision of the Town, Village Assembly was carried out, by which an exceedingly strong colour of centralized administration was added by bestowing upon prefectural governors the right to promulgate town or village assembly laws and to enforce them within their respective jurisdictions. Moreover, the community-head appointed by a governor was to convene a town or village assembly and to act as chairman. Approval of the prefectural governor was required for measure relating to payment of expenditure and collection taxes. In addition, as the functions to fall under the competence of a community-head were expanded, a town or village assembly was reduced to a subordinate organ of the community-head, rather than an autonomous organ.

When the promulgation of the Constitution became a realistic prospect, it was felt that a system of local autonomy to conform with it was necessary. To achieve that aim, it was
deemed indispensable to refer to the local government laws of Europe and America. In 1883, Murata Tamotsu, chief secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs, took charge of the compilation of a town-village Law and in 1884 the Town-Village Law Investigation Commission was established in the Ministry. Yet, what these governmental organs aimed at was the principle of centralized administration, as opposed to local autonomy.

In accordance with the views of Albert Mosse and Hermann Loesler, Germans employed by the government, the local system compilation committee was established in January 1887. Mosse played the major role in this organ. Later in the spring, the Outline for the Compilation of the Local Government System was completed, by which the prefectural, city, town, village, and gun systems were created. The Outline was forwarded to the Genrōin for deliberation, where an amended Town-Village-City System Bill was passed. With further modification, in April, 1888, the City System and the Town-Village-City System were promulgated, followed by the Prefecture System and the Gun System in May, 1890. However, these laws provided abundant opportunities for the central government to interfere with local government, and autonomy in legislation was not given to any local unit.

6. The Fall of the Samurai Class

In the Edo Period the economic status of the Samurai was undergoing a gradual change, with the lower class samurai turning into merchants and craftsmen through part-time handicraft labor. Between the Restoration and the delivery of the hereditary pension bonds in 1876, the samurai class was completely dissolved through a progressive series of settlements in rank and pensions, and the majority of them became farmers, merchants or craftsmen in the modern economic societies. Although daimyō became members of the peerage and some upper class samurai became leaders in political, economical and
cultural fields, they were only a negligible group when compared with total of 400,000 households and two million population of the samurai class.

After Imperial approval was granted to the petition to return the register to the Emperor in July 1869, the stipends for former daimyō were reduced to one-tenth of the then stipend, measured by koku of rice. In January the following year, the stipend system was revised, the amount reduced and made payable in rice. As a result of this change, the total stipend amount for samurai was reduced to 9 million koku and again by the reform in 1872 to 4,920,000 koku. As a whole, the reduction totalled over three-fifths of the stipend paid by the Shogunate government toward the end of its rule.

In 1870, a system of monetary grants for samurai who volunteered to go into farming or to take up trade was established, with a promise of a single grant equivalent to the stipend for five years, but it was abolished in 1871 when volunteers were much fewer than expected. In August the same year, the ordinance to abolish clans and establish prefectures was promulgated. In January 1873, the Military Conscription Law was enforced, and decisions concerning the rank and stipend of samurai became urgent. From 1873–1874, a system called gyōshi hōkan by which rank and stipends would be returned to the Emperor in exchange for an Imperial grant of funds, was permitted. Under this system, samurai would receive at the most a grant in cash and bonds as funds for business capital, equivalent to six years of stipends but contrary to expectations, there were not many who availed themselves of this offer. The government then decided to deliver hereditary pension bonds to all samurai, and promulgated an edict by which the complete commutation of all feudal pensions into government bonds was ordered in August of the following year, 1876. Then face value of the bonds to be delivered differed according to the amount of stipend and were classified as a one-year limited stipend, a life stipend or a hereditary stipend.
The rate of the grant was lower for the high stipend earners than for the low stipend earners. The average amount per samurai was no more than 548 yen.

Thus the former samurai class was inevitably forced into new economic situations. Since the amount most samurai received was negligible, they were unable to provide for their permanent livelihood, and before long the bonds flowed from their hands into those of usurers, merchants and banks. The majority failed in their amateurish ventures into business and became proletarians. Bonds gathered by a small number of people became the capital to develop the industry and economy of modern capitalism. The greater portion of samurai families went into farming industry and commerce. The government, too, which considered industrial promotion as one of its important policies, encouraged them to engage in these economic activities.

The government also gave encouragement to land reclamation. Directly after the Restorations, the government sold land to samurai families at low prices, had them reclaim waste lands in Hokkaidō and on the main islands in order to provide them with work, and in some cases even operated reclamation projects. Loans for vocational aids were also made. In some respects, grants for farming and trade, the return of stipend funds, as well as the hereditary pension bonds, were in the nature of vocational aid funds. Some samurai families invested their bonds and became stock-holders in banks, or even established banks using the bonds as capital. However, a full-scale loan program of vocational aid funds was not put into effect until after the abolition of the stipend system. From 1879, these funds consisting of industrial promotional capital, industrial trust funds, and industrial credits, their total amount, aggregating 2,150,000 yen, were mainly invested in sericulture, silk reeling, waste-land reclamation, and the weaving industries.

Most of the government’s attempts to create independent business entrepreneurs resulted in failure. Although the majority
of samurai families were not rescued from their economic plight the amount of arable and pasture land was considerably increased as a result of reclamation projects. Bonds of samurai families invested in national banks gradually left their hands, but the fact that many banks were established with hereditary pension bonds later contributed greatly to the development of banking institution. An important result was the entry of samurai families into many kinds of modern industries. Some by their new knowledge helped to develop industries in spinning and weaving, mechanical reeling, match production, and other modern enterprises and they contributed to the introduction and implantation of modern industrial systems and techniques.

In addition, there appeared from among the samurai leaders in every field, including politics, economy, military affairs, and culture. Governmental leaders with samurai backgrounds enthusiastically worked to realize various measures of industrial promotion. Most of the businessmen who became leaders in economic and industrial fields came from the samurai class. Important figures among the former category included Ōkubo Toshimichi, Ōkuma Shigenobu, Itō Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, Maejima Hisoka, Maeda Masana, and among those belonging to the latter group were Shibusawa Ei’ichi, Godai Tomoatsu, Masuda Takashi, Iwasaki Yatarō, Nakamigawa Hikojirō, Soda Hiegorō, Nakano Buei and Wada Toyoji.

7. Reforms in the Land and Land Tax Systems

Along with the ending of stipends, land reform was one of the most important reforms of the Meiji Restoration and a necessary basis for the establishment of a modern industrial economy. Although the feudal Shogunate government ended with the Restoration, the conventional custom of tribute, based on the relations of feudal land ownership, still remained almost as before. However, the new government aimed to follow the course of modernization in the economic field as well. In
industrial promotion, the government laid stress on the import and establishment of large modern industries, spending considerable sums large funds were also required for the alteration of old systems and control of resistant old influences. The government had to seek financial resources by taxation, floating bonds, and issuance of non-convertible notes. Without doubt taxation was the most essential. Japan at that time was predominantly agricultural, with 80% of the total population engaged in farming. The land tax was naturally the most essential among various taxes, for in 1872 and 1873, it accounted for over 80% of the ordinary revenue. Revision of the disintegrated and inconvenient system of land tax, still based on the old patterns, was inevitable and constituted the most important and basic problem from a financial and economic standpoint.

In 1870, the government began preparations to revise the land tax. In August that year, the government issued a notification that the tax on paddyfields shall be levied in kind, by rice as before; but on dry-fields, the old custom of paying the land tax in kind by soy beans, various grains, or money, in addition to rice, was to be changed to payment in money. In April 1871, the surtax hand to be paid by money instead of rice. In June that year, money payment for land, on which it was difficult to pay the tax in rice, was approved. Thus step by step, Japan proceeded towards a system of tax payment by money.

In March 1872, the permanent prohibition of the sale of dry and paddy fields was repealed, and at the same time it was decreed that a land certificate should accompany any transfer of lands, and further that they would be issued for lands in general, in addition to farmlands. A modern system of land ownership was thus legally instituted, and preparations for revision of the land tax were pushed forward. Next, in September that year, approval was extended to the payment of tribute rice and miscellaneous tax rice on dry and paddy fields by payment in money,
based on the average land price of neighboring city-town areas. In June 1873, the payment of tax by koku of rice was abolished, and it was announced that the land tax would be based on each tan (about 0.245 acre.). Thus system of tax payment by rice which had been in effect from the Sengoku era though the Tokugawa period, was totally abolished.

Previous to this in October 1872, the chief tax administrator had issued a notification to prefectures on the procedure for investigating land assessment, in which the regulations for determining tax assessments were minutely indicated, thereby substantially revising the land tax system. In April 1872, a local governors' conference was convened which drafted a revision of the land tax law. In May 1873, Ōkuma Shigenobu, head of the secretariat of the Ministry of Finance, submitted a proposal to the Shōin relating to revision of the land tax, attaching the above mentioned draft revision bill. In July the same year, the Land Tax Reform Ordinance and the Land Tax Reform Regulations, together with an Imperial Edict, were promulgated. The essential points of the land tax reform were as follows:

1. The old standard of taxation crops (perfunctorily it was levied on koku, but actually on crops) was revised in favor of a standard based on land price.

2. The tax rate was set at three per cent with no decrease or increase according to a rich or poor harvest.

3. Payment in kind was abolished in favor of payment in money.

The revision of the land tax thus altered the land and land-tax system. The rate of the new land tax was almost as high as the rate of tribute in the days of the old Shogunate government. Three per cent of the land value was equivalent to 34% of the price of harvested rice. Men in office at that time were well aware that the rate was high. Even in the Ordin-
nance, it was clearly indicated that one per cent of the land price, that is, one-third of the fixed rate, was proper, but the general situation of that time made necessary a high rate. In 1877 the rate was reduced to two and a half per cent; and along with successive diminution of the ratio of payment in money to price of harvested rice, as a result of successive increases in the rice price, a modern land tax system was gradually established. The new land tax was different from tribute in money, which was only a simple modification of feudal tribute. Though there were traces of the old system, the new land tax can be considered modern in form.

B. GROWTH OF NATIONAL STRENGTH AND DIPLOMATIC PROBLEMS

Major diplomatic problems in the 1870's included the Taiwan incident, the Ryūkyū problem, the Kianghwa Island case, and the two disturbances in Seoul. The national strength of Japan made an epochmaking development during each of these incidents. Although they do not seem directly related to the problems of culture, we shall mention them here briefly, for these incidents involved contact with foreign cultures.

1. The Taiwan Expedition

During the Taiwan Expedition in 1874, Japan for the first time sent expeditionary forces out of the country. The issue arose after more than sixty inhabitants of Miyako Island, Okinawa, drifted ashore at Botan, Taiwan in 1871, and most of them were massacred by Taiwanese tribesmen. In February 1873, four Japanese from Oda Prefecture (Bitchū Province) were stripped of everything they had by the tribesmen. When Minister of Foreign Affairs Soejima Taneomi went to China as Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary for the exchange of the ratification of a treaty of peace and friendship,
he filed an inquiry concerning these tribesmen. Officials in responsible positions in China replied that these people were outside the jurisdiction of the government, and the Imperial Court of China stated that her administrative and educational programs did not extend to the districts in question. To settle the Botan case the Japanese government decided to dispatch expeditionary forces, and appointed Ōkuma Shigenobu as director of the Bureau of Formosan Affairs, General Saigō Tsugumichi as general commander, Major-General Tani Kanjō and Rear-Admiral Akamatsu Noriyoshi as commanders, and Charles Le Gendre, an American, as second secretary of the Bureau of Taiwan Affairs. However, the ministers and deputy ministers of Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Russia, Spain and other countries made vigorous inquiries of the Japanese Foreign Office, and the minister of the United States refused Japan’s chartering of an American ship *New York* and the involvement of Le Gendre in the case.

The general situation suggested the development of a serious, confused state. Prime Minister San’jō Sanetomi hurriedly dispatched Kanai Yukiyasu to Nagasaki and ordered Ōkuma to return and tried to get Saigō Tsugumichi to postpone the departure of troops. But Saigō, on the pretext that the morale of the troops was so impetuous that they were already uncontrollable, dared to let the warships sail for Taiwan. The ships entered the port of Sharyō, and the troops advanced along three routes, successfully subjugated Botan, fulfilling the aim of the expedition.

The Japanese forces planned to remain, but China filed a firm protest against the troops in Taiwan and requested their prompt withdrawal, asserting that Taiwan was Chinese territory. Saigō refused to open negotiations at the battle zone, declaring that they should be conducted between the governments of the two countries. Thus the negotiations with China began. The Japanese government dispatched Cabinet Councillor and Home Minister Ōkubo Toshimichi to China as Minister Plenipotentiary.
Arriving in Peking in September, he inquired into the following two points: the extent to which the Chinese government administered and provided education in Taiwan, and the reasons why the Chinese government did not punish the uncontrolled tribesmen, despite the fact that they frequently inflicted serious harm upon shipwrecked Japanese. The Chinese government avoided a direct answer, seeking pretexts on various grounds. Ōkubo determined to break off the negotiations and was about to leave Peking when the British Minister to China, offered his good offices. China agreed to pay 500,000 ryō as indemnity and for road construction, and the case was finally settled.

2. The Kianghwa Island Incident

The year following the Taiwan expedition, the Japanese warship _Unyō_ was cruising southwest of Korea on a marine survey. On her way to Newchwang, China, she approached Yongsong Castle on Kianghwa Island, and sent a boat ashore for a supply of water. The boat was promptly shelled by the garrison of the castle. Thereupon, the warship sent sailors ashore, occupied the castle, and got the water supply. Upon being informed of the incident, the Japanese government sent the warship _Kasuga_ to Pusan to protect Japanese residents in Korea, and sent Kuroda Kiyotaka as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Resident to Korea to seek friendly relations between the two countries and to conclude a treaty. Leaving the Bay of Shinagawa on January 6, 1876, he arrived at Kianghwa on February 10, and inquired into the _Unyō_ case. On February 26, 1876 he concluded a treaty of peace and friendship and obtained a letter of apology from the Korean assembly.

3. The Settlement of the Ryukyu Question

From olden days the Ryukyu Islands had been under the double suzerainty of Japan and China. As a resuelt of the
experience of the Taiwan Expedition, however, the Japanese government felt it necessary to determine the title of the Ryukyus and to clarify the area of Japanese territory and called in the three top administrators of the Ryukyus, who arrived in Tokyo in March 1875. The Japanese government explained that the expeditionary forces to Taiwan were dispatched for the sake of the Rykyuan islanders, that Japan had continued diplomatic negotiations in accordance with international law since the Meiji Restoration, and that there was a possibility of a future diplomatic dispute if the status of the Ryukyus were left unsettled. With these explanations, the Japanese government then proposed to station a detached garrison in Naha for the protection of the Ryukyuan people and promised to make a donation of a steamship, millet and rice. The three administrators was reluctant to accept this arrangement and expressed a desire to maintain status quo. But the Meiji government strongly requested the suspension of sending tribute and messengers to China, the abolition of the Fuchou Hall in Naha, the rejection of China’s perfunctory appointment of the King of Ryukyus, and the placing of Ryukyuan diplomatic affairs under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office. Further, the government sent Matsuda Michiyuki, secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs, to the Ryukyus to convey the Imperial mind and to persuade the officials of the clan. However, the entire Ryukyu clan refused. They appealed to China by sending messengers to the Chinese Court and the Chinese Minister stationed in Tokyo, and implored the ministers of the United States, France, and the Netherlands for arbitration.

The government then resolved to abolish the clan, and again in January, 1879 sent Matsuda Michiyuki to the islands to negotiate. Unsuccessful, Matsuda Michiyuki returned in February to Tokyo, and in March re-entered the port of Naha with a police squad of about one hundred and sixty men and half of an infantry battalion from the Kumamoto Garrison. He occupied the castle, took over the land-maps and registration
records, allocated troops to castle buildings, and notified all
the inhabitants of the island of the Imperial purpose. Prime
Minister Sanjō Sanetomi announced the abolition of the Ryukyu
clan and the establishment of Okinawa Prefecture and appointed
Nabeshima Naoaki governor of Okinawa Prefecture on April
4. On June 9, Sho Tai, former king of the Ryuku, arrived in
Tokyo and the Ryukyuan problem was settled, but negotiations
with China ensued for several years.

4. The Korean Disturbances.

For some time Korea had been a Chinese dependency.
However, with the gradual infiltration of the influence of
European and American cultures there appeared two opposing
political parties. The conservative party desired to continue the
status quo, the other stood for reopening the country and
reliance of Japan. At that time, as King Li Hsi was old
enough to handle state affairs by himself, the influence of his
uncle Tai Won Kun or Lord of the Great Court, who had
acted as regent, had declined, and members of the family of
Queen Min who were regarded as sympathetic to Japan were
assuming the helm of governmental administration.

In 1882, the Korean government’s financial situation had
deteriorated and conditions turned worse, even causing a delay
in payment of wages to soldiers. In June spoiled rice happened
to be supplied in the military rations. The enraged soldiers
turned riotous and appealed in a complaint to Tai Won Kun,
the King’s uncle, on July 23. Tai Won Kun laid the blame
upon Queen Min’s family and Japan. Believing this the rioters
assaulted the Japanese Legation. Japanese Minister Hanabusu
Yoshitada and his staff sought refuge in the Korean Court to
avoid trouble, but the gate was tightly closed. Helpless, they
sneaked out to Inchon at night, fled to sea in a small boat,
and were rescued by a British vessel and brought to Nagasaki.
Upon being informed of the incident, the Japanese government
dispatched four warships and sent Yoshitada under troop escort to Korea. Although the Korean government tried to prevent their entering Seoul, Yoshitada entered the capital on August 17 met the King and Tai Won Kun on the 20th and informed them of his mission. He requested a reply to the Japanese proposals within three days.

When the Korean Court procrastinated in answering, Yoshitada left Seoul. Frightened by this attitude, the Korean government hurriedly appointed a chief and vice-envoy Plenipotentiary and began negotiations. Thus, a treaty was concluded at Chemulpo on August 30. The agreement provided among other points for: punishment of the insurgents, payment of 50,000 yen as indemnity to the bereaved families of the victims, and 500,000 yen for reparations, and stationing of Japanese troops.

When the Japanese government started direct negotiation with Korea over the Seoul Incident, China was unable to remain aloof because of her past relations with Korea. After the Japanese government had notified the ministers of various countries of its intention to dispatch Yoshitada and troops to negotiate with Korea, the Chinese Ambassador to Japan, proposed that China was prepared to offer its good offices between Japan and Korea. The Japanese government mildly turned down the proposal, stating that Japan would manage the situation in her own way. The day following the arrival of the Japanese vessels at Inchon, Admiral Ting Ju-ch'ang, Commander of the Chinese North Sea Fleet, entered Inchon aboard the Chinese warship Wei Yuan with two other warships, and General Ma Chien-chung entered Seoul bringing a sizeable army. China thus tried to participate in the negotiations, looking upon Korea as a Chinese dependency. The Japanese government firmly took the position of recognizing Korea as an independent country, refused China's intervention, and concluded the agreement of Chemulpo. However, China felt it necessary to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea. General Ma Chien-chung carried Tai Won Kun away to Tientsin on a Chinese
warship on September 27, and confined him in the City of Paoting, Chili Province.

In 1882, Takezoe Shin'ichirō was appointed Minister Resident in Korea, and Japan tried to promote friendship with Korea. In 1884 Japan returned 400,000 yen of the reparations for the promotion of Korean culture. In that year, on the occasion of the inaugural ceremony of the Seoul Post Office, Ko Ei Shoku (?), Pak Young-hyo, Kim Ok-kiun and others of the progressive party suddenly tried a coup d'état and assassinated high officials of Queen Min's family. Responding to the King's request, the Japanese military guards on duty at the Japanese Legation were sent to guard the Palace. However, Chinese troops, together with Korean soldiers, besieged the Palace and then escorted the King away. The Japanese soldiers had no recourse but to withdraw to the Legation. Then, uprisings broke out in all directions, and Japanese Minister Takezoe and his entourage had to evacuate to Inchon. Many Japanese were killed or injured in the disturbances. On being informed of the situation, the Japanese government sent Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru as Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary, and troops under the command of Generals Takashima Tomonosuke and Kabayama Sukenori, who entered Seoul on January 3, 1885. The negotiations mainly centered on Japanese requests for an apology by the Korean government, the disposal of the insurgents, and payment of expenses for reconstructing the Japanese Legation. Pak Young-hyo and Kim Ok-kiun of the pro-Japanese faction took refuge in Japan.

As it was evident that the disturbances in Korea invited the stationing of Chinese troops in Korea, the Japanese government sent Imperial Household Minister Itō Hirobumi to China as Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary in February, 1885, to prevent the stationing of Chinese troops. Itō conducted peace negotiations with Li Hung-chang, the Chinese envoy at Tientsin. The Tientsin Treaty thus concluded included a provision that "When either Japan or China
finds it necessary to dispatch troops to Korea in the future, it
shall give preliminary information to the other party, and shall
promptly withdraw the troops as soon as the case involved is
settled.” This provision became the cause of the dispute which
provoked the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895.

C. EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

1. The Reform of the Educational System.

The old Shogunate educational system was swept away by
the establishment of the educational system of 1872. After its
promulgation, the Department of Education exerted efforts to
convert temple schools (terakoya) and private schools into
elementary schools and expedited the completion of the basic
educational structure. During the three year period, 1872–1875,
the number of primary schools increased to 24,225, and the
number of pupils to 1,926,126. However, town and village
expenses required for these institutions amounted to an ex-
horbitant sum for the local bodies, and uprisings broke out in
some localities seeking to reduce the educational burden. The
government also exerted strenuous efforts to improve the con-
tent of education, especially of normal school education, and
in 1872 established the Tokyo Normal School, where teacher
training under the guidance of Marion M. Scott, an American,
and the compilation of textbooks were undertaken.

At that time, the central figure in educational administration
was Minister of Education Tanaka Fujimaro. He was sent
abroad in 1872–1873 as the educational attache accompanying
the Iwakura mission, and made an inspection of elementary
schools and a survey of educational systems of various countries.
Again in 1876–1877, he inspected educational conditions in the
United States. In addition to this knowledge, the Department
of Education obtained advice from another American, David
Murray, who was invited to Japan by the ministry in 1873.
During his four years’ stay, Murray proposed a program for the school system. In 1877, the government established the educational system investigation committee in the Ministry of Education, which drafted a bill in May, 1878, to revise the education law. After consideration by the Genrōin, the law was passed and promulgated on September 29, 1879. The essential change lay in the abolition of the old district system and the provision to allow towns and villages to establish their own public elementary schools. It can be said that this provision was due to the influence of public opinion which supported liberty and popular rights. The fact that the centralized system of compulsory education was abolished and free education introduced in this way inevitably led to criticisms in local districts. When Kōno Tonawa became Minister of Education following the transfer of Tanska Fujimaro to the post of Minister of Justice, he began to revise the Education Law of 1879. The major objective of this revision was to use universal education, the most effective medium to elevate the people’s dignity, for governmental objectives. The draft bill was completed and forwarded to the Genrōin in December 1880, and the Revised Education Law was promulgated on December 28. Later, in 1885–1886, this law was again revised. It is worth noting that ethics was placed at the top of the list of the curriculum prescribed in the Revised Education Law.

From the summer to the autumn of 1878, Emperor Meiji made a tour of inspection around the Tōzan, the Hokuriku and Tōkai Districts and visited various schools. As a result, His Majesty expressed opinions to the Imperial tutor Motoda Eifu on fundamental principles of education which Motoda edited into written form. This Imperial opinion was shown to Minister of Education Terashima Munenori and Minister of Home Affairs Itō Hirobumi in the summer of the following year. The essential points of His Majesty's ideas on education were:

"Being too hasty in acquiring knowledge of the world in
CULTURE OF EARLY MEIJI

accordance with the policy of Restoration of Imperial Rule has led to such evil practices among the people as forgetting benevolence, obedience, loyalty and filial piety, and it is feared that they might even become ignorant of the great relationships of master and subject and father and son. Therefore, hereinafter, the cause of benevolence, obedience, loyalty and filial piety shall be fundamentally and clearly understood in accordance with the codes of the precepts of Our Ancestors. The people shall sincerely respect moral duties by being taught ethics centralized in the Confucian doctrine, and other courses of study shall be promoted in accordance with the capability of each individual. In this way, if a properly balanced education is widely diffused, with thorough preparation in moral teachings and technical accomplishments, the essential and the auxiliary, the people of this country will acquire a spirit of independence worthy of admiration of the whole universe.” As a whole, the statement aimed at the harmony of moral education and scientific education.

As a result, the editorial bureau was established in the Ministry of Education in 1880, and a textbook of moral education Shōgaku Shūshinkun (Elementary School Moral Education) was compiled. Besides, Yōgaku Kōyō (Principles of Education) was compiled by the Imperial Household Ministry and widely distributed through local prefectural governors in December 1882. The Imperial Rescript issued at the time of its distribution stated that this book was compiled in order to orient those “who misunderstand the essential for the auxiliary, because of the recent increase in study subjects,” and that “human duties and moral principles are the essentials of education, and were respected most in this country and China. Although ethics are studied in European and American countries. We still are not sufficiently convinced of the applicability of His brand to this country.” It was also indicated in the major principles of education that there should be a closer relationship between study and actual life. The Imperial Rescript further states
that:

"Upon surveying the studies of pupils during Our inspection tour of schools in various prefectures last fall. We found that many youngsters of farmers and merchants were asserting snobbish vain theories, and some of the worst of them spoke foreign languages and yet were unable to translate them into the Japanese language. These people will not be able to pursue their own family business after graduation, and in addition, snobbish vain theories are of no use in governmental offices. Further, they will become arrogant because of their breadth of knowledge, will despise seniors, and be disturbing to the execution of prefectural affairs. All of these are evils created by inappropriate educational guidance. Therefore, it is highly desirable that subjects suitable for the professions of farming and trade be provided for farmers and merchants, and educational principles be adopted so that they will not run to the lofty but stay in the practical, and be able to bring one's main profession to prosperity."

Thus, in May 1881, the General Principles on the Rules of Elementary School Teaching were written. The tenets were: the teaching of geography should be started from the configuration of the area around the school; the teaching of history should clarify the evolution of the life of the country; for girls needlework and household economy should be compulsory, in addition to sewing, laundry, housing, utensils, foodstuffs, cooking, hairdressing and accounting. Besides, practical utility was also stressed in the agricultural, industrial and commercial courses. Imperial assent, praising the completion of various laws of educational renovation, was given on February 22, 1882.

The basic principles of education of the government were as stated above. But how was the educational structure built up? First with respect to kindergarten, according to the educational system promulgated in 1872, the establishment of nursery schools was provided for under elementary education for youngsters under six years of age. The first kindergarten was
established in 1876, affiliated with the Tokyo Girl's Normal School. Prior to that, in December, 1875, a nursery playground was set up in the Yanagiike Elementary School of Kyoto. A kindergarten system was also prescribed in the Revised Education Law of 1880. In February 1884 because of a growing trend among parents to send their children to school as early as possible, the government instructed prefectural governors that the sending of children of pre-school age to primary schools should be prohibited, but that they should be sent to kindergarten.

The Teaching Rules for Primary Schools divided primary education into upper and lower divisions with each of these divided into eight grades, and required eight years of schooling from the age of six to thirteen five hours a day, thirty hours a week. Subjects, distributed according to grades, included spelling, calligraphy, word reading, Western method of arithmetic, ethics, word recitation, reading of geography hygiene, conversation, dictation, lecture on the reader, grammar, geography, natural law, recitation of various textbooks, small brush calligraphy, sentence composition, history, small brush quick writing, line drawing, geometry, natural science, chemistry and physiology.

In 1879, the number of primary schools was 28,025, and the number of pupils, 2,315,070. However, the vigorous assertion of popular rights and the Satsuma Rebellion caused a change in public opinion and also influenced primary education. The Instructions to Primary School Teachers distributed in June 1881, stated that, "The quality of primary school teachers affects the quality of ordinary education, and the quality of ordinary education affects the destiny of the country. Therefore, the spirit of loyalty and patriotism shall be especially promoted for the achievement of simple but refined manners and customs, and shall try to achieve the primary objective of guiding the people's life forward loyalty to the Imperial Household, love of country, filial piety to parent, respect of seniors, fidelity to
one's friends and sympathy for inferiors and the young."

The educational system also provided for secondary education, and on October 10, 1872, the Outline of Teaching Rules for Secondary Education was issued. According to this, secondary education was divided into upper and lower classes with a total of six year's schooling, divided into twelve grades. Subjects included Japanese, ancient national language, mathematics, calligraphy, drawing, book-keeping, foreign languages, geometry, algebra, natural law chemistry, surveying, geography, history, zoology, physiology, ethics, outline of governmental structure, economics, mineralogy, mining. As an exception to the rules, middle schools in which teaching was conducted in foreign languages were given approval, and completion of a middle-school course in either the English, French or German language was recognized. This action was taken partly because no suitable textbooks existed for providing education in the Japanese language, and partly because there were strong demands for education in foreign languages. However, schools of this kind were not many.

The Education Law of 1879 merely stated that "a middle school is a place to provide ordinary higher education," leaving the details to the discretion of local authorities. In the Outline of Teaching Rules for Middle Schools, promulgated in July 1881, the middle school was prescribed as a place for basic education to enable young people to engage in any business above the middle class, or to proceed on for higher education. Schooling was for four years, two years in a lower secondary course and two years in a higher secondary course. Subjects were ethics, Japanese and Chinese literature, English, mathematics, algebra, geometry, geography, history physiology, zoology, botany, physical science, chemistry, economics, book keeping, calligraphy, drawing, singing, gymnastics, trigonometry, mineralogy, the laws and regulations of Japan. Besides, adoption and elimination of subjects were permitted, depending on the circumstances in a locality. In some places, special courses
such as the literary course, physical science course, or agricultural course, industrial course, commercial course, instead of the higher secondary course, was permitted. In the Common Rules for Middle School Education of January 1884, the addition of a phrase "...regarding loyalty, filial piety and moral duties as essential...", makes it obvious that the government was working for the firm maintenance of the morality of the people. The best equipped middle school of that time was said to be the First Middle School of the fourth large educational district, or what later became the Kyoto Third Higher School.

As far as changes in education for girls at the middle school level were concerned developments were slow. Until June, 1879, only one school existed, Kyoto Prefectural Public Girls' High School, established in 1872. In July 1879, others were established in Tochigi and Gifu Prefectures, but up to 1886, public girls' high schools existed only in Tokushima, Yamanashi, Gumma, Yamaguchi, Kagoshima and Osaka Prefectures. The Girls' Higher School affiliated with Tokyo Girls' Normal School was established in July 1882. When the prospectus of this school is persued, it seems that the standard of girls' education had almost been completed. It states that education aimed at developing women with feminine modesty and virtues, Subjects for study included ethics, reading, sentence composition, calligraphy, mathematics, geography, Japanese history, natural science, physical science, chemistry, drawing, needlework, etiquette, household management, music, and gymnastics. The term of the course was five years.

The Ministry of Education laid special stress on normal school education, because the promotion of education depended on the quality of teachers. In the proposal to establish a training institute for primary school teachers submitted by the Ministry of Education to the Shōin in May 1872, there were such phrases as "Employ one foreigner as a teacher," and "For instructing 24 assistant teachers, the rules of Western primary schools shall be exclusively applied, and explanations shall be
made through interpreters.” From these, it is evident that the government was trying to build a system of normal school education by imitating the Western method. In September, a one-year normal school for primary education was established in the old Shōhei Gakkō to which an American Marion Scott was invited as teacher. He taught the upper class students, and then the upper class students taught the lower class students. The curriculum consisted mainly of subjects taught in primary school, to which such courses as school rules and methods of teaching were added.

For training middle school teachers, a two-year course was created in the Tokyo Normal School in August 1875. In August 1876, government normal schools were established in Osaka and Miyagi prefectures, and in the following February, additional schools were established in such prefectures as Aichi, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Niigata. Teachers were sent also from other prefectures to these schools for research and practical training in teaching methods.

Further, in January 1874, Vice Minister of Education Tanaka Fujimaro persuaded the Prime Minister of the urgent necessity of establishing girls’ schools. The first one of this kind was launched in Tokyo in the same year. Then, in 1875, Ishikawa Prefecture set up a girls’ normal school of its own, and in the following year, the Okayama, the Toyama and the Second Ishikawa Girls’ Normal Schools were established. In 1877, Ehime followed suit, and the Third Ishikawa Girls’ Normal School appeared. In 1878, similar schools were organized in Yamanashi, Kōchi, Shimane, Tottori and Aomori Prefectures.

By 1877–1878, the government had transferred the establishment of public normal schools to the prefectures, and abolished all normal schools under central government management except the Tokyo Normal School and Tokyo Girls’ Normal School.

In August 1881, the government promulgated the Outline of the Teaching Rules for Normal Schools, followed in July 1883, by the Common Rules for Prefectural Normal Schools. In the
latter, the principle of "loyalty, filial piety and moral duties as essential" was especially stressed, and it was planned to train teachers by setting the standard at one teacher for every 1,500 pupils. In August 1884, the Regulations for the Qualification of Teachers of Middle Schools and Normal Schools were promulgated, and a teachers certification was begun.

In contrast with these main educational institutions described above, there were others, such as those exclusively in the arts and vocational and religious education, which were deemed collateral institutions. In reality, these were the schools which actually symbolized the culture of the period. With regard to technical education, the technical education bureau was established in the Ministry of Industry, and a technical school was established and placed under its supervision. This was divided into Daigaku and Shōgaku in 1872, and re-designated the Kōbu Daigakkō (Technical college) in January 1877. The Tokyo Kaisei Gakkō also established such subjects as industrial arts and mining as special courses in April 1873.

The Commissioner of Hokkaidō Colonization initiated agricultural education. At first, an institution called Karigakkō (temporary school) was established in the precincts of the Zōjōji Temple in May 1872; this was moved to Hokkaidō and later became the Sapporo Agricultural School. According to the educational system, an agricultural school was classified in the middle school category; in 1873, agricultural schools and veterinary schools were designated a type of sem’mon gakkō (college), and the curricula and school rules were stipulated accordingly, but in reality these kinds of schools did not really exist then. From around 1875, installations similar to agricultural experimental stations were established in Niigata, Gifu and Hiroshima Prefectures for agricultural education. In 1874, the Sericultural Experimental Office and the Agricultural Training Shop were established in the Naitō-Shinjuku Branch of the Industrial Encouragement Bureau. Later the former became the Higher Sericultural School, and the latter the Agricultural
School at Komaba, Tokyo, which then became the Agricultural Science Department of Tokyo Imperial University.

With agricultural education started in this way, the Ministry of Education enforced in 1883 the Common Rules for Agricultural Schools, and a school providing a two-year education in practical farming was prescribed as a first category school, and a school providing three years of education in scientific principles for agricultural research was prescribed as a second category school.

Commercial education did not show a conspicuous development, for there still remained the Edo tendency to look down on merchants. Although the educational system provided for commercial schools, the provisions remained dead letters. However, its development began in the banking field. In April 1874, the Ginkōgaku-kyoku (Institute of Banking Science) was established in the Ministry of Finance, to be succeeded in January 1877 by the Ginkō-Gaku Denshūjo (Banking Science Training Institute). In August 1875, Mori Arinori established the Shōhō Kōshūjo (Commercial Training Institute) in Tokyo, which can be said to be the forerunner of the present Hitotsubashi University. In 1877, the Tokyo prefectural government established five commercial evening schools. Other commercial schools established about that time were the Kōbe Shōgyō Kōshūjo (Kōbe Commercial Training Institute) inaugurated in 1878, and the Mitsubishi Commercial School in Tokyo, a private institution established by Iwasaki Yatarō in the same year. In November 1880, the Osaka Commercial Training Institute under private management was established, to become later the Osaka Municipal Higher Commercial School. The Ministry of Education promulgated the Common Rules for Commercial Schools in January 1884, which divided them into two categories.

A merchant marine school was initiated Iwasaki Yatarō when he established the Mitsubishi Kaisha Shōsen Gakkō (Mitsubishi Merchant Marine School) by mooring the company’s steamship Seimyo at the mouth of the Sumida River in December 1875.
This school later became the Tokyo Merchant Marine College under government management.

Special schools of jurisprudence were established along with Japan’s assumption of the appearance of a country governed by law. Among them were the Tokyo Hōgakusha (Tokyo Jurisprudence Society), later renamed Tokyo Hōgakkō then the Wafutsu Hōritsu Gakkō by the amalgamation with Tokyo Futsū Gakkō (which was the forerunner of present-day Hōsei University) established in 1879; the Senshū Gakkō, which took the Criminal Code and Criminal procedure Code as major subjects of study in July 1880; the Meiji Hōritsu Gakkō, present Meiji University, in 1881; the Tokyo Sem’mon Gakkō, present Waseda University, in 1882; the Iguisu Hōritsu Gakkō, the present Chūō University, in 1885; the Kansei University in 1886; the Nihon Hōritsu Gakkō, present Nihon University, in 1889, and the Kanazawa Sem’mon Gakkō (Kanazawa Technical College), in 1891.

For medical and pharmacological education, the Common Rules for Medical Schools and the Common Rules for Pharmacological Schools were promulgated in 1882, and the Kumamoto Pharmacological School under private management was established in 1884.

The necessity of teaching foreign languages was keenly felt along with the development of various scientific studies, and special courses in foreign languages were added to the curricula of Tokyo University and commercial schools. In April 1879, the Foreign Language School was established, and in August 1885, the preparatory course for college, with French and German as major courses of study was established in the Tokyo University. That stress was laid on foreign languages, and that educational organs in that field developed a great deal were the special characteristics of the educational world in the beginning and the middle of the Meiji Era.

The early Meiji years were a period of great changes in the field of natural science. The new government had first to establish policies regarding science, but merely spent the first decade of Meiji completely groping in the dark. It was clear that some organization for the systematic study of European and American science should be established, but no blue-print for its realization was drawn.

In 1877, Tokyo University was established, following the pattern of universities of foreign countries, and four faculties, physical science, law, literature, and medicine were set up. Technical engineering was also included in the faculty of physical science; the department of medicine was the only independent department in applied science.

In these departments, foreigners had to be employed as professors at first. In physics and technology, Englishmen were the largest in number, followed by Americans and a few Germans and Frenchmen. Teachers of medicine were almost exclusively German, with a very few Dutchmen. In the field of natural science, Dutch study was already a thing of the past, and attention was directed exclusively towards Britain and America.

In addition, following the pattern of academies of foreign countries, the Tokyo Gakushi Kai’in (Board of Academy of Tokyo) was established by the Ministry of Education in 1879, with an initial membership of twenty-one including such scientists as Kanda Takahira, Sugita Genzui, Itō Keisuke, and Uchida Gokan. From this time, organizations imitating the scientific societies of foreign countries gradually came into existence. The earliest one of this kind was the Tokyo Mathematics Society, established in 1877, which later became the Tokyo Mathematics and Physical Science Society, and then the Japan Mathematics and Physical Science Society. After
the establishment of this society, the Japan Chemistry Society, the Tokyo Society of Geology, the Japan Society of Seismology, and others appeared. Besides these organizations, the Meteorological Observatory, the Geological Survey Institute, the Hygienic Laboratory and others were established.

Although the framework of research organs was formed in this way, their substance was meager. At some future time, the government had to replace foreign teachers from Europe and America with Japanese teachers. This problem involved not only university professors, but foreign engineers as well, invited for the promotion of technical development. To meet these requirements, the Ministry of Education, even before the establishment of Tokyo University, chose able students from the Kaisei Gakkō, and sent them to England, America, Germany, France for study. During the middle period of the Meiji Era, these students returned to Japan and began their teaching activities.

Japan imported a great deal of natural science from Europe and America during this period, but that which exerted the greatest influence, even in the world of ideas, was the introduction of the theory of evolution. An American, E. S. Morse, who was invited to Tokyo University in 1877 and who was in charge of teaching biology until 1879, not only gave lectures on the theory of evolution at the university, but also delivered public lectures. Darwin’s concept created a great sensation not only in the field of biology, but also in the world of ideas.

The field of technical engineering was also busy acquiring knowledge from Europe and America. The establishment of telegraphic communications between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1869 drew public attention, and the erection of the light-houses at Yokohama, Cape Kan’nonzaki and Cape Nojimazaki was one of the symbols of civilization and enlightenment, just as though they were to brighten the path that Japan was to tread. In 1872, the railroad between Shimbashi in Tokyo, and Yokohama was opened. Because of military necessity, too, telegraphic
communications and railroads made a conspicuous expansion; a
telegraph trunk line was completed as far as Nagasaki in the
south, and as far as Aomori to the north in 1874, and the
railroad between Kōbe and Osaka was constructed in 1878. The
telephone was introduced into Japan in 1877.

D. LITERATURE, PUBLIC ENTERTAINING ARTS,
AND FINE ARTS

1. Literature in the Beginning of Meiji

The judgment of authorities in the history of literature that
the period from the early years of Meiji to 1884 or 1885 is the
dawning period in Meiji literary history is, by and large, ap-
propriate. As stated earlier, this was a transition period, in
which literature inherited from the previous period was still
predominant. Literature generally meant Chinese poetry, Chinese
prose, waka and haiku, and the like, and novels were considered
a type of gesaku. As other products of this transition period,
political novels and translated novels can be included in the
genre of the new literature.

Generally speaking, most literary works reflect, more or less,
the days and the society in which they were written. Gōkan
mono (collected volumes) of gesaku contained gay-quarter stories,
comic Chinese poems, and comic waka. These were, so to
speak, traditional, folksy and vulgar, while political novels and
translated novels were exotic, social, and political. Consequent-
ly, readers of the former largely consisted of the aged, the
young, and women, and of the latter, youth and adult men.

After 1877, although the literature of the previous era still
remained, the general trend of the literary world began showing
a gradual change. It is true that the translated literature
and political novels which appeared became the foundation of
the new literature of the Meiji Era, but the gesaku, although
still retaining the form of gōkan-mono, opened up a new field
of newspaper serials, commonly called *tsuzuki-mono*. Newspapers, especially the small newspapers (such as *Iroha*, *Tokyo Eiri*, *Yomiuri*), which were riding the crest of the remarkable expansion in journalistic publications, competed to invite *gesaku* writers as staff writers. Although nothing new was added to plots or writing style, the appearance of *gesaku* in the newspapers stimulated not only interest in news, but widely influenced literary taste, for newspapers which were still new, had a wide readership. Leading writers of serials included Robun, Shunsui, and Ransen.

Around this time, in addition to *go-kan-mono* and *tsuzuki-mono*, a form which literary historians call “new-old novels” appeared. Examples were the *Seiyō Dōchū Hiza Kurige* (Hiking Along the Western Highway) and *Agura Nabe* (Talks Surrounding a Sukiyaki Pan) by Robun, and *Katawa Musume* (The Deformed Daughter) by Fukuzawa Yukichi. Some of these can also be included in the category of political novels. In addition, a group of literary works sketching the manners and customs of the gay quarters, with *Ryūkyō Shinshi* (New Record of the Yanagibashi Gay Quarters), by Ryuhoku, as the representative piece, were also welcomed by the public. In addition, miscellaneous writings, apart from novels or *gesaku*, also gained public favor. However, there were few works worthy of the title of literature. We can find sprouts of the new literature of Meiji only in the content and styles of some of the translated novels and the political novels which flourished from around 1877.

The translated novels and political novels of early Meiji, which gradually assumed significance with the growth of political interest, made their appearance in response to the public desire for a new literature of the Meiji Era. Translations and adaptations of western literary works had, however, already appeared before the Meiji Era. In the Tokugawa Period, as far back as 1593, there were *Isoppu Monogatari* (Aesop’s Fables), and *Robinson Hyōkō Kiryaku* (Robinson Crusoe’s Voyage, Summarized) translated by Yokoyama Yoshikiyo, published in 1857.
Toward the end of the Shogunate government, Kanda Takahira translated *Oranda Bisei Roku* (Record of Good Administration in the Netherlands), and Katsu Kaishū translated some Dutch poems.


The outstanding translation was *Saikoku Risshi Hen* in thirteen parts and eleven volumes, translated by Nakamura Masanao and published in 1871. A translation of the famous *Self-help* of Samuel Smiles, it was widely welcomed and read by people of every stratum. The spiritual influence of this book upon the people, together with the works of Fukuzawa Yukichi, was very great. It should also not be forgotten that the Japanese version of the New Testament was completed in 1879, through the efforts of such men as Ōkuno Masatsuna, Matsuyama Taka-kichi, and Takahashi Gorō. In this way, by 1877, the study of things Western was gradually directed towards the introduction of literary works.

Among the principal foreign novels translated was *Ōshū Kiji, Karyū Shunwa* (Curious Tales of Europe; A Spring Tale of Flowers & Willows), translated by Niwa Jun’ichirō (1878–9). This is a free translation of *Ernest Maltravars* and its supplement, *Alice*, written by Lord Bulwer Lytton. Because this novel appealed to the ideals of the Japanese, provided a convenient means to acquire practical knowledge of Western politics and social manners and customs, and was fresh in both style and description, it gained great public favor and influenced the Japanese literary world tremendously. One evidence lies in the fact that after its publication many books appeared, imitating
its title, using the words shunwa or jōwa (romance). Morita Shiken, famous as a literary critic and a translator, commented that "Karyū Shunwa, translated by Mr. Niwa, took the initia-
tive in completely changing the styles and plots of novels of
this country." Truly this book was an epoch-making work in
Japanese literary history.

Another significant translation was Hachijūnichi-kan Sekai
Isshū (Around the World in Eighty Days), translated by Kawashima Chūnosuke in 1878. Like Karyū Shunwa, this transla-
tion of the work of the French writer Jules Vernes was also greatly
welcomed. Although this can be said to be a book propagating
civilized useful machines demonstrating the power of material
things, it was at the same time an adventure story, which the
Japanese people liked very much, as well as a kind of guide-
book of the world. With comparisons of civilization and bar-
barism to be found throughout this book, it satisfied the ideals
and aspirations of the Japanese people, and different from gesaku
writings of the past, it was written to be read like regular
Japanese sentences. It goes without saying that this book too
cought the public fancy and was widely read. The significance
of this book might be that it stimulated a creature enthusiasm
by its introduction of new essential elements. The popularity
of this translated volume gave opportunities for the continued
introduction of the works of Vernes translated by Inoue Tsutomu.
These additions included Rokuman Eiri, Kaitei Kikō (Sixty
Thousand Miles under the Sea), published in 1884.

Around that time, a movement to establish a national diet
arose, and voices for liverty and popular rights were loudly
heard all over the country. Those in the literary profession
unanimously supported this popular political movement. This
trend became conspicuous in the field of translated literature
too, and translations of political novels or writings in the form
of novels relating to the propagation of the idea of freedom
and popular rights, or the rejection of tyranny, appeared in
succession. They included Furansu Kakumei-ki Jiyū no Gaika

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(Dumas’ *Anje Piton*) translated by Miyazaki Muryu; *Nishi no Umi Chishio no Sa’arashi* (Dumas’ Mémoires d’un Médecin) translated by Shujin Hyakkaen; *Ryo Seifu Dan* (Moore’s Utopia) translated by Inoue Tsutomu; and *Minyaku Yakukai* (Rousseau’s Social Contract) translated by Nakae Chōmin.

In addition, there were other translations, such as *Zen Sekai Ichidai Kisho*, which is a translation of the *Arabian Nights, Kitsune no Saiban* (Goethe’s *Reinicke Fuchs*), *Keishi-dan* (Lytton’s *Kenelm Chillingby*), *Bokkaasu Tōka Monogatari: Sōfuren* (Seventh Story in the Fifth Day of the Decameron), *Dampo Kien* (*Strange affinity through entanglements (?)*), and *Tetsu Sekai* (Iron World). In the third decade of the Meiji Era, full-scale efforts at translations, through the labors of men of letters such as Shiken, Ōgai and Fatabatei, were pushed forward.

The political novels have a special significance in the history of the new literature of Meiji Japan. In the beginning, they were empty of content, in the *gesaku* style, but gradually they developed a realistic style, and progressed also from mere translations to creative works. Although still technically immature, they expressed the ardent idealism of the Japanese people, particularly the ideal to realize a new Japan by the true power of the Japanese race. They can be said to be “new-style” novels, representing the conscious efforts of the newly risen intellectual class in Meiji to renovate literature. Parallel with the translated novels, they too discarded the *gesaku* character of the past, and formed a bridge towards a sane new literature, founded on the social and economic life of the people. We shall give a brief description of the principal works written during the decade after 1880–1881, when the political novels were extremely popular.

*Jōkai Haran* (In the Stormy Political Sea), written by Tada Kindō, in 1880, is a simple, allegorical novel, worth remembering as the first of the political novels. Using the plot of a novel, it described the rise of the idea of popular rights, the attitude of the people towards it, with the movement for the
establishment of the National Diet in the background. But it cannot be classified as an excellent literary work.

*Jiyū no Shiori, Kochō Kidan* (Memo of Freedom; the Story of a Butterfly), written by Ueda Shūsei, 1882, is an allegorical work, explaining the true significance of freedom and popular rights. The story deals with a hermit called Sensei Gendo, who abandons society for a solitary life on a mountain, having despaired of the world because, ironically enough, he is a man of wisdom and learning. One day he takes a nap during which wizard appears in his dream and takes him to a strange world. Aspects of the political society of Japan of that time are presented as the strange world in the dream.

*Seibu Meishi, Keikoku Bidan* (Celebrities of Thebes; the story of fine statesmanship) written by Yano Ryūkei, 1883-4, is both a historical story and a political novel, taking its materials from ancient Greece and the rise of Thebes. Adaptations or reprinting by other publishers appeared one after another, and the story was well disseminated among the people. Primarily it showed the outstanding insight of the author in novel writing, as well as in literary style. It created a new style of novel writing.

*Fujō Monogatari* (Tales of a Floating Castle) by the same author, first appeared as a daily serial in the newspaper, *Hōchi Shimbun* and, after striking public favor, was published in book form in 1890. Also political novel, treating the southward advance and activities abroad of the Japanese people, this too, together with the former piece, gained a tremendous reception.

*Sampū Hiu, Sero Nikki* (Tragic Wind and Rain; a Diary of a Life in Society), written by Kikutei Kosui, in 1884, was originally published in two volumes under the title *Geppyō Kien, Ensai Shunwa* (Strange Fate of a Marriage; romance of a charming and a talented one), and later re-published by adding the unfinished part. Together with *Shin Nihon* (The New Japan) written by Ozaki Yukio, this piece differed somewhat from other political novels. Although this is a political novel
designed to stimulate the public morality of the educational world of the time deploring its low-spiritedness and the scarcity of men with far-reaching ambitions, it is in other ways an educational novel, as well as an inspiring one. While its style and plot cannot be said to be of very high value, it presented the relations between education and politics or ideas current at the time, and became exceedingly popular not only among youth, but also the general public.

*Kajin no Kigū* (Strange Encounters with Beauties), written by Tōkai Sanshi (Shiba Shirō), 1885–1897, is another political novel. The author Tōkai, formerly a vassal of the Aizu clan, had been sent to America for study. It is said that after observing the serious economic aggressions of white people, and after returning to Japan, he wrote this novel to warn the West-worshipping Japanese. The plot revolves around a Tōkai Sanshi, who, exiled as a result of the Meiji Restoration, travels around the world. Inspired by his association with patriotic political refugees and also by seeing the success of the American Revolution, he concocts a program to stir up the Asian peoples who are under European tyranny. The title was taken from the development of the story around two women, beautiful Miss Glenn of Ireland and Miss Yuran, a Spanish blue-blood, whom the hero chanced to meet. That this novel won an unusual welcome from the youth was probably due to the fact that it took the entire world as its stage, and contained abundant expressions of indignation and resentment, since the author himself was a political refugee. In addition, it was written in an unrivalled beautiful Chinese style, suitable for Chant reading. The fact also that the first part of the story describes the youth of the central character, who yearns for freedom and popular rights and enthusiastically participates in political movements, might have been an added reason for its popularity.

While several representative political novels have been discussed, the genre of the true political novel was clarified by the works of Suehiro Tetchō (alias Shigeyasu). As a journalist,
Tetchō had connections with the *Akebono Shimbun* and *Chōya Shimbun* around 1887, and together with Fujita Meikaku, stood high in the popular estimation as a political and social commentator. He also ran in an election and became a Diet member. His representative political novels are *Setchūbai* (Plum Blossoms in the Snow) and its supplement, *Kakan’ō* (The Nightingale among the Flowers), published in 1886, 1887 and 1888. These are novels with a political consciousness of the ideals of establishing constitutional government and harmonizing the government and the people. Kunino Motoi, the central figure of the story, was regarded as an ideal person by young people. Moreover, the love affairs of the patriot Kunino and his sweetheart, Oharu, made the story colorful and stirred the passion of the youth of the times.

After these two novels, Tetchō wrote *Nanyō no Daiharan* (Great Disturbances of the South Seas) and *Meiji Yonjū Nen no Nihon* (Japan in 1907). One presents the ideal of the overseas activities of the Japanese people, and the other is a presumptive story of the advancement of Japan on the Asian continent, challenging China, Russia and Britain in that period. These four works, with internal and external political significance, were considered the best among the political novels of the time. All won high public favor, due to Tetchō's outstanding descriptive technique and rich and beautiful style of writing.

Next to Tetchō as a political novelist was Sudō Nansui (alias Mitsuteru). At first, he wrote serials for the *Ukiyo Shimbun*, but later changed to writing political novels, characterized by their marked political and social consciousness, by observing the current of the time. His representative work, *Uso Mam-pitsu, Ryokusadan* (The Tale of the Green Straw Raincoat), published in 1886, was a novel in which local autonomy, local industrial promotion, and the establishment of constitutional government were interwoven. It invited the curiosity of readers by including such new social phenomena as horse racing around Shinobazu Lake, the regatta on the Sumida River, Diet speeches,
dancing at Rokumeikan Hall, and bazaars sponsored by distinguished ladies. Another of his works, *Ippin Isshō Shinsho no Kajin* (One Frown, One Smile: The Newly Adorned Beauty), was a kind of a social novel which included some political observations. It was successful because it vividly presented the social aspects of the times, when infatuation with things Western was very high, a period described as the Rokumeikan Era.

2. The Publication of Newspapers and Magazines.

In the preceding chapter we have already discussed newspapers published in the early years of the Meiji Era. In 1870, the *Yokohama Shimbun* was inaugurated and renamed the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* in the following year, being published with a completely changed format as Japan's first daily. It was also the first newspaper in Japan ever printed by lead types.

In addition, there were a dozen newspapers which appeared for the first time in the same year, but the only one worthy of mention was the *Shimbun Zasshi*. Cabinet Councillor Kido Takayoshi, who understood the power of the press best among the leading statesmen of the Meiji government, supplied funds to his friend Yamagata Tokuzō of the same clan to publish this newspaper.

The year 1872 marked an epoch in the history of the development of newspapers in Japan. The founding of the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* and the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun*, the oldest newspapers existing today (Hōchi has amalgamated with Yomiuri), the establishment of over twenty influential local newspapers including the *Nagoya Shimbun, Ōsaka Shimbun, Kyōchū Shimbun*, the inauguration of *Nisshin Shinji Shi*, a Japanese language newspaper with J. R. Black, an Englishman, an editor-in-chief, were realized in this year.

The *Tokyo Nichinichi* carried out a major revision of its format in 1874, and Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, who joined the paper the same year, soon became its president and chief editor. He
established the editorial column and dominated the press world in the early years of Meiji with his outstanding editorials. However, the Nichinichi editorials tended, by and large, to lean toward the government, and carried on arguments with the Hōchi and other newspapers which stood for popular rights. This created an impression of the Nichinichi being a newspaper in government pay. Nonetheless, there were many genuine and worthwhile opinions which flowed from Fukuchi’s pen.

The publication of the Hōchi was planned by Maejima Hisoka, then the chief administrator of the Postal Service. Later, after Kurimoto Kinun joined the paper, it strongly advocated popular rights and challenged the Nichinichi. Outspoken editorials written by Furusawa Shigeru, Ōi Kentarō, and Fujita Meikaku enlivened its columns.

The Nisshin Shinji Shi, commonly called the “Black Shim-bun”, had unique characteristic features in its news make-up and method of editing, not found in other newspapers under Japanese management. The character of this newspaper was liberal, and probably from an exceptionally priviledged position as a newspaper under the management of a foreigner, it printed a revealing article attacking the government, entitled “Opinion on government finance,” written jointly by Finance Minister Inoue Kaoru and Vice Finance Minister Shibusawa Ei’ichi, who had resigned from office due to a disagreement in opinion, in May 1873. It created a great sensation by pointedly disclosing the critical situation of Japanese finances.

The Chōya Shimbun, which won its reputation by presenting radical views representing public opinion, along with the Hōchi, in the golden age of speech, was founded in 1874 with Narushima Ryūhoku as president and chief commentator. Both the incisive arguments of Suehiro Tetchō, the chief editor, and the light and the clever notes of Ryūhoku embellished the newspaper and won public favor.

The Tokyo Akebono Shim bun, which published its first issue the following year as the successor to the previously mentioned
Shimbun Zasshi, also laid stress on its editorials, following the pattern of the Hōchi and the Chōya.

The Yokohama Mainichi, Tokyo Nichinichi, Yūbin Hōchi, Chōya and Akebono were considered the five great newspapers around 1877. In November 1874, the year in which the Cyōya was founded, the Yomiuri Shimbun also published its initial issue. In contrast with the great newspapers which placed importance on editorials and excelled in political commentaries, the Yomiuri was regarded as one of the small newspapers which laid stress on reading materials, general news, and serials, more suitable for the home and women.

In 1873, when the cabinet meeting ended in a rupture and those advocating an expedition to Korea, such as Cabinet Councillors Saigō Takamori, Itagaki Taisuke, Gotō Shōjirō, Etō Shimpei, Soejima Taneomi, and others resigned en bloc, the newspapers were utilized as the major weapon for attacking the government. This stimulated a further development in the newspaper field.

In the following year, Itagaki and eight others submitted a memorial petitioning for the establishment of a national diet by popular election. The full text of this memorial was reported in the Tokyo Nichinichi. This action startled the country as the first open assertion of popular rights, and with this as the impetus, arguments on freedom and popular rights came to a burning focus all at once among scholars, polemicists, and young students of Western knowledge. Many of these arguments embellished the editorial columns and the letters-to-the-editor columns of various newspapers. Thus, quite naturally, the newspapers, which represented public opinion, became the center of the popular political movements. Most of the statements relating to politics, economy and society, appearing in the newspapers, continued their blunt and unreserved criticism of the administrative measures of the government. Some governmental officials even expressed their opinions in the newspapers without reserve. Annoyed by this tendency, the
government tried in 1873 to suppress anti-government views by the promulgation of the Regulations for the Publication of Newspapers. But it only incited the newspaper commentaries to increase their pointed tone and could not restrain public opinion.

Amidst the unprecedented situation of the peak of free speech, when all sorts of argument, free criticism, unreserved political opinions and blunt disclosures filled the pages of the newspapers and magazines, the government suddenly promulgated the Libel Law and Press Code in June 1875. With these two laws to control all newspapers, indeed all speech, the most rigorous and severe control of speech ever enforced was put into practice. These two laws completely infringed upon the greatest mission of the Meiji Restoration, the spirit of democracy, and created an inferno unseen even under the feudal Tokugawa government. From its golden age the world of speech, was suddenly plunged headlong into its dark age, the reign of terror. During the next few years following the enforcement of these two laws, the number of newspapers, magazines, and individuals indicted and punished for serious slips of the pen reached as many as 349 cases and 200 individuals. It is said that at one time the prisons in Tokyo overflowed with people imprisoned as a result of the speech control law.

Promulgation of a law aimed at suppression of speech, such as the Libel Law, was regrettable, but on the other hand, there were points on which newspapers needed to be more introspective in their stand on political questions. At any rate, there was a limit to the number of readers of political newspapers which stressed editorials and political articles on freedom and popular rights exclusively, as well as readers of party newspapers which were published profusely in various districts all over the country with the formation of political parties. Eventually these papers fell into management difficulties. As a natural outcome of the situation, reflecting the desire of the general public, there appeared before long newspapers of a neutral position,
transcending political parties or factions, or independent newspapers devoted mainly to news reports. The Yomiuri Shimbun, founded in 1874 as stated previously, gained success by its management policy to be a small newspaper. In 1879, the Asahi Shimbun was founded in Osaka, and in 1882, the Jiji Shimpo was established by Fukuzawa Yukichi, hoisting high the ideal of independence and self-assurance. In this way, the world of speech welcomed the appearance of independent newspapers to meet the requirements of the times around 1883.

Newspapers and magazines made their appearance almost contemporaneously. In the beginning, there was no clear-cut distinction between newspapers and magazines; some publications bore the title shim bun-zasshi (newspaper-magazine). The Japanese people first learned the existence of this sort of publication from the Dutch.

In the Tokugawa Period, there were publications with the name zasshi, such as Umphyo Zasshi or En seki Shushi, but these were not magazines with a regular periodic publication as those of today. Zasshi originated from the translation of Dutch publications, such as the Kampan, Gyokuseki Shirin (Government printed; the Forest of Jumbled Memoirs of Wheat and Tares), published through the efforts of Mizukuri Shuhei and other translation officials of the Bansho-shirabeko who translated and edited various anecdotes from a Dutch magazine called Hollandische Magagjin.

The first magazine published in a conscious attempt at being a magazine in the true sense of the word was the Seiyyo Zasshi (Western Magazine), a small-sized monthly founded by Yanagawa Shunzo in October 1867. In the first issue the editor’s memo stated that:

“Since the publication of this magazine was projected with the objective of collecting strange stories like the magazine (a kind of newspaper) published in Western countries, and to freshen people’s knowledge, we hereby solicit anyone who has not only scientific knowledge, but also knows various kinds of
skills and techniques, which might contribute to the enlightenment of the public, to be generous enough to contribute to this magazine.” After the publication of this magazine, Yanagawa published the Chūgai Shim bun. He was first man to render distinguished services in the development of modern Japanese journalism. With Yanagawa’s death, the Seiyō Zasshi was discontinued after its sixth issue. The articles were mainly written by Yanagawa and scholars of Western study such as Utsunomiya Saburō, Kanda Takahira, and Tanaka Yoshio. They were not merely simple translations, but rich in content and edited in a modernistic way for a publication of that time.

The early years of Meiji were the period of the birth of Japanese modern journalism. The first decade after 1868 saw the appearance of enlightening magazines, and in the second decade came the growth of special purpose magazines. The first full-scale publication truly deserving to be called a magazine was the Meiroku Zasshi. The publication of this magazine as an organ of Meiroku-sha (Sixth year of Meiji Society), was advocated in 1873 by Mori Arinori, a man of new knowledge who had returned from America. The Meiroku-sha played an epoch-making role as an educational scientific research body not for only the world of scientific study, but also for society in general. The original members of the society included sixteen men, each of whom was a first-class progressive scholar. In March 1874, a year after the establishment of the society, the first number of the magazine appeared. With articles relating to the problems of writing characters and the Japanese language; comments on the scholarly class, politics and economy, education and religion, civilization and enlightenments, jurisprudence; problems relating to ideas, women, manners and customs, and society; and problem of foreigners and scientific knowledge, the magazine served the urgent needs of the time. As models in one way or another, they played a leading role in the new culture of this country.

However, as stated previously, when the Libel Law and the
Press Code were promulgated, such enlightening, progressive, scholarly views of scholars as appeared in this magazine were also subject to suppression. Even this magazine too, of which it had been said "It appears as if the Meiroku Zasshi has monopolized every opinion under heaven," had to discontinue after its forty-third issue in November 1875. A most regrettable and deplorable affair, it retarded the development of the literary arts of this country. The forty three successive issues of the Meiroku Zasshi are an important documentary record of the development of modern Japanese culture, an accumulative record of the new knowledge of the time, and a collection of commentaries by strictly impartial, first class scholars.


Following the first steps taken in the new era of the public entertainment directly after the Restoration, we turn now to consider the world of art around 1877.

The no play, which declined directly after the Meiji Restoration due to the effects of Westernization, was later paradoxically saved by it. In December 1871, Iwakura Tomomi, Minister of the Right, and other government officials went to Europe and America for an inspection tour and found that opera was the usual method for entertaining diplomatic guests in the Royal Courts of European countries. They felt a necessity to entertain diplomatic guests in a similar way in Japan, and believing that the no play of this country could be compared with the opera in foreign countries, they began to protect and to promote the no play after their return home. The first outcome was a no performance given at Iwakura’s residence on April 4, 1876, which was honored by the Imperial visits of the Emperor, the Empress, the Empress Dowager, and high government officials, including the Prime Minister. The players in this performances were specialists of the no play and of kyōgen, men of the peerage who were formerly clan lords. On the following day, the
performance was given for the Empress and Empress Dowager, and on the 6th, the Imperial Princes and Princesses. In this way, Iwakura planned to link the no play closely with the Imperial Household, as was opera with the royal courts of European countries.

Originally, in the Edo Period, the no play was performed not only among the samurai class, but in the Imperial Court of Kyoto. Both the late Emperor Kōmei, the last Emperor of the Edo Period, and his consort, the Empress Dowager Eisho, had enjoyed the no. With the impetus provided by Iwakura’s staging of the no, Emperor Meiji established a no stage in the Empress Dowager’s Aoyama Detached Palace in 1878, to show the Empress Dowager His Majesty’s filial respect. Here on this new stage on July 5 that year, an inaugural performance of the no was held, in which only the specialists of the no, such as Umewaka Minoru, Hōjō Kuro, performed. Since then, no dramas were performed here frequently, until the establishment of the Nōgakudō Hall in Shiba Park in April 1881, which greatly stimulated the revival of the no.

At the same time, the no was utilized to entertain foreign guests. Iwakura invited General and Mrs. Hiram Ulysses Grant, former President of the United States and his wife who visited Japan in 1879, to a no performance at his own residence. Thereafter, the nobility surrounding Iwakura who were no devotees projected the establishment of the Nōgakusha, a society for the promotion of no to preserve and maintain the no drama, fearing it might be extinguished if left unsupported. Their plan bore fruit when the no stage at Shiba Park was built in 1881.

The establishment of the Nōgakusha provided a good stimulus, and many no actors, living dispersed in local districts, came to Tokyo. However, the management of the Nōgakusha did not fare well because of financial difficulties, especially after Iwakura’s death in 1883. The no continued prosperous, supported by a growing patriotism and the movement to preserve the national essence which stemmed from it.
The study of Western music continued to develop after the Gagaku Section, Department of the Board of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household Ministry, decided to permit musicians to study European music under the instruction of Nakamura Suketsune, the Navy Band master, beginning in December 1874, and again in 1876, under Fenton, the Navy Band instructor. On November 3 of that year, the musicians performed on wind instruments in the Imperial Court. In 1879, unable to be content with wind instruments only, four musicians were allowed to study piano. In November that year, the Yōgaku Kyōkai (Society of Western Music) was begun by interested people of the Gagaku Section, and thereby began the more enthusiastic study of European orchestral music. In this year, they took violin lessons from Franz Eckert, a German employed as a teacher of the Navy Band, and in the following year, they took lessons in singing and wind and string instruments from Luther Whiting Mason, an American, who visited Japan as a teacher of the Music Research Committee. Further, Ozasa Hidekazu, who was enthusiastic about Western music and who had been the Army Band Master since 1874, resigned in 1878 and entered the Gagaku Section of the Ministry of the Imperial Household to assume the leading role in the study of Western music in the section.

The music for the national anthem Kimi ga yo was composed by a musician of the Gagaku Section. The ceremonial music Kimi ga yo composed by Fenton had already been in use by the military bands since 1870. In 1876, the Navy Band Master submitted an opinion to the Ministry of Navy urging revision of the music; and in 1880, the Naval Ministry requested the Board of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household Ministry to adopt new music for its verses. Eventually, the music composed by Hayashi Hiromori was selected from among several entries, and after some modifications was selected as the music to be performed by the Gagaku Section on the occasion of the Imperial Birthday on November 3 of that year. It was some time later
that this song was sung in schools.

The American teacher Mason rendered a distinguished service in the development of singing in Japan. Mason was invited by the Ministry of Education through the efforts of Izawa Shūji, who had been sent by the Ministry of Education to the United States to study education in 1875, and had studied under Mason, music supervisor and teacher in Boston Stage College. Izawa returned in 1878 and was appointed principal of the Tokyo Normal School. He felt the necessity of music education, which did not then exist in Japan, and persuaded the Ministry of Education to establish a research organ of music education. This Organ, Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari (Music Research Committee), came into existence in October 1879 with Izawa as its head. It was then decided to invite Mason.

Mason arrived in Japan and started to teach singing at the primary school affiliated with the Tokyo Women's Normal School in April 1880. In addition, he taught several people privately, including musicians of the Gagaku Section of the Ministry of the Imperial Household. The regular course students of the Tokyo Normal School also began the study of singing in July. In September, students were recruited from all parts of the country, and in October, twenty two men and women students were accepted. The Music Research Committee also conducted research on Japanese music, and wrote educational materials for singing. Although it was not a school, the committee accepted students each year, and from them, assistant tutors and sub-assistant tutors were gradually selected.

Through the joint efforts of Izawa, who was appointed head of the Music Research Committee in 1881, and Mason, the office became well organized. Mason returned to America in July 1882. In the following year, music education was included as one of the subjects of the regular curriculum of both boys' and girls' normal schools.

Later, in February 1885, the Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari was changed to the Ongaku Torishirabeshō (Music Study Center)
and Izawa was appointed its director. In December of the same year, when the Dajōkan was abolished and the Naikaku (cabinet) was established, the center reverted to its original status. On that occasion, Izawa was transferred to another post in the Ministry of Education, but when the Tokyo Music School was established in October 1887, he was concurrently appointed as its head.

Along with the promulgation of the cabinet notification encouraging the pursuit of learning in 1872, the Ministry of Education set forth regulations for education, in which music was added in the curriculum of elementary schools. Although Western educational rules were adopted, it was unable to implement this provision, since Japan did not have Western-style songs, and it was stated that for the time being instruction would not be provided. However, after singing was added as one of the courses of the Tokyo Women’s Normal School, established in 1874, the Gagaku Section of the Ministry of Imperial Household was entrusted to compose songs in 1878. Some nursery songs were produced. Old waka and newly written imayō were selected as texts, and the members of the Gagaku Section set these to music. Gagaku melodies were applied in the composition of this music, and yet certain influences of Western music and hymns were found in the tunes, a reflection of the fact that members of the Gagaku Section were studying Western music.

In addition, Mason, the American teacher invited by the Ministry of Education, helped to produce teaching materials which were used as soon as they were put together. Thirty-three songs were compiled in an anthology called Shōgaku Shōkasū Shōhen (First Collection of Songs for Elementary Schools), published in November, 1881.

4. Tendencies in the World of Fine Arts.

When the Fine Art School affiliated with the Kōbu Daigakkō
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(technical college) was established, education in Western fine arts was begun by foreign teachers. About the same time in 1873 old Japanese fine arts were exhibited at the Vienna international Exhibition and won public favor. A move to reconsider and to revive the traditional fine arts, which were once neglected, began to appear, and the museum bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs opened an old fine arts exposition. In addition, a private society Ryūchikai (Dragon Pond Society) was established to display old fine art, as support for the preservation of the national culture gradually increased. Further, the government-sponsored First Domestic Industrial Encouragement Exhibition in 1881, and the second in 1881, encouraged the exhibition of articles of various branches of fine arts, opening the way for a more comprehensive display.

Along with the growth of the tendency toward Europeanization, completely Western style buildings for governmental offices and schools were designed by foreign architects. The architect who rendered a great service in the development of Western-style architecture in Japan was Josiah Conder, an Englishman. Invited to Japan in 1877, he served concurrently as technical engineer of the Ministry of Industry and teacher of the Technical Education Bureau in charge of the house construction course of the Technical College, as well as an official of the Imperial Works Bureau. Completely in charge of teaching the history of architecture, building construction, and design drawing in the Technical College, his first three graduates in architecture completed their training in 1879. Conder served in the school as a full-time professor until 1882 and then as lecturer until 1890, training many architects. By 1920 he himself had designed over sixty buildings, applying various architectural styles including the Renaissance, the Gothic, the Tudor and the Saracen, thus introducing variegated and colorful architectural styles in this country. Among the principal buildings he constructed during this period were the Tokyo Imperial Museum, completed in 1882, the Institute for the Education of the Blind,
completed in 1879, the Products Sales Store of the Commissioner of Hokkaidō Colonization, completed in 1881, and Rokumeikan Hall, in 1883.

Around this time, ivory carving gained popularity and at one time the number of craftsmen totalled more than four hundred. Ivory carvings of exquisite and delicate workmanship, of such items as a monkey showman, bird catcher and box-trapping of rats, won the curiosity of foreigners. Many ivory carvings were displayed in the First Domestic Industrial Encouragement Exhibition in 1877, and in the second exhibition in 1881, with the number of ivory carvings displayed out-numbering the wood carvings and occupying over one half of the objects exhibited. Among the many craftsmen, Ishikawa Kōmei was deemed the best and awarded the second prize for excellent workmanship. Other famous artists were Asahi Gyokuzan, Shimamura Toshiaki, and Kaneda Kenjirō. Ivory carving began to disclose its weakness when it gradually made a transition from small pieces to large ones. Since ivory carving depended for its unique feature on fine and delicate workmanship, its importance gradually faded from the world of sculpture.

In wood carving, tradition was preserved by Takamura Tō’un whose student Takamura Kō’un carried on after him. Kō’un introduced the realistic delineation of Western sculpture into his works and became the main artist in the field of wood carving in the Meiji Era.

In this period, the art of Western-style carving was introduced for the first time to Japan. The Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō (Technical Fine Arts School) established in 1876, gave training only in Western fine arts, and along with the course in drawing, a course in sculpture was installed, with Vincenzo Ragusa, an Italian, in charge of instruction. The government waived tuition fees for students of sculpture in order to encourage its study. Ragusa taught carving and modelling, marble carving, plaster casting, architectural decoration, and thereby laid the foundation for Western-style sculpture. Among students trained by Ragusa
were Sano Akira, Terauchi Shin’ichi, Kikuchi Jūtarō, who played active roles in Western sculpture in the later period. Ogura Sōjirō, who studied under Ragusa outside the school, became famous in marble carving and also taught Western sculpture to wood carving artists.

Japanese-style painting, which was once on the verge of disappearing, regained its position in the trend to revive the traditional Japanese fine arts. Based on that trend the Ryūchikai (Dragon Pond Society) was organized. The purpose of this society was to study the advantages and disadvantages of old and new art objects and to find the key to the development of fine arts consonant with the orderly development of civilization and progress, not to be conventionalized with the old nor going too far to the new, and at the same time to increase national profits by the sale to foreign customers of fine and industrial arts unique to Japan. With the transfer of the management of the Old Fine Arts Exposition from the Museum Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1880, the Ryūchikai held seven expositions, from 1881 to 1886, and played a very active role in the revival of traditional arts by such activities as the sponsorship of a Japanese Fine Arts Exposition in Paris in 1883 and 1884. This society was expanded into the Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai (Fine Art Association of Japan) in 1887. The trend to revive the traditional fine arts spread to Kyoto, and the Kyoto Prefectural Painting School was established in 1880, opening the way to developing new artists in Japanese-style painting.

For some time back, the government had continued to invite specialists in various fields from European and American countries to promote retarded scientific study and techniques. In 1875, Edoardo Chiossone, an Italian chalcogapher, was invited by what later came to be the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance. He improved currency notes, certificates of government securities, postage and revenues stamps, by his exquisite etching technique, and at the same time, taught techniques in
that field. Feeling the necessity for formal education in Western fine arts, the government established a fine arts school in the Kōgakuryō (predecessor of the Kōbu Daigaku) of the Ministry of Industry in 1876 and invited three artists from Italy. The teacher in charge of drawing was Antonio Fontanesi, a famous Italian landscape painter and a professor of the Royal Torino Art Academy before coming to Japan. Fontanesi planned to establish a fine arts college in Japan and brought with him plaster models of famous Western sculpture to teach sketching of the human body, many books on painting, colors, conté, and carbon.

The Fine Arts School was opened in November 1876 by remodelling the interior of a building belonging to the old Engineering Bureau at Toranomon, Tokyo. Over sixty entrants came to this school. In addition to teaching the general techniques of Western painting, perspective drawing, techniques of landscape drawing and figure painting, Fontanesi gave exhaustive guidance on practical techniques from sketching to oil-color painting. Not only was he a man of noble character and deeply loved and respected as an educator by his students, but by his steadfast and sound technique of oil painting and by his style, full of poetic sensibility in the manner of the 1830 school of France, he also exerted a great influence among the artists of the Western style of painting who believed in realism. Among his students were Asai Tadashi, who inherited his style best, Koyama Shōtarō, and Matsuoka Hisashi. Besides, full-fledged artists such as Goseida Yoshimitsu and Yamamoto Hosui also entered the school. It is said that even the old master painter, Takahashi Yūichi, asked for instruction as well.

After Fontanesi's departure after only two years in Japan, the government employed an unknown painter named Felletti (?), who was traveling in the Far East, but he was not especially able and even caused the students to leave school in protest; he resigned after teaching for a little over a year. Then, the Italian government dispatched A. San Giovanni to Japan, a
painter of the academic school and excellent in portrait drawing. He divided the students into a special class on figure painting and another in landscape painting to start training in oil painting and also taught human anatomy by obtaining the cooperation of the Medical Department of Tokyo University. Many Western-style painters were properly grounded in figure sketching under his guidance. Leading artists among his students were Sōyama Yukihioko, Fuji Masazō, Matsumuro Jūgo, and Horie Masaaki.

Although the Fine Arts School of the Ministry of Industry contributed a great deal to the development of Western-style painting in the early Meiji years, it was abolished in January 1883. The reasons were several: the financial difficulty of the government after the Satsuma Rebellion, annexation of the Kōbu Daigakkō by the Tokyo Imperial University, and the pressure of public opinion for preservation of the national essence which appeared in the second decade of Meiji.

On the other hand, quite a number of artists had gone to Europe and America for study from the early years of Meiji until this period. Yamamoto Hōsui, Goseida Yoshimatsu, Fuji Masazō, Kume Kei’ichirō, Kuroda Kiyoteru went to France; Kawamura Kiyo’o and Matsuoka Hisashi to Italy; and Kaji Tameya, and Harada Naojirō to Germany.

In the beginning of the Meiji Era, there was little opportunity for artists to display their works to the public. The Western-style Picture Exposition held at Shimbashi, Tokyo in 1875, under the sponsorship of Kunizawa Shinkurō is considered the forerunner of fine arts exhibitions of today; in that exposition all the outstanding artists of Western style painting exhibited their works. However, what drew public attention during the Meiji Era was the comprehensive Domestic Industrial Encouragement Exhibition, held every few years.
purification. In these items the spirit of the Three Doctrines Charter was further stressed.

Later, the government issued an additional seventeen articles designed to promote the study of Shintoism and to give concentrated training in ethics and morality, by providing materials suitable for developing citizens. These dealt with: the national characteristics of Imperial Japan; renovation of the Imperial administration; immutability of traditional morality; conformity of systems with the times; the superiority of human beings to birds and beasts; the obligations to educate all; the obligation of citizens to learn; foreign intercourse; rights and duties of a citizen; service with body and mind for the state; administrative structures; civilization and enlightenment; history of laws and regulations; governing the country and governing the people; promotion of national wealth and strength; taxation and duties; production and economy of goods.

These items were the subjects of examinations to qualify as national priests, and it was prescribed that national priests below the rank of senior lecturer prepare every month, their own explanations of these articles and submit them to the Department of Religion and Education. In this way efforts were exerted to increase the knowledge of the national priests.

Explanatory books on the Three Doctrines, as well as the eleven articles and the seventeen articles were published one after another, and the Daikyōin also published books to further enlighten the national priests. Among such books were: Kyōdō Sansoku Ryakuben (Epitomized Explanation of the Three Rules of Edification) by Tanaka Tomokuni, Sekkyō Taisairon (How Preaching Shall be Conducted) by Hori Hidenari, Shintoku Kōon Setsu (Comments on God's Virtue and Imperial Favor) by Kawada Nichiin, Jinnō Keitō (The Lineage of the Emperor, a Scion of God) by Hirayama Shōsai, Sanjō Benkai (Explanations on the Three Doctrines) by Hosotani Kankei, Honkyō Daiki (Great Foundation of the Great Religion) by Shibata Hanamori, Kyōdō Tai'i (Outline of Educational Work) by Nitta Kunimitsu,
Shinkyō Kōryō (General Principles of Shintoism) by the Shinto Proselytizing Board, Keishin Yōgi (The Essentials of Reverence) by Senke Sompuku, Sanjō Engi (Lectures on the Three Doctrines) by Tanaka Yoritsune, Oshie no Shōkei (Short Way to the Teachings) by Kanagaki Robun, and several hundred others. Besides, the Daikyōin published the Shinkyō Yoshi (The Essentials of the Shinto Religion), Shinkyō Yoshi Ryakkai (Short Explanations of the Essentials of the Shinto Religion), Zenaku Hōo Ron (Comments on Rewards for Right and Wrong), Sanjō Ryakkai (Brief Explanation of the Three Doctrines), and one religious sect also published Kyōdō Shin Sosho (New Series or Proselytizing). In this way, the world of religion was suddenly invigorated.

No matter whether Shinto or Buddhist priests, those on duty as national priests all had to study earnestly the above mentioned works. Bases for personal opinions had to be sought in the classics and canons, or even in Western books. With Shintoism and Buddhism like bitter enemies in the same boat, there was naturally a strong competition between them. Buddhist priests in particular who were in an adverse situation after the separation of Shintoism and Buddhism exerted strenuous efforts. Moreover, in the actual educational guidance of the general masses, they had to return to their original learning, a process understanding of religion. A result was the separation of religion and education in the forthcoming period.

The reason that the Department of Religion and Education in January was abolished in 1877 was of course, partly due to the financial austerity policy of the government, necessitated by the Satsuma Rebellion, but also because the government decided to terminate its aggressive religious policy. Thus, abolition of the system of the national priests and transfer of the appointment and dismissal of Buddhist priests to the chief abbotts of Buddhist sects resulted.
2. Idea of Religions Freedom.

A great problem related to the awakening of religious consciousness was the development of the idea of religious freedom. The old Shogunate government protected Buddhism, prohibited Christianity, the Kurozumi sect, the Fuji-Fushi-sha, the Fuji-ko, as well as others, but did not consider Buddhism as the state religion. Although the Meiji government also prohibited Christianity and strengthened the moral teachings of Shintoism, it did not define Shintoism as the state religion. Although it issued instructions to separate Shintoism and Buddhism, the government did not take the position of prohibiting Buddhism. Therefore, in a strict sense, no restriction on freedom of religion existed, but in this period of social upheaval, the world of religion found itself in a restricted situation. The demand for religious freedom which originated from this situation was largely supported by Christianity and Buddhism.

Christianity raised its voice in behalf of freedom of religion during the Shogunate period. In negotiations on trade treaties, the Netherlands, Russia, the United States, and other countries strenuously explained the reasonableness of religions freedom and requested the abolition of the ban on Christianity. Some officials in charge of the negotiations apparently fully recognized the reasonableness of this position. One sign of that understanding may be seen in the abolition by the Shogunate government of the practice of fumie (treading on tablets to prove oneself a non-Christian) in 1857.

When the Meiji government erected public notices prohibiting Christianity and arrested Christians in the Urakami district, various foreign countries filed vigorous protests and requested their release. In so doing, they sought to persuade the government of the principle of freedom of religion and explained the practice in European and American countries. When Ambassador Iwakura visited these countries in 1871, he was rebuked
for Japan's restrictions on Christianity. While in America as Minister Resident in 1872, Mori Arinori sent a letter to Prime Minister Sanjō Sanetomi arguing for religious freedom.

Especially with the growth of freedom of thought after the Restoration, the development of assertions of freedom and the coming into vogue of popular rights, as well as the spread of activities of an increasing number of foreign missionaries arriving in Japan, the idea of freedom of religion developed, supported by public opinion within the country. In 1873, the government removed the public notices banning Christianity, partly because the government feared entanglements in its diplomatic relations and partly because of the pressure of public opinion. The government did not end the ban, and there was even an example of a person being penalized by a fine for holding a Christian funeral ceremony. It was, so to speak a period of tacit acceptance of Christianity; its official admission came only with the enforcement of the Constitution in 1899.

Buddhism also asserted religious freedom. The Meiji government did not suppress Buddhism, but the general conditions of the times cornered Buddhism into a very disadvantageous situation. Particularly in the Daikyōin, it seems that the basic position of Buddhism was ignored. It was natural that along with its awakening religious consciousness Buddhism would begin to demand freedom. Moreover, at that time the idea of freedom was gaining strength in the society at large and undoubtedly influenced Buddhism. One expression of this movement was the advocacy by the Shinshū Sect of the dissolution of the Daikyōin. The first attack was made by Shimaji Mokurai of the Shinshū Sect, who was then in 1872, traveling abroad. Arguing for the justice of freedom of religion, he criticized the unreasonableness of the joint missionary activity of Shintoism and Buddhism, an idea with which many people agreed and sympathized; finally in April 1875, the government terminated the joint proselytizing work.

Thus, by the dissolution of the Daikyōin, various religious
sects each adopted their own organization for missionary work. The Kōshoji Temple faction of the Shinshū Sect separated from the Honganji faction in 1876, initiating the subsequent breakup of the Shinshū Sect into ten factions. Of course, these separations were not exclusively based on principle or doctrine, for there were political problems within the sects involved. However, from the viewpoint of ideas, they stood for religious freedom.

With regard to Shintoism, while the Shinto Jimukyoku (Shinto Office) was established following the dissolution of the Daikyōin, the two factions, Kurozumi and Shūsei, had already separated and become independent in 1876. In May, 1882, after the saishinron (which god to venerate), dispute which broke out following the separation of these two factions, such groups as the Taisha Sect (Taishakyō), Jingu, Fusōkyō, Jikkōkyō, Shinshūkyō, and Taiseikyō each established their own existence. When the system of national priests was abolished in August 1884, they were recognized as independent sects and began activities as independent religious bodies under the leadership of their respective chief abbots. This development was one manifestation of religious freedom.

3. Separation of Religion and Education.

If the separation of politics and religion can be regarded a return of religion to its original state, we should then conceive the separation of religion and education to be the next logical step. Particularly because religion in early Meiji was deliberately manipulated for political considerations, a reaction involving a separation from politics was naturally to set in. As an aspect, or as one reaction of the process, came the separation of religion and education. At the same time, this trend was further promoted because the general social situation accepted civilization and enlightenment as the significant development of the new era, and the new scientific criticism along with the development of
education began to be levelled upon religion. For example, as to Buddhism, the movement in defense of religion naturally arose from the adversity in which Buddhism had found itself in the previous period, and at the same time, through self-examination, Buddhism sought various methods for self preservation.

In 1872, the visit of Shimaji Mokurai, Umegami Takuyu and others from the West Honkanji sect to places sacred to Buddhism in Europe and India was an unprecedented affair of great significance to Japanese Buddhism. Recommended by Kido Takayoshi who had accompanied Ambassador Iwakura to Europe and America in the previous year, it provided one of the ways for the advancement of Buddhist priests of the new era. Following them, Akamatsu Renjō and others went to England and France for study. Mokurai got the idea to separate the Dai-kyōin during his trip abroad. Stimulated by these events, the East Honkanji faction also dispatched High Priest Koei and Ishikawa Shundai to Europe, and later Nanjō Fumio and Kasahara Kenju went to England for study. Buddhism in Japan thus promptly accepted the influence of Western culture and, not stopping at being only the salvation of foolish men and women, it opened up a new aspect of Buddhism as a subject of learning. As early as 1879, a course in Indian philosophy was inaugurated at Tokyo University, with Hara Tanzan as the first lecturer. He taught Buddhism not merely as a moral philosophy, but as natural philosophy. Although the first step toward a philosophical study of Buddhism was thus started, at the same time it probably helped to produce an atmosphere in favor of separation of religion and education. The full-scale philosophical study of Buddhism can be said to have been begun by Inoue Tetsujirō. Among the first graduates of the literature department of the university, Inoue went to Germany and France in 1884, where for six years and ten months he principally studied philosophy, Sanskrit and Indian studies. After returning to Japan, he taught Buddhist philosophy at the university. Thus began the attitude of understanding Buddhist philosophy
through Western philosophy. The study of Buddhism flourished as Buddhism entered its third historical period, in which many scholars of Buddhist study, philosophy, and history emerged.

We should not forget that this activity in Buddhist circles was engendered by Buddhist adversity which it called forth efforts to train men able to retrieve the influence of the religion. In addition, the encouragement of education by the Meiji government aided this situation. Various factions had already established their own schools to educate young disciples in the previous period, and once the Meiji government set forth a new educational system, they promptly embarked on the new education.

In 1870 primary schools were established in Tokyo a Kenryūin of Zōjōji Temple, Shiba; at Dōunji Temple, Ichigaya; at Man-shōin Temple, Ushigome; at Hom’myoji Temple, Hongō; at Saiōfuji Temple, Asakusa; and at Chōkeiji Temple, Fukagawa. In local districts as well, primary schools were established, most of them using temples as school buildings. The storm of haibutsu kishaku, or the movement to “exterminate Buddhism”, provided an opportunity for Buddhists to reflect deeply, to determine upon the elimination of evil customs and the revival of the true cause of this religion, as well as to encourage study. Considerations on the necessity of education were made anew. In 1880, the Kakushū Sōko, a joint school of various sects, was established in Tokyo. In 1871, the Honganji faction, moving its school to within the precincts of the temple, decided upon school rules and set up three courses, naigaku, national classics, and Chinese studies, and gave religious education under a progressive educational principle. In 1875, Ōuchi Seiran established a training institute of primary school teachers to prepare Buddhist priests for teaching. In April of the same year, the Honganji Temple reformed its school rules, established two courses, regular and special, and offered instruction in mathematics, geography, history, natural science, physics and
English, in addition to studies pertaining to religion. In April 1885, the temple established an ordinary school in Kyoto for Buddhist priests, and later in March, 1889, announced college regulations. Takakusu Junjirō, Takashima Beiho, Sakai Keigan and others were graduates of this school.

After the government promulgated the school law, Buddhist enthusiasm for education was further intensified, and various sects established middle schools. The Sōdōshū Sect established the Sōdōshū Special School in the Kichijōji Temple, Komagome, in 1875, later transferred it to Azabu, and changed it into a college in 1883. The Jōdoshū Sect established the Eastern School in Zōjōji Temple, Tokyo, the Western School in Kyoto in 1879 for youth, and in June 1887 established the Jōdoshu Main School in Zōjōji Temple for the training of teachers. This school later became the Shūkyō Daigaku (College of Religion). In 1882, the Nin'nai Temple and the Daikakuji Temple jointly established a college in Ninnaji Temple for students of the Shingonshū Sect, and in February 1886, set up two colleges instead of the one. One was the Shingi Shingonshū Daigakurin (New Tenet Shingonshū College) in Gokokuji Temple, Tokyo, which later became Buzan College, and the other was Kōgi Shingonshū Daigakurin (Old Tenet Shingonshū College) on Mt. Kōyasan, which later became Koyasan College. Inoue Enryō established the Tetsugaku-kan (Philosophy Hall) in Rinshōin Temple, Yushima, in September 1887, the forerunner of the present Tōyō College. The Rinzaishu Sect established the Higher Department of the Kaen Gakuin in Kyoto in December the same year, which later became the Rinzaishū College. The enthusiasm for education in Buddhist groups was amazing, and naturally much was expected from the results of these moves.

It is said that tragedy creates men of ability, and the world of Buddhism in early Meiji was no exception. From self-examination they found courage. As stated previously, Shaku Unshō of Mt. Kōyasan courageously stood up for the Protection of religion amidst the storm of haibutsu kishaku, and after
him, many men with extraordinary spirit, each having a different significance, emerged from the world of Buddhism. For example, Fukuda Gyokai of the Jōdoshū Sect was deemed the man of highest virtue in the world of Buddhism of the Meiji Era, and Ukai Tettei and Arai Nissatsu of the Nichiren Sect were priests of remarkable virtue and can be classed with Gyokai, all of whom greatly influenced the people. Both Ōtani Kosho and Ōtani Koson of the East and the West Honganji Temples had from one point of view political influence as well, and later there appeared such a personality as Ōtani Kozui. Shimaji Mokurai, Ōtsu Tetsunen and Akamatsu Renjō were called the three saints of Buddhism of Chōshū, and by wielding political influence, played very active parts in behalf of the Honganji faction. Kagawa Hoko, Haraguchi Shinsui, Ishikawa Shundai, Atsumi Ketsuen, Nanjō Shinkō were noted priests of the Shinshū Sect. Unshō, mentioned previously, established his own religious school in Mejiro, Tokyo, and strictly observing Buddhist precepts, taught the great religious cause of Buddhism mainly to intellectuals, Okuda Kansho of the Tendaishū Sect took the priesthood at Sensoji Temple, Asakusa, and labored in behalf of the masses, and Akamatsu Koei and Okiya Jikun were respected as men of great learning. Ogino Dokuen, Yuri Tekisui, Imakita Kosen, Hashimoto Gazan of Rinzaishū Sect, Morotake Ekido, Hosotani Kankei, Takitani Takuso, Nishiari Bokuzan, Kitano Gempo of Sōdōshū Sect, and Tatara Kanrin of Ōbakushū Sect were all distinguished priests of the time. Besides, Murata Jakujun, Hioki Mokusen, Gonda Raifu, Shaku Soen, Himemiyadaien and others were also respected by the people as men of profound knowledge.

What was the process of the separation of religion and education within Shintoism? Although the government organs for the administration of Shintoism changed from the Divine Service Ministry, Commissioner of Religious Propagation, Divine Service Ministry, Department of Education and Religion to the Ministry of Home Affairs, the government relied solely on Shintoism for
thought control. The objective of guiding popular thought was to achieve unification of the country after the social reformation. In order to establish the basis of that control in Shintoism, it was necessary to maintain its purity. The distinct separation between Shintoism and Buddhism was the first step, and for that reason, strenuous efforts were exerted for the rehabilitation or erection of shrines, investigation of shrines and old hill mausolea, and systematization of the rituals of divine service and the order of shrine ranks.

The scientific study of Shintoism became a natural result. Men of profound knowledge, such as Kosugi Onson, Kurita Hiroshi, Konakamura Kiyonori, Kimura Seiji, Inoue Yorikuni, Yano Gendō, Motoori Toyoaki, Mozume Koken and others were trained and fully displayed their talents in the activities of the Divine Service Ministry, Mausolea Bureau, Commissioner of Religious Propagation, the Department of Education and Religion and the Daikyōin. It is well known that during their activities in these organs, they devoted themselves to the explanation of the meanings of classic literature, the survey of old shrines and mausolea, the historical verification of the enshrined gods, as well as the establishment of related systems. And thus, they found many bases for the historical clarification or the philosophical inference of things related to Shintoism, laying the foundation for its scientific study. In the meantime, as a result of these activities, factional tendencies and the academic elements gradually came to be separated. The dispute over the venerated god, which suddenly appeared following the abolition of the Daikyōin and the formation of the Bureau of Shinto in 1875, further strengthened the trend toward separation. After 1882 when various Shinto factions became independent, and following the establishment of such educational institutions as the Kōten Kōkyū Jo (The Imperial Codes Research Institute), Jingu Kōgakkan (Shinto and Imperial Learning Institute) and the classics course of Tokyo University, many of the scholars mentioned above left the religious groups for these educational institutions.
In 1889 the Kōten Kōkyū Jo (The Imperial Codes Research Institute) operated the Kokugakuin (National Study College), a result of the increasing trend toward the scientific study of Shintoism and the national classics.

4. The Advance of Religion into the Field of Journalism.

One issue in the revival of the world of religion was the advance of religion into journalism. Since a religious mission can be fulfilled by propagation and missionary works, journalism is a proper means for achieving those ends. However, in the Meiji Era the use of journalism had significance not only in simply propagation or missionary work, but also in the exaltation of the cultural character of the given religion. The use of publications by Christian missionaries to carry out their activities, in addition to oral preaching, will be dealt with later. In the world of Buddhism, Shimaji Mokurai of the Honganji faction, acting on the suggestion of Kido Takayoshi, published the Shimbun Zasshi as early as 1871 once every five days, later changing to publication every other day. During the activities of the Daikyōin, the management of religious newspapers acquired a new significance, particularly noteworthy being the work of Ōuchi Seiran. By consulting with Sakuma Tei’ichi and Ko-Butsu-Kai (?) in July 1874, Ōuchi began publication of the Meikyō Shinshi every other day and worked to enlighten Buddhist priests; he also founded the newspapers Akebono Koko Shim bun, becoming president and chief editor and writing colorful articles. And consulting with Sakuma Tei’ichi and Yoshida Hisanari, he established the Shūeisha, a printing company. He also formed an organization called the Kyōson Doshu (Co-existence of People) together with Ono Azusa, Inoue Kowashi and Yano Fumio, and forming the Shogakusha (Esteemed Learning Society) together with Toyama Masakazu and Kikuchi Dairoku he edited its organ. In August 1874, Shimaji Mokurai published jointly with Seiran Hoshi
Soden (Repayment to Four Favors Magazine), and spread the principle of Shion hoshu (replying to the four favors). Kojimano Kaoru established the Shūonsha (Requite Favor Society) and advocated the same principle of replying to the four favors. In August 1878, the Honganji Sect published an organ Hō no Tōka (The Light of Religious Doctrines), which was later renamed Kaidō Shim bun (Edification Newspaper), a weekly. Kijitsu Shimpō (Odd-number Day News) founded in February 1883, with Higashi Kan’ichi as chief editor, was published every other day. Then Inoue Enryō, who graduated in 1885 from the philosophy course of the Tokyo University as the first Buddhist priest who was a student, organized the Tetsugaku-kai (The Philosophical Society) together with Miyake Yūjirō, and published Tetsugaku Zasshi (Philosophy Magazine) beginning in 1888. Besides, he planned to establish the Seikyōsha (Political Religion Society) together with Yujirō and Mokurai and tried to carry out scientific comparisons between Buddhism and Christianity from a philosophical viewpoint, as well as standpoint of preserving the national polity and Japanism. A general magazine for all Buddhist sects, Bukkyō (Buddhism) was founded in December 1887, and then were published Hanseikai Zasshi (Magazine of Self-introspection Society) in August of the same year, Kaigai Bukkyō Jijō (Information on Overseas Buddhism) in December 1888 and Daidō Shimpō (Grand Unification News) in March 1889. Later in 1894 Murakami Sensei published Bukkyō Shirin (Collection of Histories of Buddhism) and contributed a great deal to the theoretical study of Buddhist principles and history. In addition to these, Kyōyō Shim bun (Refinement News), Kaichi Shim bun (Knowledge Promotion News), Shichi-ichi Shim bun (Weekly News) and other newspapers were also published. Journalistic activities of various sects and factions greatly increased in this period and led to further development in the next period.

The influence of Christianity in contributing to the progress of culture in the Meiji Era was very great. In the beginning, since this religion was prohibited, there was considerable difficulty in its propagation. But after withdrawal of the public notice banning Christianity and tacit approval of that religion in March 1873, Christianity was suddenly enlivened, supported by the growing atmosphere of civilization and enlightenment. Consequently around 1877, the diffusion and progress of cultures connected with Christianity became very marked.

Christian culture means culture peculiar to Christianity, that is, its religious thought. Already in the old Shogunate days, American Protestantism had been introduced with the reopening of the country, followed by Catholicism in the French lineage. While the Protestant missionaries had abilities in addition to their missionary work and their attitude was modest, the French missionaries had a rather stiff attitude in their work of propagation, and therefore, frequently caused trouble with the Japanese.

Shortly after the establishment of the new Meiji government, the arrest of the Urakami Christians became a diplomatic issue and forced the government to adopt a milder attitude. But the religion was still prohibited, and therefore, missionary activities were carried out clandestinely and were not very successful. In 1868, Awazu Takaaki and Nogi Kan’ichi were baptized for the first time by James Ballagh of the Presbyterian Mission, and in 1869 Ogawa Yoshiyasu, Suzuki Shinjirō (or Kōjirō) and Toriya (or Shimaya) Dai were baptized by Thompson. Occurring during a period of restriction, they were remarkable events in the history of Christian evangelism. In 1870, S. R. Brown established a private school in Yokohama on Christian principles, which many young people attended, including Tsuzuki Keiroku, Ibuka Kajinosuke, Uemura Masahisa and Yamamoto Shūkō. In 1872 the missionaries residing in Yokohama held a First Week
Prayer Service together with the students of that school and other believers. On April 17 of the same year, eleven persons including Ogawa Yoshiyasu and Okuno Masatsuna, established the *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai*, the first Protestant church in Japan; this church later became the *Kaigan Kyōkai* (Bund Church), commonly called Yokohama Bando. Then in September 1873, seven members of this church and those baptized in Tokyo by Thompson joined efforts to establish the Church of Christ of Tokyo and constructed a church near the Shin’eibashi Bridge, the first Christian church in Tokyo, which later became the Shin’eis Church. In September 1874, J. C. Hepburn, Minamizaki Shūkichi and others established the *Yokohama Sumiyoshichō Kyōkai* which later became the *Shirō Kyōkai*, a Presbyterian church opposed to the *Church of Christ*. In October of the same year, the members of the Karazorusu (?) faction in Tokyo established the The First Presbyterian Church in Tsukiji, in opposition to the Shin’ei Church; it later became the Shiba Church. In April 1876, eighteen persons, including Hara Taneaki, Toda Kindo and others fell away from the First Presbyterian Church and founded the Independent Presbyterian Church of Japan. In October 1877, members of the Church of Christ of Yokohama and members of the Presbyterian Church of Yokohama and Tokyo jointly established the United Church of Japan. Thus the Presbyterians gradually spread their influence in Tokyo and held the first All-Japan Reunion of Christians at the Shin’eibashi Church in July 1878, a very lively meeting attended by over five hundred believers from all parts of the country. Encouraged by this meeting, they frequently held speech meetings to refute agnosticism and utilitarianism advocated by some. In 1880 they advanced into Ueno Park and held an open-air speech meeting and acquired many followers.

The first Congregational Church was founded by Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Greene who, arriving in Japan in 1869, carried on missionary activities with headquarters in Kōbe. Then, in April 1874, the Greenes established a church of the Congregational
mission, the The First Church of Christ of Settsu on the 19th of that month. This church later became the Kōbe Church. Next on May 24 they established the Umemoto Church in Osaka, with seven members; this church later became the Osaka Church.

In 1871, the Kumamoto clan invited L. L. Janes of the Presbyterian Mission and established a school of Western study, and under his influence, thirty five students including Ebina Danjō, Ukita Kazutami (or Wamin), Kanamori Tsūrin, Tokutomi Iichirō and others pledged each other to exert efforts for the sake of Christianity. This confederation was commonly called the Kumamoto Bando.

In June, 1873, the American Methodist Mission sent McClay-Correl (?) to Japan, followed by J. Soper and J. C. Divison in July and M. C. Harris in August. In August of the same year the Canadian Methodist Mission sent Cochrane MacDonald, then Eby, and acquired two followers in that month. Cochrane became acquainted with Nakamura Masanao whom he baptized in May 1874. Thus the Canadian Methodist Mission expanded their influence mainly in Tokyo, Shizuoka and Kōfu, and the American Methodist Mission in Tokyo, Sendai, Hirosaki and Hakodate; they acquired many converts including Yamanaka Shō, Ebara Soroku, Honda Yōichi and others. In the same year, W. S. Clark was invited to the Sapporo Agriculture School, which led to the establishment of the so-called Sapporo Bando. It is said that Clark rendered a more distinguished service in the field of religion than in education, his followers including such people as Satō Shōsuke, Nitobe Inazo, Ōshima Masatake, and Uchimura Kanzō. Riggins (?) was the first missionary sent to Japan by the Episcopal Mission; later Williams arrived in Japan and established a church for foreigners in Nagasaki. Williams later set up a church in Tokyo, then moved to Osaka and established the Timothy Church in that city in 1871. It is said that the activities of Episcopal missionaries were less colorful, but they were rather successful in the management of schools and hospitals.
The Greek Orthodox Church was introduced by Nicolai, a Russian, in 1860, and Sawabe Takuma, Sakai Tokurei and Urano Taizō were baptized in 1868. Nicolai established a church at Surugadai, Kanda, in 1872. The Baptist Mission sent J. Goble in 1860 but was unsuccessful. The Baptist Mission tried again in 1873, and in 1885, Carpenter carried on evangelical activities among the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Although they made a considerable effort, they were unable to achieve any success worthy of mention. The Evangelical Mission sent Clare (?) and Hudson in 1876, then Haffler (?), and the Society of Friends sent Cosant (?). But their missionary activities did not gain any noticeable success. Several other Christian sects also sent missionaries to Japan for evangelistic purposes, but in spite of their lively activities, none were very successful. It is believed that the Japanese people, although not altogether conservative, were comparatively indifferent to religion as such and with a few exceptions, most of them warmly welcomed the cultural assets of Christianity rather than Christianity itself.

There is much to be said regarding the educational activities carried on by the Christian missionaries. Simultaneously with Japan’s opening of her ports in 1859, American missionaries such as J. C. Hepburn, N. Brown, James Ballagh, Thompson, Simons and others arrived in Yokohama. However, with Christianity still banned, they could not carry on evangelistic activities, and most of them set up private schools to teach English or engaged in medical work, laying the foundation for school management on Christian principles for a later time. In 1869, Karazorusu(?) established an English school and a girls’ school at Tsukiji, Tokyo, then the Tsukiji Daigaku at Irifune-chō in 1873, and together with H. Waddell, Greene and Davison, worked in the field of child education. Hara Taneaki, Tsuzuki Keiroku, Akakabe Jirō and others were graduates of this college. Verbeck, who was in Nagasaki, came to Tokyo in 1869 and became a teacher of the Kaisei Gakkō, and Thompson, who was residing in Yokohama, also became a teacher at the same
school.

Thereafter, missionaries of various denominations set up private institutions and schools in various districts and engaged in educational activities as a side occupation to their evangelistic mission. In September 1877, missionaries of the Presbyterian Church united their private institutions and schools which existed in various places and established the (United Theological School at Tsukiji, and launched upon a comprehensive religious educational program, with Amelman (?) lecturing on organized theology, Imbry (?) on the New Testament, MacLaren (?) on the Old Testament; Waddell, Verbeck and Ibuka Kajinosuke also assisted in teaching. Then, in 1881, the Hepburn School of Yokohama, the Senshi School and the Tsukiji English-Japanese School of Wycoff (?) were amalgamated, and the United English-Japanese School was established. Hattori Ayao, Matsuura Kaiseki and others were graduates of this school. In 1887, this school and the United Theological School were amalgamated and became Meiji Gakuin, assuming then the form of a full-fledged school.

Ni’ijima Jō, who had gone to the United States to study in the early days, returned in September 1875 and in November that year established Dōshisha College in Kyoto, through the joint efforts of Yamamoto Kakuma and Davis (?). Besides their evangelistic activities, Cochrane, MacDonald, and Ivy (?) of the Canadian Methodist Mission established a theological school in Tokyo, the Tōyō Eiwa Gakkō and Tōyō Eiwa Jō-gakkō in 1884, and Kansei Gakuin College in Kōbe in 1888. The American Methodist Mission established Tokyo Gakuin College which later became Aoyama Gakuin College at Tsukiji in 1878. Williams of the Episcopal Mission established Trinity Theological School in Tokyo in 1877, Rikkyo University at Tsukiji in 1881, and the Osaka Trinity Theological School and Momoyama Gakuin College in 1884. Warren (?) of the Anglican Church of England established the Holy Religion Society’s Theological School in Tokyo in 1878. Kosando (?) of the Society of Friends arrived in
Japan in 1885 and established the Friends Girls’ School and a church at Shiba.

The results of the activities of Christian missionaries during this period were not so satisfactory when compared with the general educational work carried out by the Ministry of Education. One point to be mentioned, however, is that while most religions schools exerted educational efforts primarily to train youngsters and disciples of their own sect, the education provided by Christian missionaries was not so restricted, being intended to increase converts, and besides, the Western culture accompanying Christian education attracted the curiosity of the Japanese people.

All of the missionaries who arrived in Japan in the early period such as Hepburn, Simons (?), Schmidt (?), Lang (?), had a knowledge of medicine, a fact which made it very convenient to grasp the people’s mind both spiritually and materially in their evangelistic activities during the period of the ban of Christianity. Particularly, Hepburn established a hospital as soon as he landed at Yokohama in 1859 and offered medical services to the Japanese people. It was often said that he healed the illness of the celebrated actor Sawamura Tanosuke by amputating one of his legs. Besides, he taught Kishida Ginko the preparation of eye-water, which was widely sold under the name of *seikisui*. Hepburn is also said to have introduced the method of soap-making. Simons (?) and Schmidt (?) later discontinued evangelistic activities and engaged exclusively in medical work.

The establishment of St. Barnabas Hospital in Osaka in 1871 and St. Lukes Hospital in Tokyo in 1880 were realized by missionaries of the Episcopal Church. Besides, Falls (?) of the Scotch Presbyterian Mission established a hospital at Tsukiji, and MacDonald of the Canadian Methodist Mission engaged in medical work at the Shizuoka Hospital and carried on missionary activities as well. In the past, medical science in this country was mainly derived from Chinese and Dutch medical practice. But with the arrival of Christian missionaries, the medical science
of America and other European countries was introduced into Japan.

Next come the literary activities of Christian missionaries, such as research into the Japanese language, writing articles and translation of the Bible. In evangelizing activities in Japan, the greatest difficulty was in learning the Japanese language. However, they exerted undaunted efforts in conquering this obstacle, and not only succeeded in mastering daily conversation, but produced outstanding works on such matters as the vocabulary of the Japanese language and the compilation of dictionaries. As early as 1846, Beterehaimu (?) arrived in the Ryukyus, studied the Ryukyuan language, and projected the translation of the Bible into that language. Hepburn published *Shinri Ichid* (An Easy Learning of the Truth), the first manual of evangelism in 1864, as well as a Japanese-English dictionary entitled *Waei Gorin Shūsei* in 1867. The so-called Hepburn system of Romanization of today is his invention. Brown, said to have been a genius in linguistics, wrote *Kogotai Nihongo* (Spoken Japanese) in 1863, engaged in the translation of the Bible into Japanese, and also introduced the art of photography into Japan. The translation of the Bible was one of the important missions given to these Christian missionaries. It is said that *Yohane Fukuin no Den* (The Gospel according to John) translated by Guttslaf (?) in China was the earliest translation of the Bible into Japanese. In Japan, J. Goble started translation of the Bible in 1864 and completed the translation of the Four Gospels and the Acts after four years of strenuous effort, and from them, “The Gospel according to John” was published in 1871. Hepburn had been engaged in the translation of the Bible for some time before this, assisted by Thompson (?), Ballagh and N. Brown, and in the following year published “The Gospel according to Mark” and “The Gospel according to John,” and a year later published “The Gospel according to Matthew.” It is said that S. R. Brown translated a part of the Bible, too, but the manuscript was lost in a fire in 1867.
In 1872, missionaries of the Protestant churches held a conference in Yokohama and decided to carry out a cooperative translation of the New Testament. They selected committees from various denominations including S. R. Brown, Hepburn, Greene, Williams, Fyson and others, in which N. Brown and MacLay (?) later participated. The work was started in March 1874, completed in November 1879, and published in May of the following year. Of course, many Japanese including Kawamata Tetsuya, Okuno Masatsuna, Matsuyama Takakichi, Takahashi Gorō and others assisted in the work. Prior to this, in January 1876, N. Brown resigned from the membership of the committee due to a difference of opinion on the translation, and completed in March, 1878, a translation exclusively for the Baptist Mission and published the New Testament in August of the following year. In April 1880, a commemorative meeting on the completion of the translation of the New Testament was held at the United Church of Christ of Japan in Tsukiji.

When the translation of the New Testament finally neared completion, a committee composed of Thompson (?), Waddell (?), Piper (?) and Cochrane (?), which Hepburn, Verbeck and Fyson joined later, and which was assisted by Matsuyama Takakichi, Uemura Masahisa, Ibuka Kajinosuke, Takahashi Gorō and some others, began the translation of the Old Testament. It was finished in December 1887, and in February, 1888, a congratulatory meeting was held at the United Church of Christ of Japan. The translations of that time were very clumsy, but their efforts must be appreciated as works by foreigners who were not accustomed to the usages of the Japanese language.

Parallel with the translation of the Bible, the translation and dissemination of hymns are worth nothing. S. R. Brown, Verbeck, Hepburn and other missionaries who came to Japan had a considerable knowledge of music, and foreign residents, also played strange instruments and sang hymns during religious services, attracting the curiosity of the Japanese. Of course, hymns were sung in a foreign language, and with hymns taught
in churches, Sunday schools and girls' mission schools also sung in a foreign language, there was not much possibility of their diffusion among the general Japanese public. When a conference of missionaries of all Christian denominations was held in September 1872, the question of the translation of hymns was discussed and Ballagh presented two songs translated by Goble and Crosby (?). Later, additional translations were made, and seven kinds of hymns in Japanese were published in 1874. After 1878, a hymnal with music notes was published. Of course, the translations of these songs were clumsy and as the meanings were unclear, the United Church of Christ of Japan discussed their revision and supplementation in April of the same year, S. R. Brown, Okuno Masatsuna and Takahashi Gorō were assigned as a committee for the revision and new translation, which were completed toward the end of 1880. There was a question whether Japanese or Western tunes should be adopted, or new musical compositions should be made. It was decided to revise the hymnal by intermixing hymns in seven-five syllable meter of the Japanese style with Western style hymns which had been in use. In 1883, Verbeck, Okuno Masatsuna, Uemura Masahisa and Segawa Asa were nominated as a committee, and assisted by Matsuyama Takakichi, Miyagawa Keiki, Tamura Hatsutarō, Ortin (?) and others, they completed the *Meiji Shinsen Sambika* (New Meiji Hymnal) in 1888, which was in use in Christian churches for quite a long time.

As a whole, Christianity, although suffering adversity as a result of bans in the beginning of Meiji, was gradually disseminated by attracting the curiosity of the Japanese people. Because of the new culture it accompanied, and the support of foreign influences Christianity came to expand its influence. In 1878, the number of churches and adherents were 44 and 1,617, respectively. The number increased to 93 churches and 4,367 adherents in 1882, and to 193 churches and 13,000 converts in 1886. In noting this situation, Christian missionaries thought it possible to convert the whole of Japan to Christianity and
worked towards its realization. However, the majority of the people only took in the cultural facets brought in by the missionaries, and stuck to their old faith as before. That is, they considered religion and culture as distinctive, separate affairs. Nonetheless, the contribution of Christianity to the culture of Japan was very great.

F. ASPECTS OF THE PEOPLE’S LIFE

1. Popular Thought.

Although the feudal structure collapsed with the establishment of the Meiji government, the ideas and moral conceptions sustained for nearly three hundred years could by no means readily disappear. Thus in the early years of the Meiji Era the national classics, Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism constituted the basis of the conception of society on which Western thought encroached. Western thought here refers to thought originating from the Christian moral viewpoint.

There are two aspects in the society of this period which especially draw our attention. The first is the fact that the samurai class, especially the women of that class, found it difficult to change their conventional attitude in their behavior and continued through this revolutionary period to observe firmly the traditional duties of womanhood in the pattern of the old ethics for women and trained their children in the mold of the samurai spirit of old, producing many able men who assumed leading roles in various fields.

The second point is that because the policy of the Meiji government in meeting the collapse of the samurai class was that of encouraging them to go into agriculture and business, the samurai, who had lived in the residential quarters of castletowns, had to engage in agriculture or trade, which placed them in an environment utterly different from their previous pattern of living. Because of that, a new spirit, the samurai spirit,
was injected into the morality of farmers as well as merchants. In his autobiography, Katayama Sen, sketching what he witnessed during the Saga revolt, when the vassals of the Hamada clan, Iwami Province, migrated into the Tsuruta district of Mimasaku Province (Okayama), wrote:

“Many samurai families came into every village to live among the farmers. Their tastes were quite different from those of the farmers. While the simple farmers toiled hard day and night, the samurai were doing nothing useful but idly eating to their heart’s content, were better clad, and indulging in their hobbies. This situation seriously influenced the thought, as well as the sentiments and manners, of the farmers. At least, it impressed us that this mixed living disturbed the peaceful life of the farmers. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the samurai also had a good influence in the area of education. That is, the coming into our community of so many samurai families of all ages, who were intellectual and experienced in cultural life and who started associating with us almost on an equal basis, was greatly advantageous for us in acquiring various kinds of knowledge. Especially many young farmers who were in contact with them were inspired and greatly stirred. The samurai spread an atmosphere of civilization into the community of farmers, and thereby enabled them better to understand the future reforms of the Restoration.

The principles which were promptly indicated by the government as guides for cultivating popular thought to meet the changing period were contained in the Imperial Oath of Five Articles promulgated in April 1868, and the Three Doctrines promulgated in June 1872. These indicated the objective to train people with a Japanese spirit and Western talents, that is, the reassertion of the Imperial Way, utilizing Western thought as one of its two features. Since popular morality is closely associated with politics in a country in which theocracy constitutes the basis of government, it was stated that the virtue of the Sun Goddess, which had been the basis of national
conviction, was the source of popular morality, and therefore, the Three Sacred Treasures were the symbols of popular morality. In his *Sanjō Tai'i* (General Outline of the Three Doctrines), Yano Gendō declared that the sun was none other than our ancestral Amaterasu Ōmikami, and “it is natural for us to serve the Emperor who is a descendant of the Sun Goddess.” He further stated that, “the Emperor’s act of offering prayers to the ancestral gods and earthly deities for the peace and prosperity of the people in performing divine services, is nothing but serving the Heavenly Ancestor.” While such a statement may lack logical preciseness, or be weak in logic when viewed from another standpoint, there is no other suitable logic than this for a theocratic government.

Although Buddhism experienced the bitter ordeal of *haibutsu kishaku* after the Meiji Restoration, it could not be erased from the minds of the people, however violent the political change was, since this religion had provided spiritual food to the people for several centuries. Whenever the Chief Abbot of the Honganji faction went on a preaching tour, people sitting along the way bowed in veneration. Some clans even courteously refused lodgings within their domains to the Chief Abbot because the people’s offerings were so large as to jeopardise clan finances. When the government allocated lands to be reclaimed for the colonization of Hokkaidō, provision was made not only for clans and military offices, but the Honganji sect among others as well.

The effects of Christianity upon popular thought were as explained previously. Since Christian missionaries were of respectable character and had medical knowledge, they had sufficient power to win public support. With the passage of time, because of the coincidence between the idea of freedom and equality dominant in the world of ideas of early Meiji and the principles of Christianity, the latter occupied a large portion of the social thought of the time.

Besides these moral conceptions colored with religion, the
work of Fukuzawa Yukichi, who implanted the Western idea of moral criticism, should be mentioned. His work *Gakumon no Susume* (Exhortation towards learning), the first part of which was published in 1872 and its seventeenth part in November 1876, sold several hundred thousand copies. Following the general trend to renovate old customers, he made in his simple writing style detailed criticisms of the attitudes and thinking of the Japanese people, based on his great knowledge of Western civilization. For instance, he pointed out that, "One who does not know the price of rice, even though he remembers every line of the *Kojiki* is ignorant of social learning," or that, the death on the battle field of Kusunoki Masashige (hero of the Southern Court) accomplished nothing of value even for the Southern Court, commenting that there was no difference between his death and that of a servant who hangs himself for losing his master's money. He wrote many books on morality in a similar vein such as *Domo Oshiegusa* (Enlightening Youngsters and Illiterates), *Tsūzoku Minkenron* (Theory of Popular's Rights for Easy Reading), *Teishitsu-ron* (Comments on the Imperial Household), *Tokuiku Ikan* (What Should Moral Education Be?), *Nihon Fujin Ron* (Comments on Japanese Women), *Hinkō-Ron* (Comments on *Shijin Shosei Ron* (Comments on the Social Behavior of Men of Samurai Lineage), *Danjo Kōsai Ron* (Comments on Relations Between Men and Women), and *Nihon Danshi Ron* (Comments on Japanese Manhood). His ideas contained a considerable amount of practical science.

It was inevitable that with the excessive infiltration of Western civilization and violent social changes people's mind would tend to become fickle and frivolous. While the leaders of state affairs were most assiduous in the encouragement and promotion of industry, the people showed a gross inclination towards materialism. Particularly because of its stress on learning as the basic asset for success in life, the educational system promulgated in 1872 further encouraged materialism, and there appeared many
who neglected moral training, a situation about which thoughtful people became apprehensive. In March 1876, Nishimura Shigeki, Naka Michitaka, Sugi Kyōji, Tsuji Shinji and Ōi Kenkichi jointly established the Tokyo Shūshin Gakusha (Tokyo Society of Moral Study), setting forth as its major objective the maintenance and promotion of morality. In the spring of 1880, they published Shūshin Gakusha Sōsetsu (Collection of Commentaries of the Society of Moral Study), and set up branch organizations in Numazu, Ōtsu and Gifu. At the inaugural meeting, the chief advocate, Nishimura Shigeki, delivered a speech, explaining the objective of the society as follows:

"Since the Restoration of Imperial Rule, everything is proceeding in unison towards civilization. But as a single exception, morality is falling below even the Standard of feudal days. Recently, many school have been established, but what they teach is extremely partial to the enlightenment of knowledge, and there are few which discuss the problems of moral training.... The more the knowledge of people progresses, the more the trend of frivolity and craftiness increases. Unless this tendency is restrained by promoting moral education, the manners and customs of the people will be gradually degraded and its evil effects will be disastrous."

It seems clear that there was a need to promote popular morality at that time. Dating from the old Shogunate days, there was a tendency to look down on European and American customs as ignoring respect for the ruler and filial piety. But a view appeared that Western morals should not be regarded contempestuously, and a few translations of Western works on morality became available, some of them for youth. In 1881, the Yōgaku Kōyō (Elements of Child Education), distributed by the Ministry of the Imperial Household, stated its objective in the preface, written by the Imperial tutor, Motoda Eifu, that it was a compilation of "respectfully selected words and deeds of the past and present pertaining to human duty and morality" believed effective for child education.
2. Changes in Clothing.

Westernization in dress continued. In December 1872 the old system of government uniforms, composed of naoshi (court costume) and kamishimo (ceremonial samurai dress) was totally changed to Western dress. Consequently, office furniture was also westernized, changing to desks and chairs. Mufflers and cotton shawls were in general use, and frequently young girls wearing hakama carrying large-sized Western books were seen walking on the streets. The gradual increase in Western dress among the general public may be attributed to the influence of military uniforms. The custom of cropped hair also became prevalent, and there were village heads commended for succeeding in getting villagers to cut their hair.

In 1876 the Sword Abolition Ordinance was promulgated, prohibiting the wearing of swords. Undoubtedly the old samurai class were dissatisfied with this Ordinance, for it became one of the causes of the Disturbance of Jimpûren in Kumamoto.

3. Development of Railways and the Postal Service.

The development of transportation cannot be ignored as a means of promoting culture among the people. After the completion of the line between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1872, the railroad between Osaka and Kôbe was finished in May 1874, and that between Osaka and Kyoto in February 1877. However, the Satsuma Rebellion which had just broken out, placed government finances in a tight situation. In 1878, the government, unable to invest funds in railroad construction, sought financial resources by floating enterprise bonds and projected the construction of lines between Kyoto and Ōtsu and between Nagahama and Ōgaki. Moreover, as it was believed essential to connect Tokyo and Osaka, the construction of this trunk line was decided in August 1879 and completed in 1889.
CULTURE OF EARLY MEIJI

Private railways did not develop in Japan because the financial world of that time did not realize the potentialities in this enterprise. In January 1873, ten noblemen, including the Tokugawa, proposed the establishment of a railway company, with an additional eleven noblemen participating, they established the Tokyo Tetsudō Kaisha (Tokyo Railway Company) and petitioned for the sale of the railroad between Tokyo and Yokohama, but for withdrew the petition some reason, and the project was not realized. However, in November 1881 the Nihon Tetsudō Kaisha (Japan Railway Company) was established to build a railroad between Tokyo and Aomori, and in July 1883 the line between Ueno and Kumagai was opened for traffic; a year later, a 10% profit was announced in its report of operation. Other private railways were established: the Hankai Railroad in June 1884, Nikkō Railroad and Iyo Railroad in 1886, and Kyūshū Railroad, Yamagata Railroad, Kōshin Railroad and Gumma Railroad in 1887; the mileage totalled 479 miles with the capital invested amounting to 18,105,000 yen. Later, seven other railways, such as Mito, Kimmo, Sanyō, Sanuki, Kansai and Osaka were founded, and the mileage extended to more than 505 miles, with an invested capital totalling 21,650,000 yen. In short, it can be said that the enthusiasm to construct railroads reached its apex around 1887.

There was also a project to construct railroads in Hokkaidō in 1873, but it was only after the flotation of an enterprise bond that some ten miles between Temiya and Sapporo were completed in November 1880.

The operation of the trains was mainly handled by foreigners. There were as many as forty six foreigners employed on the line between Köbe and Ōtsu in the early Meiji years, but they were gradually replaced by Japanese engineers, and by 1887 the number of foreigners had decreased to only nine.

The postal service covered almost the whole country by 1872. In the following year, postal charges by distance were revised to a system of charges by weight. The use of post cards was

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adopted in the same year, and a postal treaty with the United States was concluded. In 1875 mail boats were commissioned to call at Shanghai and other ports, and Japanese post offices were built in China and Korea in 1876. In 1877 Japan participated in the Universal Postal Union, and in 1878 completed the network of mail service connections all over Japan. The number of post offices in that year was 3,777, and the number of pieces of mail handled totalled 45,504,276.

With regard to the telegraph, the basic system was almost completed when the Telegraphic Regulations were promulgated around 1873–1874, but the system was still immature both in technique and business management and had to depend upon the Great Northern Telegraph Company of Denmark for the handling of overseas cablegrams. In 1878 it at last inaugurated telegraphic services and commenced handling of overseas cablegrams. In the following year, Japan acceded to the International Telegraphic Convention. The number of telegraph offices increased from 68 in 1877, to 97 in 1878, to 112 in 1879, and to 169 in 1881. Cable lines covered 1,310 ri (1 ri is equal to 2.44 miles) in 1878, 1,518 ri in the following year and 1,990 ri in 1882.

As for marine transportation, Iwasaki Yatarō established the Mitsubishi Company in March 1873 and started a shipping business between Tokyo, Osaka and Köchi, ranking among Nihon Yūbin Jōkisen Kaisha (Japan Packet Steamboat Company) and other shipping agents, and rendered services for the government during both the Saga revolt and the Formosan Expedition in 1874. In September 1875, this company accepted the delivery of thirteen vessels with an aggregated gross tonnage of 17,550 tons from the government, and began the free transportation of mail by receiving an annual shipping subsidy of 250,000 Yen and an annual grant of 11,000 Yen for training seamen, changing its name to Yūbin Kisen Mitsubishi Shōkai. Later, it accepted the delivery of twelve additional vessels and operated with a fleet of 33 vessels of 30,150 gross tonnage.
This development stemmed from the government policy to challenge the Pacific Steamship Company which was monopolizing coastal shipping. The Mitsubishi Company launched its competition by extending its shipping line as far as Shanghai, and finally, the government purchased four vessels and all the land installations in Kōbe and Shanghai of the Pacific Steamship Company, and delivered them to the Mitsubishi Company, expecting a favorable result for Japan's shipping. However, just then the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company of Great Britain opened up a Yokohama-Shanghai line, forcing the Mitsubishi Company into competition. By winning this challenge, Japan secured the coastal line shipping for herself, and the Mitsubishi Company, with further subsidies, opened up the Shanghai line, the inshore lines and the Korea line. This company performed a brilliant service during the Satsuma Rebellion and added ten more vessels to its fleet; after the war, beginning in 1878 it inaugurated regular services to Ogasawara Island, Okinawa Vladivostock, and temporary services to Hokkaidō and Hongkong. Besides accepting the delivery of one more vessel and building new ones of its own, the company further expanded its business and started other enterprises related to shipping, such as foreign exchange, marine insurance, banking and warehousing, whereupon the government issued a third directive in February 1882, ordering the company to confine its business activities exclusively to shipping. Prior to this, some rich Tokyo and Hokuriku residents jointly established the Tokyo Sailing Company in 1880, and then, by amalgamating the Hokkaidō Transport Company and the Echū Sailing Ship Company, reorganized the company into the United Transportation Company in July 1882. The government granted a subsidy and sold twelve vessels to this company, too. With a capital of six million yen, this company ordered the construction of a dozen vessels from England, and with their arrival began a bitter competition with the Mitsubishi Company, which resulted in enormous deficits to both companies. The government then
persuaded the two companies to amalgamate in July 1885, and thus the *Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki-Kaisha* was established, with a capital totalling 11,000,000 Yen.
Chapter Four

CULTURE OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE MIDDLE DAYS OF THE MEIJI ERA

A. CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL SITUATION

1. Establishment of the Cabinet System.

AROUND 1877 the popular rights movement was raging furiously, preceded in September by the Imperial Rescript to draft the Constitution, and followed in October 1881 by the Imperial Rescript pledging the opening of the National Diet by 1890. The establishment of constitutional government had become only a matter of time. Although the government thus had to expedite preparations, it decided to send Cabinet Councillor Itô Hirobumi abroad, believing it necessary to investigate actual political conditions in the constitutional countries of Europe. The general outline of the Imperial decree given to Hirobumi in March 1882 stated, “to establish the plan of a constitutional government, it is necessary to study the governments of other countries to determine which aspects of them to select and apply in Japan, and we hereby send Hirobumi to the constitutional countries of Europe so that he can meet governmental authorities and scholars and thoroughly survey the actual operation of the system.” The decree contained instructions covering thirty one articles.

Hirobumi left Tokyo on March 14, accompanied by Cabinet Grand Secretary Yamazaki Naotane, Assistant Councillor of the
Board of Council Itō Miyōji, Deputy Grand Secretary of Finance Kawashima Jun, Minor Secretary of Finance Hirata Tōsuke, Judge Miyoshi Taizō, and in addition, Assistant Councillors of the Board of Council Saionji Kimmochi, Iwakura Tomosada and Hirohashi Kenkō. Staying in Europe for over one year, they inspected the actual operation of constitutional government in Egypt, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Austria and England, asking questions of scholars in these countries. Hirobuni benefitted particularly from information provided by Rudolf von Gneist, Albert Mosse, and Lorenz von Stein. His research was limited not only to constitutions, but extended to every sphere of administration, and by 1882, it seems that he had grasped the idea of the general outline of a constitutional government to be adopted in Japan. He wracked his brain particularly on the question of how to define the rights of the sovereign and popular rights, in accordance with the historical national character of Japan. When he was received by Kaiser Wilhelm I in Germany, the Kaiser advised him, “For the sake of the Emperor of Japan, we cannot congratulate Him on the establishment of a National Diet. If the opening of a Diet is inevitable, it is better to exclude any provision which requires Diet approval for the collection of national expenditures. This kind of a provision might in the end cause internal disturbances.” At about the same time, Itagaki Taisuke and Gōtō Shōjirō were in France. Hirobunmi proposed that they renounce their cherished views on popular rights, but the two turned down this request.

While Hirobuni was in Europe, Inoue Kowashi and others continued their research on the governmental structure at home. Supporting Kowashi in his research was cabinet advisor Hermann Roessler, a German, who rendered a distinguished service in the introduction of modern political theories into the Japanese system.

Once the establishment of a constitutional government was destined to be realized, it became necessary to draft the Imperial House Law which has an inseparable relation with the
Constitution. For this task, in December 1882, the Private Regulations Research Bureau was established in the Ministry of Home Affairs, and Iwakura Tomomi, Minister of the Right, was to assume the post of acting president of the bureau, but he died before Hirobumi's return. In March 1884 the Organizational System Research Bureau was established in the Ministry of the Imperial Household, and Hirobumi was concurrently appointed its head.

The government thus exerted every effort to study the system of constitutional government, and finally in December 1885, Prime Minister Sanjō Sanetomi announced the projected great reform of the governmental system, explaining the complete change in the social situation requiring it. The proposal was to abolish the Dajō Daijin (Prime Minister), Sa-Daijin (Minister of the Left), U-Daijin (Minister of the Right), Sangi (Cabinet Councillors) and Kyō (Departmental Ministers), and to set up a cabinet headed by a prime minister. The cabinet would consist of a Minister of the Imperial Household, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of War, Minister of the Navy, Minister of Justice, Minister of Education, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce and Minister of Postal Services. Besides, the positions of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Imperial Court Councillors were established.

Itō Hirobumi was appointed Prime Minister of the Cabinet and concurrently Minister of the Imperial Household; Inoue Kaoru was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs; Yamagata Aritomo, Minister of Home Affairs; Matsukata Masayoshi, Minister of Finance; Óyama Iwao, Minister of War; Saigō Tsugumichi, Minister of Navy; Yamada Akiyoshi, Minister of Justice; Mori Arinori, Minister of Education; Tani Kanjō, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; and Enomoto Buyō, Minister of Postal Services. It is noteworthy that none of these ministers came from the court noble class. In addition, members of the Genrōin (Elder Statesmen) were appointed, and the
Hōseikyoku (Legislation Bureau) was established to compile draft bills of laws and regulations. Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi instructed the ministers to conform with the five objectives of the Emperor, contained in the Imperial Rescript establishing the cabinet system: to clarify the extent of their duties, to select and promote the worthy, to eliminate red tape, to curtail unnecessary expenses, and to observe strict discipline. By setting forth in detail the organizational system of the ministries, he clearly indicated the mental attitude with which government officials should execute duties. The spring of 1886 saw Japan under the new system of governmental organization.

2. Political Party Movements

Around October 1881, when the Imperial Rescript pledging the establishment of the National Diet was issued, political parties and societies sprang up in many places like bamboo sprouts after a rain. The major parties were the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party), the Osaka Rikken Seitō (Osaka Constitutional Political Party), the Kyūshū Kaishintō (Kyūshū Progressive Party), the Rikken Kaishintō (Constitutional Progressive Party), the Rikken Teiseitō (Constitutional Imperial Rule Party), Ōmeisha (Parrot Society) and the Tōyō Gisei Kai (Oriental Parliamentary Society).

Besides these, a countless number of small parties and societies were formed in local districts. Most of these small local political organizations had relations with some of the large political parties in Tokyo. Those related to the Jiyūtō included the Rikken Seitō (Osaka), Gakunan Jiyūtō (Shizuoka), Kainan Jiyūtō (Kōchi), Tajima Jiyūtō (Tajima), Awaji Jiyūtō (Awaji) Aichi Jiyūtō (Aichi), Sanyō Jiyūtō (Mikawa), Ōtsu Jiyūtō (Ōmi), Sekiyō Jiyūtō (Iwami), Kubiki Saugun Jiyūtō (Echigo), Jichitō (Etchū), Tōhoku Shichishū Jiyūtō (Tōhoku). Those which had relations with the Rikken Kaishintō were Hyōgo Kaishintō (Hyōgo), Mito Kaishintō (Ibaragi), Ōita Kaishintō (Ōita), Akita
Kaishintō (Akita), Niigata Kaishintō (Niigata), Yanagawa Kaishintō (Chikugo). Those with connections with the Rikken Teiseitō, were Shimeikai (Kumamoto), Miyazu Zanshintō (Tango), Rikken Chūseiitō (Tokyo), Chūseiikai (Okayama), Rikken Hoshutō (Yamanashi), Kōyō Teiseitō (Kōchi).

Independent organizations which had no relations with the three large political parties included the Kōgi Seitō (Higo), the Rikken Shinseiitō (Kanazawa), the Rikken Teiseitō (Chikuzen), the Noto Jiyū Kaishintō (Noto), the Hakuaitō (Kagoshima), Ryōaitō (Echizen), Senaikai (Shizuoka), Fushokukai (Ehime), Dōyūkai (Wakayama), Chikenkai (Fukui). Each group established its own party rules. Among them, the Shimeikai (Purple Nebulae Society) was established in 1882 in Kumamoto through the joint efforts of the Councillor of the Board of Council Yasuda Yasukazu, Grand Secretary of the Cabinet Inoue Kowashi, and Furushō Kamon who came from the Higo clan.

The government began the suppression of the political movements of these non-governmental organizations by reinforcing such regulations as the Publication Ordinance. In addition, the government also used the Assembly Ordinance as a means to attack political parties. As a consequence, political parties which had once flourished were destroyed. First, in March 1883, the Rikken Seitō of Osaka cast off its character as a political society. Within the Rikken Kaishintō some requested the abolition of the list of members, and although the party did not dissolve, such influential persons as President Ōkuma Shigenobu, Vice President Kōno Togana and others served their connections with the party. Only the general affairs committee remained, and the party barely continued its existence by holding occasional speech meetings. Even the Jiyūtō, whose influence had been predominant, held a party convention in October 1884 and dissolved. As the influence of the Jiyūtō waned and many other political parties dissolved, the raison d’être of the Rikken Teiseitō, which was formed to challenge those non-governmental parties, disappeared, and this party, stimulated by other factors
such as internal controversy and shortage of party funds, was also dissolved in September 1883.

Political party members who understood and firmly believed in popular rights, and who therefore believed in acting in accordance with their ideas, took a position of opposing prefectural administrations. However, faced with the dissolution of the national political parties, they lost their base, and their movements turned radical in efforts to overturn the government. In Fukushima prefecture in 1882, Governor Mishima Michitsune who detested the liberals, boasted that he would never allow thieves and members of the Jiyūtō within his prefecture. As soon as he assumed his post, he projected various civil engineering works, including the Asaka Irrigation Canal, and frequently carried out shake-ups prefectural officials. These actions caused friction with the prefectoral assembly, led by Speaker Kōno Hironaka. In May, 1882, when the prefectoral assembly rejected all bills submitted by the governor, Michitsune tried to enforce his policies by appealing to the Minister of Home Affairs. Thereupon, Kōno Hironaka, Tamono Hideki, Aizawa Neiken, Hanaka Taijirō, Sawada Seinosuke, Hirashima Matsuo and some others held a meeting in Fukushima and prepared a signed pledge to overthrow despotic government, the public enemy of freedom, and to establish a parliamentary political body. The pledge also stated, “In order to achieve the aims of this party, we would gladly sacrifice our life and property, would sever family ties, and would not care no matter what happens,” and their resolution seemed very firm. However, this document came into the possession of the government, and Kōno and the others were sent to Tokyo under guard, charged with conspiring to promote a rebellion. After investigation, Kōno Hironaka was sentenced to seven years’ light confinement, and Tamono Hideaki and the others to six years’ light confinement.

A second incident involved Akai Kageaki, a political bully affiliated with the Jiyūtō, who organized the Tenchū Gumi (Heaven Punishment Group) in October 1882 and drafted an
inflammatory appeal. The Tenchū Gumi held that since officials occupying high government posts were hiding the wisdom of the Emperor, they should be punished by Heaven, and they planned to assassinate cabinet ministers and councillors. However, on being remonstrated by a certain person, they had withheld putting the plan into effect. Then, in March, 1883, when a friendly meeting of the Hokuetsu Shichishū Jiyūtō was held at Takaoka, Etchū province, a rumour spread that some members of the Echigo Kubiki Jiyūtō were planning to assassinate Cabinet ministers; over twenty members, including Yagihara Hanshi, Suzuki Masashi, Yamagiwa Shinshichi and Akai Kageaki were arrested, and Kageaki was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment.

In Takasaki, Gumma prefecture, there had been since 1879 a liberal society called the Yūshinsha (Confidence Society). The society held a political speech meeting at the Kōmyōin Temple, Ichinomiya, in April 1881, and bitterly attacked the clan faction-ridden government. This led some local cavaliers to support them, and a threatening situation was created. Banners with such sings as “In behalf of Heaven, kill the traitors” or “Chivalrous men kill for the sake of righteousness” were erected outside the Kōmyōji Temple. Yamada Jōnosuke, Hibi Yuzuru, Inoue Momonosuke and others of the society conspired to assassinate high government officials who were expected to arrive for the inaugural ceremony of the Nakasendō Railways to be held in May that year, to attack and occupy the Takasaki Garrison, and by entrenching themselves in the Numata Caste, to raise the cry of freedom. When their program was frustrated because the inaugural ceremony was postponed, they gathered at Chinjōgahara Field on May 3, hoisted the banner of revolution, assaulted industrial companies, which were the targets of local resentment, destroyed the Matsuida Detached Police Station, and attacked the Takasaki Garrison. Of course, this uprising was promptly subdued.

In October 1883, Mishima Michitsune, who had been one of
the central figures in the Fukushima affair, became concurrently the governor of Tochigi Prefecture. He again planned to carry out a number of civil engineering projects and tried to move the seat of the prefectural government to Utsunomiya, creating resentment among prefectural residents. Tainuma Kuhachirō, a native of Ibaragi Prefecture and others became indignant over his administrative policies, and tried to manufacture explosive bombs to assassinate high officials who were coming to celebrate the completion of an engineering project. Fearing that their conspiracy might be detected, they gathered a number of supporters, and entrenched themselves on Mt. Kabayama in September 1884, hoisting such banners as “Die for the Country,” “Kabayama Headquarters,” etc., and tried to accumulate more comrades by distributing inflammatory handbills. The handbills stated:

“By observing the national administration, we find that treaties with foreign government are not revised, the National Diet is not established, treacherous government servants are toying with governmental power, despising the sacred Emperor and making exactions from the people; they take no notice of the poor lying on the street from starvation and are maltreating public-spirited men by suppressing speech. If this situation is left unattended, its harm to the country will be unfathomable....”

On their way to make an assault upon the Tochigi Prefectural Office, the ring leaders were arrested by the government police.

In May 1884 an uprising broke out in the Chichibu district of Tokyo Prefecture when the fellow conspirators of Inoue Denzō, who were connected with the previously mentioned Gumma disturbance, entrenched themselves at the foot of Mt. Chichibu and intimidated unpopular wealthy families and landlords. Those punished as ringleaders of this disturbance were Tashiro Eisuke, Arai Shūjirō, Ide Tamekichi and Kikuchi Kampei.

At approximately the same time as the Chichibu uprising, a
movement to overturn the government was launched by members of the *Jiyūtō* in Iida, Shinano province. The ring leader was Muramatsu Aizō, with Yagi Jūji, Kawazumi Tokuji and others participating. Their handbill of appeal, covering ten separate items, declared: 

"...The capital crimes of the Japanese government are: 1. Stealing the Imperial prerogative and monopolizing the administration, 2. Suppressing popular will and rejecting honest opinions, 3. Deceiving the Emperor and staining the Imperial virtue, 4. Rejecting public councils and refusing common opinions, 5. Suppressing popular will and restricting freedom...

Aizō and others were arrested on a charge of conspiracy in a rebellion and punished heavily. In the course of the investigation it was discovered that fellow-conspirators of the Iida Affair were hiding in the Nagoya district, and these too were arrested. Tomita Kambei, Ōshima Kiyoshi and Suzuki Matsugorū were sentenced to death, and Okumiya Takeyuki to life imprisonment. Okumiya was later executed, being involved in the lese majesty case of 1911.

People with the same yearning for freedom were scattered all over the country, and time and again engaged in minor, but subversive, activities designed to overthrow the government. Among them was Ōi Kentarō, who had been active in the popular rights movement since 1875 or 1876. He planned to precipitate trouble in Korea by taking advantage of the opportunity of the Seoul Disturbance of 1884, in order to make the reformation of internal administration of Japan easier, and obtained the collaboration of some comrades. But the plot was detected beforehand, and they were punished.

Another case called the Shizuoka Affair was discovered by the government in June 1886. It involved a conspiracy of some members of the *Shizuoka Jiyūtō* to assassinate high government officials, taking the opportunity of the inaugural ceremony of Hakone Detached Palace, and by keeping contact with comrades involved in the Kabayama Affair, the Iida Affair and the Nagoya
3. Public Opinion and Treaty Revision

Debates concerning treaty revision appeared both in official and private circles directly after the Meiji Restoration. Although the government exerted strenuous efforts for its realization, it could not achieve that objective easily, for it affected deeply the interests of the countries concerned. In 1880, Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue Kaoru projected a partial amendment of legal and tariff rights, and in July gave notice of that proposal to the ministers of foreign countries. However, the governments of the signatory countries did not react favorably towards it, and the Dutch Minister leaked this extremely secret proposal to the newspaper *Japan Herald*, creating a great issue. The British Foreign Minister adopted the stiffest attitude among the foreign countries, and calling in the Japanese Minister in London Mori Arinori, refused to receive the two revision proposals submitted by the Japanese government for negotiation.

Because of this, Japanese government considered it necessary to hold a preparatory conference, and between January 25 and July 27, 1882, held twenty one parleys in Tokyo during which the basic policy for revision was established. In accordance with this preparatory base, formal negotiations to revise the treaty were begun on May 1, 1886, and after twenty six meetings the particulars for the revision were completed. Their general outline consisted of the following points. Japan would set up organs to enforce judicial power and to establish a criminal code, a criminal procedure law, a civil code, a commercial code and a legal procedure code, in accordance with European principles. In civil cases in which foreigners were involved, the majority of judges would be foreigners. Preliminary investigation in criminal cases would be handled by foreign judges. Signatory nations might request the surrender of a convict foreign nationality sentenced to death by a Japanese court, and proceed
in the judgment of crimes in accordance with their own laws. These points essentially meant a continuation of extraterritoriality.

However, when once the contents of the treaty revision leaked out to the public, a noisy opposition arose within the government, as well as among the general public. The major points of argument were that it was not permissable for Japan as an independent country to: let foreign judges and procurators decide court procedures under the name of the Emperor in a Japanese court, designate the Court of Appeal as the first court to handle cases in which foreigners were involved, require the approval of foreign governments for the enforcement, revision or abolition of not only important laws but even for such regulations as police administration of Japan, or adopt foreign languages as official languages to be used in Japanese courts.

In addition to these, the revision plan had many other objectionable points. For instance, its stipulations contradicted the provisions of the Court Organization Bill which was then under deliberation. It was charged that to extend the same rights such as land ownership and mining to foreigners as to Japanese, would bring Japanese natural resources under the control of financially powerful foreigners, and would repeat the bad examples in Spain and Mexico. Within the cabinet as well, Minister of Justice Yamada submitted a fundamental revision of the bill, and Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Tani asserted that it was better to postpone treaty revision until after the establishment of the National Diet in 1890. Inoue Kowashi, former Councillor of the Board of Council, and Kawase Shinkō, former Minister to Britain, argued that the Inoue bill of treaty revision would be better cancelled than suspended. Especially, Bissonade, a French jurist who had participated in the Compilation of the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Law, the Civil Code, as advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, strongly opposed the revision bill, and stressed that it might be far more advantageous for the Japanese to maintain
the treaties concluded in the 1850's than to revise them in such a form. According to the provisions of the revision bill, foreigners were privileged to have special protection and would enjoy an advantageous judgment in either position as a defendant or a plaintiff. Since foreigners received far better protection than the Japanese, popular dissatisfaction of the people might erupt into serious disturbances if this treaty were enforced. According to the record of the agenda, Japan would have to obtain the approval of foreign governments for each enforcement, revision or abolition of Japanese laws and regulations. This would be sufficient cause to induce uprisings to repel foreigners.

Among non-governmental circles, too, not only conservative nationalists such as Torio Koyata, Miura Gorō, Soga Yūjun and others, but people close to the Throne such as Motoda Eifu, and political party members such as Hayashi Yūzō joined to oppose the revision bill. The Kenkonsha Dōmei, formed by Sugiura Jūkō, Hasegawa Yoshinosuke, Senzu Kiyo'omi, Komura Jutarō (Deputy Director of the Translation Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), also supported the movement of opposition against treaty revision.

Against these opposing opinions, Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue submitted a lengthy memorandum to the cabinet on July 9, 1887. In this, Inoue argued in favor of adopting the proposed revision for once it came into effect the Japanese people would out of their progressive spirit increase their contacts with foreigners, realize an increase in wealth and strength, and thereby it would become possible for Japan to secure tariff autonomy in twelve years, complete judicial rights in fifteen years, and thus acquire independence equal to that of Western countries. The cabinet could not arrive at an accord of opinion on the question. Thereupon, at the twenty-seventh parley held on July 18, Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue proposed the postponement of the revision conference until December 1, on the grounds that the Japanese government found it necessary to make some
amendments to the prepared program for which additional time for drafting was required. In the meantime, the Cabinet discussed the problem and finally decided on the following points. A form of naturalization for foreign judges would be adopted in order to appoint them to Japanese courts. Foreign nationals would be appointed as procurators. Private rights for foreigners after enforcement of mixed residence in the interior, would be defined by Japanese law, not stipulated in the treaty. Information on revision or abolition of police and other administrative regulations to foreign governments would not be required, but such information would be printed in the official gazette. The Japanese government would have freedom to enforce, revise or abolish important laws, and confirmation of that information to foreign governments was the only procedure required. All provisions for the use of foreign languages, except English, would be eliminated.

However, oppositions against treaty revision within the country gained daily in violence, and Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Tani, assumed leadership of the opposition movement by resigning from the Cabinet. Faced with such a situation, the government on July 20, 1887, finally informed the ministers of foreign countries to postpone indefinitely the conference on treaty revision.

The negotiations on treaty revision thus came to a standstill because the revisions proposed by the foreign countries still had the character of maintaining extraterritorial rights by intervening in the judicial rights of Japan. The reason for these foreign contentions was that the culture of Japan was below the standard of those countries. Therefore, the government officials concerned believed it urgently necessary to raise the level of the culture to European and American standards, for without this, treaty revision would not be realized. Thus, the period of a policy of Westernization, a period commonly called the Rokumeikan era, came into existence in the middle days of the Meiji Era.
4. The Political Parties and the "Three Great Issues"

After the dissolution of the political parties, the smouldering fires of the political movement flared up into such disturbances that even non-radical members of the dissolved political parties were unable to remain quiet. Although the central party organs disappeared, the mood for political activity still remained, and whenever any issue developed, the people repeated the process of gathering and disbanding. The major popular issues were treaty revision, freedom of speech and the land tax, which the people referred to as the three great problems.

On October 24, 1886, a meeting of former members of the old Jiyūtō and their comrades held at Asakusa, Tokyo, was attended by over one hundred people, including Hoshi Tōru, Suehiro Shigeyasu, Nakajima Matagorō and Nakae Tokusuke. At a political speech meeting of the Kaishintō held in Asakusa, Tokyo, on April 2, 1887, Shimada Saburō delivered a speech on natural selection in politics, Ō'oka Ikuzō spoke on freedom of man, and Edamoto Chōshin and Katō Masanosuke also made speeches. In Osaka a meeting of liberals was held on April 15 of the same year, which Itagaki Taisuke, who was enroute to Tokyo from his native Kōchi, attended and at which he encouraged the audience to prepare quickly, because only a little over two years remained before the establishment of the National Diet. In Nagoya, too, a memorial service held was at Tenneiji Temple, Monzenchō, on August 7, 1887, for the decreased members of the Aikoku Kōshinsha and those executed for implication in the Kabayama Affair.

In addition, stimulated by the uprisings of former members of the Jiyūtō in various districts and by the meetings of public-minded, people, political movement within the general public continued to grow move violent. On September 2, 1887, Inoue Yoshijirō and Nagashio Itarō from Kumamoto Prefecture, and Inoue Heizaburō from Niigata Prefecture, representing supporters
in seventeen prefectures—Niigata, Kagoshima, Chiba, Kumanoto, Shimane, Ibaragi, Nagasaki, Miyazaki, Kanagawa, Miyagi, Iwate, Tochigi, Kōchi, Yamaguchi, Gumma, Fukushima and Ōita—visited the Ministry of the Imperial Household and requested to see the Minister of the Imperial Household, but were unsuccessful. They then visited the residence of Yoshi’i Tomozane, Vice Minister of the Imperial Household, and requested the transmission of a memorial to the Throne, but were refused. Upon finding that no way existed to submit a memorial to the Throne but through the Genrōin, they gathered more interested people and held a meeting in Tokyo on the 7th of that month. About the same time, supporters from the Tōhoku district visited the Nagatachō residence of Itō Hirobumi to secure an audience with the Minister of the Imperial Household. Other supporters visited the Ministry of Home Affairs on the 11th and 13th of the same month and finally had an audience with Minister of Home Affairs Yamagata Aritomo on the 14th and expressed opinions on treaty revision and petitioned for amendment of the Assembly Ordinance and the Publication Ordinance.

Previously, when Tani Kanjō had resigned from office due to disagreements over treaty revision, politically-minded people deemed his attitude gallant and admired a great deal. On August 1, 1887, “an athletic meeting in honor of the gallant action of Mr. Tani” was held under the sponsorship of Hayashi Kaneaki and others attended by over two hundred people, at which Tani declared that even out of office he would exert his utmost efforts for the sake of the Imperial Household and the country. It is said that on his way back to Tosa, his admirers gathered at every train stop on the Tōkaidō line to cheer him and that at each stop Tani delivered a speech advocating freedom of speech and reduction in taxes and government expenditures, but without showing any party color.

The swirl of political movements which arose all over the country that year was especially stimulated by Home Ministry
Ordinance No. 2 issued on September 19, which declared that, "Anyone who desires to submit his opinion or to make an appeal in his own interest shall conform to Notification No. 53 of 1880 or Notification No. 58 of 1882. Anyone who requests an audience with government officials, requests an answer and causes an argument or tumult, no matter on what pretext, shall be dealt with in accordance with the punitive provisions of Notification No. 58 of 1882."

This announcement further fanned the public resistance to government pressure. Thus, for example, on November 30, a meeting of former members of the Kyūshū Kaishintō was held in Chikuzen Province, to which Yamada Takeho and Okada Koroku, who had inspected the political situation, made reports on the political developments in Tokyo.

At this juncture, the activities of Gotō Shōjirō who had quietly attracted public confidence, may be worth noting. In 1886, Shōjirō was staying at his residence in Tokyo and attentively watching the general tendencies. Finally, in December of that year, he went to Utsunomiya and Fukushima, and delivered such a vehement and pointed attack at the government administration that the audience felt that he might be arrested for a slip-of-the-tongue. On October 3, 1887, Shōjirō invited over seventy distinguished persons of the political and journalistic world to a gathering in Tokyo, and expressed his views on the political situation. Then he established the Teigai Kurabu (The Twentieth Year of Meiji Club), a liaison organ of supporters from various districts. On November 15, the Zenkoku Yūshi Konshinkai (The All-Japan Comrades Friendship Association) sponsored by Yagihara Keishi and others, and supported by Hoshi Tōru, Suehiro Shigeyasu, Ōishi Masami held a meeting at Asakusa, Tokyo, which 341 persons from Hokkaidō and thirty five prefectures attended. On the 27th of that month, another meeting of the organization was called at Ueno in Tokyo, attended by more than two hundred supporters from three urban areas and thirty other prefectures. At the
entrance of this meeting, a signboard, "The gate to public council and common opinions," was hoisted. Sometimes such meetings were suspended by or clashed with the police. Faced with such a situation, the government promulgated the Police Ordinance on November 10, which stipulated that three days before the actual date of an outdoor gathering of the general public, or a mass procession, no matter for what purpose, the sponsor or the manager of such activity shall report the place, route, date, and other details to a police station in the district.

As the political movements among the general public increased in virulence and their control by the Assembly Ordinance and the Publication Ordinance proved ineffective, the government felt it necessary to check them by some extraordinary measure. At the end of 1887, on the afternoon of December 25, the government suddenly promulgated the Peace Preservation Regulations by Imperial Ordinance No. 67, and expelled over 570 politicians to a distance of three ri (1 ri is 2.44 mile) from the Imperial Palace. A summary of these regulations may be given as follows:

Art. 1. Secret societies and secret assemblies are prohibited.

Art. 2. Those who print or publish papers or books with the objective of conspiring in, or instigating rebellion, or those who disturb public peace shall be subject to confiscation of all tools and implements used for that crime, in addition to punishment in accordance with the Criminal Code and the Publication Ordinance. Printers shall not be exempted from punishment because of ignorance of the nature of the crime.

Art. 4. In case persons residing within a distance of 3 ri from the Imperial Palace, or a temporary Imperial headquarters, are found likely to conspire in or to instigate rebellion or to disturb the peace, the Inspector-General of Police or a Prefectural Governor may order the removal of such persons within a time limit, and may prohibit their re-entry or staying within the said limited area for a period
not to exceed three years. Those who do not depart within the time limit of the order of evacuation or who violate these regulations after their evacuation, shall be subject to a punishment of from one of three years light confinement, and be placed under surveillance for not more than five years. The surveillance shall be conducted in the district of registered domicile.

Among those expelled by these regulations were many distinguished persons. Those barred from the capital for the full three years included Ozaki Yukio, Hayashi Yūzō, Hoshi Tōru, Nakajima Nobuyuki, Shimamoto Chūdō; those banned for two and a half years included Kataoka Kenkichi, Yamagiwa Shishichi, Yagihara Keishi, Takenouchi Tsuna, Nakae Tōsuke, Yoshida Masaharu, and exiles of two years was ordered for Nishiyama Shichō, Sakazaki Takeshi among others. Mishima Michitsune, Inspector-General of Police at that time, ordered a general mobilization of the entire police force within the city of Tokyo for the arrest of these men. It is recorded in the Meiji Seishi (Meiji Political History) that "The citizens of the entire peaceful city were startled by the sudden clang of sabers and the clattering of horses’ hoofs." Most of the exils evacuated in the direction of Yokohama, causing an extreme congestion at Shimbashi Station.

After Inoue Kaoru resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs in September 1887, his place was taken by Ōkuma Shigenobu, who was then president of the Kaishintō. Because he advocated treaty abrogation when president of that opposition party, the public expected much from him. Feeling this responsibility, Ōkuma persuaded Vice minister Aoki Shūzō, Ministriial Advisor Henry W. Denison Director of the Investigation Bureau Hato-yama Kazuo, as well as the Legislation Investigation Committee through Minister of Justice Yamada, to expedite the compilation of major laws, such as the Civil Code and the Law-Court Organization Law, which had an important connection with treaty revision.
Okuma adopted the principle of negotiating for treaty revision with each nation separately, instead of conducting joint negotiations with all the nations concerned. He established the basic principle of accepting the most-favored nation clause but as a conditional agreement. Thus he first began negotiations with Mexico, on the basis of mutual equality, and adopted the policy of opening the country to Mexicans for residence and commerce on condition that they abided by Japanese laws and regulations; he decided to enforce the policy beginning in June 6, 1889. On the strength of the treaties concluded in 1850's, other countries requested the approval of mixed residence in the interior as were granted Mexicans, but Okuma refused, insisting that they should abide by Japanese laws and regulations. Japan's position was to eliminate foreign intervention in and to guarantee at Japan's own voluntary discretion proper and minimum security required by the foreigners who would abide by Japanese judicial rights. The term "proper" and "minimum" security meant that foreign consular jurisdiction was to continue for an additional five years after the enforcement of the new treaty, provided that if Japan were unable to complete the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Civil Code, the Merchantile Code and the Legal Procedure Code within two years, the abolition of extraterritorial rights was to be postponed for the period required for their completion. It meant also that by the enforcement of the treaty, foreigners would enjoy the benefit of mixed residence in the interior and have the same privileges relating to such matters as land ownership, as Japanese subjects, provided that such foreigners abided by Japanese rights of jurisdiction.

Based on this proposal, Okuma stated negotiations on treaty revision separately with Germany, the United States, Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Austria. The United States, who sympathized with Japan's situation, well understood the purpose of this proposal and signed a new treaty on February 20, 1889. Following this, Germany, Russia, France, Italy and Austria
signed new treaties with some minor amendments or with some understanding. Only Britain asserted that the Ōkuma proposal contradicted both the Inoue plan, on which both sides had agreed, and the old treaty of Ansei, and did not consent to open individual negotiation. Britain tried to persuade other countries to adopt the same line. However, failing in this, she adopted a procrastinating attitude and did not open formal negotiations until July, 1889.

In the meantime, the Japanese domestic situation had deteriorated. Apparently the contents of the Ōkuma proposal had been leaked to the London Times, and then reprinted in a foreign Yokohama newspaper, in any case thereby being disclosed to the general public and creating a furore. Particularly there were strong attacks on the promise in an official document to employ foreign judges and to permit compilation of codes by foreigners which were regarded as constituting infringements upon the Constitution. Opposed to the Ōkuma program of treaty revision at that time among government circles were Vice President of the Privy Council Terashima Munenori, members of the Privy Council Soejima Taneomi, Torio Koyata, Motoda Eifu, Kaieda Nobuyoshi, Sasaki Takayuki, President of Gakushuin Miura Gorō, ex-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Tani Kanjō, President of Tokyo Imperial University Watanabe Hiromoto, President of Nihon Kōdōkai Nishimura Shigeki, Genrōin member Katō Hiroyuki and among private individuals, Ōe Takashi, Inoue Kakugorō. The political parties included the Daidō Kurabu, Daidō Kyōwakai, Hoshu Chūseitō, Nihonjinsha, Kumamoto Kokkentō, Fukuoka Gen’yōsha.

Faced with such a situation, the Privy Council did not approve the proposed law relating to the naturalization of foreign judges, which was intended to harmonize the employment of foreign judges and the Constitution. President of the Privy Council Itō Hirobumi and Minister of Postal Service Gotō Shōjirō expressed opinions that it was better to postpone treaty revision, and later even tendered notices of resignation. Minister
of Agriculture and Commerce Inoue refrained from attending the Cabinet meeting. The President of Gakushuin Miura Gorō, utilizing his position of being able to appeal to the Throne directly, advised the Emperor that treaty revision was disadvantageous to Japan. Further, Vice President Terashima of the Privy Council and members Soejima and Sasaki had audiences with the Emperor and reported their opinions.

On October 18, on his return from a Cabinet meeting, Ōkuma was attacked in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Kuroshima Tsuneki, a member of the Gen’yōsha, who hurled a bomb at him and wounded him. Thereupon, the Kuroda Cabinet including Ōkuma resigned en masse, and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Sanjō Sanetomi temporarily assumed the duty of Prime Minister. Aoki Shūzō was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and treaty revision was suspended for the time being.

5. Promulgation of the Constitution

Itō Hirobumi, who had returned from Europe after investigating the actual operation of constitutional government and theories of parliamentary politics, began compilation of a draft of the Constitution, with Inoue Kowashi, Itō Miyoji, Kaneko Kentarō and Suematsu Kenchō as his trusted assistants. In drafting the bill, his premise was that “it should be based on the national history, and should go no further than to show the general outline of the government, and with the details, to be established by Imperial ordinances or laws separately, so that they can be adjusted, revised or abolished to meet the changes in the social situation.” From 1886 on, the work of compilation was carried on at Itō’s villa at Natsushima, Kanagawa Prefecture. Inoue Kowashi took charge of compiling the Constitution and the Imperial House Law, Itō Miyoji was in charge of the Diet Law, Kaneko Kentarō in charge of the House of Representatives Members Election Law and the House of Peers Ordinance. The three people worked on an equal
status with Hirobumi so that they could criticize and scrutinize freely each other's productions. Public concern was also concentrated on the work of drafting the Constitution, and many liberal-minded people expressed rather critical opinions that Itō was trying to produce a Constitution in the Bismarckian style, or was intending to follow the pattern of the English Constitution. Ōkuma Shigenobu and Kuroda Kiyotaka visited Itō together, and asserting that a cabinet should be formed by the majority party as in England, they handed him a memorandum of their opinions. At any rate, the first draft of the Constitution was completed by their efforts and presented to the Emperor.

At that time, there was discussions within the government on the procedure for promulgating the Constitution. Some asserted that a constitutional conference should be established in the government, while others stressed the formation of an organ to scrutinize the bill with citizen participation or even advocated the necessity of forming a new organ to compile a separate draft. However, it was finally decided that a council should be formed, including the Genrōin, persons of distinguished ability and knowledge, and honored by the attendance of the Emperor. Thus, the Privy Council was established on April 28, 1888, and Itō Hirobumi was appointed its president. The meetings of the Privy Council were, of course, held in secret, and special precautions were taken in the distribution of draft proposals to members so that their contents would not be leaked outside; the study of the proposals was conducted exclusively in the council by prohibiting the taking of copies even to homes. The deliberations on all parts of the draft were completed on December 17. During this period, the Emperor never missed a single meeting. In this way, the Imperial Constitution was promulgated on February 11, 1889, and a new constitutional government was established for the first time in Japan.
6 Regulations Relating the Peerage

One of the outstanding features concerning the social structure of this period was the promulgation on July 7, 1884 of the peerage regulations. Originally, the peerage system had been announced on July 25, 1869, by a declaration that

"In accordance with the Imperial desire to achieve the unification of the Court and the samurai and their cooperation irrespective of rank, hereafter the designation of court nobles and feudal lords shall be abolished, and they shall be collectively called peers."

The peerage was thus unified into one class, and there was no distinction among them. However, although the equality of all the people was the trend of the time, the historical class distinctions carried over for three hundred years could not be reduced to insignificance, and in effect they continued to exist. This was evident in the fact that the sons of peers were encouraged to go abroad for study in December 1871, "... because the peers hold a high and important position among the people, and because they attract the attention of the people, their conduct serves as models."

On July 6, 1872, those peers who were former court nobles and out of office were summoned to an Imperial audience and instructed that they "should cultivate virtue and advance towards civilization." In September 1875, the Peers' Hall and in 1877, a peers' school, later named Gakushūin, were established, receiving Imperial gifts of land and annual grants.

The aristocratic class of the feudal days was preserved in this way, and the regulations relating to the peerage were enforced in 1884. Article 1 stated that, "Conferment of peerage titles shall be by Imperial Decree, and shall be administered by the Ministry of the Imperial Household." Article 2 declared that "The peerage shall be divided into 5 grades: kō (Duke), kō (Marquis), haku (Count), shi (Viscount), and dan (Baron)."
Article 5 provided that "A wife of a peer shall be accorded the same privileges and title as her husband," and Article 6 stated that "The grandparents, parents, the wife, the first son and grand son and their wives, of a peer shall be accorded the privileges of the peerage." On the day of promulgation of these regulations, eleven dukes, twenty four marquises, seventy six counts, 327 viscounts and seventy four barons were created. The rankings were decided in accordance with the amount of former stipend a family as well as their ancestors had received, and the degree of distinguished service each had performed. The standard was, by and large, according to their old rankings in the feudal days, the five regency families accorded dukedoms, nine families qualified for appointment as court ministers, Kyū Seika given the marquisate, honor guard families and lower court ranks the titles of count, viscount and baron. The great daimyō were made dukes, clan lords with over 300,000 koku of stipend became marquises, those with over 100,000 koku of stipend were counts, clan lords with over 10,000 koku of stipend became viscounts, and high ranking vassals were named barons, and along with their rice stipends, their distinguished services in the Meiji Restoration were taken into consideration. For example, Sanjō Sanetomi was from as Seika family and Iwakura Tomomi was of a far lower family rank, but these two were accorded dukedoms because of their meritorious services. The heirs of Kido Takayoshi and Ōkubo Toshimichi were accorded the marquisate, but the heir of Saigō Takamori was excluded from conferment because Takamori had headed a rebellian. Titles were not given to Itagaki Taisuke, Gotō Shōjirō and Ōkuma Shigenobu on that day probably because they were then out of government office. Once these rankings of the peerage were decided, considerations of merits and demerits became complicated, and the number of peers increased year after year. By this time, the waves of social changes stemming from the Meiji Restoration had levelled off, and reaction began gradually to appear.

In accordance with the provisions of the Diet Law, the Diet
was to be composed of two houses, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The adoption of the two house system was, of course, a result of the introduction of the bicameral system of European and American countries, but we cannot overlook the fact that the class system which had existed during three hundred years of the Edo Period still continued its existence. It is evident that, notwithstanding the widespread existence of ideas of equality of all people, the *Kokuze Kaigi* (National Policy Council) composed exclusively of court nobles, clan lords and high government officials, was established in 1869 in a form similar to the House of Peers of later days, in addition to the *Kōgisho* (public council) and *Shūgiin* (public assembly).

7. Establishment of the Imperial Diet

Although the Constitution was finally promulgated on February 11, 1889, Itō Hirobumi who had compiled the draft of the Constitution, taking advantage of the fact over one year’s time remained until the opening of the National Diet, decided to hear the opinions of European and American jurists on the new Constitution, and dispatched Kaneko Kentarō, who had assisted in the task of drafting, to Europe and America with translated copies of the document. Kentarō met famous scholars of constitutional law such as Bleine, Anson, Spencer, A. V. Dicey, Bryce, O. W. Holmes and others, and asked them to make comments. All of them praised the Constitution of Japan, stating that nothing was left to be corrected, and advised him to place importance on national history in its operation.

After the enforcement of the Constitution, the political world was very eventful because the whole country was disturbed over the question of treaty revision. The Cabinet, headed by Yamagata Aritomo was at the helm of governmental power, and consisted of Prime Minister Yamagata who concurrently held the post of the Minister of Home Affairs, later occupied by Saigō Tsugumichi, Yamada Akiyoshi as Miniter of Justice,
Matsukata Masayoshi, Minister of Finance, Ōyama Iwao, Minister of War, Gotō Shōjirō, Minister of Postal Service, Aoki Shūzō, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saigō, Minister of Navy, a post later occupied by Kabayama Sukenori, Yoshikawa Akimasa, Minister of Education, Iwamura Michitoshi, and later Matsu Munemitsu as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. These appointments had been made in order to tackle the remedial measures of treaty revision and the forthcoming opening of the National Diet. At the same time, they showed that governmental leadership was in the hands of the Chōshū clan.

With respect to the political parties, the party movements, which had been on the verge of self-dissolution between 1882 and 1883, began to be considerably enlivened because of the extraordinary interest of public opinion over the so-called three great problems, treaty revision landtax reduction, and freedom of speech, as well as the approach of the opening date of the national Diet. Prior to the opening of the national Diet, the movement toward a grand unification of various political parties had been one of the major issues of the political would of that time, but it was frustrated by Gotō Shōjirō’s entrance into the cabinet, since Shōjirō was the central leader of the movement. Political party members were disappointed with both Gotō and the movement of grand unification, which had ruptured into the Daidō Kyōwa Kai which advocated a non-political society and the Daidō Kurabu which stood for a political society. There were conservative, moderate and radical elements in both of these parties, and their capacity for unity was weak. The efforts of Itagaki and other influential leaders for merger proved fruitless. Some who were dissatisfied with the changing alignment of the grand-unity faction, tried to reorganize the old Jiyūtō. The Kaishintō, which had continued a bare existence without dissolving, held conventions in several districts. Some others tried to reorganize the Aikokukōtō by prevailing upon Itagaki. In addition, there was the birth of miscellaneous small local political parties, including the Kumamoto Aikokutō and
Hoshutō Chūseiha led by Torio Koyata. Other parties such as the Kyūshū Dōshi Kai (Kyūshū Comrades Society), which were political bodies not organized on political principles but by localities, also sprang up. These political parties began to support the formation of a league, and the three parties, Daidō Kurabu, Aikokukōtō and Jiyūtō formed the Kōin Kurabu, (twenty-third of Meiji Club).

From the attitude of the government toward these political parties through its maneuvers in the Diet, as well as the instructions to local governors given by Itō Hirobumi, president of the Privy Council, and Prime Minister Kuroda Kiyotaka, on the occasion of the promulgation of the Constitution, it appears that the government was adopting the principle of a supra-party cabinet.

In this situation, the first general election was carried out on a nationwide scale in July 1890. It was an unprecedented event in national history. This election was carried out in accordance with the House of Representatives Members Election Law and the House of Peers Members Election Law. We shall take up here some of the important points of the election laws. With regard to eligibility for candidacy for the House of Representatives, the law started: “An eligible candidate shall be: a male Japanese subject over thirty years of age who is paying a direct tax of over fifteen yen within the respective electoral prefecture for more than one full year previous to the date of compilation of the roster of voters, and who is still continuing the payment of the tax” (Chapter 3, Article 8). With regard to qualification of voters, it was provided that “Qualification of voters shall be: male Japanese subject over twenty five, who is paying a direct tax of over fifteen yen within the respective electoral prefecture for over one full year previous to the date of compilation of the roster of voters, and who is still continuing payment of the tax.” (Chapter 2, Article 6). Those disqualified from voting or candidacy included: “(1) The mentally insane or imbeciles, (2) those in bankruptcy and with debt liabilities, (3) those deprived of civil rights, or under
suspension, (4) those punished by imprisonment, and within full three years after the expiration of imprisonment or after pardon, (5) those sentenced to over one year's penal servitude by the old laws or imprisoned on a charge of high treason and within full three years after expiration or remission, (6) those punished on a charge of gambling and within full three years after the expiration or pardon, (7) those under suspension of voting rights and eligibility for candidacy on charge of a crime relating to election.” (Chapter 4, Article 14). Besides “No Army and Navy personnel in active service shall use his voting right, or be a candidate. The same shall be applicable to those who are suspended in service or on the retirement list.” (Chapter 4, Article 15). Thus, the election took place on three days, on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of July, 1890, and 300 Diet members were elected.

The House of Peers was formed by the following members in accordance with Article 1 of the House of Peers Ordinance: “Those elected by mutual election within each ranking category of (1) members of the Imperial family, (2) Dukes and Marquises, (3) Counts, Viscounts and Barons, (4) those with distinguished merit and profound knowledge nominated by Imperial selection, (5) those elected by mutual election of payers of large direct taxes relating to land or business in each prefecture, and appointed by the Emperor.” Thus, members were nominated by Imperial appointment or by mutual election, and the number of members was fixed at ten from the Imperial family, 31 Dukes and Marquises, 105 Counts, Viscounts and Barons, 61 Imperial selections, 45 high tax-payers. The total number was 252.

When the results of the election of members of the House of Representatives of that time is analyzed, the total population of the country, excluding Hokkaidō, Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands, was 39,382,200, and the number of voters was only 450,000. Therefore, the ratio of voters was one to every one hundred persons. One third of the Diet members was of samurai lineage, and when we consider the fact that only one-twentieth
of the total population was of samurai lineage, it can be seen that the old samurai class still constituted the backbone of the society. Further, only six per cent of the total voters abstained from voting in this election. The reason for such a high rate of voting was no doubt an indication of the progress of civilization but we should note that there were other reasons for this favorable result. In the first place, since this election was an unprecedented event in national history, the popular interest was very high, and there was a marshalling of voters to the polls. The number of House members elected classified by age were: ten members over 62, 59 members over 48, 40 over 44, 99 over 38, 85 over 32, and 7 members were 31. A men of thirty one years old at that time was born in 1860, the year of the Sakurada Incident, and had lived through the turbulent period of the Restoration when he was about ten years old. Members older than this had their youthful days in the feudalistic period of the Shogunate government and the clans. From the above figures, it can be clearly seen that the influence of the people of the latter group was still dominant in the society.

8. The Civil Code and the Mercantile Code

In the background of the difficulties in the realization of treaty revision were the apprehensions of foreign countries over the fact that Japan did not yet have full-fledged legal codes. Here, we shall briefly explain the process of the compilation of the Civil Code and the Mercantile Code.

The initiation of the compilation of a new civil code goes back to 1870. When the Systems Bureau was established in the Cabinet that year and he was appointed its president, Eto Shimpei stated that, “Although the manners and customs of the Japanese people differ from those of European countries, they do not differ in that both sides require a civil code. Therefore, a civil code must be promulgated in Japan, based on the French Civil Code.” He established the Civil Code Compilation
Committee in his bureau and instructed Mizukuri Rinshō to translate the French Civil Code with the objective of drafting a civil code, based on the French Code and adding some amendments to it. However, the part relating to identity papers was the only one produced while he was in office.

When Ōki Takatō was appointed Minister of Justice in October 1873 and Bissonade was invited to assist him as advisor, the work of compiling legal codes was renewed. In June 1876, the Civil Code Compilation Section was established in the Ministry of Justice, and Mizukuri Rinshō and Mudaguchi Michiteru began the drafting of a manuscript based on the civil law of European countries, particularly that of France. With the advice of Bissonade, they drafted a manuscript in April 1878. However, this draft was not used because it was a literal translation of the French Civil Code of 1807. In 1879, Minister of Justice Ōki instructed Boissonade to draft a manuscript by referring to the legislation and theories of European and American countries, and by weaving Japanese manners and customs into it. The draft bill thus compiled was then deliberated in a Civil Code conference, which however could not reach an agreement. In April 1880, the Civil Code Compilation Bureau was established in the Genrōin, Ōki Takatō was appointed its president, Boissonade, Mizukuri Rinshō and eleven others were appointed committee members, and after six years in March 1886, the part on property and the part on property acquisition composed of one thousand articles were completed. Then, the task of compilation was transferred to the Ministry of Justice. A new Civil Code Drafting Committee was formed in April the same year, and Isobe Shirō and eight others were appointed members of the compilation committee.

However, as it had become evident that foreign countries were inclined not to respond to Japan’s proposal for revision of the unequal treaties unless the compilation of the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Civil Code, the Mercantile Code, the Maritime Code and other similar laws were completed,
Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue resolved to carry out the work of the compilation of legal codes in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and established the Law Investigation Committee in the Ministry, but this was later transferred to the Ministry of Justice. Minister of Justice Yamada Akiyoshi himself became the chairman of the committee and started the work of compilation by appointing committee members from the Genrōin and judges. The task was divided into various branches: the Part on Personnel Affairs, the Part on Property, the Part on Property Acquisition, the Part on Obligation Security and the Part on Evidence. Boissonade assumed the duty of drafting the greater part of these sections, and Kumano Toshizō and Isobe Shirō had the responsibility of drafting the part on personnel affairs and a part of the section on property acquisition, because these last two had a very close relationship with the manners and customs of Japan. After deliberation in the Genrōin, the part on property, property acquisition, obligation security and evidence were promulgated in April 1890, and the remainder of the part on property acquisition and personnel affairs were promulgated in October 1890. All of these laws were to go into effect on January 1, 1893.

However, in May 1889, prior to the promulgation of these laws in 1891, the Hōgakushi-kai (Bachelors of Law Society) announced its position on the compilation of legal codes. Briefly, although the Society did not necessarily oppose the compilation and promulgation of the laws, and although these were inevitably necessary to secure treaty revision and settlement of other problems, the society believed that they should be undertaken with care and the government’s attitude to work for hurried completion was a mistake. At a time when all systems were to be completely renovated, the compilation of legal codes was apt to be attended by many evils. Therefore, it was better to promulgate urgently necessary laws as single laws and to postpone the compilation of comprehensive codes such as the Civil Code, of the Mercantile Code, until the sentiment, manners,
and customs of the people were stabilized. The government should also anticipate the compilation of faultless laws by publishing the draft and by requesting public criticisms, and then gradually adding amendments. This opinion provided the impetus for greater attention to be focussed on this problem, and there appeared many who argued for postponing promulgation. Others strongly advocated the promulgation and enforcement of the new legal codes, and controversial arguments began to appear. When the Civil Code was promulgated in 1890, a great argument between the two positions, postponement or immediate enforcement, developed with unprecedented fierceness. At the height of its vehemence, in the spring of 1892, the postponement faction, mainly composed of the English law faction, with the German law faction and some of the French law faction participating, announced seven reasons for postponing the enforcement of the codes and tried to bring public opinion to its side. The reasons were:

"(1) The new legal codes destroy normal ethics, (2) The new legal codes reduce the ordinance rights provided by the Constitution, (3) The new legal codes contradict the basic principle of the budget, (4) The new legal codes are not based on national thought, (5) The new legal codes upset the social economy, (6) The new legal codes alter the basis of the tax law, and (7) The new legal codes enforce academic theory by force."

Against these, the enforcement faction, or the French law faction, announced nine refuting arguments and tried to lead, public opinion to support the prompt enforcement of the codes.

"(1) To Postpone the enforcement of the legal codes upsets the public order of the country; (2) it brings about moral degradation: (3) it injures the sovereignty of the country and the substantial character of an independent country: (4) it results in the substantial postponement of the enforcement of the Constitution; (5) it means the renunciation of legislative rights and leaves them in the
hands of the judges; (6) it leaves people unable to protect their rights; (7) it invites the rise of various disputes and confusions; (8) it deprives the people of ease of mind and stability of living; and (9) it disturbs the national economy.”

Thus their arguments went beyond scientific logic, and assumed a political and social color in wrangling for public support. For instance, against the assertions of the postponement faction that the new legal codes would destroy normal ethics and upset the social economy, the enforcement faction argued that postponement would bring moral degradation and disturb the national economy.

Amidst this situation, the Third Imperial Diet was convened on May 2, 1892, and on May 16 Murata Tamotsu, obtaining the support of Nijō Motohiro and 114 other members, submitted a bill to the House of Peers to postpone enforcement of the Civil code and the Mercantile code. After an exchange of heated arguments for three days, the postponement faction won by a majority of 123 to 61, with the proviso that when amendments to the laws were completed, they would be enforced regardless of the time limit stipulated in the law. Forwarded to the House of Representatives and placed before the plenary session on June 10, the postponement bill passed by 152 to 107. Thus terminated the bitter controversy over legal codes. On November 24, 1892, the law to postpone enforcement of the entire Civil Code for amendment until December 31, 1896, was promulgated.

Although from 1870 to 1871, laws and regulations relating to business firms and maritime commerce, which were to constitute a part of the Mercantile Code, were in force at the request of the business world, undertakings to compile a complete mercantile code were initiated by Councillor Yamada Akiyoshi who instructed Roessler in April 1881 to begin drafting a mercantile code bill in the legislation bureau of the Cabinet. Roessler began the task, together with Sufu Kohei, Nagamori Keihi,(?) Kishimoto Tatsuo and others, basing it on the old German Commercial
Code, but the work did not make much progress. Later, the Sanjiin (Board of Councillors) took over the job of compiling the mercantile code. However, as the work of compiling the entire code was a huge task requiring a long time, the Sanjiin proposed on March 8, 1882, the establishment of a special committee to prepare the code. Then the Mercantile Code Compilation Bureau was established in the Cabinet, and Tsuruta Hiroshi was appointed chairman with Sufu Kohei, Nagamori Keihi and five others as members. However, with the development of society, many business concerns were recklessly established before Roessler’s completion of the manuscript of a Mercantile Code. Bankruptcies began to appear in succession, and bill transactions became active, leading to the rise of requests for legislation pertaining to business companies, bills and bankruptcy.

Then, the Mercantile Code Compilation Bureau decided to promulgate and enforce tentative laws relating to these matters pending the completion of the mercantile code. After surveying business customs in various parts in the country, the bureau drafted bills containing general rules of the Mercantile Code and a part relating to business company which were submitted to the Cabinet on September 1, 1882, but not acted upon. Only the bill relating to credit bills was passed by the Genrōin on November 25 of the same year and was promulgated December 11 as the bill on Exchange and Promissory Note Regulations by Cabinet Notification No. 57.

In the meantime in January 1884, Roessler finally completed the draft of the mercantile code with explanatory notes. Based on this draft, the Mercantile Code Compilation Committee held a number of meetings to write a mercantile code bill, but reached no conclusion.

Prior to this, from 1883 to 1885, establishment of business companies increased, requiring the urgent promulgation of a company law. However, as the prompt completion of draft bills by the compilation committee could not be expected, some
substitute had to be found. Itō Hirobumi, who had returned from Europe after completing his survey of constitutions, proposed in his capacity as head of the Systems Research Bureau the prompt enforcement of a company law on May 20, 1884. The Cabinet resolved to compile a company law anew, established the Company Regulations Compilation Committee and appointed Terashima Munenori as chairman and Hosokawa Junjirō, Mizukuri Rinshō and seven others to draft a bill based on the part relating to business companies of the original draft prepared by Roesler. Further, on February 27, 1885, it appointed these same members concurrently as committee members of the Bankruptcy Law Compilation Committee to compile a bill relating to bankruptcy based on Roessler’s original draft. After the abolition of the Dajōkan, these compilation committees were placed under the direct supervision of the Cabinet, which pushed forward the work of compilation.

When the committee completed the compilation of the company bill on March 17, 1886, and was about to begin the work of compiling a bankruptcy bill, some members proposed that it might be better to terminate the compilation of a bankruptcy law, and instead, to compile the entire mercantile code by establishing a mercantile code compilation committee. The government then established the Mercantile Code Compilation Committee on March 23, 1886, appointed Terashima Munenori as its chairman, and Mizukuri Rinshō and six others as committee members to undertake the job.

Before long, the work of the compilation of the Mercantile Code was transferred to the Legislation Research Committee in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and then to the Ministry of Justice. On November 4, Chairman Yamada Akiyoshi of this committee decided upon a program on the basis of which the committee worked on the draft prepared by Roesler and wrote a bill. A part of the draft bill of the Mercantile Code (General Rules and from Chapter 1 to Chapter 6 of the First Part of the Mercantile Code) was completed in October 1888, and the
drafting of the whole document was finished on January 24, 1889. They were then submitted to the Cabinet. The Cabinet and Genrōin first appointed an investigation committee and then an examination committee to study the draft bills, and they were finally passed at a plenary meeting of the Genrōin on June 7, 1889. The Mercantile Code was thus promulgated in April 1890 to go into effect beginning on January 1, 1891. In retrospect, the work of compiling the Mercantile code took ten long years to complete since its beginning by Roessler.

As in the case of the Civil Code, the French law faction and the English law faction opposed each other over enforcement of the Mercantile Code due to fundamental theoretical differences. This controversy reached its climax when the Mercantile Code was promulgated. The English law faction argued for postponement of its enforcement for the following reasons. First, as it was based on the old German Mercantile Law previous to the compilation of the German Civil Code, there were many provisions overlapping with the Civil Code, and the relations between the two laws were not well coordinated. Secondly, it totally neglected the past manners and customs of the Japanese people. Third, an eight months' interval between promulgation and enforcement was too short, and there was a danger of disturbing the business world, if enforced compulsorily. Therefore, it was proper to postpone enforcement for amendments. Fourth, it included those provisions which belong to public law especially relating to objective law. Fifth, the text was generally a direct translation in which there were many ambiguous points.

Against these arguments, the French law faction replied that enforcement of the Mercantile Code was necessary considering the social situation, as well as from the viewpoint of treaty revision, and amendments could be made when any defect is found after enforcement. Businessmen and politicians also participated in the controversy, and the argument became increasingly bitter. In this situation, the First Imperial Diet Session was opened on November 29, 1890, and Nagai Matsuemon
submitted to the House of Representatives the bill relating to the time of the enforcement of the Mercantile Code. The lower house passed and forwarded it to the House of Peers on December 16, where it was passed and promulgated on December 27, 1890. Thus the enforcement of the Mercantile Code was postponed until January 1, 1893.

However, the problem of revising the Mercantile Code remained untouched for over two years. When the time limit for enforcement approached a few months later, an argument for further postponement appeared at the Third Imperial Diet, convened on May 7, 1892. Murata Tamotsu, with the support of Nijō Motohiro and 114 other members, submitted to the House of Peers a bill to postpone the enforcement of the Civil code and the Mercantile Code bill, until December 31, 1896. This bill was passed with a proviso that when the amendments to the code were completed, the laws would be enforced regardless of the time limit stipulated in this law, and was forwarded to the House of Representatives. In the House of Representatives, bills relating to the postponement of the Civil Code, the Mercantile Code, the Mercantile Code Enforcement Regulations and other laws and regulations had been submitted by Hatoyama Kazuo and six others on May 24, and the bill relating to postponement of a part of the Civil Code had been submitted by Shimada Saburō and Kōno Hironaka on May 28. These two law bills thus had to be deliberated jointly with the bill forwarded from the House of Peers.

In the meantime, on June 10, Yamada Tōji and nine others had submitted another bill to postpone the enforcement of a part of the Civil Code until December 31, 1894, and to enforce other parts of the Civil Code and the Mercantile Code on January 1, 1894; this was rejected by 152 to 107. The first bill to postpone enforcement of the Civil Code and the Mercantile Code was passed and promulgated on November 24, 1892, thus postponing enforcement of the Mercantile Code until December 31, 1896.
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However, confronted with the actual requirements of the business world, it was felt impossible to postpone enforcement of those parts of the Mercantile Code relating to company, bills and bankruptcy. The government therefore submitted a bill pertaining to these subjects to the Fourth Imperial Diet convened in November 1892. Both the House of Peers and the House of Representatives passed the bill after some minor amendments; the law was promulgated on March 6, 1893.

B. EDUCATION, RELIGION, AND SCIENTIFIC STUDY

1. Further Changes in Education

The new organizational system of the Cabinet was put into effect in 1885, the Constitution was promulgated in 1899, and the National Diet opened in 1890. Thus Japan acquired the character of a modern nation around 1887 through the various reforms carried out after the Restoration.

Another urgent necessity to realize further development of the country was the modernization of the educational system. At that time, the promotion of moral education was especially sought in the establishment of the educational system, in contrast with the already well developed practical and technical scientific education supported by the policies aiming at national development after the Restoration. The latter had been realized as an overall reformation of the educational system in 1886, provided by the School Ordinance, through the efforts of Mori Arinori, the first Minister of Education. The former was, after approximately ten years of discussion by various scholars on moral education, finally provided for in the Imperial Rescript on Education proclaimed in 1890. After that, the Education Ordinance of 1885 regulated the type of schools for several decades, and the Imperial Rescript on Education determined the fundamental principles of education for a long time to come.
In December 1885, Mori Arinori was named the first minister of education. As early as 1868, he had been studying school systems together with Mizukuri Rinshō and Kanda Takahira, and had his own ideas on the relations between the development of the country and education. He later initiated commercial school education by establishing the Shōhō Kōshūjo (Business Training Institute) and stimulated the promotion of scientific study and culture by establishing the Meiroku-sha (Sixth Year of Meiji Society). It is especially well known that when stationed in the United States as a diplomat, he studied the problem of future education in Japan and made inquiries and asked opinions of high government officials and leading scholars of America on the following five points with the objective of using there reference materials for the establishment of policies of educational reform. The points related to the material prosperity of a country, to commerce, to agricultural and industrial interests, to social, moral and physical state of a people and to effects of education on jurisprudence and government. These studies Mori Arinori crystallized into an opinion that the government of Japan should be built up through education. This idea attracted the attention of Itō Hirobumi, whom Arinori met in Europe and who chose him an official of the Ministry of Education, from which he rose to assume the top post in educational administration, the Minister of Education.

Although occupying the post for only a little over three years until 1889, he held tenure during a period of complicated and confused factional debates on educational theory. While he adopted Western methods, his objective was to systematize the educational structure to build up the strength of the state. For this reason, his educational policy is generally called nationalistic. His educational opinions are clearly revealed in his instructions to principals of schools under direct government management at the end of January 1889. He started, “The reason that the government established the Ministry of Education to assume
responsibility for school administration and to operate schools by spending national funds is, in short, nothing else but to serve the country. Therefore, educational policies should aim for the time bring at serving the state.” He believed that the aim of education was to foster and stimulate popular sentiment to serve the nation based on a spirit of loyalty and patriotism. For example, in drafting the provisions of the University Ordinance, he altered the name Tokyo University to the Imperial University, and set the objective of university education at teaching and research on science and technical arts responsive to the essential needs of the state.

His nationalistic educational policy was clearly indicated not only in education for men, but also in connection with the promotion of education for women. He stressed the fact that, since education is the basis of the wealth and power of a state and education for women is the basis of all education, the security or danger of the state depends largely on its success or failure. He declared it therefore essential to educate girls and to develop their character and talents to enable them to manage a family and educate the young as a good wife and wise mother. Besides, his opinion relating to policies of commercial education was also worth nothing. Beginning with Japan’s position in the world and explaining the necessity of a state commercial policy derived from Japan’s relative position compared with Europe and America as well as with the Far Eastern countries, he stressed the importance of emphasizing commercial education for the prosperity of the state.

However, as his educational views were basically rooted in Western educational thought, there were many things attributable to Western educational theory in their content, such as the excessive rejection of the Japanese language and adoption of English in schools, stress on education in foreign languages, adoption of Western methods in the study of ethics, or adoption of dancing for girls. But he tried to harmonize native Japanese morality and the methods of mental training imported from the
West, from a nationalistic standpoint and with the aim of promoting national prosperity. His policy was one of educational eclecticism. This policy aimed to achieve effectiveness by blending nationalism, which appeared as a reaction against the trend toward omnipotence of Western science in the early years of Meiji, with Western principles, by setting the goal at national development. Such educational opinions of Mori Arinori became the predominant educational line of policy in the Ministry of Education; it was inherited by later educational administrators and further systematized after his death.

From March to April 1886, four education ordinances were promulgated in place of the former Education Ordinance; the Primary School Ordinance, the Middle School Ordinance, the Imperial University Ordinance and the Normal School Ordinance. Together with various other school ordinances promulgated later, the fact that these four types of schools, which comprise most of the school system were formed in accordance with an educational principal different from that in the old educational system and the old Education Ordinance marked a major turning point in education. It can be said to have laid the foundation of the modern Japanese school system.

The educational views of Minister of Education Mori Arinori were the basis of this overall reformation of the school system. It is speculated that he had a plan for a reform policy soon after his appointment as an official of the Ministry of Education. For example, it is known that he personally had the ability to carry out drastic reforms based on his own educational ideas which were completely different from past reform measures, and to promulgate the school ordinances of 1886. After a few inquiries of his secretary and some officials, he himself drafted the Primary School Ordinance, considering its extreme importance in the first step to overall reform of the educational system, and submitted the bill to the Cabinet. Furthermore, in drafting the Normal School Ordinance, Arinori believed that if the desired results could be realized through normal school education, which
was the source of teachers, he could boast 90 per cent success in ordinary education. He promptly adopted military type education in normal schools, and a new and unique reform of the system different from that in the days of the Educational Ordinance came into being.

In drafting these school systems, the method was to divide the schooling years of each of the three levels, primary school, middle school and normal school into two stages, ordinary and higher. For instance, in the primary school system, which has the closest relationship with educating the general public, the former system of organizing elementary education into three stages was changed in favor of two stages, the ordinary primary school and the upper primary school. This was adopted to establish a system of elementary education for all school age children; this form became basis of the system of elementary education for the next half century.

Further, in elementary education, the former ambiguous compulsory system was changed to provide for four years of compulsory elementary education, and the former curriculum based on the "General Outline of Rules for Primary Education" of 1881 was discarded in favor of a modern curriculum. At the same time, an authorization system for textbooks, which had hitherto been approved by mere reporting, was enforced, and a program to enforce strictly unified control over educational materials was established.

While middle schools and normal schools changed their names, higher normal schools and upper middle schools which became high schools consistently maintained their structures or their character within the school system, until the reformation of the educational system after World War II. The Imperial University was re-organized by being divided into colleges and a post-graduate course, and it was not until over thirty years later, by the reform of the system in 1921, that colleges were changed into departments and the post-graduate course was also completely changed. The two functions of a university relating to scientific
research and teaching were set forth by the Imperial University Ordinance of 1886 and are carried on still today.

The school ordinances promulgated in 1886 defined the forms of schools for several decades to come. They provided the basic pattern for the establishment of the business school ordinance and various other school ordinances promulgated in the third decade of Meiji. It can be said that the modern school system completed up to a point in the fourth decade of Meiji was built upon the foundations established in 1886. The educational policies of the government developed over the previous twenty years reached its climax in the establishment of the school ordinances, the promulgation of which marked an extremely important epoch in the history of education and on which future reforms were to be based.

With local administrative organization changed by the local autonomy system established during the first half of the twenties of Meiji, the program of school administration, which has a close relationship with local administrative organization, had to be revised. Systematization of elementary education, which had been under central control, to conform with the city-town-village system according to the local autonomy system which provided for three levels of government, i.e. fu-ken (prefectures), gun (county) and shi-chō-son (city, town, village), was deemed necessary. Moreover, the revision of the Primary School Ordinance enforced in October 1890 did not merely define the operation of primary school education by cities, towns of villages along with the establishment of the local autonomy system, but the basic chapters of the Primary School Ordinance were improved, taking advantage of this revision, by including all necessary provisions and thereby fundamentally altering the old Primary School Ordinance so that the revised one gave the impression of a brand new ordinance. It was so provided that the system would be operated in conformity with this ordinance, with provisions relating to schools written as precisely and in as much detail as possible. All the various other school ordi-
nances in the third decade of Meiji followed the example of this Revised Primary School Ordinance.

By this Revised Primary School Ordinance, which is worth nothing from the viewpoint of educational administration, elementary school administration was transferred to cities, towns and villages, the smallest units in the local autonomy system, which were to bear all responsibility for managing elementary schools within the respective district of its jurisdiction. Gun (county) and fu-ken (prefectures) were to supervise the administration by cities, towns and villages, and the Ministry of Education to enforce educational administration through the prefectures.

Further, elementary educational expenses were at first subsidized from the national treasury, but after several changes, the Primary School Ordinance promulgated in 1886 provided that expenses were to be covered by tuition fees, thereby altering the system so that school operating expenses would be paid out of budgetary allocation of cities, towns or villages.

With regard to the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in October 1890, it may be necessary to describe its relationship with the discussions on moral education at that time. Around 1887, although the basis of the modern school system was put in order, particularly under the impetus provided by the promulgation of the Primary School Ordinance, debates relating to the methods of spiritual and moral training as a basis of popular education began to percolate. When in 1879, the gap between education and real life and the necessity of educational promotion were pointed out by Emperor Meiji in his Kyōgaku Taishi (The Great Purpose of Education) and Shōgaku Jōmoku Nisoku (The Two Rules on Primary Education), learned men and educators made efforts to meet the Imperial purpose. These efforts emerged as diverse opinions, such as the nationalistic educational view influenced by Confucianism on the one hand, the more positive advocacy of Western educational theory and adoption of Western methods and systems on the other, or viewpoints based on ethics, called
eclecticism, that tried to harmonize the two positions.

Among the representative arguments on moral education by scholars and learned men were the views of Fukuzawa Yukichi, who initiated the debate on the necessity of moral education by publishing *Tokuiku Ikan* (How Moral Education Shall Be) and *Tokuiku Yoron* (Jottings on Moral Education) in 1882, in which he made a frontal attack upon Confucian educational ideas. He advocated that a new spirit of independence should be promoted and that moral education should be carried out by public discussion and public opinion, pointing out the impossi-
bility of adequate moral education in the public schools. At the same time, he insisted that the moral thinking of the general public should be awakened by Buddhism.

Controversies on moral education thus begun provoked opinions based on Confucianism such as *Kokkyō Ron* (On National Moral Doctrine) by Motoda Eifu, published in 1884 and *Nihon Dōtoku Ron* (On Japanese Morality) by Nishimura Shigeki, published in 1886. Arguing from a religious viewpoint, *Kokkyō Ron* asserted the need for consolidating moral education, which is the basis of all learning, by establishing a national moral doctrine centralized in Confucianism. *Nihon Dōtoku Ron*, although admitting Western thought to a certain extent, placed the basis of moral education on loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and integrity, dividing moral doctrines into worldly teachings and extra-worldly teachings, thus systematizing the moral principle for the people on the basis of worldly teachings which takes Confucianism as its basis, and making some reference to Western philosophy. Although Motoda Eifu advocated that the Imperial House should take the lead in establishing a doctrine applicable as the basis of education, and although Nishimura Shigeki, too, by consulting with Soejima Taneomi, Sasaki Takayuki and Sano Tsunetami, persuaded Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Sanjō Sanetomi to realize the Imperial selection of a moral code, they ran into the opposition of Minister of Education Mori. Then they expressed the view in *Meirinin Kengi* (A Proposal of the
Ethics Clarification Institute) that the center of moral education should be in the Imperial House and be supervised by the Ministry of the Imperial Household. It is noteworthy that the opinions of both of these men, who represented Confucianism, placed the focus of moral education on the Imperial House, for these views were to usher in the Imperial Rescript on Education proclaimed later.

However, discussions on moral education which echoed throughout the educational world at that time were *Nihon Kyōiku Genron* (Basic Principles of Education in Japan) written by Sugiura Jugō in 1887 and *Tokuiku Hōhōan* (Methodology on Moral Education) by Katō Hiroyuki. *Nihon Kyōiku Genron*, opposing previous religious doctrines because of the difficulty in Japan of establishing a basis for moral education grounded on religion, expressed the idea that physics should be applied to human affairs and that various basic principles of physical science should be the foundation of moral education and regulate affairs of the world of mankind. *Tokuiku Hōhōan* claimed that the way to improve moral education was to place its basis in religion, and advocated that a moral course composed of the four religions, Shintoism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity, be established in public schools, thereby coordinating the confused methods of moral education in schools. Claiming that this was the general view of the educational world, Katō proposed this advocacy to the Minister of Education and tried to persuade him to apply it all over the country. This view was called the religious-moral educational argument of Katō Hiroyuki, and together with the principle of scientific moral education advocated by Sugiura Jūgō, attracted considerable attention.

As opposed to these opinions, Nishimura Shōzaburō, criticizing them from the viewpoint of an actual educator, published *Tokuiku Shinron* (New Principles of Moral Education) in 1888, and Yamazaki Rihachi published *Kyōiku Tekiyo Nihon Dōtoku Hōan* (Methodology of Applying Japanese Morality to Education) in
1889 refuting moral education based on religious principles by hoisting the theory of aestheticism, and further, Nose Sakae published in 1890 *Tokuiku Chintei Ron* (Comments on Suppression of Moral Education) based on a doctrine of ethics in which he commented on the idea of moral education following the line of the Ministry of Education, led by Mori Arinori, then the Minister of Education. The opinions of Nose Sakae were used by the Ministry of Education as reference material in writing *Rinrishō* (Textbook on Morality) for middle schools, and can be said to represent an eclectic view on moral education.

In this way, around 1887, there were varied arguments from different points of view concerning moral education. Confusing in teaching subjects related to moral education, they created a problem in the local educational world as to the stand and the method by which the ethics course should be taught. Some localities, failing to reach a conclusion, requested local governors to settle the issue. In this situation, the Local Governor's Conference held in February 1890 submitted a proposal to the Cabinet, requesting that the basic principle of moral education be established by the Ministry of Education and announced all over the country. After these confused controversies on the problem of moral education, the Imperial Rescript on Education was proclaimed on the impetus of this proposal of the Local Governor's Conference.

Responding to the proposal at the Local Governors' Conference held in the end of February 1889, Minister of Education Eno-moto replied that as his own personal opinion it was proper to depend for moral education on the teachings of long tradition of this country, that is, the moral rules governing the five human relationships, based on Confucianism, and that it was necessary to compile moral textbooks by gathering lessons on those principles. However, Emperor Meiji, who had attended the conference and learned of the proposal relating to moral education, instructed the Minister of Education to edit proverbs that were suitable as a basis of moral education, and also
instructed Yoshikawa Kensei, who became Minister of Education place of Enomoto in May to do likewise, a task which he promptly began. Within the government, those who took leading roles in the compilation of proverbs were Prime Minister Yamagata Aritomo and the Minister of Education. Participating with them was the director of the Legislation Bureau, Inoue Kowashi, who was in charge of drafting the Constitution. Outside the Cabinet, Motoda Eifu, being separately requested by Emperor Meiji, started drafting a text. The result of careful consideration by these four persons was an agreement that the text should be prepared in the form of an Imperial Rescript relating to the teaching of moral virtue; and thorough discussions took place on the contents of the Rescript to be proclaimed. For instance, Inoue considered it inappropriate in the beginning to proclaim moral precepts in the form of an Imperial Rescript because the confusion in moral education resulted from social changes and the evil habits of the upper levels of society, and that therefore, those who were in charge of administration should be responsible for rectifying it. Opposed to this view, Motoda considered the proclamation of an Imperial Rescript to be indispensable and drafted the text of moral teachings aiming to establish a national moral doctrine by the Imperial Rescript. In addition, as against Motoda's attitude of avoiding focussing importance on the Constitution, Yoshikawa and Inoue endeavored to attach great importance to the Constitution. Although their positions differed, these differences in opinion, or the confrontation of the conservatives and the progressives, were distilled by the benevolent purpose of Emperor Meiji to go forth in the new era by preserving the old. After many Imperial deliberations and decisions, a draft of the text of the Imperial Rescript as a fundamental principle of education for the people unchangeable forever and never to be opposed in its enforcement internally and externally, was thus prepared.

On October 30, 1890, Emperor Meiji summoned Prime Minister Yamagata and Minister of Education Yoshikawa and handed
them the text of the Imperial Rescript on Education. By this Rescript, the Emperor Meiji indicated the root of morality and the fundamental basis of education, which had been on His Majesty's mind since the issuance of his Kyōgaku Taishi (Great Purpose of Education) in 1879. Not only had His Majesty given a clear-cut decision in the argument over moral education around 1889, but His Majesty had also universally explained the basic route of education to be thereafter followed.

Upon the proclamation of the Rescript, Minister of Education Yoshikawa promptly indicated how the Imperial Rescript should be reverently observed, by issuing an instruction on the following day, to the effect that all schools in the country should hold a ceremony for reverent reading of the Imperial Rescript, and that school children and students should be guided to thoroughly understand the import of the Imperial Rescript, and further the import should be disseminated widely among all the people of the country. Newspapers and magazines also promptly took the matter up and printed editorials and news reports, commenting on the pious observance of the Imperial Rescript, and praised the now clearly understandable goal of education, ending the long years of controversies over moral education. In addition, the Ministry of Education had Inoue Tetsujirō, professor of the College of Literature of the Tokyo University, compile Chokuyu Engi (Explanations on the Imperial Precept). Professor Inoue re-wrote his manuscript eight or nine times, and after its completion, circulated it to over eighty man of learning, including Katō Hiroyuki, and Nakamura Masanao for comments on vocabulary and style of writing. This explanation of the Imperial precepts was arranged by dividing the Rescript phrase by phrase with a comment for each, giving references to the thought, religion, and manners and customs of the East and the West. Its contents were unique when compared with other explanations which were mostly composed of the meanings of words, the outline, and related anecdotes.

However, there were many in non-governmental circles who
edited and published explanatory books on the Imperial Rescript, including *Kyoiku Chokugo Engi* (Explanatory Comments on the Imperial Rescript) by Naka Michiyo and others, *Seiken Jutsugi* (Explanations on the Holy Precepts) by Ikutame Tsunenori and others, *Kyōiku Chokugo Engi* (Explanations on the Imperial Rescript) by Imaizumi Sadasuke, *Kyōiku Chokuyu Engi* (Explanations on the Imperial Precepts) by Shigeno Yasutsugu, *Kyōiku Chokugo Kungi* (Explanatory Teachings on the Imperial Rescript.) by Naitō Chisō. Some gave simple explanations of the Imperial Rescript understandable even to children; others adopted the method of illustrations to make the understanding of each item easier; or still others expatiated on the meaning of the Imperial Rescript by collating each item with historical facts. Since the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript, the number of explanatory materials published in book form totalled more than two hundred.

Emperor Meiji continued to be interested in education even after the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript, and in September 1892, His Majesty even inquired of local governors regarding the problem of education, particularly the results of the Rescript. The local governors pledged to exert further efforts for the dissemination of the meaning of the Imperial Rescript. It was a momentous event that in this way not only the confused controversies on moral education were put to an end and the road of education definitely set forth, but the foundation of this country was also thus determined which continued unperturbed for sixty years.

2. Religions

If the second period in Meiji religious history is considered one of awakening to the fundamental character of religion, the next can be deemed one of religious activities. Especially after freedom of religion was recognized by Article 28 of the Imperial Constitution, so long as a religion is not restricted as heretical by the government, the people could freely believe in any
religion of their choice. Thereafter, each religious group busied itself to concentrate on plans to expand its influence, exhausting every means through both activities and principles. For this reason, various kinds of disputes and problems in doctrine and philosophy arose.

With the rise in religious consciousness and the beginning of genuine religious activities, the government began to discriminate between Shrine Shinto and Shinto sects. Prior to that, in January, 1882, the government had suspended the plural offices of Shinto priests and national priests and decided to prohibit Shinto priests from performing funeral services, thus strengthening more and more the attitude to consider Shrine Shinto as the state religion. While previously in January, 1877, the administration of religious affairs had been placed in the Shrine and Temple Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs, this bureau was divided in April, 1900, into the Shrine Bureau and the Religion Bureau, the former placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the latter under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Shrine Shinto assumed the form of so-called Home Ministry Shintoism. Administratively, the shrines were separated from religion as such and placed in one of the important bureaucratic organizations, thus gradually destroying freedom of religion.

The idea to regard Christianity as a heretical religion had existed from the past, and had resulted in such movements as haja kensei, which means to reject Christianity as a wicked religion and to exalt Buddhism. In the Meiji Era, Buddhism took up this movement as a way to protect itself and to retrieve Buddhist influence which had suffered a decline. As far as Buddhism was concerned, this activity might properly have belonged to the previous period, except that with the growth of the tendency to extend public approval to Christianity the haja kensei movement became more violent around 1882–1883.

In April, 1883, Togashi Mokkei wrote Haja Hen (Reject Christianity), attacking Christianity from the Buddhist point of
view. He stated:

"In their work of propagation, they are tempting samurai by weapons, seducing the general public by medicine, luring believers of Shintoism and Confucianism by the ten Commandments, offering Western science to scholars, trade profits to merchants, gold and silver to the poor and fools, medical treatment for the sick, and witchcraft for the irresolute."

These were reasons why Christianity was heretical religion. He asserted that the three religions, Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, should unite efforts to reject Christianity. This opinion was exactly the same as the old attitude toward Christianity.

In July of the same year, Megata Sakae wrote Yōkyō Fujōri (Inconsistency of the Western Religion) and condemned Christianity as the way of the devil and a heretical religion. In May 1885 Hanabusa Rissetsu wrote Yamato Damashii (The Spirit of Yamato) and attacked Christianity stating, "The preachings of that religion are the falsehoods of prehistoric barbarians and are not well versed in basic principles practicable today." He denied the idea of a Creator on the basis of logical reasoning. In September that year, Inoue Enryō wrote Haja Shinron (New Opinion on Haja), which is worth special attention as a book by a Buddhist priest. He pointed out twelve inconsistencies in Christianity: the view of earth as the center of the universe; view of the development of the human race, view on free will, view on morality and vicissitudes, view on the unfathomableness of the power of God, views on the beginning and end of time and space, view on the existence of wind outside man's mind, view on existence of God outside material, view on the standard of truth, view on nistorical changes in preaching doctrines, view on the lack of religious doctrine in the Orient, view on the origin of mankind. He rejected Christianity, pointing out the contradiction in Christian theory between creation and evolution, the ambiguousness of the relations among God, time, and space, between God and man,
and among God, material and mind. His views today seem childishly native, but at the time as the expressions of a rising recipient of the degree of Bachelor of Literature, they attracted keen public attention.

In addition, in July 1887 Watanabe Genshū wrote *Ten'yakyo Jūjōkai Hyōha Ron* (Refutation of the Ten Commandments of Christianity) and in August that year Torio Koyata wrote *Shinsei Tetsugaku Mushin Ron* (A Genuine Philosophy Atheism), both attacking Christianity from the Buddhist position.

In short, as these attacks upon Christianity by the Buddhists were made to protect themselves, there remained much of the old idea of regarding Christianity as a heretical religion, and in using Buddhist doctrines to refute Christianity, then were more or less interspersed with Western style dialectics. Further, the fact that these movements contributed to the change in thought from the peak of praising Westernization to the idea to preserve the national essence should not be overlooked.

After its arrival, Christianity was greatly interested in and contributed a great deal to education in Japan. Of course, the education was based on Christian principles, and since its objective was to expand religious influence, there were some missionaries who were too zealous and narrowminded in their faith, and two therefore often created controversies with public education. This was especially so when the Imperial Rescript on Education was proclaimed and was ordered to be reverently observed, for the Christians who believed in only one God felt Offended in having to conform with it. Three were also some Christians studying at Christian schools or even ordinary schools, who refused to revere the Imperial Rescript or to bow before a picture of the Emperor in Christian churches and in schools. On February 11, 1889, the day of the promulgation of the Constitution, Mori Arinori, the Minister of Education was assassinated and became one of the victims of time such as these.

On January 9, 1891, because Uchimura Kanzō, a non-regular
teacher of the First Upper Middle School, did not bow at a ceremony on the reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education, he enraged the students and had to resign after an official suggestion. A certain Ariga, a Nagoya lawyer, on finding at a church he was attending that a fan with a picture of the Emperor on the occasion of the Imperial Birthday, November 3, 1890, became indignant and left the church. Oshikawa Masayoshi, a Christian minister, and five others contributed an article to Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun and stated that to permit school children to salute before the Emperor’s picture and to require them to lower their heads while listening to the reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education in schools was unnecessary for education and that it might foster fallacious ideas and lead to inculcating a spirit of servility. In another case, students in a primary school in Kumamoto Prefecture, upon hearing that no one was more precious than God, struck down the picture of the Emperor hanging in the classroom, and created a great local problem. Many other cases of a similar nature occurred at such Christian mission schools as Dōshisha and Meiji Gakuin, as well as other places.

These incidents provoked the apprehension of learned men. On October 1892, Inoue Tetsujirō made a speech on the contradictory nature of Christianity with the Imperial Rescript on Education, as well as with the national character. It was printed in the Kyōiku Jihō (Education Review), and suddenly produced a conflict on the contradictions between religion and education.

Inoue Tetsujirō solemnly challenged any refutation each time one appeared and in April 1893 collecting his opinions, published Kyōiku to Shūkyō to no Shōtotsu (Collision of Education and Religion.) The gist of this was that the Imperial Rescript on Education stood for nationalism, which Christianity had an anti-nationalistic Character, and therefore it was but natural that Christians would oppose the Imperial Rescript. Christianity, which has a selfish idea in denying the present world only looking for happiness in the next, naturally rejected the
veneration of ancestors which constitutes the basis of Japanese morality, and moreover Christianity pays no attention to such matters as the rise or fall of a state. Thus claims and refutations spread noisily all over the country. Not only interested religionists, but scholars, educators and journalists as well, discussed and asserted their respective opinions through newspapers, magazines, and books. Although their pro and con arguments were varied, some of them were simple extensions of the views of Inoue Tetsujirō; others were statements on the contributions of Christianity to the culture of Japan since the Restoration; still others asserted that Christians were not progressive; others reviled Christian as nothing but a long established custom in Western countries and as a lifeless old superstition, while others opined that essentially religion and education were separate matters and there was no reason for conflict. In the end, there appeared even such unseemly sights as mutual personal attacks.

In September, 1891, Murakami Taion attacked Christianity by writing *Rikkyō Tairon* (Great Theory on the Basis of Religion) in which he severely criticized the above mentioned heretical actions of Christians in schools, considering them a mixture of religious superstition and education, and explained the reasons for the quick and easy unification of Buddhism with the national character. In 1893, Inoue Enryō wrote *Nihon Rinrigaku An* (A Proposal for an Ethics for Japan) and *Chūkō Katsuron* (A Living Theory of Loyalty and Filial Piety), both of which asserted the reasons why Buddhism agreed with the national Character. Ōta Kyōson wrote *Chokugo to Bukkyō* (The Imperial Rescript and Buddhism) in which he stated that Buddhism did not have to accommodate itself to Japan after its introduction, for it basically suited the country, but that Western ideas of rights and freedom and the Confucian theory of heavenly destiny were incompatible with the national character. While these declarations have a certain far-fetchedness in interpretation, it is interesting that through these views nationalism gained an
opportunity to become prosperous.

In this controversy, while Buddhism unanimously supported the view of Inoue Tetsujirō and attacked Christianity, undoubtedly an extension of their haja movement, most of the arguments on the Christian side, too, set their target at refuting Buddhism.

3. Progress of the World of Scientific Study

From one standpoint, the world of scientific study around 1887 was in a period of confusion, but from another, steady progress can be found in its extent and quality. One sign of this was the Imperial University Ordinance promulgated on March 1, 1886. Although prefixing the word "Imperial" in its title might have been demanded by the times, the university was composed of separate colleges of law, medicine, technology, literature and physics, and the post-graduate course, to which the college of agriculture was added in 1890. In September 1893, the organization of chairs was revised.

The establishment of the post-graduate course in particular was an indication of the progress of scientific study. In the beginning of the Rules, it was indicated that, "students who desire to enter the post-graduate course shall first choose his own course and apply to the President of the University. Only those who have excellent academic ability and records of good behavior will be admitted." The period of study was two years. On May 20, 1887, the Academic Degree Ordinance was promulgated by Imperial Ordinance providing for degrees of two grades, hakushi and dai hakushi, and five kinds, i.e., Doctor of Law, Doctor of Medicine, Doctor of Engineering, Doctor of Literature and Doctor of Physical Science.

Furthermore, various academic societies were organized during this period. Among them were the Keizai Danwa Kai (Economic Symposium) the Shibun Kai, established in 1880, Koten Kenkyūjo (Institute for Research on the Classics of Imperial
Japan) in 1882, Teikoku Kyōiku Kai, (Imperial Education Society), Doitsugaku Kyōkai (Society of German Studies) in 1883, Tetsugaku Kai (Philosophical Society and Nihon Kōdō Kai (Society of the Japanese Way) in 1884, and Kokkagaku Kai (Society for the Study of the State.)

Another indication of the conspicuous progress of scientific study was the research findings of Japanese scholars which began to be announced in the middle period of the Meiji Era. Among them, are some well-known to the scholarly field in the world, such as the works of Kitao Jirō, Tanaka Shōhei and Nagaoka Hantarō in the field of physical science, the works of Sakurai Jōji, Kuhara Mitsuru and Tahara Ryōjun in chemistry, and the works of Kitazato Shibazaburō in medicine.

In the technical field as well, there began to appear attendance to move away from the habit of imitating Europe and America and to proceed to independent work, although it was yet impossible completely to end the dependence on Europe and America. For instance, in 1882 only three years after the invention of the carbon filament lamp by Edison electricity was used for the first time to light the Ginza in Tokyo. In addition, in 1883, only two years after electric utilities enterprises in England and America were begun, the Tokyo Electric Company was established. Japan thus was exerting strenuous efforts to catch up with England and America.

C. TRENDS IN THE LITERARY WORLD

1. Forerunners of the New Literature.

Although, strictly speaking, the new Meiji novels may not be called the modern or new literature of the Meiji Era, they had their origins in translations of Western novels and in political novels. In due course of time, these two kinds of literature became the forerunners of and the preparations for the modern
new literature. Of course, the new literature in its correct meaning was produced somewhat later, having its impetus in the appearance of Shōsetsu Shinzui (The Essentials of Novel Writing) in 1885. However, already from around 1877, when gōkan-mono (collected volumes) and tsuzuki-mono (serials) were still fashionable, a few learned men focused on a new theory of literature and were publishing their opinions. Before, or even around the same time as the appearance of Shōyō’s Shōsetsu Shinzui, there were other literary criticisms which stimulated and influenced the birth of the new literature.

The first great influence in the development of Meiji literature came from the editorials on literature by Fukuchi Ochi (alias Gen’ichirō). While Ochi is well known as one of the early reporters in the field of journalism, and a leader in various fields in early Meiji as well, he was one of the guiding lights of the new Meiji culture. Entering the Tokyo Nichinichi in 1874, he became its editor-in-chief and wielded a powerful pen in its editorial columns under the pen-name Gosō. At one time it was said that his editorials had a controlling influence on practically every affair in Japan. As a man of letters he published in wide fields, including Bakufu Suibō Ron (Comments on the Downfall of the Shogunate Government); in addition it is a well known fact that he later won public favor by playwriting. Among his comments on literature which appeared as editorials in the Tokyo Nichinichi, the following three exerted the greatest influence, giving guidance to literary circles in this period of confusion: Bungaku no Hituyō wo Ronzu (On the Necessity of Literature) in December 1874; Bungaku wo Shinkō Subeki Setsu (Literature Should be Promoted) in April 1875, Bunron (On Literature) in August 1875. Furthermore, it is a tribute to him that at a time when emphasis was being given to practical science, he had insight to insist upon the necessity of literature.

A second important influence was the Hyakugaku Renkan (Chain of a Hundred Studies) and Chisetsu (Treatise on Intellect), written by Nishi Amane. Although Nishi contributed a
great deal to the field of Meiji philosophy by importing Western philosophies, he also played a great role as a man of enlightenment in economics, military science, philology and other fields in which he left many achievements. He also contributed no small amount in the field of literature. His works, *Hyakugaku Renkan*, *Chisetsu* or *Bimyō Gakusetsu* (Aesthetic Theory) can be regarded as enlightening literary comments. While trying to systematize all scientific studies into something like a comprehensive structure, he lectured on *Hyakugaku Renkan* which was a translation of *Encyclopaedia*, to students of the *Ikueisha* (Scholarship Society), a private school under his own management. In this book, Western opinions on literary art are explained in some detail. In particular, the part on literature, is a kind of formal theory of literature. Although *Chisetsu* appeared in the magazine *Meiroku Zasshi* in five instalments, the part appearing on its twenty fifth issue was a literary criticism setting forth in a concise and simple way the part relating to literature in *Hyakugaku Renkan*.

*Shūji oyobi Kabun* (Rhetoric and Belles-Letters) was a literary commentary which acquired a significance in Meiji literary history by being introduced by Tsubouchi Shōyō in his *Shōsetsu Shinzui*, with which we shall deal later. This book was one of the series of *Hyakka Zensho* (Encyclopaedia) published by the Ministry of Education in 1879. Although a small book of only 129 pages, but blessed by the three favourable circumstances of time, translator and publisher, it became a truly significant work in literary history as an importation of representative comments on Western literature in the period of Enlightenment, together with the works of Nishi Amane.

Another comment on Western literature, the first and last volumes of *Wishi Bigaku* (Wilson’s Aesthetics) translated by Nakae Chōmin at the request of the Ministry of Education, was published in 1892 and 1893. This was a translation of *Esthétique* written by Eugene Veron, President of the Technical Art News of France, and was the first single book on aesthetics
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introduced into Japan. Although a book on aesthetics, the section on the novel gives a description of general European literature, more than is contained in Shūji oyobi Kabun. Shōyō, Kōyō, Roan and other men of letters were enlightened in many respects by this book, which had a considerable influence upon the literary thought of the time.

Then again there is Bijutsu Shinsetsu (Essentials of Fine Arts) published in 1882. This was a collection of lectures given by Fenollosa, who arrived in Japan in 1878 and who, while lecturing on philosophy and other subjects at Tokyo University, studied and contributed a great deal to the promotion of Japanese fine arts his lectures being dictated, and later compiled by Ōmori Ichū. This book was cited in the Shōsetsu Shinzui; indeed the later begins with a criticism on it. Myōsoron (A Discourse on Fine Conception) together with this book, which are excellent discourses on literature and fine arts, had much influence upon the world of fine arts in this country.

Bungaku Ron (On Literature) written by Ariga Nagao and published in April 1885 has a unique significance as a criticism written by a Japanese and as a treaties on literature from the standpoint of Oriental civilization. Its direct influence appears not to have been so great, because it was published almost simultaneously with Shōyō’s Shōsetsu Shinzui.

Historically, there were still other publications relating to literature around 1887. For instance, there can be enumerated such works as “Belinsky’s Comments on Fine Arts” by Futabatei Shimei, edited about the same time as Shōsetsu Shinzui, Engeki Kairyō Ron (On Improving Theatrical Plays) by Toyama Masakazu; a commentary on poetry presented as a preface to Shintai Shishō (A Selection of New Style Poems) by Inoue Tetsujiro (alias Sonken) and others; Bijigaku (Rhetorics) by Takata Sanae; and Bungaku Ippan (A Facet of Literature) by Uchida Roan.

At any rate, Shōsetsu Shinzui, appearing in 1885, became the starting point of the new literature of the Meiji Era. Although
the word shōsetsu or "novel" was used in its title, the nature of its contents was a criticism on literature, and it became the basis of the literary theory of new Meiji literature and literary criticism. The new literature of the Meiji Era in its true meaning can be regarded as having come into existence by the impetus provided by this piece of writing. Truly, it played the most important role in the dawning period of the literary world around 1887. It is said that Ōgai stated, "This book came out when it should have appeared, and if Shōyō did not write it someone else would have done so." And Rohan, recollecting those days, once said, "As everyone knows, we can say that Shōsetsu Shinzui and Shosei Katagi by Dr. Tsubouchi initiated the opening of the new Meiji literature." Both these comments explain the real state of the world of literature of that time and clearly acknowledge the historical, as well as literary, significance of Shōsetsu Shinzui. Since this book stimulated the production of genuine and new Meiji literary works, such as those of Rohan, Kōyō, Bimyō and Futabatei, it has an important historical literary significance of the first order.

Based on the theory of literature in Shōsetsu Shinzui, Shōyō himself wrote Tōsei Shosei Katagi (Modern Students' Traits) in the same year, the first of the nobles of realism about which Shōyō himself had shown the import in Shōsetsu Shinzui. Although Shōyō then published an excellent short story with the title Saikun (The Wife), it was the work of Futabatei Shimei, Ukimono (The Floating Clouds), published in 1887, which brought to realization the spirit, statements and opinions of Shōyō's discourse on literature and verified their accuracy. This novel was far more modern than works like Shosei Katagi, and was a first long novel, typified by its excellent psychological description among Meiji literary works. This pioneer production not only gained great public favor but influenced Katai, Tōson, and many other writers to rise later.

Under the impetus of the literary theory of Shōyō and the creative works of Futabatei, the new literature of Meiji suddenly
went into a period of flourishing development. Kōyō, Bimyō and other members of the Ken'yūsha (Friends of the Ink-stone Society), who were entrenched in the magazine Garakuta Bunko (Library of Miscellany), Ōgai who was using Shigarami-Zōshi as his citadel, Shōyō who was publishing Waseda Bungaku (Waseda Literature), the members of the Minyū-sha (Friends of the People Society), faction who had Kokumin no Tomo (Friend of the People) as their stage, and Rohan who was contributing his unique literary works in Kokkai Shimbun (Diet News) and others—all these men of letters began their literary activities one after another and greatly enlivened the Meiji literary world. And thus was ushered in the period in which such pioneering works as Musashino (Musashi Plains) of Bimyō, Ninin Bikuni Iro Zange (Love Confessions of Two Nuns) by Kōyō, “Fūryū-butsu” (Romantic Buddha) of Rohan, Maihime (A Dancing Girl) of Ogai and others made their appearance.

2 Writers of Realism and Idealism and Their Works

The newly risen literature awakened by Shōyō’s Shōsetsu Shinzui suddenly developed spectacular activities in the second decade of Meiji, with Ukigumo by Futabatei as the pioneer. The realism advocated by Shōyō was promptly given concrete expression in the works of members of the Ken’yūsha led by Kōyō. The activities of this faction were so colorful that the second decade of Meiji were called the days of the Ken’yūsha. The literary debut of Kōyō began with the formation of the Ken’yūsha, in March 1885. In May that year, they started their literary activities by circulating among its members the Garakuta Bunko (Library of Miscellany), a pen-written organ of the society. The Ken’yūsha was established by Ozaki Kōyō, Yamada Bimyō, Ishibashi Shian, who had been classmates during university preparatory course days, and Maruoka Kyūka, to edit a magazine of novels, numerous pieces, poems, limericks, comic poems and other literary works written by the members and to
be circulated among themselves. Before long, Iwaya Sazanami, Kawakami Bizan, Emi Suin, Hirotsu Ryūrō and others took part in the project. The pen-written *Garakuta Bunko* was published continuously for eight issues over a one year period until May 1886. But, as it gradually flourished and members increased so that circulation of a pen-written single copy became inadequate, it was finally decided to put it into print. From November 1886, until February, 1888, eight issues were published type-printed, but not for sale. By February 1889, sixteen issues were published. From the seventeenth issue they changed the title simply to *Bunko* (Library) and published ten additional issues, but ceased publication with the twenty seventh issue. The prosperous development of this magazine made Kōyō, who was the central figure, to resolve to devote himself to being a man of letters.

Recollecting those days, Uchida Roan stated in his work *Kinō Kyō* (Yesterday and Today):

"Since it was a time when we were awakened by political novels and were thirsting for the gorgeous and august literature of Europe and America, it was natural that Shōyō’s *Shosei Katagi*, which was launched full-sail on this current of the times, would be welcomed just as if the boat of Momotarō had returned with a load of treasures from Onigashima Island. This was the very first victory of the new literature, and the young men of the country raced competitively towards literary success."

The one who assumed the lead among these young men was Kōyō. He rode the tide that a new literature befitting the age ought to be born, based on the literary theory of *Shōsetsu Shinzui*, which had laid a firm foundation, and he gallantly announced that he would devote himself to writing novels as a practical example of his theory. Among his works, *Enoshina Miyage Kai-Byōbu* (A Shell-imbedded Screen, a Sougenir of Enoshima) and *Nisemurasaki Doki no Hachimaki* (A Pseudo-Cavalier Feigning Anger with a Hachimaki) appearing in the
pen-written numbers of *Garakuta Bunko* were novels which revealed his talent describing the manners and sentiments of townsfolk, but still they did not escape from the *gesaku* style of the past. However, Kōyō finally came into the limelight as a rising man of letters when his work *Ninin Bikuni Iro Zange* (Love Confessions of Two Nuns) was published as the first in the *Shinchō Hyakushū* (One Hundred Series of New Books) in January 1889. Although the author's preface stated, "Tears are the keynote of this novel," this was rather a work of youthful romantic dreams rather than literature in the realistic genre, though the latter approach was characteristic of this author. Similar comments can be made with regard to *Fūga Musume* (A Romantic Daughter), his next publication. Kōyō was a writer who exerted painstaking efforts to polish his sentences all through his creative life as a novelist, and already he was concentrating attention on a refined and elaborate style.

Kōyō was concerned also with the study of the national classics, which was one of the favorite subjects of the times, and particularly studied the works of Saikaku who greatly influenced his style. *Kyara Makura* (The Perfumed Pillow) was a representative work in that tendency. It depicted the eventful emotional life of a girl in the gay quarters, closely resembling *Ichidai Onna* (Life of a Woman) of Saikaku, and was one of the best early works of the author. Then, Kōyō published *Ninin Nyōbo* (Two Wives). Although Kōyō was still a young man in his twenties, his talent and efforts won him a high reputation in the literary, as well as social, world.

Then in 1892 he published serially in the *Yomiuri Shimbun Sannin Zuma* (Three Wives), one of his three great masterpieces. It was a tale of the amorous life of a lustful millionaire and his three mistresses, depicting the different characters of the three women and their different fates resulting from those differences in character. Large in plot, his writing in the so-called *Saikaku* style reached its climax of maturity and beauty in this work. Truly it is a masterpiece which brings
to the fore a delicacy and individuality unique to this author. *Kokoro no Yami* (The Darkness of the Heart) is a work describing the obdurate and tenacious love of a blind masseur. While the style of writing is almost the same as *Sannin Zuma*, this novel differs from his previous works in which he paid attention to plot and story in that the author successfully depicts the deep and delicate sphere of human psychology. This work can be ranked high among his works in its artistic value with its excellent psychological description, and at the same time, it is worth noting as an important work indicating a turning point in Kōyō as a writer of novels in the history of Meiji literature.

Yamada Bimyō, one of the early members of the *Kenyūsha*, was one step ahead of Kōyō in making his debut into the literary world by writing *Fukincho Issetsu* (Strain of Accordion Music), a novel in the colloquial style for a women’s magazine *Iratsu* (The Maiden). *Musashino* (Musashi Plains), his first successful work, was a historical novel depicting an episode in the days of the Southern and the Northern Courts, and was published as a serial in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 1887. The public was startled by its new colloquial style, and although Bimyō was then a greenhorn only twenty one years old, his name instantly became a subject of talk. In the following year, he published a collection of short stories *Natsu Kodachi* (The Summer Grove) and at the same time presented a long piece *Dashi* (A Festival Car) as a serial in the magazine *Miyako no Hana* (The Flower of the Capital). Then, in 1889 Bimyō published *Kochō* (Butterfly), as a New Year supplement to the magazine *Kokumin no Tomo*, a tragic story full of sentiment based on materials from the battle of Dannoura fought between the Minamoto clan and the Taira clan, and created a furor. Not only was the work excellent, but the illustration of Kochō, a lady-in-waiting, in the nude, drawn by artist Watanabe Shotei created a sensation, and the name of Yamada Bimyō gained further notoriety.
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Besides Kōyō and Bimyō, other early works of the members of the Ken'yūsha which won reputations, were Imose Gai (Married Shells) by Iwaya Sazanami, Otome Gokoro (A Maiden's Heart) by Ishibashi Shian, Zangiku (The Remaining Chrysanthemum) by Hirotsu Ryūrō, each published as one of the series in Shinchō Hyakushu, and Sumizome-Sakura (The Cherry Dyed Black) by Kawakami Bizan.

Kōda Rohan, who was classed with Kōyō, was influenced by the literature of the Edo Period, particularly of Saikaku, like Kōyō, but from his early days he had an interest in Chinese and Buddhist literature. If these two writers are compared, Kōyō was a realist who objectively sketched reality as it was, and Rohan an idealist who subjectively described from his own ideal. Rohan's maiden work, by which he made his debut into the literary world, was Tsuyu Dandan (Immaculate Dewdrops), which was serialized in the magazine Miyako no Hana in 1889. The work which made his name renowned as a leading figure in the literary world was Fūryū Butsu (The Elegant Buddha), published as the fifth book of Shincho Hyakushu. Dealing with the love affair of a wood carver named Shuun, this novel hit a peak of elegant artistic taste. It was natural that it astonished readers accustomed to the style of the members of the Ken'yūsha. In this work, Rohan, who left a clear mark by showing his unique originality, then published in 1890 Engai no En (Ties Without Ties), the title of which was later changed to Dokuro ni Taisu (Facing a Skull). This is a work expressing an original aesthetic sense by harmoniously blending profound Buddhist thought and transcendent poetic sentiments, and is a masterpiece showing the peak of romantic idealism.

Hitofuri no Ken (A Sword), published in the magazine Koku- min no Tomo in the same year, while different from the above-mentioned two works, gained a high reputation as a typical Rohan work. Though all of these works present a characteristic feature which could not be written by anyone else but Rohan, the most representative work by which he is known is Gojū no
Tō (The Five-storied Pagoda), published as a serial in the Kokkai Shim bun in 1891. Called his representative masterpiece among his entire literary works, the story tells of a stubborn carpenter named Nossori Jūbei who has sufficient talent in house-building but lacks in worldly wisdom, and his employer Kawagoe Genta who is talented and excellent as a man of character. As a result of his temperament as a master-artist who desires to produce his outstanding masterpiece, Jūbei proposes the construction of a five-storied pagoda of the Kan’nōji Temple, Yanaka, against the advice of his boss Genta, and enthusiastically builds the structure. Just before the celebration of its completion, a huge typhoon attacks, but the pagoda towers high and imposingly without even a single tile on the roof breaking off before the violence of nature. The novel emphasizes the eternal life of works of art. By this work, the name of Rohan came to be valued very highly, and to occupy a steadfast and indisputable position in the world of literature. Thereafter, he published Fūryū Mijinzō (The Elegant Small Idol) which appeared continuously for three years from 1893 in the newspaper Kokkai. A representative novel written in the rising literary prosperity of the middle days of the Meiji Era, this is a unique piece in which Rohan thoroughly revealed his talents as a master writer.

Among those writers different from both the realists and the idealists, the first to be noted is Mori Ōgai. While to some degree Ōgai is regarded as a fine commentator and translator and has an established reputation as a scholar of extensive learning and wide discrimination, it is regrettable that evaluation of him as a writer has tended to be neglected. His creative writing activities can be considered to have taken place after 1907. His early works do not reveal his fame as a master-writer. Maihime (The Dancing Girl) written in 1890 was his maiden work. The material gathered while he was studying in Germany, it is an emotional novel with a foreign flavor. This is one of his trilogy written in Europe, together with utakata
no Ki (A Record of a transient Life) and Fumizukai (The Letter-Bearer). Written in the manner of writing of Western advanced countries, these works can be said to introduce Western-style short novels in their strict sense to Japan. Not merely stories, they bring out the real and living aspects of human life, in an elegant Japanese style full of classical fragrance and are filled with an unprecedented freshness. Moreover, the works still have a youthfulness today with their excellent character descriptions and pure romanticism. As masterpieces of romanticism, they are memorable roadmarks in the world of the new literature of the Meiji Era.

The writers, who made brilliant literary contributions in the second decade of Meiji, which is the period of the development of the new literature, and their major works, such as those of realism by the members of the Ken'yūsha, those of idealism of Rōhān and those of romanticism of Ōgai, were as stated above. However, there are several others who cannot be neglected. Among them is Yabu no Uguisu (A Nightingale in a Bush) written by Miss Tanabe Kaho (later Mrs. Miyake Setsurei). This is her maiden work which won a reputation for a woman writer before Higuchi Ichiyō, and an important work as the first complete novel by a woman.

Yazaki Saganoya is also a writer not to be neglected in that he had studied the Russian language and had an interest in Russian literature, and harbored an ambition to rise as a man of letters. With an introduction provided by his classmate Hasegawa Futabatei, he became acquainted with and was guided by Shōyō, and left many works. Hatsukoi (First Love) which appeared in Miyako no Hana in 1888 was his first successful work acknowledged by the literary world. Together with Ruten (Vicissitudes) published in the magazine Kokumin no Tomo in 1889, it was a romantic novel filled with lyricism and at the same time, an excellent work with an idealistic atmosphere. In the works of Saganoya, we can find the beginnings of sentimental romanticism which was brought into existence by a
literary faction in the latter period of the second decade of Meiji.

*Keisei* (Home-coming) written by Miyazaki Koshoshi, a poet of the *Min-yūsha* School, like Saganoya, was published as single book. In it he depicted the plain pastoral life and its charming natural beauty in a Western style of writing with a touch of the Chinese style. This is a prose-poem with idyllic tones and was much talked about and loved by young people. In addition, this novel considerably influenced young writers of the time, such as *Furusato* (Native Place) of Tayama Katai, and led to the appearances of a number of so-called kisei bungaku (home-coming literature).

Saitō Ryoku’u is also another writer who was very active in this period. His literary characteristics are well expressed in his essays. He was a keen cynic, and his sarcasm, sharp as a reazor-blade, was an unusual feature. Among his novels was *Kakurenbo* (Hide and Go Seek) written in 1891, and as representative works, there are *Abura Jigoku* (The Hell of Oil) and *Kado Samisen* (The Samisen at the Gate). These three present Ryokuu’s characteristic features among the works of the literary world of the middle days of Meiji.

Another unusual writer is Murakami Namiroku, who won literary fame by wielding his facile pen in writing many jidai-mono, period pieces popularly called hachibin shōsetsu (Novels of plectrum and sidelocks) at that time. *Mikkazuki* (A Crescent Moon), his maiden work, appeared in 1891, winning him a great reputation and making him at one bound a popular writer. Thereafter, within the next four to five years, he wrote a dozen novels of this kind including *Yakko no Koman* (The Tragedy of Koman), *Tasoya Andon* (The Dark Lantern). He later turned to modern themes and in 1896 published *Tōsei Gonin Otoko* (Five chivalrous Men of Today) in the Tokyo *Asahi Shimbun*, also gaining a high reputation. The novels of Namiroku were consistently of a popular, vulgar type, and can be signified as the forerunner of taishū shōsetsu (popular novels).
of later days.

The writers representing this period of the literary renaissance in the twenties of Meiji, were, whatever may be said, the two great masters, Kōyō and Rohan. The other two great masters, Shōyō and Ōgai, were to devote their endeavors more to play-writing, criticism and translations in their later days.

3. Birth of New-Style Poetry

The modern poetry of Japan was called shinsei (New poems) or shintaishi (New-Style poetry) in the Meiji Era. The year 1882, when the Shintaishishō (An Anthology of New-Style Poetry) was published, may properly be called the time when the new poetry came into existence. However, the origin of the New-Style poetry goes a little further back, as there were importations of Western poems through translations, before the creation of the New-Style poetry.

The Dutch poem Baron van Pabst translated by Bada Teireki, an interpreter of Dutch, and printed in the Sangoku Shukushō (Victory Celebration of Three Nations) edited by Ōtsuki Heisen in 1805, may be the first translation of Western poems into Japanese. Later, in Nochi no Yumeji Nikki (A Sequel to a Dream Diary), a prose collection by Nakajima Hirotari, published in 1823, there were Yayoi no Uta (Song of March) and another poem translated from the Dutch. Katsu Kaishū, too, in his younger days had translated the Dutch poem Loefden Heer as Omoi Yatsureshi Kimi (Girl Pining for her lover), though it was published later.

In the early Meiji years, together with such publications as Sekai Kunizukushi (All About the Countries of the World) and Ansho Jusshi (Ten Prose Pieces for Recitation) by Fukuzawa, which were written in poetical form for recitation, such pieces as Hymn and Psalm published around 1874, and Shōgaku Shōka (Primary School Songs) edited in poetical form by the Music Research Office of the Ministry of Education in 1881 made
their appearance. Although these may not exactly be called poems, there is no doubt that they played a pioneering role in the development of new poems.

The first voice raising modern poetical sentiments into a new form of national literature or advocating the *shintaishi* (New-Style poetry), was the publication in 1882 of the *Shintaishishō*, selected by Toyama Chuzan (pen-name Shōichi), Yatabe Ryōkichi (pen-name Shōkon) and Inoue Tetsujirō (pen-name Sonken). This was a movement to begin enlightening the world of poetry through the translation of Western poems. Nineteen were collected in this anthology, among which only five, including *Battōtai no Uta* (Song of a Band with Bare Swords), were original creations, the others being translations.

Stating in its preface, that “We would create New-Style poems by blending in some common spoken words and express our feelings to the fullest measure,” the editors of the *Shintaishishō* tried to get away from the world of traditional symbols, flowers, birds, wind, and moon, and to sing out about social phenomena in the frank and plain language of the times. In expressing the thoughts and sentiments of the new era, they would avoid the classical manners and restrictions of Chinese poems or *waka* poems, and would adopt the long style of Western poems. Works collected in this anthology are empty in sentiment and do not have high artistic taste. But we cannot deny the great contribution they made to the history of literature, for they initiated the form of New-Style poems, and laid the foundation for modern poetry which later made a conspicuous development. Moreover, it should be pointed out that this contribution was made several years before the appearance of the *Shōsetsu Shinzui* and *Shosei Katagi* which revolutionized the word of fiction writing.

Once the *Shintaishishō* was introduced, it stimulated the publication of many kinds of anthologies. First among them was *Shintai Shika* (New Style Poems) edited by Takeuchi Setsu with an introduction by Komuro Kutsuzan, published from 1882
to 1885. In addition to some reprints of poems from the Shintaishishō in each of these series, new creations were collected, such as Jiyū no Uta (Song of Freedom), Gaikō no Uta (Song of Foreign Relations), Shō-Nanko (Young Kusunoki, the Loyalist), Masashige (Hero of the Southern Court, Masashige Kusunoki), Shikaku (An Assassin), as well as long waka and imayō, verses consisting of lines of twelve syllables. It seems this series were well received by the public and distributed widely, for reprints were made by over ten different publishers.

Then, another collection of poems Shintai Shirin (A Forest of New Style Poems) was published during 1885–1886. In this series, in addition to the works of the three professors of Tokyo University who compiled, as well as translated, poems for the Shintaishishō, there were such poems as Saigō Tsuibo no Uta (Song in Memory of Saigō) by Katsu Kaishū, Haru no Uta (Song of Spring) by Yano Ryūkei, Gunki no Uta (Song of the Battle Flag) by Tatsumi Naobumi, and Hito no Tōto ni Yuku o Okuru (Seeing Off a Friend Going to Tokyo) by Andō Wafū.

Other anthologies of this kind were Sampyo Shintaishisen (Selected New Style Poems, with Comments) edited by Takeuchi Takanobu and Shintaishisen (Selected New Style Poems) edited by Yamada Bimyō, both Published in 1886. The latter was an anthology of ten poems written by Köyō, Bimyō and Kyōka, members of the Ken'yūsha. Bimyō also published Shintai Shika Shōnen Sugata (Youthful Forms, New Style Poems) in the same year, bringing together his own productions such as Shiragikumaru, Umewakamaru, and Mori Ranmaru, based on boy-heroes. An anthology of new and translated poems jointly compiled by Ōwada Kenju and Kofudera Shinsaku with the title Shosei Shōka (Student Songs) was also published in the same year. Although it has the word sheka in its title, its contents were neat New Style poems, among which were included Yūgure (Toward Dusk) and Shōjo Shiji no Uta (Songs of All Seasons for Girls) written by Kenju, Aounabara by Mr. Byron (Byron’s Blue expanse of waters(?) translated by Kenju,
Kembu no Uta (Song of the Sword Dance) by Shinsaku and Rain no Mamori (Die Wacht am Rhein) translated by Shinsaku. Kenju was one of the pioneer poets of New-Style poems, who also published an anthology Shijin no Haru (Spring of a Poet) in 1887. In the same year, an anthology Jiyū Shirin (Poems of Freedom) written by Ueki Emori, a Tosa politician and a noted advocate of liberty and popular rights, was also published.

Jūni no Ishizuka (Twelve Mounds of Stones), a collection of poems by Yuasa Hangetsu, Published in 1885, is worth noting as the first collection of the poems of an individual poet. This is a very long piece of over 450 lines, written in the style of an epic in the five-seven pattern syllable pattern, based on materials from the Old Testament and dealing with the eastward moves of the twelve races of Israel and the hero Ehud. Later publishing Hangetsu Shu (Collection of Poems by Hangetsu), he is to be remembered as one of the pioneer poets.

In the years before 1887, the writing of new poems of which there were a only few superior works was still in a nascent state. Among the poems appearing in the Shintaishishō, Gurei Shi Funjō Kankai (An Emotional Recollection at the Tomb of Mr. Gray) translated by Shokon was a work of fair poetic beauty. A rhymed verse with the title Seishi Wayaku (A Japanese Translation of Western Poems) by Tsuboi Shōgorō, which appeared in the Shintaishika had no poetic sentiment and was nothing more than words arranged into rhymed form. Even Battōtai no Uta by Tenzan, which became famous, contained abstract expressions and crude phraseology. In contrast with these, such a work as Jiyū no Uta by Kutsuzan appearing in the Shintaishika, though the work of a politician, expressed the popular feelings of the time and was on everyone’s lips.

Once in the period of growth, or period of formation of New-Style poems in the second decade of Meiji, the difference between poetry and shōka (songs), which had not been discriminated, gradually came to be understood. While shōka was separated and evolved into a side-stream, the self-awakened

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activities of poetry became the main current. And here new world of poetry was formulated for the first time.

*Kōjo Shiragiku no Uta* (Song of the Filial Daughter Shiragiku) of Ochiai Naobumi, published in 1888 in the *Tōyō Gakai Zasshi* (Vol. 1, No. 4) was a long epic poem of 140 stanzas. He converted this from a Chinese poem originally written by Inoue Sonken into a Japanese poem in the seven-five syllable pattern. Its flowery and elegant style and flowing tone fit the tastes of the time but when compared with the works of the previous period, it had a greater artistic flavor. Together with *Nankō no Uta* (Song of the Hero Kusunoki) by the same poet, it certainly occupied a position in the history of new poems.

In August, 1889, a collection of translated poems with the title *Omokage* (Vestiges) by Mori Ōgai, Koganei Kimiko and others, appeared in the magazine *Kokumin no Tomo* (Summer supplement to Vol. 5, No. 8). This was a collection of seventeen long and short pieces including translations of poems by Goethe, Heine, Byron, Shakespeare and others; translations of Chinese poems originally written by Kao Ch’ing-ch’iu; translations of *Heike Monogatari*, *Kikaigashima* (Story of Kikaigashima Island of the Tales of the Taira Clan) into Chinese poems, and others. Among them, *Ashi no Kyoku* (The Music of Reeds), a translation of a poem by Lenau, and *Aru toki* (On a Certain Occasion), a translation of a poem by E. Ferrand, are the translations of the same high sentiments and free rhetorical flourish as the original poems. Together with the depth of poetic thought in the original poems, they had for the first time somewhat succeeded in transplanting the characteristics of Western poems into the poetic form of this country. Later, this collection was published in book form with the title *Moshio Gusa* (Miscellany). Its influence upon many later poets was very great.

Among the poets active during this period were Yamada Bimyō, Miyazaki Koshoshi, Kitamura Tōkoku, who published a long poem *Soshū no Shi* (Poem of the Prisoners of the King,
dom of Ch’u) and a dramatic poem Horai no Kyoku (Music of the Elysian Fields), and Nakanishi Baika. Among them, Baika published in 1891 an anthology Shintai Baika Shishū (New Style Poems of Baika) containing thirty of his own poems. The long piece Tsukumo no Uba (An Old Woman) appearing at the beginning of this book was deemed a fine work. Yazaki Saganoya, a novel writer, also wrote poems under the pen-name Hokubō Sanshi.

On the other hand, while criticisms on poetry by Ishibashi Ningetsu, comments on rhymed composition by Bimyō, and critiques on poetry by Ōnishi Sozan boosted the world of literary criticism, such poets as Togawa Zanka, Isogai Umpō, Kitamura Tōkoku, Yuasa Hangetsu, Shimazaki Tōsan, Iwano Hōmei, Yosano Tekkan, Ōta Gyokumei, Kawai Suimei, Miki Ten’yū, Shigeno Tenrai, Doi Bansui, Shioi Uko and others appeared in succession to usher in the third decade of Meiji, called the period of the establishment of the world of new poetry. Particularly the New-Style Poetry movement of the romanticist faction started by Tōkoku and Tōson, who inherited this movement, firmly established the new area of modern poetry in the literary world.

4. Improvement of Waka and the Reform of Haiku

Next, we would like to touch on the improvement of Waka (thirty-one syllable poems) and the reform of Haiku (seventeen syllable poems). First with regard to waka, the Keien school of Kagawa Kageki held a predominating influence in the early years of Meiji in the world of waka. While Kageki himself was a waka poet who devised novelties to resist the old poetic style of Reizei and Nijo, his followers, wedded to conventionalism, did not properly understand the fundamental character and significance of the waka. Hatta Tomonori and Kumagai Naoyoshi were the authorities in the Keien faction, and as students of Tomonori there appeared such poets as Takasaki
Seifu, Kuroda Kiyotsuna, Zeisho Atsuko (Saisho Atsuko?) and Shimoda Utaka and others. In 1870, the traditional New Year’s Imperial Poetic Party was revived, and such poets as Oguchi Taiji, Koide Akira (or San), Chiba Tsunetane and others gathered in the Imperial Poetry Bureau and formed a poetic faction called the Imperial Household Ministry faction. On the other hand, the old school of Nakajima Utako, Kimura Seiji, Kosugi Unson, Suzuki Jürei, Matsunami Yūzan, Unagami Tanehira and others still held a strong influence in the world of waka. However, most of these poets of the various factions considered waka nothing more than a light accomplishment like the tea ceremony or flower arrangement with almost no association with the reality of human life. They neglected the truth that real poems can never be created without poetic thought, and poetry as an art can never be created by technique alone. Although the poetic thought of the poets who created the New-Style poetry was still immature and crude, nevertheless, they showed an eagerness to express we thought by means of a new form. With the rise of the New-Style poetry, what received its novel stimulation directly was none other than the conventional waka and haiku, the decline of which into triteness had been keenly felt.

As a reaction against the trend of Westernization of Roku-meikan Hall in the Teen Years of Meiji which was a period of civilization and enlightenment, there appeared a nationalistic spirit, which led to the revival of the study of Japanese classics. Responding to the encouragement of the study of the national classics by Minister of Education Inoue Kowashi, many books relating to classic literature were published. The Kokugakuin (The National Classics Institute) flourished. In this situation, the world of waka was extremely stimulated as well. In 1888, after the appearance of Shōgen (Minor Commentary), in which Hagino Yoshiyuki argued for the improvement of waka poetry, there appeared in turn Kokogaku waka Kairyō Fuka Ron (An Opinion against Improvement of Waka, the National Classics) by Tatezu Yachiho, and Kagaku Shinron (A New View of the

But what brought about the real improvement and reformation of the waka were the activities of Ochiai Naobumi, Yosano Tekkan and Masaoka Shiki who awakened the world of waka with enthusiasm and sincere creative thoughts. Naobumi began advocating the improvement of waka by taking advantage of the trend to revive the national classics and tried to establish a new era of waka poems. With that aim, he published Shimisen Katen (A New Code of Waka) and organized a society called Asakasha (The Faint Incense Society) and gathered many young poets who were eager to blow a refreshing air into the stagnant world of waka. Those who participated in this society were such newly risen poets as Yosano Tekkan, Ōmachi Keigetsu, Hattori Motohan, Kaneko Kunen, Shioi Ukō, Kaneko Moto'omi, Kubo Inokichi, Utsumi Getsujō, Onoe Saishū, and Kokubu Misaoko, under whose leadership the new world of waka in the Meiji Era began its new activities. Although Naobumi had a reputation as a scholar of the national classics, as well as a New-Style poet, he performed a great service in giving leadership to and developing many new waka poets. His objective to improve waka poems was later realized by the poetic activities of his students Tekkan, Saishū, Kunen and others.

As seen in his collections of waka poems such as Tōzai Namboku (East, West, South and North) and Tenchi Genko (Heaven and Earth and Black and Yellow), Tekken Tore away the conventional forms, created a free style, and poured a masculine atmosphere into poetic thought. Besides, he organized a society the Tokyo Shinshi Sha and published the magazine Myōjō (The Morning Star). Securing the services of the gifted
and passionate poetess Ōtori Akiko, the *Myōjō*, commonly called the *Myōjō* school in the world of waka poetry of the Meiji Era because of their novel and fresh style, gained the most influential position in the world of New-Style *waka* poetry. Opposed to this faction was the Chikuhakuen faction led by Sasaki Nobutsuna.

While these two schools, the *Shinshisha* and *Chikuhakuen*, were developing the trends of new waka poetry along parallel lines, another person who was devoting his efforts in the creation of a new aspect of another part of the poetic world was Masaoka Shiki. While still a university student, Shiki intended to renovate the *haiku*, and upon entering the newspaper *Nihon Shimbun*, he started an active movement to reform the literary world together with Katsura Koson, who was in charge of the literary column of the newspaper. Shiki first devoted his fullest efforts to the renovation of *haiku* poetry.

When once this first task was achieved, he then raised the banner of renovation opposing the old conventional *waka* poets, by succeeding to the work of improving the *waka* started by Naobumi and others in the previous period. His first call was raised by the publication of *Utayomi ni Atauru Sho* (An Opinion for Writers of Waka Poems) which appeared for the times continuously in the newspaper *Nihon* from January to March 1898. This poetical opinion was written in an unprecedently pointed way praising the creativeness of Sanetomo, Shōgun of the Kamakura Shogunate Government, and the *Mannyōshū*, criticizing sharply the worthlessness of the *Kokinshū*, expounding on the low insight of Kageki of the Keien faction and bitterly blaming the undignified inactivity of *waka* poets of the past. He asserted that, “What I believe is not to follow blindly what men of the past have said, nor to follow conventional habits and customs, but the primary purpose is to express what we feel is beautiful in a way understandable to the people.” His statement was an extraordinarily forceful one, and not only Shunkai, Tomonori, Seifū, but also Naobumi and Tekkan, were
thoroughly criticized. However, each of Shiki’s assertions had proper reasons and was logical. He stated his position with self-confidence, and showed a manly attitude by asserting “Any one who has an opposing opinion is welcomed... We shall even argue Continually three days and three nights.” Young waka poets of that time thus had their eyes opened to a proper understanding of poetry. Shiki, who began the reform of waka in this way, further enlightened the world of waka poetry by continuously publishing for about a year his own creative opinions. In addition, he published the works Hyakuchū Jisshu (Ten Poems from a hundred) and other anthologies, and began the study of waka poems by gathering comrades and students, calling himself by the nom-de-plume Take no Satobito, (Man of the Bamboo Country). When Katori Shūshin and Oka Fumoto visited his house, Shiki used this opportunity in the beginning of 1899 to organize a group of haiku poets into a society of waka poets, called the Negishi Tanka Kai.

Masaoka Shiki was undoubtedly the central figure in the world of haiku poetry in the Meiji Era, for the main currents of Meiji haiku poetry were generated and developed by him. As stated above, Shiki was a reformer of waka but about the same time, he was also an pioneer in the renovation of haiku poetry. The reformation of haiku poetry occurred a little latter than other fields of literature. In those days when the West was highly worshipped and regarded with omnipotence, it was not strange that short-form native poems such as waka and haiku were ignored by the people who praised the new culture. The development of popular self-awakening from the evils of a superficial stupification with the West and the attempt to find a beauty native to Japan appeared around 1887. This period of self-awakening was one of the significant turning points in the history of the culture of this country.

Although the waka reform movement was pushed forward by members of the Asakasha, the haiku reform movement was urged forward by others besides Shiki. The members of the
Ken'yūsha of Kōyō also tried to create new haiku poems. However, for Kōyō and his colleagues, writing haiku was only a side occupation from their main interest in writing novels. They still could not get away from the conventional idea that haiku was a light accomplishment. For Shiki, on the contrary, it was a task of first consideration to be performed with all his heart and a literary movement designed to introduce a new artistic atomosphere into haiku poetry. Therefore, a genuine reformative significance can be found only in Shiki. Thus the first page of modern haiku poetry can be considered to have been opened in 1892 when Shiki began to work for the newspaper Nihon. Prior to this job, Shiki published Kakehashi no Ki (On Spanning a Bridge) and Dassai Sho’oku Haiwa (Talks on Haiku in the Bookworm’s Library) in the newspaper Nihon. These essays on haiku poetry and his Bashō Zatsudan (Miscellaneous Talks on Bashō) published in 1893 were the first heralds of modern haiku poetry. Shiki’s work in renovation of haiku began from his discovery of the value of the works of Bashō. He assimilated Bashō’s spirit of haiku renovation, and by studying Buson’s anthology, he placed his standard of haiku poetry there for some time. But in his later days, along with his spiritual awakening in waka poetry, particularly in the poems of the Man’nyōshū, the haiku poems of Shiki were no longer in the Genroku style, or the Temmei style, but he succeeded in creating a new haiku style distinctly his own. Around Shiki there gathered as his students many influential haiku poets such as Naitō Meisetsu, Kawahigashi Hekigodō, and Takahama Kyoshi, who were very active in the world of haiku poetry in the Meiji Era. The poetic style of this Nihon faction became the main current of the newly risen haiku poetry of Meiji and fully deserved its reputation as the new haiku poetry.
D. TRENDS IN THE WORLD OF PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT

1. The Reform movement in the Theater

Although nationalist thought appeared at the end of the second decade of Meiji as a reaction to the trend of Westernization, it emerged in the field of culture as an attempt to re-evaluate the ancient culture in terms of the new age without inclining to nationalist thought. As a result, there appeared various movements to improve the literary arts, among them theatrical plays. The central figure in this movement was Suematsu Norizumi who had just returned from a trip abroad. Suematsu organized a group for the improvement of the theater composed of government officials and scholars in August 1886 and called it the *Engeki Kairyō-Kai* (The Dramatic Reform Society). Its prospectus stated its objectives as: (1) To rectify the past evils of theatrical plays and to present good plays; (2) To make the profession of playwriting worthy of honor; (3) To construct a place for artistic performances with a complete structure suitable for the presentation of theatrical plays, musical recitals, vocal recitals, etc.

Such names as Yoda Gakkai and Fukuchi Ōchi were listed among its members; and one member Toyama Shōichi published *Engeki Kairyō-Ron Shikō* (Private Views on the Reform of Drama) in September. In this a radical opinion was expressed: “In Nō plays, too, they should give up the habits of wearing masks and using only male actors. Male and female actors without masks, something like the operas of Western countries should be employed.” However, since this opinion was stated on the last page of the book, it was regarded as his private opinion and not one representing the Dramatic Reform Society.

On October 3, Suematsu delivered a two-hour speech on the improvement of theatrical plays at a meeting of the Society of
Literature held at the First Higher Middle School. In it he explained the need for such improvements as the construction of a large Western-style theater both in quality and appearance, the abolition of theater tea-houses, evening performances, the hanamichi not necessarily required, the gradual abolition of the gidayū accompaniment, the desirability of playing Western music during intervals, improvement in accessories, background, lighting, etc., the artistic improvement of dramas, and for that purpose plays written by literary artists rather than illiterate playwrights, more importance on spiritual action rather than on forms and movements, use of actresses for female roles. The speech was published in book form in November. In the same year Tagushi Ukichi, who was one of the supporters of the Dramatic Reform Society, also published a book entitled Nihon no Ishō Oyobi Jōkō (On Costumes and Love Affairs in Japan) in which he stressed the necessity of improving theatrical plays and musical performances.

While undoubtedly these opinions were formulated based on the actual situation in Western theatrical plays, they did not attempt so reject the native Japanese theater. Since the advocates for these improvements were too radical and somewhat lacked in understanding the special character of Japanese drama, opposition to their views appeared. Among those who expressed such opinions were Takada Sanae, Tsubouchi Shōyō, Fukuwaza Yukichi, Mori Ōgai and others, but they did not turn down all the suggestions for improvement. On the contrary, they supported those improvements which were considered appropriate.

With regard to the improvement of the drama, Kan'ya and Danjūrō had already made some changes in accordance with governmental views. However, the principle of rewarding the good and punishing the wicked was stressed in the government's order, a point which Suematsu criticized stating, "In Japan, the principle of rewarding the good and punishing the wicked is apt to be raised on any occasion. We should like
politely to decline such laborious preaching. We desire that such limitations be called off as far as possible and that the two letters bi-jutsu (art) be deemed essential." *Bijutsu* was a term meaning "art" as a whole rather than exclusively fine arts at that time, and Suematsu was requesting the rejection of the Confucian principle of rewarding the good and punishing the wicked, and the enhancement of artistic value. These suggest the trend of improvement of literary arts in Japan in those days. We should also not forget that the continued publication of *Shōsetsu Shinzui* by Tsubouchi Shōyō was begun in September 1885 contributing greatly to such improvement.

The Dramatic Reform Society in Tokyo had an influence upon the dramatic world of Osaka, and another similar society was established in that city in October 1886. In October that year a certain Osaka publisher published a book with the title *Shibai Kusenaoshi Hō* (Methods to Get Rid of the Peculiar Vices of the Drama). This was a collection of four commentaries which had appeared in newspapers and other publications. In Osaka too, Nakamura Sōjūrō, the leading actor, was persuaded of the need for improvement and began to present *katsugekimon*o (life-like historical plays). Further, some young actors, who were enthusiastic about improving theatrical plays, dramatized *Setchūbai* (Plum Blossoms in the Snow), a political novel by Suehiro Tetchō, and Tōsei *Shosei Katagi*, a new novel of realism written by Oboro Harunoya (*nom-de-pulme* of Tsubouchi Shōyō).

Later, in July 1888 the Dramatic Reform Society was redesignated the *Nihon Engei Kyōfūkai* (Japan Entertainment Reform Society), and held its inaugural ceremony at the Rokumeikan Hall, the social gathering place for the upper class. In September of the following year, this organization changed into the *Nihon Engei Kyōkai* (Japan Entertainment Association) and held its first meeting at the Rokumeikan Hall in October. The President of this association was Count Hijikata Hisamoto, the Minister of Imperial Household Affairs, but the actual leading
roles were taken by Takada Sanae and Okakura Kakuzō, with whom Tsubouchi Shōyō and other literary artists participated as members of the literary art committee. This association aimed at the improvement of Japanese drama to conform with the era, and new plays appropriate for the times were much expected from members of the literary art committee, but not realized.

The large theaters of Tokyo around that time totalled four, the Shintomi-za, the Nakamura-za, the Ichimura-za and the Chitose-za, and the leading actors were Ichikawa Danjūrō, Onoe Kikugorō and Ichikawa Sadanji. About then, Fukuchi Ōchi, who had been active as a journalist or a politician, turned to theatrical activities, and persuaded Chiba Kamegorō, a money lender, to construct a new theater for the improvement of theatrical plays. And thus, the Kabuki-za was constructed and opened to the public in November 1889. Ichikawa Danjūrō was invited to assume the place of leading actor, with whom Ōchi, who was deeply concerned with the improvement of theatrical plays, collaborated, and Danjūrō presented dramas one after another, written or re-written by Ōchi. The Kabuki-za became the top palace of theatrical entertainment in all Japan.

Nakae Chōmin, who introduced French ideas of freedom and popular rights and who had participated in the organization of the Jiyūtō, was banished from Tokyo by the Peace Preservation Regulations in December 1887. In the following year, he established the Shinonome Shim bun in Osaka. Many political bullies of the Jiyūtō flocked around Chōmin. At that time, the movement to improve theatrical plays was at its height in Osaka, and such political novels as Setchūbai were dramatized by kabuki actors. Then, Chōmin suggested to Sudō Sadanori, a political bully, to organize a theatrical group of political bullies to present political plays and enlighten the people. At the same time, he made this suggestion as a way of providing jobs for those unemployed political strong-arm who were living like vagrants. Sudō gathered his comrades, dramatized his own and
other political novels under the direction of kabuki actors, rented a theater through the good offices of Chōmin, and began the so-called soshi shibai (theatrical plays by political bullies), hoisting the banner of improvement of theatrical plays in December 1888. But the enterprise resulted in failure because of inadequate attendance, and from the following year, they went out to Kyoto and other local districts to present their shows.

That a group of laymen who were not kabuki actors should form a theatrical company and begin to present new plays was an epoch-making event. The launching of the first presentation by Sudō in Osaka resulted in failure, but it stimulated the birth of amateur theatrical companies. Among them, the company led by Kawakami Otojirō was finally successful in Tokyo and established the shimpa (new school) in contrast with the kyūha (old school, or kabuki). At first, Kawakami too like Sudō was involved in political activities as a political bully in Osaka, but he later joined a company of kabuki actors, and sang oppekepe-bushi, satirical folk ballads, at youse, a kind of vaudeville show. When Sudō began his soshi shibai, Kawakami was inspired by it, organized a theatrical company of student mimic actors to present satires on current affairs as its special feature, and came to Tokyo, but failed in this venture. Returning to Osaka, he again engaged in singing oppekepe-bushi.

Then, he organized another company, this time of newspaper reporters and the like, who presented their first performance at a theater in Sakai in February 1891; this too was not successful. Undaunted, Kawakami traveled to local districts, presenting plays with a strong political color and causing friction with government officials. In June that year, he again came to Tokyo and finally won a great success at the Torigoe-za in Asakusa. This was at a time when voices requesting new stage performances were increasing in Tokyo. One of the main reasons for the success of Kawakami and his company was that people were no longer satisfied with the kabuki with minor improvements.
OUTLINE OF JAPANESE HISTORY IN THE MEIJI ERA

Stimulated by the success of Kawakami and his company, some young Tokyo amateurs formed a theatrical company called the Seibikan. Including Ii Yōhō and his group, they prevailed upon Yoda Gakkai to be their advisor, and employed a geisha Yonehachi by changing her name to Chitose Yoneha. They presented their first performance at the Azuma-za in Asakusa in November that year with the banner “Improved stage performances with both actors and actresses.” In August of the previous year, participation of actresses in plays had been approved by the government as a result of the movement to improve theatrical plays. Although a kabuki play in which actresses had played roles was performed once previously, this was first time in the new-style play. Even Kawakami and his company did not yet employ an actress.

Kawakami troupe presented as their leading attraction beginning with the first performance Itagaki-kun Sōnan Jikki (A Real Episode in the Victimization of Mr. Itagaki), a play dramatizing the assassination of Itagaki Taisuke of the Jiyūtō in 1882. While they took up many other plays with a political theme, the fever of freedom and popular’s rights gradually died down with the opening of the First Imperial Diet session in November 1890, and the improved theater begun by amateurs was no longer sufficient with mere political plays. Therefore, Kawakami and his company, as well as other amateur theatrical groups gradually discarded them and began to stress plays about court judgments or historical subjects.

2. Developments in Western Music

At the Rokumeikan Hall, built as a social gathering place for upper class Japanese and foreigners in 1883, dancing parties were held two or three times every month with distinguished foreign guests. On those occasions the Army and the Navy Bands, as well as members of the Gagaku Section studying Western music, supplied the music. Here, instruction in Western
social dancing which many upper class Japanese came to learn was also given. The dancing teacher was Yohannes Ludwig, a German employed at the Komaba Agricultural School. That the Japanese began social dancing in this manner was one aspect of Westernization; for around 1887, the political objective of revising the unequal treaties was attached to these social gatherings, as a manifestation of the progress of civilization in Japan toward Western culture.

To be a man in upper class society, one had to have a knowledge of Western music, and in July 1886, the Dai Nihon Ongakukai (Japanese Music Society) was established with Marquis Nabeshima Naohiro as president, and Izawa Shūji the vice president; men and women in government circles, the upper class in various other fields, and foreigners participated. They took lessons in singing and Western musical instruments and also sponsored concerts. The first recital of the society was held at the Rokumeikan Hall in July, 1886. Later, such places as the Peers' Hall of Ueno and the Music Hall of the Tokyo Music School were used for concert performances. The Japanese Music Society existed until 1894, presenting wind instrument concerts of the military bands and the Gagaku Section of the Imperial Household Ministry, and choruses, ensembles and vocal solos were performed by people connected with the Tokyo Music School.

In 1887, the Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari was reformed into the Tokyo Music School under the direct management of the Ministry of Education, with Izawa Shūji appointed its first president. In 1891 Muraoka Han'ichi, D.Sc., professor of the Women's Higher Normal School, was appointed in second president, and in 1893 this school was turned into a music school affiliated with the Higher Normal School, with a director instead of a president. This change was made because stress was to be laid more on training music teachers rather than musicians. In addition to practical music training, such courses as music theory, acoustics, the history of music, pedagogy and Japanese
language were added. Both Japanese and foreigners were employed as teachers.

Graduates of this school became teachers in normal and middle schools, but with only about ten graduates every year, the demand for teachers could not be met. Moreover, although it was necessary to teach singing in every primary school in the country, there were many primary school teachers who had graduated from normal schools without learning music. This situation led to the growth of private music schools in which short courses in singing and the organ were given mainly for primary school teachers, but at these institutions many music devotees also gathered. Further, these schools also began giving preparatory instruction for entrance to the Music School affiliated with the Higher Normal School. Among these schools were the Shōkakai established in 1885, Shōka Kōshūkai, and the Shiba Shōkakai; many others also appeared in succession and the teachers of the Music School came to teach at these private institutions. This type of musical training spread into the local districts, with leading music teachers from Tokyo going out to teach, and was gradually disseminated all over the country.

E. TRENDS IN THE WORLD OF FINE ARTS.

In this period Western style architecture was adopted mostly in the construction of public buildings such as government offices, schools and banks; as special exceptions, the Japanese style was used in the construction of Imperial Palace buildings and shrines. The construction of the Imperial Palace buildings, which were burned in 1873, was first planned in the Western style, but the design was changed because of the softness of the ground. It was completed in 1888 under a plan designed by Kigo Kiyonori. For the decorations in these buildings, Japanese-style painters, wood sculptors and other industrial artists participated, and it was said that the essence of the traditional
arts of Japan was concentrated there. Besides, the Heian Shrine of Kyoto (designed by Kigo Kiyonori and Itō Chūta) was completed in 1895, and the Daishidō Hall of the Higashi Honganji Temple of Kyoto (designed by Itō Heizaemon and completed in 1895) can be said to be the representative Japanese style buildings of this period.

In 1886 with the enforcement of the Imperial Constitution scheduled for 1889, the government planned to construct the Diet Building, the Ministry of Justice, courts and other governmental buildings around Hibiya and established a temporary Construction Bureau. Responding to a request of the Japanese government, the German government recommended as advisors such leading German architects as Herman Ende and Wilhelm Bockmann. For the realization of this great project, Watanabe Yuzuru, Tsumaki Raikō and Kawai Kōzō, graduates of the Köbu Daigakkō (Technical college) were especially sent to Germany where they studied under the two German architects. However, for some reason, this project was frustrated, and only the Tokyo Court, completed in 1896, by Tsumaki in accordance with the design of Ende, and the Ministry of Justice, completed in 1895, by Kawai were constructed.

Josiah Conder, who rendered a great contribution in teaching Western style architecture in Japan, established his own architectural office in 1888 and had a busy time designing and supervising the construction of many buildings. His representative creations during this period are the Ministry of the Navy, completed in 1894, and the Nicolai Cathedral, completed in 1891.

In 1886, the Köbu Daigakko, which was the nursery bed of Western style architectural training, was integrated into a part of the Tokyo Imperial University and became the engineering department of the university. In Conder's place, Tatsuno Kingō, who had studied in England became the professor, under whom Nakamura Tatsutarō, Tsukamoto Yasushi and others studied. Tatsuno was the first Japanese architect to construct commemor-
ative Western style buildings; his productions are the main building of the engineering school completed in 1888, and the head office of the Bank of Japan, completed in 1896.

After the rise of nationalistic thoughts led to revaluation of the artistic value of wood carving, the world of wood sculpturing rapidly regained its vitality. When the Tokyo Chōkō Kai (Tokyo Sculptors Society) was established in 1886, a competitive exhibition of carvings was held every year. By then, Takamura Kōun and other sculptors had participated in the construction of the Imperial Palace buildings and had displayed their artistic talents in the architectural decorations in the buildings. What contributed decisively to the revival of wood carving was the establishment of the wood carving course in the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts and the beginning of the training of specialists in wood sculpturing. The man chosen as the first instructor of that course was Takeuchi Hisakazu whose original profession was tusk carving and who had been studying the ancient sculpture of old temples and shrines in Nara for a long time. Recommended by him, Takamura Kōun, and then Ishikawa Kōmei and Yamada Kisai were appointed teachers.

These men were the top-ranking artists in the world of wood carving at that time, and their works, Gigeiten (Deity of Fine Arts) by Hisakazu, Rōen (Aged Monkey) by Kōun, Byakue Kannon (Kannon, Goddess of Mercy) by Kōmei, exhibited in the Chicago International Exhibition held in 1893 were their representative masterpieces, with their specialties well demonstrated in these works. Hisakazu who was known as an excellent technician in his clever use of knives excelled in the imitation of ancient sculpture and the carving of human statues. Kōmei was outstanding in relief carving as shown in Byakue Kannon, Bokudō (Shepherd Boy) and Gunyo (A Flock of Sheep). Kōun studied the Western art of realistic delineation and carved animals in action, and in addition, made some commemorative large bronze statues by carving from original wooden molds. The bronze statue of Saigō Takamori in Ueno Park and that
of Kusunoki Masashige, hero of the Southern Court in the Palace Square are his representative creations; their production was begun in this period and completed after 1897.

Western sculpture, which had gone into the doldrums after Ragusa's departure from Japan and the abolition of the Fine Art School of the Ministry of Engineering, gradually got on the right track again for another development. Naganuma Moriyoshi, who had been in Italy for study, and Ōkuma Ujihiro, who had gone to France, returned to Japan and participated in the Meiji Fine Art Society, together with Kikuchi Chūtarō, Sano Akira, Kokura Sōjirō and others. Naganuma produced a bronze statue of the family members of Marquis Mōri at Yamaguchi, Chōshū Province, and Ōkuma made the bronze statue of Ōmura Masujirō atop Kudan Hill, Tokyo. They acted as the pioneer sculptors of commemorative statues, using carved models as the original mold.

Japanese style painting made a conspicuous development by riding on the wave nationalism in this period. The Ryūchikai, (Dragon Pond Society), which initiated the movement to revive the traditional fine arts, expanded in 1887 by changing its name to the Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai (Japan Fine Arts Association). Because the progressive elements led by Fenollosa and Okakura Tenshin broke away from the Ryūchikai and formed another society called the Kangakai (Art Society), the Japan Fine Arts Association consisting of the remaining members of the Ryūchikai naturally had a conservative inclination. However, it grew into a large organization with the affiliation of many established master-artists, and held annual exhibitions at Ueno Park. After the establishment of the Imperial House Art Committee in 1890, members of this association were selected as committee members, except for Hashimoto Gahō who was not a member of the association.

In 1882, Fenollosa who had devoted himself to the study of Japanese fine arts, delivered his widely quoted speech before the Ryūchikai, expounding on the excelled character of the tradi-
tional fine arts of Japan and thereby greatly stimulating the world of Japanese fine arts. Fenollosa bitterly criticized the rising Western style paintings and *Bunjinga* (paintings in the literary artists' style) then in vogue, and particularly praised the paintings of the North Chinese School and the Kanō school, and began a movement to renovate Japanese school paintings in collaboration with his student Okakura. In 1884 they established the *Kangakai*, together with Machida Heikichi, Kawase Hideji, Ariga Nagao and others, obtaining also the participation of Hashimoto and Kanō Hōgai, then living in obscurity. They started research and appraisal of old fine arts, the encouragement of new paintings, as well as the writing of art commentaries, and held several exhibitions of new paintings until approximately 1887, with Fenollosa himself commenting on the pictures exhibited.

The most active artist in these exhibitions was Hōgai. He studied the old paintings of Sesshū, Sesson and others, and at the same time added the representation of perspective and the coloring of the Western school. He exhibited such works as *Nio Teiki Zu* (The Deva King Capturing a demon), *Fudō Myōō* (Acala, the God of Fire) and *Ōwashi* (The Big Eagle), and finally created his famous work *Jibo Kannon Zu* (The Goddess of Mercy).

The *Kangakai* took the lead among progressive artists in this way, and the perseverance of Fenollosa, Okakura and Hōgai led to the establishment of the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* (Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts). In 1884 the Ministry of Education began studies relating to education of drawing, and in the following year established the Drawing Research Office in its Social Affairs Bureau, with Fenollosa, Okakura, Hōgai and Koyama Shōtarō as committee members. However, Koyama's opinion in favor of adopting Western type education was opposed to the views of Fenollosa, Okakura and others, who emphasized the traditional arts. The government then decided to investigate the situation in Western countries and selected in
1886 Hamao Arata, who was then in Germany, as chairman of the Fine Arts Research Committee, and dispatched Fenollosa and Okakura to Europe for study. They reported that in Western countries students were first given education based on their own techniques, and then after acquiring the basic arts, they learned the good points of foreign countries. Accordingly, the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts was established in 1887, as a school in native fine arts, and naturally the courses in this school were limited only to Japanese-style painting, wood carving, metal engraving and gold-lacquering. The school was opened in 1889 with Hamano appointed the acting principal, but before long, Okakura was appointed principal, and Fenollosa put in charge of the management as director, while at the same time giving lectures on aesthetics and the history of fine arts. Hōgai was originally to be appointed the head of the course on Japanese style painting, but he died prior to the opening of the school, and Gahō was appointed in his place. Gahō had already received many silver prize medals at the Domestic Painting Promotion Exhibition and was active in the Kanshōkai as well. Like Hōgai, he had studied the Kanō school of painting, but contrary to Hōgai’s sharp style, his was far softer. Yet, he was considerably influenced by Hōgai, and both of his works, Haku’un Koju (White Clouds and Crimson Trees) which received the Excellence Prize at the Third Domestic Industrial Promotion Exhibition in 1890 and Ryūko (Dragon and Tiger) displayed at the Fourth Exhibition in 1895 were works full of an intrepid spirit. In addition to Gahō, Kawabata Gyokushō of the Maruyama school, Kose Shōseki, Tomonobu Kanō and Seimei Yuki were selected as instructors in the fine arts academy, and education in Japanese-style painting finally got under way. Many talented young artists who were taught by Okakura, Gahō and Gyokushō at this school, began brilliantly active roles in the next period.

Among the young artists of the Japan Fine Art Association were some who became discontented with the conservative style
and who tried to establish a new style of Japanese painting. They were Ōgata Gekkō, Terazaki Kögyō, Kajita Hanko, Kobori Tomoto, Murata Tanryō, Yamada Keichū, Shimazaki Ryūu Fukui Kötei and others. They formed the Seinen Kaiga Kyōkai (Young Men’s Drawing Association) in 1891, prevailing upon Okakura Tenshin, principal of the Academy of Fine Arts, to be president, and held annual exhibitions. Within a few years, this association grew to become the Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai (Japan Drawing Association) with the participation of many more graduates of the fine arts academy.

The world of the Japanese-style painting in Kyoto as well began to show a gradual development, inspired by the movements by Fenollosa and others to revive the traditional arts. The Kyoto Fine Arts Association was organized in 1890, and the newly rising artists held the first Kyoto Youngmen’s Painting Promotion Exhibition in 1891, and Takeuchi Seihō, Kikuchi Höbun, Yamamoto Shunkyō and others started their activities. After the death of Mori Kansai in 1894, the Jōunsha (The Drifting Clouds Society), which was under his influence, was dissolved, and in December of the following year, the Kyoto Drawing Association was organized by Imao Keinen, Hara Zaisen, Mochizuki Gyokusen, to which such new faces as Seihō, Höbun, Shunkyo and Taniguchi Kōkyō were added.

As stated previously, the period around 1877 was one in which Western-style painting tread the road of smooth development, but before long, opinions to preserve the traditional national essence appeared and hindered its development. At the Domestic Painting Promotion Exhibition sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1882 and in 1884, the display of Western style art objects was disapproved. In 1883 the Fine Art School of the Ministry of Engineering was closed, and when the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts was established in 1887, teaching subjects were limited exclusively to Japanese-style painting, wood carving, and metal engraving. The prosperity of private schools of Western style painting also
declined, resulting in the development of only a few new artists in this style.

However, this situation did not continue long, as a number of talented artists who had gone abroad for study returned to Japan about 1887. New private schools were opened. At that time, there existed such private schools as the Shōgidō of Honda Kinkichirō, the Fudōsha of Koyama Shōtarō, the schools of Asai Chū, Sōyama Sachihiko. In addition, Harada Naojirō who returned from Germany established the Shōbido in Hongō, Hōsui Yamamoto who returned from France established the Seikokan in Sakurada-hongō-cho, Shiba, and Matsuoka Hisashi who came back from Italy established his own school at Den-tsūin, Koishikawa, and thus young students in Western style painting gradually increased.

Artists of Western style painting who had been deprived of the opportunity to display their works because of the pressure of the nationalist trend, organized the Meiji Bijutsu Kai (Meiji Fine Art Society) in 1889. The central figures of this organization were Asai, Koyama, Matsuoka, Honda, Matsu Noboru, Takahashi Genkichi, Yamamoto Hōsui, Kawamura Kiyo'o, Sōyama Sachihiko, with almost all the artists of Western style painting participating. Watanabe Hiromoto, President of Tokyo Imperial University at that time, was elected its first president and Hara Satoshi (or Kei) and Iwashita Seishū were nominated its directors. In addition, many progressive politicians and scholars joined the society as patrons. With their first exhibition in the autumn of that year, they held exhibitions almost annually until 1901, in addition to lectures, discussion meetings and occasional displays of art works, as monthly activities. Later, they exerted efforts for the diffusion of Western style painting, at one time by establishing an affiliated fine art school and a permanent display hall.

Artists and their outstanding works in the exhibitions held by this society were, Shumpo (Spring Levee) and Shūkaku (Harvest) by Asai Chū sketching pastoral scenes full of poetic
sentiment, (Jūnishī The Twelve Animals of the Zodiac) and Moko Issei Sangetsu Takashi (A Tiger Roaring at the Moon Above the Summit) by Yamamoto Hōsui, Portrait of Father and Jimbutsu (Human figure) by Matsuoka Hisashi, Portrait and Autumnal Scene by Harada, in addition to many works by Goseida Yoshimatsu, Honda Kinkichirō, Matsui Noboru, Koyama Shōtarō among others. In the early days of the Meiji Fine Art Society, there were many scrupulously and elaborately sketched historical figures or shrines and temples, in addition to landscapes and portraits. This might be due to the influence of the nationalistic thought of the time which affected the artists of Western style painting in their selection of subjects. Although these artists each had their own school lineage, all followed the old style before the introduction of impressionism, and their color tones had a gloomy, brownish tendency.

With regard to the selection of subjects and techniques, Toyama Shōichi delivered a speech entitled Nihon Kaiga no Mirai (Future of Japanese Painting) at the Second Convention of the Meiji Fine Art Society. Against this Hayashi Chūsei made a refutation in a speech called “On reading the speech of Dr. Toyama” at a monthly meeting of the society, and Mori Ōgai criticized Toyama’s opinion by writing an article “Refuting the comments on paintings by Dr. Toyama” in the magazine Shigar-rami Zōshi. There were many other active discussions relating to Western style painting. Besides, a free discussion was held at a monthly meeting of the Meiji Fine Art Society, on the question of whether nude paintings and sculpture were harmful to the manners and customs of the people of this country. The nude figure, which was a popular subject in Western countries from the past did not develop as a subject in Japan until the middle days of Meiji. However, along with the gradual increase in the introduction of Western fine arts, the study of human anatomy became one of the basic means to study the techniques of Western style paintings and sculpture. Thus the display
of nude art pieces became a problematical issue. Various opinions, supporting, opposing, or asserting immaturity, appeared in the discussion meeting, which ended with the conclusion that the question of whether they were harmful to manners and customs depended on the attitude of the artist who produced them. In actuality, the Seikōkan Painting School of Yamamoto Hōsui started the study of the human anatomy by using living models from around that time, but the display of productions in exhibitions was realized only some years later.

F. THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

As stated previously, the Westernization of livelihood was encouraged to achieve treaty revision, and the social gatherings, soirees, dancing parties and masquerades of Rokumeikan Hall arrested public attention in those days so that people came to call the period by the name of this place for social gatherings. The fancy dress ball held at the Prime Minister’s official residence on April 20, 1887 brought together about four hundred foreign and Japanese guests who danced throughout the night. Among them, were Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi, Yamagata Aritomo the Minister of Home Affairs, Inoue Kaoru the Ministre of Foreign Affairs and other cabinet members, Watanabe Hiroshi the President of Tokyo Imperial University and other intellectuals, Shibusawa Ei’ichi, Ōkura Kihachirō and other businessmen and noted people, together with their wives and daughters. The Westernization fever of that time can also be inferred from the fact that a riding academy for ladies was established. Therefore, such people as Suehiro Shigeyasu commented, “The present government is setting aside domestic affairs and taking foreign affairs as the first consideration. Road supervision, encouragement to women to wear Western dress and construction of new official residences are all for the sake of foreigners.” Thus, around 1887 the idea to place importance on the national essence arose as a reaction to the governments
policy of Westernization.
In the world of letters, Miyake Yūjirō, Sugiura Jūgo, Inoue Enryō, Shimajirō Mokurai, Kikuchi Kumatarō, Shiga Jūkō and others organized the Seikyōsha (Political Edification Society) in April 1888 and published the magazine Nihonjin (The Japanese), and in February of the following year, they founded the newspaper Nihon (Japan). The editorials appearing in these publications glorified the traditional national character and advocated the necessity of grasping its value. Their stress on nationalistic moral education was another phenomenon of this kind.

The same tendency can be found in the world of religion as well. In January 1888 Kawai Kiyomaru, Torio Koyata, Yamakawa Tetsutarō and others formed the Nihon Kokkyō Daidō Sha (Japan National Religion and Morals Society) and published the magazine Daidō Sōshi (Great Way magazine). Their principle was to promote a single national religion by combining Shintoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, and calling it Taidō (The Great Way). Particularly since they took up the problem of a national religion, the promotion of Shintoism became as inevitable result. The Kan'nagara Gakkai (Society to Study the Way of the Gods) was formed in May 1890 and published the Zui Zai Ten Shin (Following God in Heaven), and together with the previously mentioned Shigakkai lectured on the Imperial way of Kan'nagara, and beginning in September 1892 published the magazine Shinto. In addition, in 1893, a proposal to reinstate the Ministry of Divine Service was submitted to the House of Representatives.

Amidst this trend, Kume Kunitake, Professor of Tokyo Imperial University, wrote a thesis in 1895 that “Shinto is an old folks' custom to worship heaven” in the Shigaku Zasshi (Bulletin of Historical Science). When Taguchi Ukichi reprinted this thesis in Shikai (Sea of History), it invited the attacks of the nationalists. Shimoda Yoshiteru and Miyaji Genkyō wrote a “Refutation against the opinion of old folks' custom of worshipping heaven” to oppose Kume’s opinion, and Kume had to
resign from his professorship.

In the world of fine arts, too, a trend to preserve the national essence appeared in the form of opinions to revive the traditional fine arts. This tendency was further intensified by the support and encouragement of such researchers of Japanese fine arts as Fenollosa and Bigelow who were then in Japan. As a result, the Temporary All-Japan Treasure Research Bureau was established in 1888 in the Ministry the Imperial Household. They investigated old fine art pieces in old shrines and temples in Kyoto, Nara and other places in Japan, as well as those in possession of private individuals. This became the origin of the Old Shrines and Temples Preservation Society, which became the National Treasure Research Committee of later days and the present Cultural Properties Protection Commission. They found in obscurity many invaluable old fine art pieces, which were given protection.

Following this in 1890, in order to promote the fine arts of Japan, the Imperial House Art Committee was established in the Ministry of the Imperial Household. This system was created to give favorable treatment to old master-artists and to have them work for the Imperial Household. Committee members were treated as officials of the sōnin rank, that is, officials appointed with His Majesty's approval, and were given annual Imperial grants. At first, only the artists of first-class Japanese style painting, sculpturing, engraving, metal casting and gold lacquering were appointed; artists of the Western school were selected later. In 1888, the Ministry of Education established the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts for special training in traditional fine arts, and appointed artists of Japanese painting, wood sculpturing, metal work, as teachers.

Among non-governmental circles, a magazine of fine arts called Kokka (National Flower) was founded in 1890. This organization was realized through the joint efforts of Takahashi Kenzō, vicedirector of the Official Bulletin Bureau, and Okakura Tenshin. It made contributions in the study and introduction
of Oriental fine arts, presenting reproductions of old fine arts in colored wood-block prints and grass-printing with explanatory articles, as well as commentaries on fine arts.

By this period, Western style architecture also had made its growth, and Tatsuno Kingo and other architects designed memorable buildings. Besides, the study of old buildings of Japan and the Orient was pushed forward. In the field of sculpture, after the survey of old fine arts, the study of old sculpture was also started, and with the establishment of the wood-carving course in the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts, signs of a revival of wood carving appeared. In addition, there were some Western style sculptors who went abroad for study.

In the field of Japanese style painting, while old masterartists continued their activities entrenched in the Japan Fine Art Association, Kanō Hōgai and Hashimoto Gahō, led by Okakura Tenshin, carried on their work independently, and newly rising artists separated from the conservative Japan Fine Art Association to form a new organization and began to move toward the establishment of a new painting style. The Western style of painting, though it had once fallen into obscurity by the pressure of nationalism, regained its influence following the return of artists who had gone abroad for study. By their united efforts together with the newly rising artists, they established the Meiji Bijutsu Kai (Meiji Fine Art Society) and began their activities.

The rise of nationalistic ideas as a reaction to the trend of Westernization was, of course, brought about by reflection over the attitude of one-sided inclination to Westernization, but the tenseness of relations with China over the Korean problem was another reason which further led to the growth of nationalistic thought. After the introduction of singing in schools, this nationalistic trend began to be reflected in teaching materials for singing. Kitare ya Kitare (Come On, Hostile Foes, Come On) printed in the first volume of the anthology Meiji Shōka (Songs of Meiji) published in 1888 was composed by Toyamo
Shōichi, and the music by Izawa Shūji, its tune based on examples from American patriotic songs.

The song *Miyasan, Miyasan, Ouma no Mae de Hirahira Suru Nowa Nanjaina* (Prince, Prince, What is that thing fluttering in front of your horse?) sung by the Imperial troops when they departed to attack Edo Castle in 1868, was the first Japanese war song. It is said that this song was written by Shinagawa Yajirō, a staff officer of the Hokkaidō Advance Troops, and was composed by Ōmura Masujirō, Judge of the Military Defense Bureau. However, it was after singing had gained popularity from around 1887 that war songs were sung widely by the people. The tense international situation led to the production of materials for teaching songs with the sentiment of national defense, which were taught and sung in schools. As examples of war songs in those days, there were *Michi wa Roppyaku Hachijūri* (A Distance of 680 Ri We Tread to the Battlefield) written by Ishiguro Kōhei, an army sergeant, with the music composed by Nagai Kenshi of the Army Band in 1891; *Teki wa Ikuman Ari Totemo* (Though Tens of thousands Strong the Enemy Is) written by the writer Yamada Bimyō and the music composed by Koyama Sakunosuke, teacher at the Academy of Music, which was printed in the *Kokumin Shōka Shū* (Collection of People's Songs) published in 1891. While these war songs were distributed among the military units and schools, the progress of printing and publishing also contributed a great deal to the dissemination of war songs. Around that time, several anthologies of exclusively war songs were also published.

The impact of nationalist thought can be found in the process of law compilation as well. The controversies in lawmaking originated in the theoretical differences between the English law faction which advocated historical jurisprudence, and which was supported by the German law faction (anti-code faction), and the French law faction which advocated natural law. In time, however, the controversies went beyond a conflict on legal
matters between the two major currents of Western legal science but developed into differences on social and political issues. Westernism was compatible with the concept of natural law in its non-historical reformatory thought, and nationalism suited the idea of historical jurisprudence in its historical and racial thought. In consequence, the advocates of Westernism and the advocates of nationalism, each of them with different social ideas, were divided in supporting their respective legal theories. One side expressed opinions attacking or opposing government policies, and the other espoused political opinions supporting the government policies, adding further complications to the problem. In short, the confrontation between the old thought (nationalism) and the new thought (Westernism), created by the rapid influx of European and American cultures after the Meiji Restoration, took the form of theoretical arguments between the two legal schools and developed into great social and political controversies. As a reaction against the fever of Westernism, nationalism gained the support of public opinion, and, if not permanently, led to the victory of the English law faction.

Therefore, while this controversy was a theoretical confrontation of natural law versus historical law over the problem of whether to enforce promptly or postpone the effectuation of the legal codes which were promulgated, it was at the same time a battle of the political and social ideologies of conservatism versus progressiveism, or of the principle of nationalistic semi-feudalistic old traditions versus the principle of liberal popular rights, or individualism. This conflict became a serious aggravated situation by developing into factional divisions and emotional hatred between the participants in the dispute. In Diet speeches, especially of those who argued for postponing enforcement of the Civil Code, the attack was based on the grounds that it was against the good manners and customs of Japan.
Chapter Five

CULTURE IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE MIDDLE DECADES OF THE MEIJI ERA

A. GENERAL SITUATION OF THIS PERIOD


THE Imperial Constitution was promulgated in February, 1889, and in July of the following year the first general election was carried out. In November 1890, the inaugural ceremony of the First Imperial Diet was held, and Japan took her first step toward constitutional government. However, although it was in name a parliamentary government, the cabinet was actually a non-party cabinet, having no relationship with political parties. Nevertheless, so long as the Diet existed, it was hardly possible to carry on government while ignoring political parties, and the birth of a party cabinet was to be expected. Thus some ten years later in 1898, the joint Ōkuma-Itagaki cabinet of the Kenseitō, a party based on the old Jiyūtō and Kaishintō was established; and in 1900, Itō Hirobumi, who had been advocating a non-party cabinet, finally founded the Seiyūkai party himself and inaugurated a party cabinet with its support. When the Diet was first established, individual Diet members were more significant than political parties, but later, Diet members become influential only when backed by their own parties; and political parties, once less powerful than cabinets, gradually acquired
sufficient influence to hold sway over the destiny of cabinets.

There were cases of party attacks upon government bills even in the first Imperial Diet, and again in the second Imperial Diet which opened in November, 1891. The Party composition before the opening of the second Diet included the Jiyūtō, Kai-shintō, Taiseikai, Kyōdō Club, Jiyū Club, Tomoe Club and independents, and the strength of the government and the opposition was equally matched. The government budget bill submitted to the Diet listed expenses for such items as the nationalization of railways, construction of warships, and establishment of iron and steel works.

The iron and steel industry was of especial importance to the scientific history of the Meiji Era, while the nationalization and extension of the railways were closely connected with the development of an integrated culture. However, in deliberating upon the budget bill, the Diet Budget Committee followed the policy of reducing the wages of government officials, not approving new projects unless absolutely sure of success, and not allowing the hurried completion of continuing projects. The Committee proposed an increase of ¥57,760 to the estimated, revenue of ¥86,501,687 of the original bill, and a reduction of ¥7,940,348 in the original estimated expenditure of ¥83,502,759. The government could not agree to this reduction, and especially the Minister of the Navy Kabayama argued against the reduction of expenses for the construction of warships.

However, because Kabayama praised the outstanding merits of the Satsuma and Chōshū clans on the occasion of the Meiji Restoration in his speech against the reduction, it invited the animosity of the opposition and intensified the antagonism between the government and the opposition. The government at last asked the Emperor to issue an Imperial Decree, by which the Diet was dissolved in December 1891. The government regretted that despite their efforts to expand armaments urgently required for national defense, Diet dissolution had become unavoidable and keenly felt that smooth operation of
parliamentary government would be impossible without a governmental party in the Diet.

In preparation for the coming general election, the Minister of Home Affairs Shinagawa Yajirō and the Vice Minister Shirane Senichi secretly instructed local officials to be ready to interfere in the election. Because of this, in the general election of February 1892, the campaigns in various districts were extremely, violent, resulting in a death toll of twenty five and 388 wounded. The results showed government supporters to number only 120–130, to the Oppositions’ 169–170.

Since the majority was held by the Opposition, the government felt apprehensive; and as disapproval of Shinagawa’s election interference arose even within the government, Shinagawa finally resigned from office as Minister of Home Affairs, Soejima Taneomi taking his place. Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Mutsu also resigned, and Kōno Togama was appointed in his place. As a counterbalance to the Jiyūtō and Kaishintō the Kyōdō Club was organized as a government party, while the Tomoe Club joined the Opposition. Thus, commotion was believed inevitable even before the opening of the third Imperial Diet in May 1892. As expected, an impeachment bill against the election interference was submitted and passed as a Diet resolution. The Railway Bond bill pending from the previous Diet was combined in committee with the Private Railways Purchase bill into the Railroad Establishment Bill, which was passed by the Diet, and the system of national supervision and operation of railways was thus established. The third Imperial Diet closed in June, but because of failure to maintain cabinet unity due to the problem of the dismissal of local governors involved in the election interference, Prime Minister Matsukata tendered his resignation directly after the close of the Diet.

The second cabinet of Itō Hirobumi was formed in August. The cabinet members were: Inoue Kaoru, Minister of Home Affairs; Yamagata Aritomo, Minister of Justice; Ōyama Iwao,
Minister of War; Gotō Shōjirō, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; Kuroda Kiyotaka, Minister of Postal Services; Nirei Kagenori, Minister of Navy; Mutsu Munemitsu, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kōno Togama, Minister of Education; and Watanabe Kunitake, Minister of Finance. Further, on this occasion, a new political party was born, called the Kokumin Kyōkai (People’s Association), which was actually the re-naming of the former Chūō Kōshō Bu (Central Negotiation Department) organized by the Diet members who won in the second General Election with government support and who, therefore, were sympathetic with the government. This party was led by Saigō Tsugumichi and Shinagawa Yajirō. Next came the Dōmei Club, an opposition party with only twenty members, led by Kusumoto Masakata, Daitō Gitetsu, Kawashima Jun and Nakamura Yaroku. There was also the Tokyo Jiyūtō led by Ōi Kentarō, but as it was a very minor party, it did not have much influence. The Jiyùtō and Kaishintō, though occasionally lack of understanding existed between them, maintained their attitude of opposition, and both alike attacked the government.

The fourth Imperial Diet was opened in November 1892. A few days prior to its opening Prime Minister Itō was injured, and Inoue temporarily acted as Prime Minister. This Diet, too, heavily reduced the government budget bill. Among the expenditures curtailed was an item for warship construction, and hence the government vigorously opposed the curtailment. The Diet decided to call a five day recess and waited for a government move, but the government did not yield its firm stand. Thereupon, the Opposition submitted a motion signed by 146 Diet members to appeal to the Throne; but just when Kōno Hironaka stood to explain the reason for the motion, the government declared a fifteen-day suspension of the Diet session until February 6.

Recovered from his illness, Prime Ministers Itō attended the Diet on February 7 and indicated that he could not agree to the appeal to the Throne. Nevertheless, the Diet defiantly
passed the motion. Speaker Hoshi Tōru was received in audience by the Emperor and presented the Diet petition, and the Diet decided to go into recess until the 25th. On February 10, the Emperor summoned Prime Minister Itō and other Cabinet members of the Privy Council, the President of the House of Peers and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and issued an Imperial Rescript according to which the warship construction expense was to be supplemented by granting ¥300,000 annually for six years from Imperial House funds, and by the contribution of one-tenth of the salary of both civil and military officers, except those who were in special circumstances, for the same period.

After receiving the Imperial Rescript, the government and the Diet discussed the problem, and as a result the Diet approved an increase of some ¥6,100,000 over its previous proposal for the fiscal year 1893, and the budget was passed. As a result of the situation in the fourth Diet, the government had to carry out administrative readjustments, and in that year the Ministry of Navy, the Ministry of War and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reformed their office organization; but the resultant reduction of administrative expenditure was comparatively small.

Prior to the opening of the Diet it may be necessary to list the strength of the political parties. The Jiyūtō had 98, Kokumin Kyōkai 70, Kaishintō 43, and the Dōmei Club 20. Independents in the opposition lineage numbered 120, and those supporting the government were about 50. The attitude of the Speaker Hoshi Tōru was one of the issues of this Diet session. Hoshi was attacked on the exchange-market scandal case, and despite a Diet resolution recommending his resignation, he did not give up the chair of the Speaker. Thereupon, the resolution was reported to the Throne, and Hoshi was punished with ten days' suspension from Diet attendance and then expelled from membership. At the same time, the corrupt practices of Gotō Shōjirō, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and
Saitō Shūichirō, the Vice Minister, were the subject of Diet attacks upon the government. In addition, there were such serious problems as treaty revision and mixed residence of foreigners and Japanese. Although it was generally considered desirable to revise the treaties concluded since the mid-Nineteenth Century and to conclude treaties on a truly equal basis, there were many who opposed treaty revision due to their fear of the unfavorable influence upon the national manners and customs which might result from the unrestricted residence of foreigners in the interior of the country.

In addition, as enforcement of existing treaties was generously applied to foreigners by evading those points disadvantageous to them, while they were strictly observed by the Japanese, there appeared strong opinions that the current treaties should be observed strictly by both sides. Furthermore, the people blamed the government's attitude in the litigation case arising from the sinking of the Japanese warship Chishima due to collision with the P. & O. Company's steamship Ravenna in the Inland Sea on November 30, 1892, in that the government stood as plaintiff in the name of the Emperor, that it responded to the summoning of the British High Court in Shanghai, and that it appealed to the British Privy Council. Popular anger reached its extremity because these acts of the government were considered as infringing upon Japanese sovereignty by unreasonably expanding the judicial rights of foreign countries; also it was felt to be a national disgrace to abuse the Holy Name of the Emperor in bringing a law suit against a private business firm of a foreign country, and to receive the judgment of a foreign court. In the Diet session, the government had to face bitter interpellations on the problems of strict observance of the treaties and the Chishima litigation case. The Diet was thrown into confusion by repeated adjournments, and finally on December 30, 1893, was suddenly dissolved. That this Diet was in turmoil can be guessed from the government explanation for dissolution made later in answer to an interpellation
in the House of Peers that the Deit members were immersed in party controversies, that they abused their right of appeal to the Throne, that they appealed to the Emperor relating to the discipline of government officials and caused trouble to the Emperor, that contrary to the state principle of progress and advancement they advocated rigid execution of the treaties in force, and trifled with important state policies. This confusion affected the moves of political parties. The Jiyūtō claimed that rigid observation of current treaties was a diplomatic retreat, and advocated their revision, while the Kaishintō and Dōmei Club demanded the rigid enforcement of the treaties, administrative readjustment and strict enforcement of the discipline of officials. There finally resulted a sharp division between the Jiyūtō on the hand and the Kaishintō and Dōmei Club on the other.

After the dissolution of the fifth Diet, the third general election was held in March 1894. The results were as follows: Jiyūtō 120, Kaishintō 60, Kokumin Seisha 35, Dōshi Seisha 24, Dōmei Seisha 18, Seimu Chōsa Ha 5, former Dai Nihon Kyōkai 8, independents and others 30. It is worth noting that the Jiyūtō gained more seats than in the previous Diet, and Hoshi Tōru was also re-elected. The problem of treaty revision was still the major issue, and it was feared that this problem, together with the ambiguous reasons for the dissolution of the previous Diet, might cause confusion in the coming sixth Diet. At the beginning of the Diet session convened on May 12, Prime Minister Itō explained to the House of Representatives the reasons for the dissolution of the previous Diet and the possibility of achieving treaty revision in the near future. But this only led to an uproar, and the Diet passed a resolution jointly presented by the Jiyūtō and other Opposition parties censuring the government for the unreasonable Diet dissolution. However, the government was not particularly affected by this resolution. Thereupon, the Diet passed a resolution to appeal to the Throne primarily regarding the problem of treaty revi-
sion, the Speaker (Kusumoto Masataka) had an audience with the Emperor on June 1 to present the petition, and on the following day, June 2, the sixth Diet was dissolved.

These developments occurred at a time when the situation in the Korean Peninsula was becoming extremery tense. On July 25, 1894, a naval battle broke out off Hoto (Pung-do) Island, and on August 1 the Imperial Rescript was issued declaring war on China. The general election was held on September 1 with the result; Jiyūtō 111, Kaishintō 47, Kakushintō 40, Kokumin Kyōkai 35, Zaisei Kakushin Kai 4, Chūgoku Shimpotō 4, and Independents 55. The Zaisei Kakushin Kai had been formed during the previous Diet by a group of scholars of economics such as Taguchi Ukichi, and the Chūgoku Shimpotō was composed of Kaishintō representatives from Okayama Prefecture. The seventh, or War Diet was convened in Hiroshima on October 15, approved the disbursement of ¥150 million of war expenditures, and passed a resolution to achieve the great aim of the war by the joint and harmonious efforts of government and people. The Diet session was closed on the 22nd of that month.

Then, on December 24, 1894, the eighth Imperial Diet was opened in Tokyo. This Diet, convened primarily to approve the 1895 budget and the temporary military expenditures, passed them without amendment, and the Diet session closed on March 27, 1895. The war situation was also nearing an end with the apparent victory of Japan. The Chinese peace mission led by Li Hung-chang arrived at Shimonoseki on March 19, an armistice was concluded on the 30th of that month, and the two countries signed the peace treaty on April 17. However, Japan was forced to agree to the advice of Russia, Germany and France, that Japan’s possession of the Liaotung Peninsula, in accordance with a provision of the peace treaty, would disturb the peace of the Far East, and therefore, Japan should retrocede it to China. Popular indignation flared, and an Imperial Rescript that the people should patiently accept the situation was issued.
on May 15. The opposition parties held a meeting on June 15 at Atago Hall, Tokyo, and resolved to question the responsibility of the government on the retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula. The ninth Diet was convened on December 28, 1895, the distribution of party strength being: Jiyūtō 108, Kaishintō 53, Kakushintō 40, Kokumin Kyōkai 34, Ōte Club 22, Chūgoku Shimpotō 5, Zaisei Kakushin Kai 4 and Independents 34.

During the ninth Imperial Diet session, the Opposition launched attacks upon the government regarding the retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula, the warship Chishima litigation, and the case of the assassination of the Queen of Korea, but all these were rejected, and a non-confidence motion against the Cabinet was also rejected by the Diet. Close to the end of the Diet session, on March 1, 1896, the opposition parties, Kaishintō, Kakushintō, Chūgoku Shimpotō, Zaisei Kakushin Kai, Etsusa Kai, Ōte Club and sympathetic independent members each dissolved their party and united, establishing a new party called the Shimpotō. The ninth Diet ended on March 29, followed by almost ten months of unprecedented occurrences involving the government and the parties, until the opening of the tenth Diet on December 25, 1896. On factor may have been Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese War which produced great excitement among the people.

In April 1896, Itagaki Taisuke, president of the Jiyūtō, was appointed Minister of Home Affairs, in place of Yoshikawa Akimasa who had been concurrently occupying that post, and resigned from the presidency of the party. This obviously meant that the Jiyūtō had made a coalition with the government; in other words, the government had lost its non-party character. However, when Prime Minister Itō consulted with Cabinet members in an attempt to get Ōkuma Shigenobu, president of the Shimpotō, to take part in the Cabinet, he failed. Itō’s intention may have been to take advantage of the friction between the two parties. Upon Itō’s tendering his re-
signation, Matsukata Masayoshi was appointed Prime Minister in September 1896, concurrently assuming the post of Minister of Finance, and Ōkuma Shigenobu entered the Cabinet as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Prime Minister Matsukata stated that education, agriculture, industry and commerce must be promoted as the permanent foundation of the national wealth and strength and that the government must respect and guarantee freedom of speech, publication, assembly, and other rights and freedoms promised by the Constitution. This Cabinet appointed members of the Shimpotō as vice ministers, councillors and bureau directors. However, this Cabinet also faced such difficult problems as the increase of the land tax, and could not achieve any particular success. Following the resignation of Ōkuma as Minister of Foreign Affairs (November 1897) many other Shimpotō members also resigned their positions. Prime Minister Matsukata then tried to make a coalition with the Jiyūtō, but failed. On the contrary, his attitude incited the introduction of a non-confidence motion in the Diet against the Cabinet, and the Kokumin Kyōkai and the Press Association also began attacks against the government.

It was under such conditions that the eleventh Diet was convened on December 21, 1897, on December 25, the day after the opening ceremony, this Diet passed a motion of non-confidence against the Cabinet. The Diet was dissolved immediately, and the Matsukata Cabinet resigned en masse on the same day. On January 12, 1898, the third Itō Cabinet was established, with Yoshikawa Akimasa as Minister of Home Affairs; Inoue Kaoru, Minister of Finance; Katsura Tarō, Minister of war; Sone Arasuke, Minister of Justice; Saionji Kim'mochi, Minister of Education; Itō Miyoji, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; and Suematsu Norizumi, Minister of Postal Services. In forming this Cabinet, Itō tried to arrange a coalition with the two major parties by persuading Ōkuma of the Shimpotō and Itagaki of the Jiyūtō to enter the Cabinet, but he was unsuccessful. A general election was carried out on March
15, but there was no significant change in the strength of the parties.

The twelfth Diet was convened on May 14, in which the Jiyūtō, Shimpotō and Kokumin Kyōkai jointly launched attacks upon the Cabinet; the Jiyūtō in particular made a resolution that “Realization of constitutional government based on political parties cannot be anticipated under the present Cabinet.” Political affairs increased in violence, particularly stimulated by such incidents as the lease of Kiaochow Bay by Germany, the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen by Russia and the lease of Weihaiwei by England. The Opposition charged the government with being delinquent in handling these incidents and made bitter interpellations. In addition, there was no prospect of the passage of the government bill for a tax increase, and after many recesses, the Diet was finally dissolved on June 11, 1898. In this Diet, the House of Representatives Election Law was revised to provide: (1) in rural districts, one representative to 100,000 population; (2) in urban districts, one representative to 80,000 population. The total number of House of Representatives seats was increased to 440, the age qualification of voters was lowered to males over 20, and the minimum age for candidacy, to males over 25.

Stimulated by this situation, the Shimpotō and Jiyūtō amalgamated, announcing the formation of a new political party, the Kenseikai, on June 22, 1898. On the 25th of the same month the third Itō Cabinet resigned, except for Nishi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Imperial Order to form a cabinet was given to Ōkuma Shigenobu and Itagaki Taisuke. A cabinet based on a political party was established for the first time. The members of this cabinet were: Ōkuma Shigenobu, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Itagaki Taisuke, Minister of Home Affairs; Ōishi Masami, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; Ozaki Yukio, Minister of Education; Matsuda Masahisa, Minister of Finance; Daitō Gitetsu (?), Minister of Justice; and Hayashi Yūzō, Minister of Postal
Services. The foregoing were all party members; in addition, Saigō Tsugumichi was appointed Minister of the Navy and Katsura Tarō, Minister of War.

Under this party cabinet, the sixth general election was carried out on August 10. The Kenseikai won 260 seats, including 95 former Jiyūtō members, 110 former Shimpotō members and 55 previously independent. Other than these, there were only 20 Kokumin Kyōkai members and 20 independents. Appointments were given to three former Jiyūtō members and four former Shimpotō members. Hoshi Tōru, returned from a trip to America, claimed that he should be appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, but Shimpotō partisans refused his request, for although Jiyūtō members had fewer posts than did the Shimpotō, the Jiyūtō assignments were more important and the Cabinet was well balanced. When Ozaki Yukio resigned as Minister of Education as an aftermath of his speech mentioning republican principles, a dispute was created between the two factions on the appointment of a successor. On October 29, the former Jiyūtō members suddenly voted the dissolution of the Kenseikai and formed a new party, the Kenseitō. The former Shimpotō members formed the Kensei Hontō on November 3, and thus the government party of the Ōkuma-Itagaki Cabinet was split into two. Cabinet members of both factions tendered their resignations, and a new Cabinet with Yamagata Aritomo as Prime Minister made its appearance on November 8.

The new cabinet included Aoki Shūzō, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saigō Tsugumichi, Minister of Home Affairs; Matsukata Masayoshi, Minister of Finance; Katsura Tarō, Minister of War. Yamamoto Gon'nohyōe, Minister of the Navy; Kiyoura Keigo, Minister of Justice; Kabayama Sukenori, Minister of Education; Sone Arasuke, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; and Yoshikawa Akimasa, Minister of Postal Services. With these members the cabinet should be called a non-party one, but so long as the Constitution and the Diet existed, it was impossible to operate the government without regard to political parties;
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and especially after there had once been a party cabinet; it was impossible for the Cabinet to ignore the political parties. Therefore, although disapproving of the participation of Cabinet members in the Kenseitō, the Cabinet treated the Kenseitō as a government party, and specifically declared that it was not a non-party cabinet.

The most difficult problem of the thirteenth Imperial Diet, which opened on December 3, 1898, was the land-tax increase. Although the Opposition including the Kensei Hontō combined to oppose it, the bill was passed by the Diet. After the closing of the Diet, however, the Yamagata Cabinet promulgated the Civil Officials Appointment Ordinance, trying to guarantee the status of civil officials on the one hand, and to prevent the office hunting activities of party members on the other. The Kenseitō blamed the government for promulgating the Ordinance without consulting the government party. The government pacified the indignant Kenseitō by dismissing Vice Minister of Home Affairs Matsudaira Masanao, who prepared the bill, and others connected with it. Besides, the fact that the Kokumin Kyōkai, which had been a government party during the days of the party cabinet, dissolved itself on July 4, 1899 and formed a new party, the Teikokutō, considerably irritated the Kenseitō.

One of the important issues of the fourteenth Diet, which opened on November 22, 1899 and closed on February 24 of the following year, was election law revision. After undergoing a considerable number of amendments, the bill was passed by the joint council of both houses. The principal changes were: (1) Adoption of the large electoral district system; (2) Secret ballot; (3) Cities of over 30,000 population were made into independent electoral districts; (4) Qualifications for voting were set at age over 25 and paying a tax of over 10 Yen; (5) Eligibility for candidacy was set at age over 30 without tax requirement; (6) Representation for both urban and rural districts was set at one member for every 130,000 population. The total number of Diet seats was set at 369.
The Yamagata Cabinet struggled through until the fourteenth Diet with the support of the Kenseitō, but the danger of rupture was imminent. In addition, the Genrō were rather dissatisfied with the financial policy of the cabinet. In the summer of 1900 Yamagata finally expressed a desire to resign. The Emperor, summoning Itō Hirobumi and Matsukata Masayoshi, requested their advice; but both rejected the opportunity to take over from Yamagata.

Just when political conditions were as unstable as stated above, the Boxer Uprising broke out in China; and domestic stability in political affairs was keenly to be desired. The Kenseitō declared its opposition to the Yamagata Cabinet and urged Itō Hirobumi to join it. Itō, after careful consideration, resolved to organize his own party. On August 25, 1900, he called a meeting of a party formation committee, which was attended by Saionji Kim'mochi, Watanabe Kunitake, Honda Masamochi, Kaneko Kentarō, Suematsu Norizumi, Hayashi Yūzō, Hasebe Junkō, Ozaki Yukio, Hoshi Tōru, Ōoka Ikuzō, Watanabe Hiromoto, Tsuzuki Keiroku, Matsuda Masahisa and others. Itō pointed out that there had been many unsatisfactory features in the parliamentary government of Japan up to that time. Among the points worth noting in his declaration were the following:

"The appointment or dismissal of Cabinet members is an Imperial prerogative, according to the Constitution. Whether they are chosen from among party members or from outside a party depends solely on the free will of the Sovereign. And when appointed to the office of assisting the Throne, one must decisively reject any meddling in affairs from the outside, even if it be that of party colleagues or political friends." And again:

"If a political party aspires to be the leader of the people, first of all it must discipline itself, make its regulations clear and put its own affairs in order, with the sole aim of serving the country. I, Hirobume, shall not act on my own discretion,
but together with comrades of similar mind shall establish the Rikken Seiyūkai (Association of Friends of Constitutional Government), and in so doing shall try to remedy the deep-rooted vice of political factions."

Almost simultaneously, on the 13th, the Kenseitō decided to dissolve and joined the Rikken Seiyūkai en masse. With the organization of Itō’s party, Yamagata Aritomo tendered his resignation on September 26, the Imperial Order to from a new Cabinet was given to Itō, and the forth Itō Cabinet was organized on October 19. The Cabinet members were: Itō Hirobumi, Prime Minister; Suematsu Norizumi, Minister of Home Affairs; Watanabe Kunitake, Minister of Finance; Kaneko Kentarō, Minister of Justice; Matsuda Masahisa, Minister of Education; Hayashi Yūzō, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Katō Taka’aki, Minister of Foreigh Affairs; Hoshi Tōru (later replaced by Hara Kei), the Minister of Postal Services; Katsura Tarō (later replaced by Kodama Gentarō), Minister of War; and Yamamoto Gon’nohyōe, Minister of the Navy.

From Itō’s ideas as clearly indicated in his declaration and from the selection of members of his forth cabinet, it could not be said that this was the ideal of a party cabinet. Nevertheless, it is still true that the form of a cabinet based on a political party was thus established.

2. Military Expansion

Culture and military affairs appear scarcely correlated, but when one considers the development of Meiji Period culture, it made remarkable strides on every occasion when Japan resorted to warfare for solving international disputes. We shall here examine the role of military expansion as one of the reasons for the development of culture in this period.

It is believed that the martial-mindedness of Emperor Meiji and the special favor of His Majesty towards the Army and the Navy were in no small degree responsible for their
outstanding development during the years of Meiji. And on the other hand, we cannot deny the fact that the close rapport between the Emperor and the military forces greatly contributed to the strengthening of the Imperial form of government.

By the abolition of fiefs and establishment of prefectures in August 1871, the military rights of the feudal lords were completely surrendered to the Emperor, and by the promulgation of the Conscription Ordinance on January 10, 1873, the military rights of the Emperor were consolidated in the Imperial Army and Navy based upon the people of the entire country. Article 1 of the Army Service Regulations promulgated on October 10, 1879 states, "The Imperial Japanese Army is directly responsible to His Majesty the Emperor." (There is no regulation corresponding to this in the Navy). However, the government, and especially the military circles, not satisfied with this legal establishment of military rights, tried to strengthen the unity of the Emperor and the Army further. That is, they tried to strengthen the character of the Army and the Navy as the Emperor's own forces, while they were at the same time the forces of the Japanese nation. In this instance, it meant the Emperor as an individual rather than the Emperor as an organ of the national administration. And in this meaning, the military forces and the character of private soldiers of the Emperor, as shown by the following facts:

(1) The Goshimpei (Honor guardsmen), newly organized in April 1871, were the direct bodyguards of the Emperor. They had far less meaning as a national military force, for they were organized to strengthen the military position of the Emperor and to back the Imperial Ordinance abolishing the fiefs and establishing prefectures. The Goshimpei later became known as the Konoehi (Imperial Lifeguards) and then Konoe Shidan (Imperial Guard Division), but the coloration as private soldiers of the Emperor still remained.

(2) On December 10, 1873, the members of the Imperial Family were ordered to serve in the Army or the Navy. This
action was taken with the objective of having relatives of the Emperor become soldiers and act as a link of unity between the Emperor and the military forces. The rule was made explicit by the Ordinance governing the status of members of the Imperial Family promulgated in 1910. Thus, "When the Crown Prince or the eldest grandson of the Emperor reaches the age of ten, he shall be appointed an officer of the Army or the Navy. When an Imperial Prince or Prince reaches the age of eighteen, except in extraordinary cases, he shall be appointed an officer of the Army or the Navy. (Art. 17)" Due to the above Imperial decree and Ordinance, almost all the male members of the Imperial Family entered the military service.

(3) According to military regulations, membership in the Imperial Family is an essential qualification for appointment to certain positions. Among them are chairman of the National Defense Council established on April 11, 1885; chief of the General Staff according to the revised regulations of March 18, 1886; and military councillors as set up on May 12, 1888.

(4) There was the system of Special Imperial Grant to the military forces. On January 20, 1874, an Imperial Message to grant ¥36,000 for armaments annually out of the Imperial Household funds was issued. On March 14, 1887, ¥300,000 out of Imperial Household savings was given as a supplement to the expenses of maritime defense; and as stated previously, when the government bill for warship construction was rejected by the Diet on February 10, 1893, the Emperor granted ¥300,000 annually for six years as supplement to the warship construction fund. There are many cases in which private Imperial funds have been given for social aid, but there is no other example of Imperial economizing in order to supplement governmental expenses.

(5) In the Imperial Rescript to soldiers and sailors issued on January 4, 1882, there was a statement that the Army and the Navy were the forces of the Emperor. In accordance with
this rescript, military circles stressed that they received the special favor of the Emperor, and assumed the attitude that military men were the choicest among the people.

(6) The Emperor held the position of Generalissimo, and was by law the sole repository of the Supreme Military Command. The Emperor placed himself in the military service, experienced military training, and supervised the Grand Army maneuvers as well as those of the Navy. He had no such close relation with other branches of the national administration.

(7) Emperor Meiji wrote a considerable number of waka poems, of which a good many were related to military services or to war. This may be partly because military problems required so much attention in the national administration during the Meiji Era, and because there were several wars including the two major wars in which Japan staked her national destiny. But it does indicate that Emperor Meiji felt a special interest in the Army and the Navy, though we do not argue here whether his attitude was war-like or peace-loving.

(8) The Emperor frequently visited various Army and Navy schools, or dispatched Imperial messengers there, giving prizes to honor students and issuing Imperial Rescripts to encourage learning. This kind of treatment was extended to the Imperial Universities, too, but the number of occasions was far fewer than to the Army or Navy schools. In response to this Imperial favor, education in the Army and Navy schools emphasized loyalty to the Sovereign.

(9) Emperor Meiji specifically urged the peerage to volunteer for the military services. On April 7, 1881, Iwakura Tomomi, Chief of the Peers Affairs Bureau, upon receiving the above Imperial command, established a course in the Gakushūin to give preparatory education in military science. On January 17, 1884, Regulations for Students of the Preparatory Course of the Military Academy were promulgated, admitting children of the peerage who were to enter the Army. (This regulation was abolished on September 1, 1885.) In response to the
Imperial command, the *Gakushūin* on July 10, 1889 specifically established a military course and a naval preparatory course. Besides, army generals were appointed to the presidency of the *Gakushūin*, such as Tani Kanjō, Miura Gorō Tanaka Mitsuaki, and Nogi Maresuke.

All these indicate Emperor Meiji's special favor extended to the military forces, and the development of the Army and the Navy in the Meiji Era can be said to have been based on this foundation.

The *Goshimpei* was formed in April 1871, and increased the prestige and authority of the new government. On June 10 of that year, it was decided to establish the Tōzan Garrison and the Saikai Garrison at Ishinomaki and Kokura, respectively; on October 1, the above two garrisons were abolished and four garrisons, the Tokyo, the Osaka, the Chinzei and the Tōhoku, with their detachments in various places, were established. Prior to this, on August 29, following the abolition of the fiefs, the government tried to disband the *samurai* forces under the command of the feudal lords and to establish a nation-wide military system. But as this was still difficult, the government conscripted the feudal forces, assigning them as standing forces of garrisons. In addition to these soldiers of the garrisons, the government distributed one platoon each of the standing forces of former large and medium fiefs to every prefecture, and disbanded the soldiers of the smaller fiefs under 10,000 *koku* of revenue.

On April 4, 1872, the Military Affairs Ministry was abolished, and the Ministry of War and the Ministry of the Navy were newly established.

On January 9, 1873, the military system was reformed and the whole country was divided into the six military districts of Tokyo, Sendai, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima and Kumamoto. Garrisons and detachments were established in these and other localities. The classification of the branches of army services was also set up on this occasion, and units were formed.
accordingly. The units, established in garrisons and detachments, were fourteen regiments of infantry, three battalions cavalry, eighteen platoons of artillery, ten platoons of engineers, six platoons of military supply, and nine units of coast-guard artillery. The total force was fixed at 31,680 in peace-time and 46,350 in wartime.

In April 1873, in accordance with the Conscription Law, conscripts entered the Tokyo Garrison for the first time, and starting with the following year conscripts gradually entered other garrisons.

As regards army schools, the first students were admitted into the Osaka Military Science Institute early in 1870. Later moved to Tokyo, it was called the Army Institute of Military Science. Developing out of this institution, the Army school for non-commissioned officers, the Toyama Army Music School, the Army Officers' School, and the Military Preparatory School were established in succession. In April 1883 the Army College was established.

From experience with internal uprisings, particularly the Satsuma Rebellion, the defects of the military system were keenly felt. Accordingly, following the example of the German military organization, the commanding organ was separated from the Ministry of War and set up as a General Staff Office on December 5, 1878. In this epoch making reform, the dual system of the Army was established. Then, on December 13, the Military Supervision Headquarters was set up as an independent executive organ of military command.

On September 15, 1879, the whole country was divided into seven Army districts and fourteen divisional districts, and a garrison was established in each Army district. Hokkaido was designated as the Seventh Army District, but did not have its quota of regular troops, being garrisoned only by special units assigned to agricultural duties. Additional units were created around this time, and the total number of officers and men was 33,000. A further program of armament expansion was
begun in 1882, necessitated by the international situation, and made possible by the internal situation as by this time, the requirement of military forces for the maintenance of domestic peace had disappeared.

On May 12, 1888, the garrison system was changed into a divisional organization, and before the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 the greater part of the expansion program had been completed, with seven divisions already in existence. Japan fought the Sino-Japanese War with these standing forces and temporary reserve brigades. The special agricultural units were organized into the Temporary Seventh Division, but remained in the country and did not go to the front.

The Navy was begun in May 1868 with the four warships which had belonged to the Shogunate government. Later, the number of vessels was increased by purchases from foreigners and the fief of Kōchi, confiscation of some vessels in the Hakodate rebellion, and receiving some from other fiefs at the time of their abolition.

In April 1872, when the Ministry of the Navy was established, the number of warships on hand was: two iron vessels, one iron-frame wooden ship, eleven wooden vessels, and three cargo ships; a total of seventeen vessels with a total displacement of 13,832 tons.

On March 13, 1873, the Admiralty was provisionally established in the Ministry of the Navy. In October 1875 the waters surrounding the country were divided into two naval districts, East and West, with vessels allotted to each; the Bay of Tokyo and the Port of Nagasaki were designated as the bases of these vessels. On August 31, 1876, the Admiralty was abolished, and it was decided to establish the Tōkai and the Saikai Naval Stations; but only the provisional establishment of the Tōkai Naval Station at Yokohama was realized.

With regard to Naval schools, the first to be established was the Naval Training Institute on October 22, 1869. This institution was reformed into the Naval Military Science Institute on
December 25 of the following year, parallel with the Army Military Science Institute at Osaka. Later, it was re-designated as the Naval Academy on September 1, 1876, and was expanded into an institution for the training of naval officers. Prior to this, in May 1874, a branch of the Naval Military Science Institute had been established at Yokosuka with an engineering course, which was changed in 1878 into an Engineering school affiliated with the Naval Academy. This was finally established as a separate Naval engineering school at Yokosuka in November 1893. Prior to this, the Naval college had been established in July 1888.

On May 19, 1893, the Navy General Staff Office was made independent, corresponding to the General Staff Office of the Army, so that the dual system was introduced in the Navy as well. The separation of the organs of naval command from the Ministry of the Navy had started when a General and an Admiral were appointed respectively as Vice Chiefs under the Chief of the General Staff in March 1886. On that occasion, affairs relating to the naval command were transferred from the Ministry of the Navy to the Chief of the General Staff. However, complete independence of naval command was realized when the Navy General Staff Office was created.

Warships participating in the Satsuma Rebellion consisted of twenty-two vessels, with a total tonnage of 17,600 tons. Although a program for naval expansion was drafted, it was not realized at this time for financial reasons. But expansion was begun in 1883 under an eight-year plan to increase the naval force to 42 large and small warships. Because of the international situation, the program was revised upward in 1886, and warship construction was again pushed forward after 1893 under a further accelerated program.

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out, the battleships Fuji and Yashima were still under construction, and the Japanese Navy fought the war with such capital ships as the Fuso, Matsushima, Itsukushima, Hashidate, Yoshino, Naniwa and
Takachiho. The total naval force was composed of 31 warships with a total tonnage of 61,300 tons, 24 torpedo-boats totalling 1,470 tons, and 4 auxiliary vessels.

Since the Korean Incident in 1884 and the conclusion of the Tientsin Treaty in the following year, Japan and China had been confronting each other in a very tense atmosphere. Now taking the Tong Hak uprising, which broke out in May 1894, as the occasion, they suddenly resorted to war.

Yuan Shih-kai, Chinese Resident in Korea, landed 1,500 Chinese soldiers at Asan on the pretext of dealing with internal disturbance, but this was clearly a violation of the Tientsin Treaty. Thereupon the Japanese Minister to Korea, Ōtori Keisuke, who was temporarily in Tokyo, was ordered to return to Seoul, and at the same time, a mixed brigade commanded by Major General Ōshima Yoshimasa was dispatched to Seoul.

The Ōshima Brigade concentrated its positions between Seoul and Inchon during the period from June 12 to 28, and placed the King’s Palace under guard. Yuan Shih-kai left Seoul secretly, and the two countries, Japan and China, were at war. The operational plan of the Japanese forces was to send one division to Korea in order to divert the Chinese forces, and to send the main force to the Chihli Plain, there to fight a decisive battle with the Chinese Field Army. The Navy was to seize command of the Gulf of Pechihli. The countering plan of the Chinese forces was to secure the mouth of the Gulf of Pechihli by the Navy in order to permit the sea transportation of land forces to Korea, and to repel the Japanese forces there. However, China had to abandon this plan in the face of the strategic operations of the Japanese forces.

On their way to Inchon, three Japanese warships encountered three Chinese warships off Pung-do Island on July 25, exchanged fire and drove the Chinese warships away by sinking one of their transports. On the same day, the Ōshima Brigade started action towards Asan, at the request of the King of
Korea, defeated the Chinese forces at Songhwan on the 28th, and occupied Asan.

The Imperial Declaration of War against China was issued on August 1, and China also declared war against Japan on the same day.

The Fifth Division under the command of Lieutenant General Nozu Michitsura started from three direction on September 1 towards the Chinese forces entrenched at Pyongyang, launched a general attack on the 15th and occupied Pyongyang on the 16th. On the same day, the combined squadrons of the Japanese Navy encountered the Chinese North Sea Fleet on the Yellow Sea and defeated it. The Chinese Fleet having lost its fighting strength, fled into Port Arthur, and the Japanese Navy secured control of the Yellow Sea.

After the battle of Pyongyang, the Fifth and the Third Divisions were formed into the First Army, with General Yamagata Aritomo as commander. This army proceeded northwards and reached the Yalu River. Attacks were started upon Chiulien-cheng Fort on the opposite bank of the river and upon the fortifications around the city of Antung on October 25, the enemy was crushed in one day and Chiulien-cheng was taken.

In the meantime, the Second Army was organized from three other divisions, under the command of General Ōyama Iwao. This proceeded towards Port Arthur, started a general offensive on November 21, defeated the enemy within that day, and occupied Port Arthur, famed as the best-fortified stronghold in the Orient.

The First Army occupied T'omu-cheng Fort and Haicheng Fort in December; several counter-attacks of the enemy to recapture these forts were repulsed. The Second Army started operations to capture Weihai-wei on January 20, 1895, and entered Weihai-wei Castle on February 2.

In cooperation with the land forces, the Combined Squadrons of the Japanese Navy, participating in the reduction of weihai-
wei, started bombard ing on February 3; torpedo-boats broke 
th rough the bars, entered the harbor and sank several warships 
and further continued torpedo attacks day and night. At last 
on the 12th, Admiral Ting Ju-ch'ang of the Chinese Fleet sur-
rendered and the North Sea Fleet of the Chinese Navy was 
totally annihilated.

While a part of the Second Army defeated the enemy at 
Kaip'ing and Tai-Pingshan, the First Army captured Anshan 
Station, Newchwang, and T'ien-chuang-t'ai. Thus the first phase 
of the strategic plan was completed, and the way was open for 
an advance on Peking.

Besides these operations in the Liaotung area, a mixed unit 
composed of reserves attacked the Pescadores, Archipelago and 
easily occupied them, but the death toll reached half the 
strength of the unit due to desease.

Japan decided to send two further divisions from the home-
land for the second phase of operations, appointing Imperial 
Prince General Komatsu (Prince Akihito) the Grand Commander 
and Lieutenant General Kawakami Soroku the Chief of General 
Staff. When these forces were about to leave Japan, peace 
was established on April 17.

As a result of the Peace Treaty, China ceded Taiwan to 
Japan, but as there were residents who resisted Japanese rule, 
two divisions were sent to Taiwan in May 1895 to subjugate 
them. The Japanese forces suffered only 700 casualties, dead 
and wounded, in this fighting, but those who died of illness 
reached over 20,000, including Imperial Prince Kitashirakawa 
Yoshihisa, the Commander of the Imperial Guard Division.

In May 1900, a Chinese religio-political society called the 
Boxers, originating in Shansi and Shantung provinces, burned 
down foreign churches, killed missionaries and committed out-
rages. Although the diplomatic representatives of the powers 
held a meeting at Peking on May 20 and made a strong re-
quest to the Chinese government to quell the rioters, not only 
was the Chinese government unconcerned, but there were signs
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that a part of the government was shielding and encouraging the rioters. Thereupon, the foreign countries had to resort to arms for self-defense.

The ministers of foreign countries summoned marines from their warships in the adjacent waters, to guard their respective legations. Japanese Marines also entered Peking on June 3. As the Taku Forts showed hostility, a joint unit of marines of various countries attacked under cover of their fleets, and with Japanese soldiers as spearhead reduced the forts on June 17. Prior to this, a mixed unit of 2,000 from various nations under Vice Admiral Seymour, Commander of the British Far Eastern Fleet, left Tientsin to rescue the besieged foreigners in Peking. However, they were surrounded by 30,000 Chinese soldiers and bandits en route, had to be rescued by reinforcements from Tientsin and retreated.

In the meanwhile, foreign legations were set on fire and other outrages broke out in Peking, and the situation became extremely serious. The Japanese government hurriedly dispatched warships and marine reinforcements, and in addition, decided upon the dispatch of a temporary expeditionary unit on June 15. A mixed unit under the command of Major General Fukushima Yasumasa, and the Fifth Division under the command of Lieutenant General Yamaguchi Moto’omi, were sent, landing at Tientsin on and after July 21.

Prior to this, the united forces of eight countries, Japan, England, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, and Russia, occupied the Tientsin Fort on July 14. Then, with reinforcement from Japan, it was decided to rescue the foreigners besieged in Peking, which was captured on August 14. The besieged foreigners in Peking had experienced a very miserable life during these three months. After the fall of Peking, the united forces engaged in the subjugation of bandits and others in various places and waited the stabilization of the political situation in Peking. Peace negotiations began in October, being formally started on the 15th. However, for various
reasons, no immediate settlement was possible. Peace was finally established on September 7, 1901.

3. Establishment of Legal Codes and their Enforcement.

Along with the influx of Western thought since the early years of Meiji, such nationalist ideas of Germany as those of Biedermann, Gneist, and Stein, stressing national supremacy and Imperial prerogatives, were introduced by Katô Hiroyuki and others. As a consequence, conservatism and the idea of state rights rose to oppose the English utilitarianism of Mill, Welland, Buckle, introduced by Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakamura Masanao, and the French liberalism of Rousseau and Montesquieu, introduced by Nakae Chômin. Although General law gradually came to be studied, with *The Law of Property Succession of Germany* translated by Nakae Chômin in 1877, and *Outline of the German Civil Code*, by Windscheid, translated jointly by Yamawaki Gen and Hirata Tôsuke in 1880, the study of German law was, however, still very insignificant in the legal world as a whole.

In March 1882, Itô Hirobumi went to Europe to investigate constitutions and administrative systems and studied constitutional and administrative law, mainly under the guidance of Gneist and Stein in Germany and Austria. Especially since Germany had won a great victory over France and was on the way toward a flourishing development in her national fortunes, Itô and his entourage returned to Japan, greatly impressed and concurring with the state of German politics which was solidified in an orderly way by bureaucratism without being recklessly swayed by public opinion. Thus, for every internal or external reform thereafter, the German formula was adopted. Above all, the German influence was particularly conspicuous in the field of public law. This was reflected in the Constitution promulgated on February 11, 1889, followed by the Law for the Establishment of Courts on February 8, 1890, the Code of
Civil Procedure on March 27 of that year, the Administrative Litigation Law on June 28 of the same year, and the Criminal Procedure Code on October 6 of the same year. German law gradually occupied the controlling position in the world of jurisprudence. In the field of private law as well, French law, which had been dominant, declined as a result of theoretical controversies. English law met this same fate. German law gained supremacy in both public and private law, and what may be called a period based on German law came into existence. This may be due to the fact that the main current of European juridical studies had also broken away from French law based on natural law, and had shifted to German law, advocating the theory of historical law. The revisions of the Civil Code and the Mercantile Code as a result of theoretical legal controversies in 1892 were actually new compilations based on the modern German Civil Code and Mercantile Code.

Although enforcement of the old Civil Code promulgated in 1891 was postponed by a law of November 24, 1892, until February 31, 1896, this was not simply a postponement, for there was an intention of revising the contents of the code. In 1893, the government decided to establish a Legal Codes Research Council, and on March 21, Itō Hirobumi conferred with such men as Saionji Kim’mochi, Hozumi Nobushige, Mizukuri Rinshō, Ume Kenjirō, Tomi’i Masaki, for their frank opinions on the compilation of the Civil Code. Hozumi Nobushige stated that the Civil Code should be fundamentally revised, the Pandictine (?) formula should be used for its style, the code should conform with the classification of parts of the Saxon Civil Code, and it should be compiled by assignment drafts to committees and by mutual consultation. Tomi’i Masaki, too expressed his opinion on the procedure of compilation. As a result, regulations pertaining to the Legal Codes Research Council were promulgated on March 25, 1893, and Itō Hirobumi was appointed council chairman. Further, the first article of the regulations clearly indicated that the work of the council
was not to amend, but to draft and compile a new law.

After many complications, the committees of the Legal Codes Research Council produced a revision bill, taking the manners and customs of the Japanese people into consideration, and using as a basis the original bill of the German Civil Code; the bill was further studied in research committee and general committee meetings. Meanwhile, simplification of the structure of the council was projected, and on March 27, 1894, the Revised Regulations of the Legal Code Research Council were promulgated. The bill submitted by the drafting committee was then to be studied directly by the Legal Code Research Council, the first meeting of which was held on April 6 of the same year. Finally, in December 1896, the study of all the amended portions from Article 1 to Article 1155 was completed.

In the meantime, since the first three parts of the amended bill pertaining to general rules, real rights, and obligatory rights had been passed by the ninth Imperial Diet in January 1896, after minor amendments and deletions, they had been promulgated in April 1896. In order to enforce them, however, it was necessary to promulgate the remaining parts of the Civil Code and affiliated laws. But completion of the part on succession, then under deliberation, was believed to require a considerable time. Meanwhile, because the expiration of the period of postponement of enforcement set by the law of 1892 was drawing near, the Diet decided on December 29, 1896, to postpone enforcement of the first three parts for another one and a half years. Finally in May 1898, after deliberations on the remaining portions had been expedited, the government submitted a revision bill concerning them to the twelfth Imperial Diet. Passed by both Houses, they were promulgated with the Civil Code Enforcement Law on June 21 of the same year. Finally, the entire Civil Code, together with related laws, was enforced effective July 16, 1898. Thus, after thirty years of many turns and twists, the great code was finally established.

The enforcement of the Mercantile Code, promulgated in
1892, was postponed until December 31, 1896, to enable revisions. However, the government tried to compile a new code in the name of amending the Mercantile Code, and established the Legal Codes Research Council in accordance with the Regulations of the Legal Codes Research Council of February 1893, but the long-awaited deliberations on the Mercantile Code Amendment Bill were begun only in September 1895. Studies into laws of commercial practices were pushed forward by sending auxiliary committees to local chambers of commerce to carry out surveys of old business practices. Three drafting committees began drafting the revision bill in May 1896, taking examples from the old German Mercantile Code and the manners and customs of this country into consideration. However, as it was a difficult task to amend the voluminous Mercantile Code of over 1000 articles under the restricted time limit of enforcement set by the law of 1892, then close at hand, together with the necessity of amending laws and regulations related to the Mercantile Code, completion of the drafting of an amendment bill before the time limit was not to be expected. Therefore, the government decided to postpone the enforcement of the Mercantile Code for an additional year and a half, and with Diet approval, postponed enforcement until June 31, 1898. The drafting of the amendment bill was completed on December 27, 1897. Concluded at a time when the government and political parties sharply confronted each other in the Diet and there were frequent Diet dissolutions, the bill to revise the Mercantile Code submitted to the House of Peers in the eleventh Imperial Diet was pigeon-holed because of the House of Representatives. Submitted in the twelfth Diet, it was again pigeon-holed. However, since there was no legal stipulation to prevent enforcement of the Mercantile Code until the promulgation and enforcement of a revised law, all of the Mercantile Code promulgated in 1890 became automatically effective on July 1, 1898. The government then expedited the drafting of a revision bill aiming to pass it in the next Diet, Action
was finally taken by the thirteenth Imperial Diet on January 9, 1899. The Mercantile Code Enforcement Law Bill was also passed by the two Houses. Thus, finally, the Mercantile Code and the Mercantile Code Enforcement Law were promulgated on March 9, 1899, and enforced on June 16 that year.

After the Mercantile Code came into effect, various doubtful points began to appear in its interpretation, as well as in the application of various provisions, creating hundreds of endless arguments. This situation especially resulted when Japanese economic development leaped forward after the Russo-Japanese War. Most of these questions arose in the process of actually applying the law to individual cases, and their resolution was seriously desired, as they directly affected advantages and disadvantages in commercial transactions. Various legal magazines, the Hōten Shitsugi Kai (Legal Analysis Society) and the Hōrei Shingikai (Law Investigation Council) exerted efforts to clarify the doubtful points. Even though they might have been able to provide correct answers, the provisions of the Code were already so outdated as to increase inconveniences in business transactions that views to revise it again came to the fore.

In May 1906 the Legal Research Committee was established in the Ministry of Justice to begin its study. In 1910, the committee completed the draft of a revision by referring to the new German Mercantile Code of 1897. Thus, when the twenty seventh Imperial Diet convened on December 25, 1910, the government submitted a bill partially amending the Mercantile Code. The revision bill was passed both houses on March 31. The Revised Mercantile Code was promulgated on May 3, 1911, and brought into effect on October 1, by Imperial Ordinance.

The Criminal Code, which came into force on January 1, 1882, was compiled mainly based on the French Criminal Code of 1810. As a need for its revision appeared, along with the lapse of time, the Law Research Committee established in the Ministry of Justice drafted in 1890 a revision bill of the Crimi-
nal Code by taking examples from the German and French Criminal Codes. The bill was submitted to the first Imperial Diet in 1891, but was pigeon-holed. In January 1892, the government appointed the Criminal Code Revision Investigation Committee to write a complete revision of the Code. Basing its study exclusively on the German Criminal Code, the committee completed a revision bill in 1894. The government announced this bill publicly to secure the opinions of persons outside the committee on the basis of which further amendments were made by the committee, and the bill thus prepared in 1897 was forwarded to Legal Codes Research Council for further deliberation. The final revision bill was completed in May 1899 and presented to the fifteenth Imperial Diet in February 1901. But while it was still under deliberation in the House of Peers, the Diet was adjourned, and the bill pigeon-holed. The Legal Codes Research Council then made further amendments, and the government submitted the bill to the sixteenth Imperial Diet in January 1902. Although the House of Peers finally passed the bill, the House of Representatives was unable to finish its consideration during the Diet session, and the bill was again pigeon-holed.

In October 1903, after the Legal Codes Research Council made more minor amendments, the government submitted the revision bill to the seventeenth Imperial Diet, but the bill was not presented in the session due to the Diet dissolution. On May 21, 1906 the government abolished the Legal Codes Research Council and established the Law Research Committee, to which jurists and judicial officers were appointed. The Committee carefully studied the previous bill and drafted a new revision bill. Submitted to the twenty third Imperial Diet in January 1907, it was passed by the House of Peers and the House of Representatives with some changes. After deliberation and amendment by a council of the Joint Houses, the bill was finally promulgated on April 24, 1907, and enforced on October 1, 1908.
B. DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND RELIGION

1. Consolidation of the Educational System.

Until approximately 1887, emphasis in education was placed primarily on the expansion of ordinary education, and the promotion of practical education was almost non-existent. However, along with the rise of modern industry stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War, stress began to be laid on practical education. Industrial progress can be seen from the fact that the number of workers increased from 112,799 in 1886 to 294,425, or 2.6 times as much, in 1892. Noting such a quantitative expansion and the qualitative improvement of industry and foreseeing the probable demands of the times, Minister of Education Inoue Tsuyoshi exerted efforts for the promotion of practical education. Inoue, who participated in the compilation of the Constitution, assisted Education Minister Mori in developing educational policies, and was also instrumental in the preparation of the Imperial Rescript on Education, rendering extremely meritorious services for the perfection of the modern school system, though he was in office as minister of education for the very short period of a year and a half starting in 1893.

Rejecting the past West-Worshipping trends in education, and laying more importance on the national language and Chinese rather the study of other foreign languages, as well as stressing moral education, Inoue established policies of educational improvement and clarified the basic plan of educational reform. His program included seven points: (1) The government should grant as great a subsidy as possible for educational expenses in order to provide education for all the people of the country, and should reduce or abolish tuition fees. The government should also establish evening schools and half-day schools in order to give a minimum degree of education to
children of the poor and workers. (2) The government should establish vocational training at the upper elementary level, affiliating these courses with middle schools. Besides, subsidies should be granted to establish technical schools. (3) Higher secondary schools should be converted into specialized schools, graduates should be nationally certificated, and the Imperial Universities should specialize in the deeper aspects of learning. (4) With regard to university reform, salary regulations should be revised so that professors would be able to maintain their prestige, university graduates should be encouraged to proceed on to professorships, and professors' councils should be established to permit autonomy. At agricultural colleges, emphasis should be placed on practical application rather than theory. (5) Higher normal schools should be disciplined, to inspire the spirit of teachers as a model for the people and to clarify the original aim of education. (6) In order to improve education for girls, girls' departments affiliated with local normal schools should be converted into higher girls' schools. The Tokyo Higher Girls' Normal School should be improved in order to raise the level of teacher training for higher girls' schools. (7) Since the Ministry of Education has the responsibility of superintending the educational administration of the country as a whole, it should supervise and protect not only government and public schools but private schools as well.

Among these measures, special importance was laid on the problems of technical, or industrial, education. Various regulations were promulgated relating to the promotion of practical education, such as the Rules of Practical Supplementary Schools of November 1893, the Law to Grant Subsidy for Practical Education Expenses of May 1894, and the Rules of Apprentice Schools of July 1894.

The viewpoint from which this strengthening of vocational education was carried out may be understood from the instruction given by the Minister of Education when the Rules of Practical Supplementary Schools, the first institutions of vocational
education, were promulgated in November 1893. In this, the Minister of Education suggested that since Japan was developing industrially, the country should cast away the old policy of the complete separation of education and labor, and should promote the practical education required by an industrial Japan by bringing science, techniques and vocation into unison, aiming at the increase of national strength. Again, in presenting the Bill to Grant Subsidies for Practical Education Expenses to the Diet in May 1894, Inoue stressed the view that practical education constituted the basis of national wealth and strength, and urged the necessity of realizing practical education to promote industrial development, thereby increasing national wealth and strength and making it possible for Japan to rank among the powers.

Originally, practical education had been provided for only in the Middle School Ordinance, but in November 1893 it received an independent statute in the Regulations relating to Practical Supplementary Schools. Further, by the Apprentice School Regulations promulgated in July 1894, apprentice schools were established as independent schools, aimed at training semi-skilled technicians and at providing short courses of workers’ training. In addition, the Short-course Agricultural School Regulations were promulgated, providing for simple agricultural education to farm children over fourteen years of age during the slack farming season.

These practical supplementary schools provided training opportunities for working children and through them the government expected to enrich the content of education for industrial employees, thereby laying the groundwork for the development of the nation’s industry. At the same time, to develop key industrial schools at the secondary education level, the government promulgated the Law to Grant National Subsidy for Practical Education Expenses in June 1894, encouraging practical education by specifically granting subsidies from the national treasury. This subsidy amounted to no more than ¥150,000
annually, but it played a large role in accelerating practical education. By these measures, practical education made rapid progress, and before long it became possible to promulgate the Practical School Ordinance.

Certain measures of practical education to meet the demands of the times were also applied in ordinary education. The curricula of ordinary middle schools were revised in March 1894, vocational studies were added to the subjects of the fourth grade and above, and an outline of practical knowledge was added as one of the compulsory courses. This change was made because, although the aim of the middle schools was originally to educate those who were going to engage in practical work, actually the tendency had been to lay more importance on the education of those who were proceeding to higher level schools. Study-subjects were now reformed in order to rectify this trend and to provide education, meeting the needs of those who would enter industry. This program of practical education was further expanded in the Rules of the Practical Course of Ordinary Middle Schools, promulgated in June the same year. Here was created a new conception of a practical middle school, to give practical education from the first grade on, in order to give proper education to those who were to engage in practical work. The ordinary middle school was changed into an educational organ for those who enter the vocational life immediately after graduating from middle school.

Further, with regard to higher middle schools, the Higher School Ordinance was promulgated in June 1894, by which the designation of higher middle school was abolished and the higher school course was divided into two, one to give specialized education and the other to give preparatory education for those proceeding to the Imperial Universities; and stress was laid more on the specialized education. That is, it was planned to reform high school into something like a college to give specialized education below that of the Imperial University.

In this way, along with the development of modern industry
in this country, measures to give practical education were applied to ordinary education as well. At that time, there were not many students who proceeded to schools of higher learning above the middle school level. Besides, there were not many middle schools which gave practical courses, and in the higher schools as well, importance was laid more on a preparatory education for entering the university rather than on specialized education. Therefore, the fact that measures to promote practical education were increasingly applied to the field of ordinary education was a matter of great significance.

Another noteworthy development in this period was that institutions of secondary education for girls or higher girls' schools came into existence. The Middle School Ordinance, revised in December 1891, stated that the aim of a higher girls' school was to give basic higher ordinary education to girls, but no detailed stipulations were provided. The Rules for Higher Girls' Schools were enforced in January 1895. According to them, the period of schooling was six years with flexibility of one year more or less, and graduation from an ordinary primary school with a four year course was made the qualification for admission. This qualification was two years less than that for entering ordinary middle school, while the course was two years longer. It was also stipulated that special subjects in arts and crafts were to be given to conform with the traditions of each locality.

Although the promulgation of the four school ordinances in 1886 marked an epoch in the history of the education system, for the most part they remained only paper ordinances. From approximately 1897, after the Sino-Japanese War, the promotion of practical schools was requested by the business world, and together with the promotion of popular education, an overall reformation of the school system was pushed forward. At that time, the Minister of Education was Kabayama Sukenori. During his tenure of office from 1898 to 1900, he selected Okada Ryōhei, Sawayanagi Masatarō and Ueda Man'nen to work under
Vice Minister of Education Okuda Gijin, to draw up a program for an overall reform.

First to be mentioned were three new ordinances: the Higher Girls’ School Ordinance, the Practical School Ordinance and the Specialized School Ordinance. The promulgation of these new ordinances provided an opportunity to fill out the educational system by independent ordinances, necessity for which had been keenly felt in the part.

The Rules for Higher Girls’ Schools were set forth in January 1895; in February 1899, the Regulations for the Organization and Installation of Higher Girls’ and the Rules of the Curriculum of Higher Girls’ Schools were issued. Then, in February 1901, the Regulations for the Enforcement of the Higher Girls’ School Ordinance were promulgated, and in March 1903, the Essential Items for Teaching in Higher Girls’ Schools were announced, by which the position of the higher girls’ school in the school system and its contents were clarified. However, secondary education for girls did not take the bilateral form of practical education and higher ordinary education as in the case of education for boys, and a program unique to higher girls’ schools was adopted, including such differences as flexibility in the length of education and the courses.

After the Sino-Japanese War, the extension of practical education was earnestly requested by the industrial world, which demanded systematic education at a secondary level, in addition to the already existing practical elementary education. By the Practical School Ordinance promulgated in February 1899, existing practical Schools at the secondary level were classified under five heads: technical, agricultural, commercial, merchant marine, and practical supplementary.

After this extension of the practical school system, secondary educational institutions consisted of two kinds, the middle school as an organ of ordinary education, and the practical school for industrial promotion. During the period from 1896 to 1899, the number of practical schools totaled 21; in the
subsequent six years, they increased to 107. In 1893 there was only one practical supplementary school, but these increased to 151 in 1900 and the number of students increased from 50 to 8,880. These facts show the extraordinary development of practical education.

Originally unified policy, or independent regulation pertaining to specialized schools existed. However, the development of secondary education necessitated the reorganization of higher educational institutions, and the Specialized School Ordinance was promulgated in March 1903. As there were many kinds of specialized schools, this regulation indicated only the basic provisions, but by this Ordinance the system of specialized schools came to occupy an important position in higher education, permitting scientific education above the middle school and higher girls’ school levels. In addition, a system of higher education completely separate from the high school and university system, and a great many private and government specialized schools, were included in this system. Here, the students could obtain specialized knowledge and skills and enter practical work promptly after graduation. It is of interest that because the established system did not provide for private colleges, the private specialized schools which taught higher-level courses tried to acquire the substantial character of a higher educational institution above the specialized school level, and called themselves daigaku, or colleges.

Since its establishment in 1877, the Imperial University, had formed a modern academic center in Tokyo as the only Imperial University in Japan, and it adopted a five-college system composed of law, medicine, engineering, literature and physical science, to which the agricultural college was added in 1890. However, as students desiring higher education increased along with the extraordinary development of education from around 1894–1895, the Kyoto Imperial University was established in 1903, with faculties of law, medicine, physical science and engineering; the College of Literature was added in 1907.
By the High School Ordinance promulgated in 1894, the higher middle school system was altered into the higher school system. In addition to special studies, a preparatory course was provided for those who were proceeding to the university. The length of the specialized education course was set at four years, and that of the preparatory course at three years. For specialized education, the departments of law, medicine and engineering were established in the Third Higher School, and the departments of medicine and university preparatory course were established in other higher schools, including the First Higher School. However, departments of specialized education did not make much progress; rather, the preparatory courses made a significant development, which necessitated the reform of the system to stress these courses. In 1900, the Rules of the Preparatory Course of the Imperial University were promulgated, so that a higher school was defined as a preparatory educational organ for the Imperial University. At the same time, the policy of treating higher schools as organs of higher ordinary education was established.

With respect to the expansion of the normal school system, there were revisions of the curricula of ordinary normal schools and revisions of the curriculum for girl students in 1892; and in addition, the Rules for the Short-Course of Ordinary Normal Schools were put into force. As each of the prefectures and Hokkaido established normal schools, there were forty-seven schools in all, with 5,804 students at that time. The girls' department of the Higher Normal School was made independent as the Girls' Higher Normal School in 1890. Then the Rules of the Higher Normal School and the Rules of the Girls' Higher Normal School were promulgated in 1894, while a revised Normal Education Ordinance was newly promulgated in September 1897. Thus, the normal school, higher normal school and girls' higher normal school were regulated separately. According to this ordinance, a higher normal school and a girls' higher normal school were to be established in Tokyo, and one or more
normal schools in every prefecture and Hokkaido.

Thus, in 1904 the number of normal schools totalled sixty-four with 19,000 students in the regular course, short course, preparatory course and teachers' training courses. With regard to the Higher Normal School, revisions of the Rules were made in 1898 and in 1900, providing for complete preparatory course, regular course and research courses. With regard to the Girls' Higher Normal School as well, the Rules were revised in 1897 and 1899, establishing literary, physical science, and arts and crafts courses, while besides the regular course, a research course, a special study course and a non-regular course were provided.

The Rules for Training Teachers of Technical Education were placed in effect in 1894, according to which institutions for training teachers of apprentice schools and technical supplementary schools came into existence. In 1899, the Rules for Training Teachers of Practical Schools came into force, which made the system of training teachers of practical schools independent; a school for training agricultural teachers and one for commercial teachers were established, in addition to one for teachers of technical education. In 1902, the names of these schools were respectively changed to the Institute for Training Agricultural Teachers affiliated with the Agricultural College of Tokyo Imperial University, the Institute for Training Commercial Teachers affiliated with the Tokyo Higher Commercial School, and the Institute for Training Technical Teachers affiliated with Tokyo Higher Technical School.

Further, because secondary schools were increasing in number, the Rules for Temporary Teachers' Training Institutes were placed in effect in 1902, due to the necessity of producing as many secondary school teachers as possible. Five Temporary Teachers' Training Institutes were established, affiliated with Tokyo Imperial University, the First Higher School, the Second Higher School, the Third Higher School and the Tokyo Foreign Language School, respectively.

The Higher School Ordinance of 1894 separated the higher
middle school from secondary education. As a result, the Middle School Ordinance was promulgated in 1899, and the previous character of the middle school involving practical education was simplified into solely ordinary education. The Rules stipulated the establishment of one or more middle schools in every prefecture, and permitted the additional establishment of country, city, town, village and private middle schools. Following this Middle School Ordinance, the Rules of Organization and Installations of Middle School and other regulations were promulgated; the Enforcement Regulations of the Middle School Ordinance were issued in 1901, and the Essential Items Relating to Teaching in Middle Schools in 1902. Thus the system of middle school education and its administrative principles were established completing the basis of secondary education.

At that time, various opinions were expressed relating to the expansion of elementary school education. The promulgation in 1896 of the Law to Grant National Subsidies on Long Service Allowance to Teachers of City, Town, and Village Primary Schools is worth noting, as the first of the disbursements by the National Treasury for elementary education. The Law to Grant Subsidies for Elementary School Education Expenses promulgated in 1899, as well as the Law to Grant Subsidies for City, Town and Village Primary School Education, which was promulgated in 1900 to replace the two laws mentioned above, were very significant measures, raising the quality of primary teachers and improving their treatment by an annual disbursement of ¥1,000,000 from the National Treasury.

When the Primary School Ordinance was revised in 1900, improvements in the entire field of elementary education were carried out. The period of elementary schooling was set at five years, rather than three, and in preparation for the future lengthening of the period of compulsory education, a system of upper primary school covering two years was established. The curriculum throughout the six years of ordinary elementary education was revised in preparation for the forthcoming
establishment of a system of six years compulsory education. Besides, the content of education was improved by readjusting the curriculum and insuring the acquisition of essential subjects by lightening the over-all load. At the same time, efforts were made to bring up the rate of school attendance by abolishing tuition fees and urging parents to fulfil their duty of sending their children to school. Thus, the rate of school attendance, which showed an increase from a little over 55% in 1892 to 66% in 1897, made an outstanding increase during the five years after the enforcement of the above measures and reached as high as 91.6% in 1901. Furthermore, the adoption of a system of State Textbooks was proposed in the House of Peers in 1896 and again in 1897. From 1904 on, textbooks compiled by the government were used, improving the content of teaching and alleviating the burden of parents through reducing the cost of the books.

Kindergartens were mentioned by the name of *yōchi shōgaku* when the school regulations were first announced. Regulations Relating to Kindergartens were promulgated in 1890, which clearly defined the qualifications of nursery governesses, their appointment and dismissal and the rules of dealing with children. The number of kindergartens made a gradual increase, and in 1897, it reached as many as 220, with the total number of children being 19,700. The fundamental standards were set up by the Rules of Nurturing and Installation of Kindergarten of 1899. On the occasion of the revision of the Primary School Ordinance in 1900, kindergartens were established as affiliated to primary schools, and the system stipulated on that occasion constituted the basis of the Japanese kindergartens until the promulgation of the Kindergarten Ordinance in later years.

In this way, the promulgation of the three school ordinances and the Normal Education Ordinance, as well as the completion and expansion of the educational system from primary school to university, rounded out the system. These revisions formed the foundation for the large-scale school organization and bro-
adened curricula of later days.

The Japanese educational system was greatly readjusted and its contents were expanded around the turn of the century. During this period, there were many studies on the reform of the school system, resulting in gradual and repeated improvements. In the meantime, various conferences and councils for educational reform were established in the Ministry of Education. Especially, from around 1894, voices for the establishment of a special office for the reform of the educational system were heard, and permanent and systematic work in analyzing the educational system was carried out. In addition to take up the problem of the relations between high school and university, the Higher Education Conference was established in December 1896. The duty of this conference was to answer inquiries of the Minister of Education on educational problems and to propose its views to him. The first meeting of this conference, held in July 1897, discussed the reform of the higher school and university systems, and produced a conclusion on the reform of the specialized school system. Government organs to study the educational system and to propose reforms had their start with this Higher Education Conference, and later in the 1910–20 period took the form of the Education Investigation Council and the Temporary Education Conference. The Temporary Education Conference accomplished meritorious work for the development of education after World War I; and as it originated from the Higher Education Conference of the 1890’s and 1900’s, the latter has a very great significance.

2. Religious Affairs

Where there is freedom of faith, there is freedom to assert or form new religious doctrines and theology. In the spirited days of Meiji, the appearance of new religious groups might have been expected, but except for new minor sects within Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity, no religion specifically sym-
bolizing the character of the period appeared. Among the sects of Shinto, Shinrikyō asserted its independence in October 1894, Konkōkyō in June 1900, and Tenrikyō in November 1908. These, however, merely had their independent existence recognized by the government, and almost no sign of the change of times or social reflection upon their religious theories was apparent. Independent organizations with some degree of significance also developed among Buddhist circles, such as Koku-chūkai (Pillar of the Nation Society) established by Tanaka Chigaku in 1880, Kyuseikyō (World Salvation Religion) established by Daidō Chōan in 1886, and the Ittōen Society organized by Nishida Tenkō in 1905. But these did not establish new religious theory or organize a religious body sufficiently influential to be called new sects of Buddhism.

In the field of Christianity as well, there was nothing to be mentioned specifically, except the distinction of the two religious factions as stated previously. However, Spennell (?) of the German Evangelical Church visited Japan in October 1887, while on behalf of the American Unitarian Church Knapp (?) arrived in January 1888, and Mr. and Mrs. Schmiedel (?) in the autumn of that year. The idea of theology which the Unitarians advocated was very flexible, and they adopted a very moderate attitude, contrary to their predecessors’ inclinations which were liable to clash with Shinto and Buddhism. Yano Fumio, Fukuzawa Yukichi and others promptly introduced them to the public, and held great expectations for their success. Knapp (?) published the magazine Unitarian, strongly opposing orthodox theology. Together with Kanda Saichirō of the same denomination who returned from America, he established the Unitarian Association, which was joined by Saji Jitsunen, a priest of the Higashi Honganji Temple, in August 1902. Later, Macauley (?) visited Japan and with the aid of Murai Tomonori, Abe Iso’o, Hirai Kinzō, Hiroi Tatsutarō, Kuroiwa Shūroku, and others wielded great influence. At the same time, Spinnel (?) too published a magazine called Shinri
(Truth) in which he advocated the theology of the Tübinger (?) Faction and from the theological school of this faction, such people as Minami Ryō, Maruyama Tsūichi, Akashi Shigetarō and others became known. The appearance of this faction threatened the older orthodox theology, but of course, this was not a new religion born in this country. Further, among Japanese believers there appeared some who were dissatisfied with the orthodox theory, and Kanamori Tsūrin advocated a new theology by publishing a book Nihon Genkon no Kirisutokyō narabini Shōrai no Kirisutokyō (The Present State of Christianity in Japan and Its Future) in June 1891. In 1894 Yokoi Tokio also Wagakuni no Kirisutokyō Sho Mondai (Problems of Christianity in Japan). These are believed to have been written to oppose the anti-Christian atmosphere in the country.

The Salvation Army arrived in September 1895; its fourteen officers acquired 30 converts within five months after their arrival, and had 15 platoons in the country by 1901. Yamamuro Gumpei, who later became active as a leader in the Salvation Army, was in November 1895 a young man employed as caretaker of the footgear of the Kinrokuchō Platoon. General Booth visited Japan in April 1907. As stated above, new denominations were not particularly successful, but one reason may be the altered tendency of the Japanese mind to incline toward philosophical thought rather than religions.

Lectures on philosophy as an independent subject at the university level were begun in 1881, including Indian and Chinese philosophy. In 1879 lectures on Buddhism were for the first time given in a university; Hara Tanzan lectured on the origins of Mahayana Buddhism. In the following year, Inoue Tetsujirō gave lectures on Oriental philosophy, and Hara Tanzan and Yoshitani Kakuju lectured on Indian philosophy; students included Inoue Enryō, Miyake Yūjirō, Tanahashi Ichirō and others. Inoue Tetsujirō on returning from studying abroad, was promoted to a professorship in 1890 and specialized in Oriental philosophy, comparative religious history, and the genealogy and
biography of Gautama Buddha. Murakami Senshō started lecturing on Indian philosophy in the same year. These were the pioneers in the scholastic approach to Buddhism in Japan.

_Nihon Bukkyō Shi_ (History of Buddhism in Japan), written by Tajima Shōji as early as 1883, and _Nihon Bukkyō Shiryaku_ written by Ōuchi Seiran and published in the following year, were the forerunners in treating the history of Buddhism. In 1890 Shimaji Mokurai and Oda Tokunō jointly published _Sangoku Bukkyō Ryakushi_ (Brief History of Buddhism in Three Countries). At the same time Inoue Tetsujirō was already lecturing on the biography of Gautama Buddha, and in 1895 Fujii Senshō published _Bukkyō Shōshi_ (A Brief History of Buddhism). Murakami Sensho founded a magazine _Bukkyō Shirin_ (Historical Forest of Buddhism) in 1894, and advocated the historical study of Buddhism. Further examples of writing on Buddhism may be listed as follows: Anezaki Masaharu published _Indo Shūkyō Shi_ (History of Indian Religions) in 1897, _Indo Shūkyō Shikō_ (Historical Comments on Indian Religions) in the following year, and _Jōsei Indo Shūkyō Shi_ (History of Indian Religions of Ancient Times) in 1900. Maeda Keiun published _Daijō Bukkyō Shiron_ (Comments on the History of Mahayana Buddhism) in 1903; Funabashi Suisai published _Shōjō Bukkyō Shiron_ (Comments on the History of Hinayana Buddhism) in the following year. _Indo Bukkyō Shikō_ (Comments on the History of Buddhism in India) was published by Sakaino Tetsu in 1905 and _Indo Shina Bukkyō Shiyō_ (Outline of the History of Buddhism in India and China) by the same author in the following year. Other books of 1906 included _Shina Bukkyō Shi_ (History of Buddhism in China) by Fujii Senshō, _Indo Bunmei Shi_ (History of Indian Civilization) by Tokiwa Daijō and _Shina Bukkyō Shi_ (History of Buddhism in China) by Yoshimizu Chikai. Sakaino Tetsu also published _Shina Bukkyō Shikō_ (Comments on the History of Buddhism in China) in 1907. Murakami and Sakaino, together with Washio Junkei, published _Dainihon Bukkyō Shi_ (History of Buddhism in Great
Japan) in 1897; Murakami Senshō wrote *Nihon Bukkyō Shikō* (Comments on the History of Buddhism in Japan) in the following year; Sakaino Tetsu wrote the section on Japan of Bukkyō Shiyō (Outline of the History of Buddhism) in 1901; Washio Junkei published *Nihon Bukka Jimmei Jisho* (Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Buddhists) in 1903, Ishiwara Sokubun published *Nihon Bukkyō Shi* (History of Japanese Buddhism) in the following year, and Tsuchiya Senkyō published *Nihon Shūkyō Shi* (History of Japanese Religion) in 1907.

On the subject of religious doctrine, the following were published: Ogurisu Köchō, *Bukkyō Jūni Shū Kōyō* (Outline of Twelve Sects of Buddhism) in 1886; Yoshitani Kakuju, *Meiji Shoshū Kōyō* (Outline of Sects in the Meiji Era) in 1890; the compilation by the Kakushū Kyōkai of the *Bukkyō Kakushu Kōyō* (Outline of the Buddhist Sects) was begun in the same year; Inoue Enryō, *Gedō Tetsugaku* (Heretic Philosophy) in 1897 and *Indo Tetsugaku Kōyō* (Outline of Indian Philosophy) in the following year; and Kuruma Takudō, *Tsūzoku Bukkyō Kakushū Kōyō* (Popular Outline of the Sects of Buddhism) in 1899.

In all of these works a new attitude was evident. Murakami Senshō in particular drew public attention by his *Bukkyō Ikkan Ron* (On the Coherency of Buddhism) in 1890; and in his *Bukkyō Tōitsu Ron* (On the Unification of Buddhism) he asserted the doctrine that Mahayana was not Buddhism and argued that Amitabha was imaginary. The latter book was considered the finest work on Buddhism in the Meiji Era, explaining the philosophical theory of Buddhism with unparalleled insight. However, the book produced heated arguments in the world of Buddhism, as a result of which the author had to resign from the priesthood.

In addition to these studies on theory, there were many distinguished works in the study of Buddhist literature, especially the original Buddhist scriptures. Nanjō Bunyu, who had studied under Max Müller in England, was appointed as a
lecturer of Sanskrit at Tokyo University in 1885, and Takakusu Junjirō became professor of Sanskrit studies in 1901. *Bombun Muryojukyō* (The Book of Constant Life in Sanskrit) written by Nanjō Fumio in 1883, *Han’nya Shinkyō Sonshō Darani* (Mystic Formula of the Sutra of Prajna Paramita) of the following year and *Bombun Amidakyō Kōgi* (Lectures on the Sanskrit Sukhavati Sutra) in 1897 by the same author, *Kaisetsu Bongogaku* (Analytical Study of Sanskrit) written by Sakaki Ryōzaburō in 1906, *Barigo Bunten* (Grammar of Balinese) published by Tachibana Shundō in 1910, as well as the publication of *Hokkekyō* (Lotus Sutra) beginning in 1908 were great contributions to the study of Sanskrit and of Buddhism.

The appearance of a strong inclination toward scientific study in the field of Buddhism shows that a tendency was developing to separate faith from study. This trend was partly due to the general social atmosphere, but it may also be considered as one aspect of a movement to protect the religion and raise it from the low state into which it had fallen as a result of the Meiji Restoration. This tendency in the field of Buddhism continued for some time, showing its effect even into the period of 1915–20. However, such a strong trend toward scientific study did not appear in other religions.

Although it might be expected that the rise of religious consciousness would be reflected in various fields, there was no memorable impact on literature and fine arts in the Meiji Era. Nonetheless, there are a few works which can be called religious literature. It may be natural that some degree of religious knowledge or religious sentiment, though unconsciously, appears in the works of authors who were religious adherents, believers, or who were brought up amidst a religious atmosphere. For instance, the novel *Ruten* (Vicissitude), which is called one of the masterpieces of Saganoya Omuro, is based on the idea that the mind of a person driven by the snake of wild fancies is nothing but a revolving wheel of transmigration of souls in the world of six perplexities. Buddhism has always preached that
human life was no more than appearance of vicissitude, and
the knowledge and resignation of Buddhists originated from this
viewpoint. Omuro let an idealist and a realist tell this concep-
tion of human life in the novel; but this concept, originating
in familiarity with Buddhism, was common knowledge at that
time. Thus, it may be straining the point to treat this novel
as a piece of Buddhist literature. *Ninin Iro Zange* (Love Con-
fessions of Two Nuns) written by Ozaki Kōyō in 1889, did not
differ much from the novels published by the Hachimonjiya
bookstore in the Tokugawa Period, and cannot be called new
religious literature. Köda Rohan wrote *Fūryū-Butsu* (Romantic
Buddha) in 1889, followed by *Gojū no tō* (Five Storied Pagoda)
and *Kekkōsei* (Blood-red Star); but except that the author uti-
lized his knowledge of Buddhist literature freely in these novels,
it is questionable whether they can be called religious literature.
His other works such as *Engai no En* (Ties Without Ties),
*Shin Uurashima* (New Tales of Urashima) and *Sora Utsu Nami*
(Waves Hitting High at Heaven) as well, although with a reli-
gious hint of yearning for the realm of tranquility and believ-
ing in the virtue of the Goddess of Mercy, merely lure readers
into a romantic world, sentimentally, even though one may
marvel at the author's profound knowledge of Buddhism. Miyazaki
Koshoshi was called a Christian-type writer and the pre-
viously mentioned Saganoya Omuro was called a Buddhist-type
writer, but they both adopted a philosophical and speculative
attitude toward life, and their works created an extremely romantic
atmosphere. Their speculative attitude could be meditational as
well as romantic; and while their romantic atmosphere inclined
more to pessimism than optimism, it can be considered as a trend
of the time that the meditational emphasis of these writers not
infrequently engendered a considerable religious atmosphere.

It is worth noting that the works of writers associated with
the magazine *Bungakkai* (Literary World), such as Kitamura
Tōkoku, Hirata Tokuboku, Togawa Shūkotsu, Shimazaki Tōson,
Baba Kochō, and Hoshino Tenchi, were called by some critics
a literature of pessimism, or the work of "Buddhistic Christians." It appears that many of them had a considerable knowledge of foreign literature, and some had been brought up in a Christian environment. In 1893 Uchida Fuchian translated Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* and the influence of this novel upon young people was extremely deep. Furukawa Rōsen, who died in 1899 at the age of twenty nine, studied at Meiji Gakuin, found common ideals in Buddhism and Christianity, and advocated a new Buddhism. Thus, although there was a bitter conflict between the two religions in one sphere, it was noticeable that in another area they approached each other.

Romanticism flourished particularly in the literature of 1887–1887, indicating a tendency to seek a means of achieving tranquility in a world of uncertainty. Flight and wandering are phases of the vicissitudes of life, and, as shown in the rise of the popularity of the priest Saigyō, to seek values in the world of denial was one of the time. This can be considered as interest in the literature of the Middle Ages; or more correctly, as the influence of Medieval literature. Following this came the period of naturalism, emphasizing self-realization in the world of affirmation. Naturalism referred particularly to the affirmation of human life, and was therefore basically realistic, but the affirmation of natural human life itself engendered an atmosphere of optimistic romanticism.

Japanism as advocated by Takayama Chogyū, Inoue Tetsujirō and others, also gained influence from around this time. In this area, the predominance of the study of Nichiren was an important aspect of the thought-trends of the day; this entered into literature primarily through the efforts of Chogyū, who had turned away from the thought of Nietzsche. Of course, the fierce character of Nichiren matched the trend of the time, but Chogyū also found the shape of his own personality in the character of Nichiren. Therefore, biographies of Nichiren and his original writings were published continuously during this period. Among them, such works as *Nichiren Ki* (Record of Nichiren)
by Fukuchi Ōchi, Nichiren by Murakami Namiroku, and Nichiren Shōnin Tsuji Seppō (Holy Nichiren’s Street Preaching) by Mori Ōgai, are clearly in the field of Buddhist literature. Again, in another sphere, historical novels of literary value, as distinct from biographies, began to be written at this time. In addition to Ōgai’s works, Kūkai (The Priest Kūkai), Ren’nya Shōnin (Holy Ren’nya), and Gudoku Shinran (Stupid Honest Priest Shinran) by Sudō Nansui, or Seikū Shōnin (Holy Seikū) and Seishimaru by Yamada Kimyō, while they are not necessarily masterpieces, did have significance at the time as religious literature. Furthermore, many Christians including Tsunajima Ryōsen and Uemura Masahisa applied their efforts to the study of Jōdo (Pure Land) teachings at this time; perhaps because they found them similar to those of their own faith. Kurodani no Shōnin (Holy Kurodani), written by Ni’ijima Jō, was the pioneer in this kind of literature.

To sum up, religious literature flourished from 1915 or 1920 on, and only its beginning appeared in the Meiji Era. This beginning was not a pure literary form in itself, but occurred as explanations of social thought, subjects for historical novels, and attempts to raise the level of religious understanding.

The social change of the Meiji Restoration gave rise to rejecting the old and admiring the new, people rushed to import foreign culture and tried to destroy evidences of the old, and Western modes invaded every field. Following this, came a period of self-examination, voices for the preservation of the national essence appeared, and people found good and beauty within their own country. This tendency led to decline of popular interest in religion; and in art as in literature, the religious approach whether applied to painting, sculpture, architecture or music, produced nothing that was new and confined itself to that which was handed down from the past. Of course, many master artists including Kanō Hōgai, Hashimoto Gahō and Terazaki Kōgyō in the field of painting, and Takamura Kōun in the field of sculpture, sought subjects for their works
in religion, and there were not a few masterpieces such as Högai’s *Hibo Kannon Zu* (Goddess of Mercy as Compassionate Mother), and yet, these artists did not limit themselves to religious subjects. Therefore, very few works of religious art were actually handed down from the Meiji Era. With regard to church architecture and decoration, whether we should regard this as a form of Christian art or as merely an aspect of Western architecture is open to question. Of course, there are several reasons for the lack of religious art; one major reason may be that as society lost interest in that field, there was no demand stimulating artists to produce such works. In any case, many of the excellent works remaining today are no more than products manifesting techniques inherited from ancient times.

As the proper sphere of religion is to improve both the material and spiritual condition of the masses, all religions, whether in Japan or elsewhere, from early times have engaged in social work with considerable success. This is particularly true of Christianity which undertook such work on a grand scale, as an important supplement to its evangelical activities. As one aspect of society and culture, this social work had a great importance in the Meiji Era.

After the opening of Japan in the 1850’s, many talented and versatile Christian missionaries came to Japan as doctors, while others gave foreign learning to the people by opening private schools, thus winning the gratitude of the general public. And, as stated previously, they made particular efforts in hospital management and school education. They also established Sunday schools, and it is particularly noteworthy that they initiated education for girls, at a time when Japan was still unaware of the necessity for such education.

In Buddhist circles as well, Shimaji Mokurai established the *Joshi Bungei Gakusha* in Tokyo in 1888; this later became the Chiyoda Girls’ Special School. In 1901, the Kyoto Shukujo Girls’ School was established, following which many sects established girls’ schools, such as Shukutoku in Okayama, Kōtō
Kasei in Takata, Shukutoku and Tōyō Kasei in Tokyo, Sōai in Osaka, Kikka and Kasei Saihō in Kyoto, Tsukushi in Fukuoka, Hokkai in Sapporo and so on. In this way, it was intended that future religious influence would be broadened through the family circle. But nevertheless, at a time when society in general had not yet awakened to the necessity of education for girls, and even the government had promulgated the Higher Girls' School Ordinance in 1899, it is highly significant that such activity was commenced by those interested in religion.

Philanthropic work was one of the important branches of social work which the religious world undertook. The previously-mentioned operation of hospitals was one aspect of this, especially significant in that service was rendered without profit-making. In addition, there were such institutions as orphanages, poorhouses, charity dispensaries, and homes for delinquents. In 1898 Inoue Enryō wrote Sōhei Kairyō Ron (On the Rectification of Vices of Priests) asserting that since Buddhism is the religion of mercy with benefaction, the Buddhist spirit is supreme compassion. He advocated the establishment of charity hospitals and schools, stressing the necessity for charity dispensaries, almshouses, homes for delinquents, and nurseries, as well as evangelical activities in army units, prisons, factories, offices, hospitals, slum quarters, overseas, and in the colonies. Of course, he was influenced by Christian activities a great deal and he had a desire to protect Buddhism. Already in 1872 Buddhist circles had established charity hospitals at Shōgoin Temple and Myōhōin Temple; Ōtani Kōshō established a hospital in Kumamoto in 1877 and gave free medical treatment, and Daidō Chōan through the establishment of the Kyūseikai assisted the victims of calamities and the children of the poor. In 1879, the Fukuda Society opened an orphanage for poor children in Tokyo, while Kishida Ginkō established the Ai'ikudō home for poor children in Tamba; in the following year, Itashiki Enshō established an orphanage in Hitachi Province, and the Maebashi Sekizenkai was established for carrying out relief work, assistance
and medical treatment. In 1883 the Zenkōji Temple in Shinano also established an almshouse. The Honganji Temple made plans for a Nurses’ Training Institute in 1897, and also began international activities by organizing the Indian Famine Relief Society. In 1899, the Original Honganji groups established the Great Japan Buddhist Charity Foundation, with Ōsu Tetsunen in charge. Jōdo Sect established the Heian Nursery in Kyoto in 1905; the Shingon Sect established Kyūsei Hospital in Kyoto in 1909, and in the following year, on the occasion of a flood in Tokyo, established a relief station at Sensōji Temple, Asakusa. In 1911, the Kyoto Women’s Philanthropic Hall was constructed. Thus Buddhism too applied considerable effort to the field of social work.

The Christians also initiated social work very early as a part of their missionary activities. Encouraged by George Muller(?), Director of the London Orphanage, Ishii Jūji established the Okayama Orphanage in 1885; he also rendered particular service in orphan relief on the occasions of the Russo-Japanese War and a famine in the Tokyo district. Besides, St. John’s Episcopal School in Osaka, the HakuaiSHA Orphanage, St. Luke’s Hospital, Takinogawa School, Jōmō Orphanage, Gifu Institute for the Blind, Ihaien, Kaishunen and other institution were established. Among them relief work for lepers was unique to Christian activities; Kamiyama Fukusei Hospital at Hakone was established by the French missionaryTestevuide, while Kaishun Hospital of Kumamoto was established by the joint work of the English missionaries Miss Liddel (?) and Miss Knott (?). According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1903, there were 273 philanthropic institutions; 83 Buddhist, 25 Christian, and the balance without religious affiliation.

Besides the above, it is worth noting that religious groups also started evangelical work in prisons. In the fall of 1872, the priest Taigaku of the Shinshū Sect (Ōtani branch) began preaching for the first time at the Ishikawajima execution-ground.
Further permission for evangelical work among criminal was granted in August of that year to the priest Keitan of the same group by the Governor of Aichi Prefecture, and in November to the priest Yūkyō of the same group and the priest Keiun of the Original group by Kanazawa han. This affected not only the religious field, but other educational bodies as well; Shintoists, Buddhists and others petitioned for approval one after another, and by 1881 such work was going on in every prison in the country. The Christians also desired to do this work, but did not receive permission at first. After 1887, they were allowed to carry on some missionary activities in prisons including Shizuoka, Kōchi, Kushiro and Sapporo. It was said that these approvals were secured through the Warden of the Hokkaidō Collective Prison who was a Christian. Further, the work of assisting released criminals was started by Nishi Honganji Temple, which established a Borstal Institute in February 1911, and thereafter, both Buddhists and Christians engaged in this kind of social work.

The relation of war and religion cannot be discussed carelessly, but when the nation has engaged in war in order to destroy evil and elucidate the right, religious bodies have cooperated; Shintoists, Buddhists, and some Christians have prayed for victory. For example, when the Sino-Japanese War broke out in July 1894, both Honganji groups promptly dispatched consolation missions for the soldiers; in particular, Ōsu Tetsunen of the Original groups himself went to the front as the leader of such a mission. The Jōdo Sect established a military relief department in its temple office in September that year and sent consolation missions in October, and many other Buddhist sects also dispatched consolation units. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, 1,506 representatives of Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity gathered in Tokyo on May 16 in the Great Japan Religious Convention. This convention made efforts to counteract the mistaken world opinion, which Russia was striving to create, that the war was connected with racial
and religious questions. The representatives included 368 Shintoists, 747 Buddhists and 365 Christians. Various Buddhist sects chaplains for army evangelical work, care of the sick and the wounded, and memorial services, some 60 in all, of which 38 were from the Original group of the Shinshū Sect. Furthermore, such religious leaders as Shaku Sōen, Shaku Unsō and Ōtani Kōmei went to the front with over 80 priests, and Ōta Kakumin of the Original group worked for the repatriation of Japanese residing in Russian territory at the risk of his own life. Among the Christians, there were some pacifists and some who considered the war as one between a Buddhist country and a Christian country, but such men as Ebina Danjō strongly supported the war. Although such activities as these cannot be called purely religious, they were at least an aspect of the services of religion to the nation.

Another type of social work upon which the Buddhists launched was life insurance. Of course, there is a question as to whether it was profit-making or philanthropic. Ōuchi Seiran wrote *Bukkyō to Hoken* (Buddhism and Insurance) and Nakazato Mokusho wrote *Bukkyō to Hoken Jigyō* (Buddhism and the Insurance Business), both asserting that it was prudent preparation, in accordance with the Buddhist idea of the frailty of human life. Some degree of success was expected, but these enterprises actually resulted in failure. Of the several Buddhist life and fire insurance companies founded between 1894 and 1901, Shinshū Believers' Life was the most successful.

Lastly, one of the cultural activities of world-wide significance carried on by representatives of religion was the exploration of Central Asia by Ōtani Kōzui, the hereditary Chief Abbot of the Original Honganji group. During the period from 1902 to 1904, he led an exploration party to India, China, Burma and Central Asia, following the way described by the Chinese priest Hsüan Chuang in the T'ang Dynasty, discovering and investigating historical Buddhist landmarks. He brought back rare and precious materials for reference, making a great contribution to the
world's knowledge of archeology, history and geography. Inspired by the Central Asia explorations of the Britisher, Marc Aurel Stein, he made such trips three times in all. While most explorations by foreigners were supported by some government, royal household or academic society, Ōtani Kōzui did his with no powerful outside assistance and solely by his own efforts. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that he achieved success not inferior to that of foreign countries.

As a whole, the field of religion showed very brisk activity after 1887, as each sect and group began developing its own program. Consequently, some of them went beyond past conceptions of religion, and some sought to strike out in utterly new directions. Most of this attitude resulted from resistance against their adverse situation. Thus, religion went into the 1920's with this sort of spirit, but along with the weakening of that which they resisted, religious activity also went into decline. The 1915–25 period did not see an increase in the strength of religion, but merely a holding of its own.

C. THE BLOSSOMING OF LITERATURE

1. The Rise of Literary Criticism.

In the history of Meiji literature, Shōsetsu Shinzui (The Essence of the Novel), placing criticism on the basis of realism, is considered as the first full-fledged literary criticism. Although there were other literary criticisms of a sort, these were mere explanations of classic literature such as Kokinshū (Anthology of Poems Ancient and Modern) or Man’yōshū, or enlightening comments on them, rather than criticisms of literary works based on a fundamental analysis of literary art. At a time when new literature was being born, the development of literary criticism also expanded actively into the fields of cultural criticism and historical theory, in addition to that of pure literature.
Tokutomi Sohō won literary fame at one bound when he came to Tokyo with his Shōrai no Nihon (The Future Japan) into which he had poured his whole insight and talent. The work was published on the recommendation of Taguchi Ukichi and Shimada Saburō, and Sohō was immediately recognized as a newly risen critic. In the beginning of 1887 he founded the magazine Kokumin no Tomo (Friend of the People), riding on the new thought-current of the time.

In the 1890’s, magazines were appearing in rapid succession. Even before Kokumin no Tomo, the magazine Hansei Zasshi (The Magazine of Introspection) which was the predecessor of Chūō Kōron (Central Review) was already being published. Next came such publications as Nihonjin (The Japanese), Jogaku Zasshi, Shuppan Geppō (Monthly Report of Publications) and Shikai (Sea of History), followed in a little later by Mori Ōgai’s Shigarami Zōshi (Tangled Tales) and Shōyō’s Waseda Bungaku (Waseda Literature).

Sohō, who stated that “the world of Meiji is the world of criticism,” actively engaged in cultural criticism and hoisted the banner of the common man through his magazine Kokumin no Tomo. In this respect, he followed in the footsteps of such pioneers as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Fukuchi Ōchi, Nakae Chōmin, Fujita Meikaku, Yano Ryūkei, Taguchi Teiken, Inukai Bokudō, Shimada Shōnnan, Ozaki Gakudō, Suehiro Tetchō, Furusawa Shigeru who carried on their activities through newspaper editorials, mainly on politics. The fruits of Sohō’s criticism can be found in various collections of his works, such as Seisō Yoroku (Record of Meditation), Seinen to Kyōiku (Youth and Education), Jimbutsu Kanken (Personal Opinions on Personalities) and Shimpō ka, Taiho ka? (Progression ?) which were published as the Kokumin Sōsho (People’s Series). His literary criticisms, though somewhat rough and coarse, were an epoch-making contribution as cultural commentaries. The members of the Min’yūsha (Friends of the People Society) who gathered around him generally resembled Sohō in their tendencies toward Euro-
peanization, support for the rights of the common man, and Christianity. Among them, those who engaged in criticism included Yamaji Aizan, Takekoshi Sansa, Miyazaki Koshoshi and Tsunoda Kökô. The first two of these won fame as historical commentators and the latter two as literary critics.

The members of the Seikyōsha (Political Education Society), who advocated nationalist thought in opposition to the Min’yūsha group, also contributed a great deal in the arena of criticism. They carried on their activities chiefly in the magazine Nihonjin (The Japanese) and the newspaper Nihon (Japan), and included such men as Miyake Setsurei, Shiga Shinsen, Kuga Katsunan, Fukumoto Nichinan, Ikebe Tetsukonron, and Masaoka Shiki. This group endeavored to advance Oriental and Japanese culture from the standpoint of a new conservatism, writing in a Chinese style with a tone of masculine boldness. The outstanding personality of this group was the philosopher Miyake Setsurei. His criticisms are to be found in such works as Shinzen-bi Nihonjin (The True, Good and Beautiful Japanese), Gia-

ku-shū Nihonjin (The False, Evil and Ugly Japanese), Gakan Shōkei (Minor Personal Opinions), and Uchū (The Universe). The Seikyōsha group made penetrating comments on politics, history and culture, but their especial significance lay in their efforts to rectify the evils of Europeanization.

By the 1880’s, the Japanese literary world was taking Western literary ideas as its foundation, so that criticism was grounded on knowledge of a esthetics, rhetoric, and the theory and history of literature. Literature written up to this time, which had had a feudalistic color and trend received the enlightened type of criticism which grew out of this modern method. In this way, a new form of literature was given birth, and with the increasing publication of journals of opinion such as newspapers and magazines, critical activities also flourished. As a consequence, what may be called the literary arena came into existence, with writers and critics differentiated from each other within the world of letters. By the publication of such articles as Ōnishi
Hajime’s *Hihyō-ron* (On Commentaries), which appeared in the *Kokumin no Tomo* in 1888, the significance and sphere of literary criticism were made clear, and of literary works were produced in response, a new world of literature came into being.

As the first full-fledged criticisms of literary works after the appearance of *Shōsetsu Shinzui* there may be mentioned, Takada Hōmō’s (Sanae) criticisms of *Shosei Katagi* (Student Temperament) and *Kajin no Kigū* (A Fortuitous Meeting of Beautiful Women), appearing in the *Chūō Gakujutsu Zasshi* (Central Scholarly Magazine), and an article by Hasegawa Futabatei, *Shōsetsu Sōron* (A General Commentary on the Novel), which appeared in the same magazine. These criticisms, applying the techniques of the Western literary world, showed clear-cut and penetrating powers of observation, and are worthy of recognition as the pioneer works of modern literary criticism in Japan. Having previously translated *On Arts* by Belinksy, and called attention to *Introduction to Fine Arts* by Kartokov (?), Futabatei was respected not as an excellent translator, and as the author of *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds), but he also left masterpieces which cannot be overlooked in the field of literary criticism. Hōmō and Futabatei were the forerunners of their time in the excellence of their literary criticism, and though their works unfortunately were no more than a start, we can say that they opened the way for the critical activities of Shōyō and others who came later.

As to the literary criticism of Shōyō, his finest work may be the *Botsu Risō Ron* (On the Decline of Idealism), which grew out of his argument with Ōgai on the subject of idealism and non-idealism. This argument was begun when Ōgai attempted to refuse the position taken by Shōyō in the latter’s critical translation of *Macbeth*, which had appeared in the first issue of *Waseda Bungaku* in October, 1891. This controversy was an unprecedented event in Meiji period literary criticism, both in the vastness of its scale and in that the participants applied
their deep learning to such powerful arguments. In a word, it was a confrontation of realism and idealism. Against Shōyō's opinion that the works of Shakespeare were non-ideal presentations of nature as it actually is, Ōgai discussed the "ideal" from the philosophical viewpoint of the "inherent ideal", basing his argument on such theories as that of unconscious philosophy, propounded by the German philosopher Hartmann. This remarkable controversy, influencing the rise and fall of later literary movements such as romanticism, naturalism, and anti-naturalism, had an extremely great significance in the history of Meiji literature.

One of the active critics in the period when literary criticism had gained positive recognition, following Shōyō and Ōgai, was Ishibashi Ningetsu, who used German literature as his basis, and Kokumin no Tomo and other magazines as his stage. In contrast to the criticism of Shōyō and Ōgai, who discussed various problems pertaining to the field of literature as a whole, Ningetsu devoted his criticism for the most part to individual works. Starting with his analysis of Futabatei's Ukigumo (Floating Clouds), Bimyō's Natsu Kodachi (Cluster of Trees in Summer), and Kōyō's Iro Zange (Love Confessions of Two Nuns), his criticisms of literary works eventually extended over almost all the works of the leading authors of the time.

Such men as Uchida Fuchian (Roan), Morita Shiken, and Saitō Ryoku'u also displayed their individual characteristics through the medium of literary criticism. Miyazaki Kōshōshi of the Min'yūsha group also engaged in literary criticism, with Kokumin no Tomo as his stage. His commentary On Kokumin no Tomo and Nihonjin, criticizing the tendencies of the two great journals of opinion of the day, which represented respectively the two conflicting currents of thought, Europeanism and nationalism, was a piece of critical work having significance for the entire Meiji period.

The above writers contributed to the arena of criticism, each with his own characteristics and trends, but what added the
freshest spirit and lustre to literary criticism after Shōyō and and Ōgai was the theory of romanticism around the turn of the century. The center of this movement of romanticism was Kitamura Tōkoku who carried on his activities in the magazine *Bungaku Kai* (The literary World). *Bungaku Kai* was a pure literary magazine, inaugurated in January 1893 and discontinued with the fifty eighth number in January 1898. This magazine was initiated by Hoshino Tenchi, Hoshino Sekiei (younger brother of Tenchi), Kitamura Tōkoku, Shimazaki Kotōan (Tōson) and Hirata Tokuboku; a little later Togawa Shūkotsu joined, and then Togawa Zanka, Ueda Ryūson (Bin) and Baba Kochō; in addition, Higuchi Ichiyō and others became occasional contributors. These young literary artists expounded on the nature of the literature of the new age with a fiery youthful spirit and passion, and with pure-hearted devotion raised their voices in yearning after truth, goodness and beauty and seeking the significance of human life.

Tōkoku was a religious-minded and passionate critic, who rejected utility and practicality, and stressed the value and authority of the spiritual or inner life. For him there was no value in a literary work which had no inner life. He placed primary importance on that literature which probes into the origin of the inner life, as being an art which is in contact with life. He therefore sharply opposed the utilitarian school of literature advocated by Yamaji Aizan and others. In his article *On Rai Sanyō*, appearing in *Kokumi no Tomo*, Aizan had written that "literary composition is a business." Against this Tōkoku wrote a bitter refutation, saying "How could such be related to human life?" His literary criticism based on humanism was directed primarily against the two great masters of the day, Kōyō and Rohan. Beginning with an essay on the eternity of art, *Fugaku no Shishin o Omou* (In Eulogy of Mt. Fuji), in the first number of *Bungaku Kai*, he then wrote an article explaining the characteristics of romanticism, and published many other essays and criticisms including *Naibu Seimei Ron* (On the Inner
Life), emphasizing the inner and innate aspects of human life. In short, the heart of Tōkoku’s literary views and criticisms was the inner life. Opposing the pleasure-seeking, art-above-all idea with its estrangement from human life, as held by members of the Ken’yūsha group, as well as the base, utilitarian concept of literature, he asserted that literature had significance in so far as it was related to human life. Such a pure-hearted and emotional opinion gave a great stimulus to the world of literary criticism in the mid-Meiji Era.

The last representative of the romantic tendency was Taka-yama Chogyū, who carried on brilliant activity both as a literary and as a cultural critic in the late 1890’s. His criticism evolved along with his thought, from Japanism centered on ethical study, through individualistic Nietzsche-ism, to the teachings of Nichiren. In the field of literary criticism, he wrote sixteen commentaries on novels, in addition to those on poetry and drama. Chogyū’s criticisms of literary works can be observed in such writings as Shūsetsu Kakushin no Jiki (Time to Reform Novels) and Shōsetsu no Igi (The Significance of the Novel). He had a conviction that, above all, a novel must give something to the heart. He placed great importance on the humanistic and social character of literature, and asserted that material for literary works should be sought from widely varied fields, but it cannot be denied that lyrical aspiration always remained in his inner heart. The reason that he praised Katai’s Wasure Mizu (Forgotten Waters) and that he gave the highest admiration to the works of Ichiyō was because he longed after and admired the true and the beautiful. In this, we can see his romantic spirit.

After the death of Chogyū, the naturalistic theory of literature appeared, based on the spirit of realism. The first use of the term “naturalism” in Japan is said to have been when Ōgai introduced the Western naturalism of Emile Zola and others in his Bungaku to Shizen o Yomu (Reading Literature and Nature), which appeared in Kokumin no Tomo in May 1889.
However, the first to advocate the theory of naturalism is literature and to explain it was Shimamura Högetsu. With the publication of his article *Ima no Bundan to Shin Shizen-shugi* (Literary Circles of Today and the New Naturalism) in the *Waseda Bungaku* in 1906, he began a brilliant career as a literary critic supporting naturalism. The best collection of Högetsu’s criticisms is *Kindai Bungei no Kenkyū* (Study of Contemporary Literature), published in 1909. On the cover of this book was printed, epitomizing its author’s literary concept: “Portray the significance of existence as a whole by following reality as it is. This is the world of contemplation. Human life replete with relish. This condition of the mind is called art.” Such a conception of the realm of art constituted the foundation of the naturalistic literary criticism advocated by Högetsu. Among other critics who advocated naturalism in literature and assisted in its rise and creative activity was Hasegawa Tenkei, a member of the Waseda group like Högetsu.

2. Writers and Works in the Period of Romanticism.

The decade or so from approximately 1894–95 to 1904–05 is called the period of romanticism. Following the establishment of literary criticism in the early 1890’s, in addition to the literary works of realism of the Ken’yūsha group, or those of idealism and romanticism as found in Rohan, Ōgai and others, up to this time, was a period in which the literature of emotionalism was born, based on the awakening of the individual self. The 1890’s were the renaissance period of modern Japanese literature, and in the early part of this period the activities of the two master-writers Kōyō and Rohan were outstanding. Bimyō, who had made a brilliant start in the early days of the literature, had already left the field of novels, and Ōgai, too, was devoting himself to literary criticism and translations.

After the publication of his *Kokoro no Yami* (The Darkness of the Heart), Kōyō was feeling restless at being left behind by
the current of the time and by the activities of his colleagues in the Ken'yūsha such as Ryūrō, Sui'in, and Bizan. Feeling left out of the main current of literary activity, he determined to prove that he was capable, and produced a great work which he called privately Jika no Kome no Meshi (Eating Rice Grown at Home). This was Tajō Takon (Passion and Regret) which appeared in Yomiuri Shimbun as a serial starting in February 1896. This novel, which was offered to the public with deep self-confidence and pride, was so long that it actually became a book of over five hundred pages. The events described were everyday affairs, but the adroitness of psychological description was unparallelled even among the works of Kōyō. He cast away gaudiness and used simplicity, playing down his previous emphasis on holding interest by the unfoldment of the story, and striving to make psychological analysis and the depiction of characters his cardinal points. Seriously pursuing human nature itself, he endeavored to delineate thoroughly every character appearing in the story. His style also, a polished form of spoken language, deserved to be called a model for the time. From every standpoint, this was a masterpiece which must be given first rank even among the excellent works of Kōyō.

Konjiki Yasha (The Golden Demon), following Tajō Takon, was also a very long work starting in the Yomiuri Shimbun on New Year's Day of 1897. Although it was continued off-and-on for six years, it was never completed; this was Kōyō's last great work. Masamune Hakuchō commented that “Kōyō wrestled with the most troublesome material and achieved an artistic struggle; it gives one the pathetic feeling that he taxed his ingenuity to the utmost, permitting himself to stop only when he collapsed.” Nevertheless, as the most widely read piece of literature of the time, Konjiki Yasha ranks with Roka's Hototogisu (Cuckoo) as one of the outstanding novels of the Meiji Era.

Rohan, who wrote Fūryū Mijinzō (The Elegant Small Idol), later published various works such as Yūsuku Shijin (A Lucky
Poet), *Shin Urashima* (New Tales of Urashima), *Hige Otoko* (A Bearded Man) and *Shin Hagoromo Monogatari* (New Tales of Hagoromo) before and after the Sino-Japanese War, but it was in his *Sora Utsu Nami* (The Heaven-Striking Waves), appearing in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* as a serial in 1903, that he demonstrated his original talents as a poet of idealism. This was a long, purely literary novel written in a fresh, zestful classical style, and the author, although having a touch of romanticism, displayed unusual talent also in realistic delineation. Like *Konjiki Yasha*, *Sora Utsu Nami* was also left unfinished, but due to the depth of the author’s unique thought and the intensity of his critical feeling toward the tendencies of the times, this was a masterpiece which in its day completely overwhelmed the world of novels.

Beginning with the general period of the Russo-Japanese War, there were various changes and intermixtures of ism, thought and tendencies in the Japanese world of literature. The Western romantic spirit, which rejected tradition and emphasized individuality in literature, as well as the tendency toward emotionalism based on the emancipation of the self, was conspicuous in their rise and development, and before long there was an atmosphere of transition towards naturalism. Among the literary thought trends which experienced a rapid upsurge of popularity, there were Christianity, Nietzscheism, Tolstoism, mysticism, vitalism, new nationalism, socialism, and the scientific approach to the meaning of human life. It was natural that the literature of this period was characterized by these thought-trends, which became significant factors giving individual color to specific literary works. Following is an outline of the principal creative writers active in this period, and their works.

*Takiguchi Nyūdō* (The Lay Priest Takiguchi) was the first work written by Takayama Chogyū, then still a student in the College of Literature; it made the author famous by winning the prize in a literary contest sponsored by the *Yomiuri Shim-
bun in 1894. This historical novel tended toward mannerisms in the description of characters and in its psychological feeling, but as a work replete with lyrical sentiment it was widely read by young men and women; and went through many additional printings.

Young literary artists who were coming upon the stage of the new literature of that time, especially the members of the Bungaku Kai group formed by Kitamura Tōkoku and others in 1893, believed that success in literature could be achieved only by experiencing the agonies and contradictions of human life. They felt that human life was one of suffering, and that what depicted the flavor of that suffering, the symbol of the agony itself, was true literature. The reason why the novels of Higuchi Ichiyō were welcomed with such new enthusiasm may have been because her works were shot through with this type of realism toward human life.

Stimulated by such works as Mrs. Kaho’s Yabu no Uguisu (A Nightingale in the Bush), Ichiyō harbored an ambition to be a writer. At the age of 21 she became a pupil of Nakarai Tōsui, a popular-story writer of the time, and devoted herself to the study of literature while tasting the suffering of worldly care. She had already written Kare Obana (A Withered Miscanthus) and other books, but she made her entrance into the stage of literature by the publication of Yamizakura (Cherry Blossoms in the Dark) in the magazine Musashino in 1892. Following this, in the short period of four years until her early death, she wrote twenty three excellent novels from Wakare Jimo (Last Frost in the Spring) to Ura Murasaki (Purple of Regret). Three works or her last year, Jūsanya (Moon of the Thirteenth Night), Nigorie (The Muddied Stream) and Takekurabe (Comparing Heights), all written in 1895, were particularly superb gems adorning the literary history of the Meiji Era. Outstanding was Takekurabe, a work of perfect harmony which made the brilliant name of Ichiyō immortal. This is a novel centering on a delicate psychological description of precocious
boys and girls brought up in proximity to the gay quarters. In writing this work, Ichiyō cast away everything extraneous to the core of the work, and laid firm hold on the essence of human life. It can be said that delving deeply into life, she comprehended humanity and human existence and successfully re-created human life itself. Her style was an excellent free combination of the elegant and the common, which set the standard for the Tokyo dialect of the Meiji Era. Chogyū, mourning the death of Ichiyō, regretfully said, "Possessed of the transcendent talent of her generation,—how late was her coming!—how early her departure!"; and this was echoed by the literary world and society in general.

Next, we shall look at the activities of the Ken'yuśha group, growing out of the magazine Garakuta Bunko (Library of Miscellany). Until the mid-1890's the Ken'yuśha appeared to be the private arena of Æoyō alone, for the activities of other members were not conspicuous.

One of the members of the group, Kawakami Bizan, had written love stories over a period of several years beginning with his work Sumizome Sakura (Cherry Blossom in Black) in 1890, but was not finally recognized by the literary world and the general public until his Shokikan (The Government Official) and Ura-omote (Back and Front) appeared in Taiyō and Koku- min no Tomo, respectively, in 1895. In the literary world of the time, the adherents of both realism and idealism were in stagnation and appeared to be groping blindly for escape. Among those who built novels around a thought or a concept,—the so-called conceptual novel—the outstanding writer was Bizan.

In the literary world around the turn of the century, there appeared what was called the "penetrating" or "tragic" school of novels. These novels dealt with tragic characters and circumstances exclusively, and always culminated in tragedy. The best representative of this school was Hirotsu Ryūrō of the Ken'Yuśha group. Kuro Tokage (Black Lizard), Hemme-Den
(The One-Eyed Man) and Imado Shinjū (The Imado Double Suicide) appearing in Bungei Kurabu and the Yomiuri in 1895 and 1896, were his best-known works. All of these sharply dissected the dark side of human life, and Imado Shinjū was a particularly outstanding masterpiece in no way inferior to the excellent works of naturalism of later years. Another writer whose works showed the tendency of the "tragic" school war Emi Suiin also of the Ken’yūsha group. Among his best works was Nyōbō-Goroshi (The Wife-Killer), published in Bungei Kurabu in 1895.

Izumi Kyōka, a colleague of Bizan, Ryūrō, Suiin and others in the Ken’yūsha group and a direct pupil of Kōyō, was active as a writer from the Meiji period on into the 1920's, following his own special tendencies in an independent way. Starting with Kammuri Yazaemon, his first novel, which appeared as a serial in the Kyoto Hinode, he eventually became known through such works as Yobihei (The Reserve Corps) and Giketsu Kyoketsu (The Blood of Honor). His novels Yakō Junsa (A Night-Duty Policeman) and Gekashitsu (The Surgery) which appeared in Bungei Kurabu in 1895, although differing from the work of Bizan, were generally considered to rank with Bizan’s writings as masterpieces of the conceptual novel of the time. In his Kōya Hijiri (The Sage of Mt. Kōya), which appeared in Shin Shōsetsu in 1900, there was demonstrated to perfection the weird and supernatural, or rather, the mystical trend, which may be considered as Kyōka's characteristic feature. With content and form perfectly harmonized, this was an excellent piece full of artistic fragrance. In addition, Kyōka wrote Yushima Mōde (Pilgrimage to Yushima Shrine), Furuyūsen (The Line of Elegance), Teruha Kyōgen (A Drama of Teruha), Tsūya Monogatari (Tales of the Funeral Night), Tatsumi Kōdan (Tales of Tatsumi), Onna Keizu (A Woman’s Genealogy), Uta Andon (Song and the Lamp), Nihonbashi and many other masterpieces, which were widely read and some of which were dramatized. It can be said that his works showed a romantic
tendency, adhering to the principle of art for art’s sake.

Another type of writing, the so-called Katei Shōsetsu or “domestic novel”, also appeared in this period. These were popular novels designed for the masses, placing reader appeal first, mostly appearing as serials in newspapers. Murai Gensai was the leading writer of such novels. His Hinode-Jima (The Island of the Rising Sun) started in the Hōchi as a serial in June 1896, ran for six years, and was completed in 1200 instalments. Later, it was published in book form in thirteen volumes, totalling 3,730 pages, an unprecedentedly long novel in the Meiji literary world. It depicted the times and the society of the times, with particular attention to variation and complication of the story. It won favor of the common people because the descriptions were written in a plain and easily readable style, and because all sorts of events were brought into the story, introducing a wide range of information to the ordinary person. Gensai also wrote many other novels, including Koneko (A Kitten), Oki no Kojima (The Small Island off Shore), Sakura no Gosho (Palace of Cherry Blossoms), Kinugasa-Jō (The Castle of Kinugasa) and the well-known Shokudōraku (Epicureanism).

Ono ga Tsumi (My Sin) and Chikyōdai (Foster-Sisters) were the works of Kikuchi Yūhō, On’na Ichidai (A Life of a Woman) and Gonin Shimai (Five Sisters) were the works of Yanagawa Shunyō, and Hakushaku Fujin (A Countess) and Meoto Nami (Two Waves) were the works of Taguchi Kikutei; these were among the best-known domestic novels of the time.

However, as the best example of this style of writing, we must name Tokutomi Roka’s Hototogisu (The Cuckoo), which was serialized in Kokumin Shimbun in 1899. In all Japanese literature from ancient times down to the present, probably no other work has been so widely read as this. It was re-printed over one hundred times, up to the 1920’s. Although Hototogisu may be called a popular novel, it is filled with a spirit of sincere humanitarianism, and has an austerity unknown in other domestic
novels. _Omoide no Ki_ (A Record of Recollections) by the same author was a work of self-confession. The author tried to tell in it, through his own experiences as a young man, the condition of mid-Meiji society, in which Western thought, Confucianism, radical ideas, humanitarian Christianity, utilitarianism and other ideas were intermixed in a disorderly way. _Kuroshio_ (Black Current) which appeared in _Kokumin Shimbun_ as a serial in 1902, was the most perfect among Roka’s works. This novel was planned as a long work of six volumes, covering Japanese politics and thought from the peak period of Europeanism, and describing such affairs as the clash of nationalism and Europeanism, the disturbance of general thinking in connection with the promulgation of the Constitution and the revision of the treaties, the Diet opening, the attack upon the Russian Crown Prince, the Sino-Japanese War, the mixed residence of foreigners in the interior, and the assassination of Hoshi Tōru, up the establishment of the Social Democratic Party. However, because Roka had a misunderstanding with his elder brother Sohō and cut off his relations with the _Kokumin Shimbun_, this novel was left unfinished with only the first volume completed.

There was also a group of what were called “social” novels, beginning in the late 1890’s. The critic Uchida Roan and others declared that literary artists should, above all, depict the spirit of the times and portray the true conditions of society in an analytical way. Accordingly Roan published _Kure no Nijū-hachi-nichi_ (December Twenty Eighth), a work in which he gave concrete expression to his theory. Gotō Chūgai wrote _Funikudan_ (A Mass of Spoiled Meat). Such works as _Seido_ (Political Donkey) by Oguri Fūyō, _Kinjito_ (The Golden Pyramid) by Takayasu Gekkō, and _Ichijiku_ (Figs) by Nakamura Shun’u can also be classified as works in this category. Furthermore, in a certain sense, such novels as Roka’s _Kuroshio_ and Kōyō’s _Konjiki Yasha_ may perhaps also be considered as social novels of a sort.

Chūgai, the author of _Funikudan_, was a literary critic, and
in the later period when naturalism was at its height, he actively anti-naturalism. As a writer, he published many novels which opened up a new dimension in the field of the novel through his exquisite psychological descriptions, such as are found in Ari no susabi, roughly translated, means "Passing through life without deeply thinking on its value because life is too familiar with us." and Yami no Utsutsu (The Reality of Darkness). We should also note that he wrote several excellent pastoral novels such as Yamazato (Mountain Village) and Nokoru Hikari (The Afterglow), which may be considered as forerunners of the rural or kyōdo shōsetsu and nōmin shōsetsu (novels about rural life) so popular in later years.

What may be called socialistic novels, as distinct from social novels, also appeared around 1900. Such works as Shin-shakai (The New Society) by Yano Ryūkei, Tasogare (Twilight) and Ekifu Nikki (Diary of a Railway Porter) by Shirayanagi Shūko, and Rōdō Mondai (Labor Problems) by Ogawa Enson, can be included in this genre. However, the writer who is considered the top figure in this field is Kinoshita Naoe, who wrote novels while an active member of the socialist movement. Naoe's novels described the anguish and cry of youth, against the background of the bitter struggles and sorrows of the early socialist movement in Japan, his pen full of blood, zeal and power. He did not consider himself to be a writer nor was he so treated by others in literary circles. Nevertheless, he was an outstanding writer, and the two novels are considered to be masterpieces of undying value in the history of Meiji literature. Hi no Hashira (A Pillar of Flame), which was published in the Tokyo Mainichi in 1904, was an early novel written for the cause of socialism, and although with some shortcomings as an artistic product, it stirred up the society of that time as a brilliant pioneer socialistic novel with its flaming passion, inspiration and power of soul, and its strong consciousness of the class struggle. Otto no Jihaku (Confessions of a Husband) appeared also in the Tokyo Mainichi as a serial for two years

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starting in 1904, and was later published in four volumes. In comparison with *Hi no Hashira*, this shows considerable progress in writing technique, depiction of character, and psychological description. This is an idea novel in which the author digested in a rather artistic way such socialistic problems as the family versus society, individualism versus humanism, love versus common morality, marriage free love the emancipation of women, social suffering, the suffering of life the vice of wealth, and private ownership of land. This is a work worthy of a specially high position in Meiji literature. Other novels by Naoe included *Rei ka Niku ka?* (Soul or Flesh?), *Kojiki* (Beggars), *Kataku* (World of Suffering), *Rōdō* (Labor), and *Hakaba* (The Cemetery); all were read with deep interest.

3. New-style Poems and *Tanka*

The New-Style poetry of the Meiji Era saw its birth in the late 1880’s, was firmly established by 1897, and developed into its flourishing period soon after 1900. This was the age of romanticism in literature; and in the world of poetry as well, with the emergence of new and richly talented poets, a new age came into existence. Such poetic styles as pseudo-antique, pure-emotional and ornate, came into vogue; The pseudo-antique style in the beautiful tones of ancient melodies; the pure-emotional style overflowing with sentiment and concern for life; the ornate style singing of righteous indignation in the style of Chinese poems,—each and all displayed their special characteristics. Of these, the pure-emotional tendency became dominant and a full-developed romantic lyricism became the main current of the world of poetry. The one who established it was Shimazaki Tōson. In his long epic poem *Soshū no Shi* (Poem of a Prisoner of the Kingdom of Ch’u) and his dramatic poem *Hōrai kyoku* (Music of the Elysian Fields), Tōson demonstrated his ability as a pure-emotional poet of deep perception. In an excess of seeking after pure-hearted idealism, Tōson ended his
brief life at the age of twenty-seven, but he had inherited and perfected the poetic thought of the pioneer poet, Kitamura Tōkoku. Tōson died at the age of 71.

Tōkoku wrote Soshū no Shi and Hōrai kyoku, and died at the age of 27.

Magazines on literary affairs, which were founded in the 1890's one after another, furnished the stage not only for the publication of novels, but of poetry as well. The principal magazines and the poets connected with them were as follows:

**Title of Magazine**  
**Poets**

*Kokumin no Tomo*  
(Min'yūsha group) Doppo, Saganoya, Katai, Kunio, Koshoshi, Gyokumei.

*Waseda Bungaku*  
Tenrai, Tenyu, Taisui.

*Teikoku Bungaku*  
Tetsujirō, Naobumi, Ukō, Keigetsu, Hagoromo, Kenju, Bansui.

*Bungakkai*  
Tōkoku, Tōson, Kochō, Zanka, Shūkotsu, Tokuboku, Bin.

*Bunko*  
Suimei, Seihaku, Yau, Tōmei.

*Shinsei*  
Kagai, Tengen.

*Myōjō*  
Tekkan, Akiko, Ariake, Hakusei, Takuboku, Kōtarō, Hakushū, Mokutarō.

*Shōtenchi*  
Kyūkin and others.

*Shirayuri*  
Ringai, Hōmei, Gyofū.

*Shijin*  
Suimei, Yau, Koi, Kison, Ryūkō, Hakushū, Rofū.

Among these poets, Tekkan tried to reform the Waka under the instruction of Naobumi, and also wrote New-Style poems. In his anthologies Tōzai Namboku (East, West, South and North) and Tenchi Genkō (Heaven and Earth, and Black and Yellow) published in 1896 and 1897, there were also included some of his early works. As remarked at the time by the critic Miyazaki Koshoshi, most of his poems were no more than expressions of shallow poetic thought in a grandeloquent tone.

The group centering around the *Teikoku Bungaku*, including
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Toyama Chūzan, Inoue Sonken, Takeshima Hagoromo, Shioi Ukō, Ōmachi Keigetsu and others, also participated in the reform and improvement of the new poetry making such contributions as advocating free verse attempting to harmonize the Chinese, colloquial and literary forms of the language, and trying to produce poems of one stanza in four lines of seven-five syllable-meter. But they did not have much influence upon the general trend of the new-poetry circles.

In 1897, Jojōshi (Lyrical Poems) was published, made up of poems composed by the members of the Min’yūsha group. The works of six poets, Doppo, Katai, Kunio, Koshoshi, Gyokumei and Saganoya were included in this anthology, which brought a refreshing air into the world of poetry. Though some amateurishness is found in the works, they are all filled with gentle and pure sensitivity, and were the precursors to the Tōson. Truly they deserve to be called lyrical poems.

Among those who wrote poetry at this time were the waka poet Sasaki Nobutsuna and the haiku poet Masaoka Shiki, but they do not require any particular mention. Kenju wrote many songs and his Tetsudō Shōka (Song of the Railroad) in sixty six stanzas was widely sung. Three poets who had made a study of the Japanese classics, Ukō, Hagoromo and Keigetsu, specialized in epic poems, but also wrote elegant prose. Such books as Hana Momiji (Flowering Maple), Kigiku Shiragiku (Yellow and White Chrysanthemums), Setsu-getsu-ka (Snow, Moon and Flowers) are excellent collections of their prose and poetry, which saw wide popularity at that time. The poetic style of Shigeno Tenrai and Miki Ten'yū, poets of the Waseda Bungaku group, can be found in their joint anthology Matsumushi, Suzumushi (Singing Crickets), published in 1897.

The style of romantic lyricism, which had budded in the works of Koshoshi and others, and was roughly given form by the poets appearing in Jojōshi, was finally furnished with the inner life that the new poetry needed by Tōkoku. Tōson continued the line of lyricism, and published his first collection of
poems, *Wakana-shū* (Anthology of Spring Herbs), in August 1897. The keynote of modern Japanese lyrical poetry was sounded by the appearance of this collection.

*Wakana-shū* was the first collection of poems to exemplify artistic unity of content, form and sentiment; the fifty one poems included vividly presented the spirited rhythm of youthful sentiment, and raised high the edifice of Japanese poetry. With the later publication of *Ichiyō-shū* (Anthology of Single Leaves), *Natsugusa* (Summer Grass) and *Rakubai-shū* (Anthology of Fallen Plum Blossoms), Tōson almost completed his poetical endeavors and established an imperishable golden tower in the history of Meiji literature.

It was in April 1899 that Bansui’s first anthology, *Tenchi Ujō* (The Sentiment World) was published. Bansui, the poet of meditation, who ranked in the world of poetry with Tōson, the poet of passion, was a man who dreamed of ideals. The characteristic feature of Bansui—a monologue of philosophical meditation grounded in reason and knowledge, as seen in such long pieces as *Boshō* (Evening Bells) and *Hoshi Otsu Shūfū Gojōgen* (The Stars Fall and the Autumn Wind Blows on the Field of Gojō)—was uniquely his own, and not found in Tōson. Even disregarding *Gyōshō* (The Morning Bell) and *Tōkai Yūshi Gin* (Songs of a Traveler in the East). Bansui’s second and third anthologies, the value of his poems can be judged by *Tenchi Ujō* alone.

Following Tōson and Bansui, poets in various styles emerged in large numbers, and with the background of romanticism, the world of new poetry flourished luxuriantly. Susukida Kyūkin and Kambara Ariake were the best-known representatives of this period. *Botekishū* (Anthology of the Evening Flute), Kyūkin’s first anthology was published in 1899, and Ariake’s *Kusa Wakaba* (Young Leaves of Grass) in 1902. Kyūkin entered the world of poetry one or two years earlier than Ariake, and became known earlier. Kyūkin first drew attention as a newly risen figure in the poetic world poems for publications such as
the Waseda literary magazine *Shinchō Gekkan* (New Publications Monthly), but with the publication of his *Boteki-shū* he acquired an unshakable position in the world of poetry. This anthology was characterized by youthfulness, sentiment, aspiration and flashes of ingenuinity; and with its observation of nature and technique of expression, it possessed the unique character of Kyūkin when other lyrical poetry of the time.

Ariake, who was active in poetic circles at the same time as Kyūkin, had enjoyed the poems of Keats and Shelley from his early days, and also admired C.G. Rossetti; he was influenced by all three. These influences can be found, for example, in *Kusa Wakaba* and *Dokugen Aika* (Lament on a Solitary String). His way of grasping the inner life was somewhat deeper than that of Kyūkin. Sensuous and meditative, his poems exclusively symbolized inner beauty, and the harmonious culmination of his style was definitely achieved in his *Shunchō-shū* (Anthology of Spring Birds) published in 1905. His private domain was the field of symbolic poetry; it can be said that the symbolic poetry of Japan was perfected by him. Thus, *Shunchō-shū* together with Tōson’s *Wakana-shū* was a superb anthology marking an epoch in the world of Japanese poetry.

In the flourishing period of poetry which saw the activities of Kyūkin and Ariake, there were also the side-currents formed by poets active in several other groups. Among them was the *Bunko* group, centering around the magazine *Bunko* (The Literary Storehouse) headed by Kawai Suimei and with a group of young poets such as Yokose Yau, Irako Seihaku, Takizawa Shūgyō, Isshiki Seisen, Shimizu Kison, Mizoguchi Hakuyō, and Hitomi Tōmei as its members. There were also writers of poetry among the contributors to and members of *Myōjō*, founded in 1900, including Mori Ōgaki, Ueda Bin, and Baba Kochō, as well as Tani Kattō, Yamamoto Royō, Kobayashi Temmin, Takasu Baikai, Kawakami Ōsui, Mizuno Yōshū, Takamura Saiu, Sōma Gyōfu, Masuda Masako and others. Poets
such as Iwano Hōmei, Maeda Ringai and others centered their activities in the magazine Shirayuri (White Lily) founded after breaking away from Myōjō. Through the activities of such poets, the mid-Meiji world of poetry left literary accomplishments entitling this to rank both in name and in reality as the flourishing period.

Further, there occurred several events other of a significance which cannot be overlooked in the poetic history of this period. The first anthology in English, Seen and Unseen, was published in 1897. In 1906 the Ayame Kai (Iris Society), including poets of Japan, England and the United States, was founded; in this, the leading figure was Noguchi Yone (Yonejirō). In 1901, Onoe Saishū published in translation the Poems of Heine. In 1903 the mad poet Kodama Kagai published A Collection of Socialist Poetry, the first of its kind in Japan, which was immediately suppressed and did not again see the light of day for half a century. In 1905 Ueda Bin published Kaichō’on (The Sound of the Tide), an excellent translation which made an unprecedented contribution to the world of modern Japanese poetry.

Mention has previously been made of attempts by Ochiai Naobumi, Masaoka Shiki and others to reform Waka poetry. Finally, Yosano Tekkan, one of their colleagues, wrote an article on the reformation of the Waka with the title Bōkoku no Oto (The Sound of a Dead Land) which appeared in eight instalments in Niroku Shimpō, starting in May 1894. This article afforded an unprecedentedly severe shock to the waka circles of the time. Tekkan, who held the conviction that reform was the first step toward progress, squarely challenged the Imperial Poetry Bureau group of Takasaki Seifu, Koide San and others. He called for an awakening of the waka world hitherto monopolized by conservative groups like the Keien faction, which constituted the central influence of the dominant Imperial Poetry Bureau. He also exchanged several arguments on waka with Dr. Suematsu Seihyō (Norizumi) in the Yomiuri. From
that time on, the new-style waka increasingly embellished the waka world, and the name of Tekkan was known far and wide as the leading figure of the new waka school. Before long, he established the Tokyo Shinshisha (New Poetry Society), and founding its literary organ Myōjō in 1900, made this a first class stage for the new-style waka. The improving and reforming of waka were not carried out solely by Tekkan and Myōjō, but Tekkan was in the vanguard. This can be judged from the words of Shiki, one who also rendered meritorious service in the reformation of waka:

“I too desired to strike a broken bell and to dance with a rusty sword, but I regret that because of my inadequate ability the initiative was snatched away by Tekkan.”

Now, what were the general conditions of the world of waka around the time that Myōjō was inaugurated? In 1897 Seihyo’s Kokka Shinron (New Opinion on National Poetry) was published. The argument of this book was believed to be directed against Tekkan. The period 1893–1898 also saw the founding of several literary magazines related to waka, such as Bunko, Teikoku Bungaku (Imperial Literature), Mezamashigusa (Grasses of Awakening), and Shinsei (New Voice), as well as others like Hototogisu (The Cuckoo) and Kokoro no Hana (Flower of the Heart). In 1898 Shiki published his Utayomi ni Atauru Sho (An Open Letter to Waka Poets) in the newspaper Nihon, and in the following year, the Negishi Tanka kai was formed. The Ikazuchi Kai (Thunder Society), Wakana Kai (Young Leaves Society) and Kōi Kai were also formed during this period. In 1899 Yasugi Sadatoshi and Kubo Inokichi advocated waka reform, and in the same year the Yomiuri began to print waka written by members of the Ikazuchi Kai and others.

This can truly be called the period of the birth of the new waka. From this time on to approximately the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, the Myōjō (Shinshisha) group held sway in the world of waka. Its magazine Myōjō was the top
authority and the brilliant light of waka circles; as its name implied, it was the morning star. Besides its leader Tekkan, those in the Myōjō group included Kubota Utsubo, Hirano Banri, Ōtori Akiko, Takamura Saiu (Kōtarō), Chino Bou (Shōjō), Yamakawa Tomiko, Masuda Masako, Sōma Gyofū, Yoshi‘i Isamu, Kitahara Hakushū and Ōi Sogo.

When he declared, “My poems are indeed my poems—” (in the preface to his Tōzai Namboku), Tekkan may have been alluding to the thought of his master Naobumi, who had encouraged him “to write poems of your own,” but in a broader sense his poem represented revolt against feudalistic tradition, and the awakening of the self. This element of Tekkan’s approach to poetry is believed to have inspired the passionate and extravagant love poems of Akiko, which ignored conventional morality. With her “Star and Violet” rhythm of a liberalistic new romanticism, it was Akiko above all others who represented the Myōjō style, which has been called the hot house of romantic lyricism. Akiko’s waka are most widely known through her first anthology, Midaregami (Disheveled Hair), a book of three hundred and sixty one poems, published in 1901. The appearance of this elegant and beautiful book, with format and illustration by the famous painter Fujishima Takeji, created a sensation. Akiko assumed the lead in setting Myōjō style, the world of poetry was enchanted by it, and as it suddenly seized the imagination of young poets of Japan, many attempted to imitate it. This epoch-making anthology naturally became the target of criticism in literary circles. One critical review by Ueda Bin which appeared in Myōjō concluded as follows:

“Midaregami is an anthology worth listening to with all ears. It is the work of a passionate poet. Though the faint appearance of curvacious(?) and the lack of tranquility may be counted as minor shortcomings, it is to be welcomed and highly valued as a forerunner of poetic reform and as the work of a woman. Those who attack it indiscriminately, dumbfounded by
its strikingly unconventional tone and its extravagant thought, are not friends of literature.”

However, even during the high tide of the Myōjō group, there were other trends and schools in the world of waka. Shiki, who founded the Negishi Tanka Kai (Negishi New Waka Society), advocated realistic waka in a high-standard Man’yōshū style. Those who gathered in the Negishi Tanka Kai included Hozuma Katori, Oka Fumoto, Akagi Kakudō, Itō Sachio, Warabi Makoto, Momozawa Shigeharu, Ōhashi Yakubo, and Naga-tsuka Takashi. These waka poets, centering around the newspaper Nihon, did brilliant work both in criticism and in writing poems. In their early days when Myōjō was at its peak, their influence upon the world of literature was still slight. Nevertheless, in 1903 they founded their magazine Ashibi, which in 1908 was replaced by the Araragi (Yew Tree). Before long, such new waka poets as Ishihara Jun, Hirafuku Hyakusui, Shimagi Akahiko, Saitō Mokichi, Nakamura Kenkichi, Horiuchi Taku, Mochizuki Hikaru, and Koizumi Chigashi were participating, and with the decline of the Myōjō school, the Araragi group advanced and developed to replace it as the main current of the waka stream.

Further, in addition to the school of romanticism centering around the Myōjō group and the school of classic restoration centering the Araragi group, we should remember that there were the school of naturalism centering around Shinsei (New Voice), and the moderate improvement school of the eclectic group centering around Kokoro no Hana (Flower of the Heart), edited by Sasaki Nobutsuna.

D. TRENDS IN THE WORLD OF PUBLIC ENTERTAINING ARTS

1. The Kawakami Troupe and the New Theater

Just as the waka and haiku of the 1890’s were called the
new school in contrast to the older forms, in the theatrical world as well, the new theater initiated by outsiders was called the new school, and kabuki was designated as the old. While the actors of the new school excelled those of the old in grasping the spirit of the new age, they were inferior technically and therefore, tried to win public favor by novelties. In that regard, by far the most talented was Kawakami Otojirō, who went abroad in 1893 and personally studied Western theatrical art. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in August of the following year, he promptly presented a drama based on the war add won wide acclaim. Stimulated by this success, the old school also presented war dramas in every theater, but they were not so well received as the new school had been. Even the Kabuki-za presented a war drama in November, and although such celebrated actors as Danjūrō and Kikugorō made strenuous efforts, not only did they fall like misfits, but military uniforms were not becoming to them; and in comparison with the new school they proved unpopular.

On the other hand, being puffed up by their success, the Kawakami troupe in May of the following year present a war drama at the Kabuki-za, the very stronghold of kabuki. But though Kawakami had been so successful in presenting war dramas, he had to discover some new artifice after the war was over. In 1899 he went abroad with his troupe, and after returning in 1901, he tried new techniques such as darkening the theater during the performance, or using colored lights for stage lighting. After once more going abroad, in February 1903 he dramatized Othello, treating it in a Japanese setting, and calling it a seigeki (legitimate play.) In this play, his wife Sadayakko, who had been acting during the foreign trip, made her first appearance on the Japanese stage. In the same year Kawakami also dramatized The Merchant of Venice and Hamlet in Japanese surroundings, and presented them. In showing Hamlet at the Meiji-za in December, he applied various new techniques, which were greatly appreciated. Among them were
reducing the length of the performance, adopting the ticket system, and abolishing various special charges such as gate-money, foot-gear money, and floor-cloth money. In short, Kawakami learned many things from foreign countries; and although he destroyed without reserve the old theatrical conventions which were so difficult for the kabuki group to cast away, this was welcomed by the public. Although there were other new school theatrical groups, the Kawakami troupe were the most progressive.

2. Developments in Music

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out, war songs on this subject appeared. As the war developed favorably, these songs were sung in a lively way and became very popular. This popularization was aided by the fact that the newly written war songs were used in the singing classes of primary and middle schools. Prior to this, as singing had been introduced into the schools all over Japan, the Ministry of Education had prepared eight pieces of music for school use, entitled “Songs and Music for Holidays and National Festive Days,” which were published on August 12, 1893. *Kimi ga Yo* (National Anthem of Japan) was of course included among them. In 1900 the Tokyo Academy of Music published “Songs and Double-Note Music for Holidays and National Festive Days.”

Music education in the schools carried its influence into the home. Thus, singing was disseminated, and although during wartime the singing of war songs became popular, their popularity declined after the war, and new songs were demanded to take their place. In the early 1900’s, a tremendous number of new songs were published. Among them were Ōchiai Naobumi’s *Minatogawa* (name of a famous 14th century battlefield), *Tetsudō Shōka* (Railroad Song) which is said to have been written by Ōwada Kenju, Takeshima Hagoromo’s *Utsukushiki Ten’nen* (Beautiful Nature), and also such collections of songs
as Shinsen Kokumin Shōka (New Collection of People’s Songs), Yōnen Shōka (Youngsters’ Songs), Yōchien Shōka (Kindergarten Songs), Chūgaku Shōka (Middle School Songs), etc. Chūgaku Shōka was compiled by the Tokyo Academy of Music and published in 1901; in it were included Kōjō no Tsuki (Moon of the Ruined Castle) written by Tsuchii Bansui and composed by Taki Rentarō.

Also in the 1900’s there appeared student songs for high schools, special schools and colleges. These student songs began as dormitory songs, developing into school songs and cheering-section songs.

It can be said that Western-style vocal music in Japan started with hymns. When restrictions on religion were abolished in February 1873, missonary bodies, chiefly American, began strenuous evangelical activities and established churches throughout the country. This led to a large demand for collections of hymns, and six hymnals appeared in the following year, though the songs were few in number. By the early 1880’s small hymnals were appearing in succession with a large number of songs. But by the end of the 1880’s new nationalistic attitudes were preventing the spread of Christianity, and the dissemination of hymns also came to a standstill. After the end of the Sino-Japanese War, the militaristic fever declined, the international position of Japan improved, and democratic liberal thought also gained influence again. In this way, Christianity also regained its influence, and with it, hymns were again disseminated. Around this time, vocal training was being emphasized in the schools; and as this helped to lessen the previous technical difficulties connected with hymn-singing, it worked to the advantage of further dissemination of hymns. Hymns were sung not only in churches but also in Christian homes, and many became Christians through feeling the charm of hymn singing.

The hymnals used by the various Protestant denominations around the turn of the century were of several kinds differing
according to denomination, but these were collected into one consolidated volume *Sambika* (The Hymn), which was published in November 1903. As all denominations used this in common, further dissemination of hymns resulted. However, the Anglican Church, although it was Protestant, used its own *Kakin Seika Shū* (Collection of Old and New Sacred songs). This was compiled in 1901; about one-third of the songs were the same as in *Sambika*.

The importation of Western music started with wind instruments, and in most cases concert orchestras consisted of wind instruments only. In 1880, the *Gagaku* musicians attached to the Imperial Household began to study string instruments as well, and were soon giving performances. Thus, improvement of technical skill in the performance of Western music raised the artistic level of the concerts, and in January 1898, a concert group called the *Meiji Ongakukai* (Meiji Music Society) was established, its chief interest being in orchestral music. Uehara Rokushirō, director of the School of Music affiliated with the Higher Normal School, was its president, and among its members were many graduated of that school, as well as *Gagaku* musicians. This society sponsored many concerts, traveling also to the Kansai region to introduce Western music, and in addition, performed Japanese music on Western instruments. In contrast with the concerts presented around 1887, intended mainly for the upper class, the *Meiji Ongakukai* aimed at the general public, and held its first public concert at the Y.M.C.A. in Kanda, Tokyo.

The Tokyo School of Music, founded in 1888, was affiliated with the Tokyo Higher Normal School in 1893, because its primary objective was that of training music teachers. However, it was made independent again in 1899. This was perhaps because by the turn of the century, concern over the shortage of music teachers had disappeared, and along with technical improvement in the playing of Western music, genuine lovers of Western music were also increasing in number. Thus, it
was necessary to provide a higher institution of musical education in Japan, aiming at the enhancement of artistic standards. The newly independent Tokyo School of Music strove to present concerts of a higher level than the performances of any other group.

Shortly after 1900, as the technical level of musical performances improved and high-quality vocal selections were included in recitals, the idea began to be proposed that operas should be presented by Japanese performers. An opera had already been presented in Japan by foreigners in 1894, at the time of the Sino-Japanese War, for the benefit of the Red Cross, but so far none had been performed by Japanese.

In 1902, interested people of the Tokyo School of Music and Tokyo University established the Kageki Kenkyūkai (Opera Study Society), and in July of the following year this group presented Gluck's *Orpheus* in Japanese at the auditorium of the Tokyo School of Music. Tokyo University members translated the libretto into Japanese, teachers and students of the Tokyo School of Art prepared the costumes and stage settings, and the roles were played entirely by graduates and students of the Tokyo Music School. Noël Peri, a lecturer at the Tokyo School of Music, directed the performance, and in the absence of an orchestra, Dr. Raphael von Koebel played the piano for accompaniment. That boy and girl students had appeared together in this kind of an opera did not please conservative Ministry of Education officials, but the press commented favorably. From about 1905 on, the presentation of operas became quite popular.

E. MATURING OF THE WORLD OF FINE ARTS

Nationalism as a reaction against Europeanism, had a great influence and effect upon the world of fine arts as well. The increased national strength displayed in the Sino-Japanese War and the development of capitalism further accelerated the deve-
lopment of capitalism further accelerated the development and modernization of the fine arts. In architecture, iron-frame and reinforced concrete construction were introduced. In the field of Japanese painting, the Nihon Bijutsu In (Japan Academy of Art) was established by Okakura Tenshin; and Yokoyama Taikan, Hishida Shunsō and others created a new style based on color instead of line. Besides, quite a number of other groups were formed, including the Nihongakai (Japan Painting Society) and the Kōjikai.

In the field of Western painting, the “outdoor” style characterized by brilliant color tones was introduced by Kuroda Seiki, sweeping away the previous style of dark and subdued tones, and meeting with widespread public approval. This school formed the Hakubakai (White-horse Society). On the other hand, the Meiji Bijutsu Kai was dissolved after some ten years of activity and the Taiheiyō Gakai (Pacific Painting Society) was organized by some of its more progressive members. Tokyo School of Art, which up to this time had taught the traditional art of Japan exclusively, was also reformed; a course in Western painting, and then one in carving and modelling, were added.

Furthermore, the Domestic Industry Promotion Exhibition, which had been held exclusively in Tokyo, was held in Kyoto in 1895 and in Osaka in 1903, which contributed to the dissemination of fine arts. In addition, a considerable number of Japanese artists participated in the Paris International Exhibition of 1900, competing for the first time with artists of other countries. On that occasion, many artists and art-lovers went to France, where they learned a great deal.

1. The Japanese School of Painting
and Tenshin’s Reform Movement

The dawn of new Japanese school of painting had already occurred in the previous period, and in this period it showed conspicuous results in the reform movement centering around
Okakura Tenshin, which included the *Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai* (Japan Art Association) and the *Nihon Bijutsu In* (Japan Academy of Art). On the other hand, this was the period in which the old masters of early Meiji had their final day of glow. At the Fourth Domestic Industry Promotion Exhibition, held in Kyoto in 1895, screens drawn by six master-artists of Tokyo under the patronage of the Iwasaki family were placed on display and overwhelmed the other exhibits. These were Gahō's *Ryūko* (Dragon and Tiger), Noguchi Yūkoku's *Kikuei-zu* (Chrysanthemum and Fowl), Taki Watēi's *Shōkaku Yūroku-zu* (Cranes on Pine and Deer at Play), Noguchi Shōhin's *Shunju Seishi Sansui* (Landscapes in Spring and Autumn), Kawabata Gyokushō's *Tōrien Dokuraku-zu* (Solitary Enjoyment in Peach Orchard), and Matsumoto Fūko's *Mōko Shūrai oyobi Hekiteikan-zu* (Mongolian Invasion and the Battle at Hekiteikan). Besides these, other old master-artists of both Tokyo and Kyoto displayed their consummate skill, but of them some died shortly afterwards and others ceased their artistic activities, so that the period around 1879 marked a great change in Japanese art.

The *Nihon Seinen Kaiga Kyōkai* (Japan Young Men's Art Association), founded in 1891 with Okakura Tenshin as its president, gradually drew public attention by its annual exhibitions, continuing until 1896. In the meantime, such new figures as Yokoyama Taikan, Shimomura Kanzan, Hishida Shunsō, and Saigō Kogetsu had graduated from the Tokyo School of Art, trained in the thought of Tenshin and the techniques of Gahō and Gyokushō. In 1896, in order both to express his own unique artistic ideals through the works of three young artists, and to enable them to acquire social position, Tenshin permitted them to join the *Nihon Seinen Kaiga Kyōkai*, and changed the name of the association to the *Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai* (Japan Art Association). The first exhibition of the new association was held in the fall of 1896 in three sections; the first, painting in the traditional Oriental style; the second, painting in the Western manner; and the third, works intended to open
up new vistas without taking head of existing rules. The second part was arranged jointly with the Western-style Hakubakai, which was just then holding its first exhibition. While the first part contained paintings in a conservative style, the third part included artists who were trying to pioneer a new style by breaking tradition, and the vital energy of the society depended on the efforts of this group. From 1897 on, exhibitions were held each spring and autumn, but starting with the second exhibition, the three-part system was abandoned. Then the joint exhibitions with the Hakubakai were discontinued; and as the conservative artists formed their own Nihon-Ga kai (Japan Art Society), the exhibitions came to be those of the reform group alone. However, really epoch-making progress in Japanese-style painting was not achieved until after the establishment of the Nihon Bijutsu In (Japan Academy of Art).

Okakura Tenshin, who exerted every effort for the betterment of the art world as president of the Tokyo School of Art, and director and chief of the Fine Arts Department of the Imperial Museum, was annoyed by the maneuvering of some discontented elements and resigned from all official posts in the spring of 1898. This led Hashimoto Gahō and all the other professors of the Tokyo School of Art who had studied under Tenshin to resign also. This was the direct cause for the establishment of the Nihon Bijutsu In in July of that year. Gahō became the director, but Tenshin held the real power as chairman of the board of councillors, and as regular members, in addition to Tenshin and Gahō, there were men such as Taikan, Kanzan, Shunsō, Kogetsu, Kōgyō, Tomoto, Yamada Keichū, Kawasaki Chitora and Matsumoto Fūko. Branches of sculpture and industrial arts were also included, but the main emphasis was on painting. Thus, in the fall of 1898, the fifth exhibition was held as a joint project of the Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai and the Nihon Bijutsu In, and they were so continued twice every year, in spring and autumn, until 1903. In these exhibition, new and old artists exhibited their works, but those who
displayed the most revolutionary style were Taikan, Kanzan and Shunsō. Taikan manifested his creative spirit in his *Kutsugen* (A Famous Chinese), *Maigo* (Lost Child) and *Mokuran* (Magnolia); Kanzan in his *Jai* (Cremation of a Priest) and *Taigen no Tsuyu* (Dew on a Vast Plain); and Shunsō in his *Unchū Hōkaku* (Cranes in the Clouds), *Ō-shō-kun* (Lady Wang Chao-chun) and *So-Ri Ketsubetsu* (Parting of Su and Li).

As the study of antique art continued, excellent classical works were gradually discovered, and the course of Japanese painting from ancient times gradually became clear. On the other hand, the “outdoor” school, a branch of impressionism, was introduced by Kuroda Seiki, and with its brilliant color tones and unadorned depiction of nature, it gradually came to dominate Japanese Western-style painting. In the meantime, Taikan and Shunsō had boldly tried the new technique of color painting without lines, adding the space perception of the outdoor school to the portrayal of impressions through color as done by Sōdatsu and Kōrin of old, and so surpassing the style of the Meiji pioneers, Hōgai and Gahō. However, opinion was divided on the results, and even such bantering names as “phantom style” or “hazy style” were given to them. Kanzan was not so radical as Taikan and Shunsō, and continued his study of the Kōrin school and the Yamato-e style, never abandoning line drawing. At any rate, it is needless to say that the Oriental romanticism of Tenshin constituted the broad background for the large scale historical pictures done by these artists.

In such ways, the *Nihon Bijutsu In* brought about great changes in Japanese-style painting around 1900. But as Tenshin, Taikan and Shunsō went to the United States in 1904, and Kanzan was sent to England for study by the Ministry of Education, with the absence of these central figures and also due to financial difficulties, the *Bijutsu In* became an organization only in name. In 1906 it had to move its study institute to the remote village of Itsu'ura in Ibaragi Prefecture.
OUTLINE OF JAPANESE HISTORY IN THE MEIJI ERA

During this period, in opposition to the radical *Nihon Bijutsu In*, the conservative *Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai* continued its activities as an important organization in the school of Japanese painting. Besides these two major groups, several others were also formed. One of these was the *Nihon Gakai* (Japan Art Society) led by Araki Kampo and Nomura Bunkyō, and consisting of such conservative artists of medium standing as Ōide Tōkō, Mochizuki Kimpō, Tomioka Eisen, Suzuki Kason, Matsuno Kajo, Hata Senrei, Araki Jippo, Kuroda Eiryo, Ogata Gekko, and Kajita Hanko. However, what had significance in the history of painting, rather than these large organizations, were the study groups formed by new artists. Among them, the *Kiseikai* (Choked Voice Society) advocated naturalism in contrast to the romanticism of the *Nihon Bijutsu In*; its members included Yūki Somei, Hirafuku Hyakushi, Watanabe Kōgai, Shimazaki Ryūyu, Fukui Kotei, Ōmori Keidō and Ishii Hakutei. The *Kōjikai* (Red Child Society) was a study group led by Yasuda Yukihiko of the Tomoto school and Imamura Shikō of the Fukō school. Their field of study ranged from the Yamato-e to the Kōrin school, and such new figures as Kobayashi Kokei, Maeda Seison Ishi’i Tempū, Arai Kampō, Nagano Sōfū, and Hayami Gyoshū participated. The *Ugōkai* (Disorderly Crowd Society) was composed of several new artists including Mizuno Toshikata and pupils of Ogata Gekko such as Kaburagi Kiyokata, Ikeda Terukata, and Kawai Hidetada; it was in the tradition of *ukiyo-e*, but gradually developed a new approach in treating genre and feminine subjects.

Even the *Nanga* (Southern Chinese) school, which had been in obscurity for some time, gradually began to show signs of revival, and about 1905 the *Nihon Nansō Gakai* (Japan Southern Sung Art Society) was formed in Tokyo. From this group appeared such artists as Komuro Suiun, Yamaoka Beika, and Kozaka Shiden. In Kyoto, the *Nihon Nanga Kyōkai* (Japan Nanga Society) was formed in 1896, and from this organization such artists as Tanomura Chokunyū, Taniguchi Aizan, and
Tomioka Tessai gradually began to distinguish themselves; around the same time, in Osaka there was the Osaka Nansō Gakai (Osaka Southern Sung Art Society) in which Mori Kinsēki was conspicuous.

In Kyoto, several new figures then became active in the Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai, and the Shinkō Bijutsu Tenrankai (Newly Risen Fine Arts Exhibition) held annually by the Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai starting in 1895, gave them an opportunity to come before the public. These artists included such men as Hōbun, Seihō, Shunkyo, Taniguchi Kōkyo, Tsuji Kakō, Kijima Ōkoku, Kikuchi Keigetsu, Kamimura Shōen, Nishiyama Suishō, Hashimoto Kansetsu, Nishimura Goun, and Tomita Keisen. The chief tendency of this Kyoto group was naturalism, in contrast to the romanticism of the Tokyo Academy exhibition group. They modernized the traditional Maruyama and Shijō type of realism, but retained the effective and delicate brush work, and thus did not display any such great alteration in technique as did the Tokyo reform group.

2. Western School of Painting

In 1893, Kuroda Seiiki and Kume Keiichirō, who had been in France for a long time studying under Raphael Collin, returned home, and by introducing the outdoor school of impressionism, greatly influenced the Western painting circles of Japan. In the year following their return, they acquired the Seikōkan Art School of Yamamoto Hōsui, with whom they had become acquainted in Paris, renamed it the Tenshin Dōjō, and began teaching young students. Until then, conté was ordinarily used for sketching, but here they began using charcoal and also took the steps toward Western art methods, for example, using nude models for the study of the human body. Thus they laid the foundation of modern Western art instruction.

At first, Kuroda and Kume participated in the Meiji Bijutsu Kai as members, and in the exhibitions of the society held in
1894 and 1895, they displayed works they had produced in Europe as well as those painted after returning to Japan. Students of the Tenshin Dōjō, too, displayed their works in the new style. In contrast to the works of the Meiji Bijutsu Kai artists up to this time, which were generally dark brownish in tone, the works of Kuroda and others in the outdoor school were brilliant, yellow, light green and shades of red being used for the sunny areas, blue or purple for the shadows. Critics and journalists called this new style of painting by such names as New School, Southern School, and Purple School, and called the Meiji Bijutsu Kai style the Old School, Northern School or Tar School; and the critical world was enlivened by pros and cons on these two styles. Particularly outstanding was the controversy between Mori Ōgai writing in Mezamashigusa, and Takayama Chogyū in Taiyō.

At the fourth Domestic Industrial Promotion Exhibition, held in Kyoto in 1895, Kuroda exhibited Chōsō Zu (Morning Make-up) which he had drawn in Paris. A representative work of Kuroda, it was a picture of a nude and became the target of discussion. There was opposition to displaying picture of nudes in exhibition open to the general public, and not exclusively for artists. However, the judges disregarded the opposition and decided to continue the exhibition of this picture, which established a precedent in Japanese art circles.

In this way, the new school of painting was disseminated, but Kuroda and others, being dissatisfied with the bureaucratic Meiji Bijutsu Kai, which had a president, directors and other organs, decided to organize a new body with membership on a free and equal basis. This was the Hakubakai (White Horse Society), established in 1896. From the fall of that year, the Hakubakai held an exhibition at Ueno Park every year, and while previous exhibitions had displayed only completed works, the Hakubakai showed in addition various studies, rough sketches of large works, and small pieces in a light-hearted mood. They also made their titles simple and plain, and these
changes, together with the brightness of the outdoor style, created a feeling of friendliness among their viewers. In these exhibitions, works in the naturalistic style predominated, with landscapes and genre appearing in large numbers. Following this naturalistic trend, from about 1902 on, works in a romantic mood began to appear.

The *Hakubakai* established a study institute in Tokyo in 1899, where they taught the history of Western art and the French language, in addition to the techniques of painting. This institute continued for some time even after the dissolution of the *Hakubakai*, and many Western-style artists were graduated from it.

In the same year that the *Hakubakai* was established, 1896, a course in Western painting was set up at the Tokyo School of Art. Since the closing of the art school affiliated with the Technical College of the Ministry of Engineering, it had been thirteen years since Western painting had been offered at a government school. As stated previously, for several years after its founding, only traditional art was taught at the Tokyo School of Art, but just when Okakura Kakuzō, its dean, was considering changes in the curriculum, the progressive Saionji Kim'mochi became Ministry of Education; and with his approval, the course in Western painting was added. Kuroda Seiki was appointed as instructor and taught practical techniques according to modern French methods. Although others were also appointed to the school, a dispute among some of them eventually resulted in leaving artists of the *Hakubakai* group led by Kuroda in a position to dominate the Western painting faculty.

The *Meiji Bijutsu Kai*, after the falling away of many young artists including Kuroda and Kume, held its Tenth Anniversary Exhibition in 1898. However, as many of its members went to Europe in connection with the Paris International Exhibition of 1900, later exhibitions were not especially impressive. In 1901, the *Meiji Bijutsu Kai* was dissolved, and the *Taiheiyō Gakai* (Pacific Painting Society) was organized. Among the members
were Nakamura Fusetsu and Kanokogi Takeshirō who had been taught by Jean Paul Laurens, a painter of historical subjects of the French academic school. They introduced his style, which emphasized form rather than color, and this influenced the members of the Taiheiyo Gakai and other young people. Thus it came about that even in its style of painting, the Taiheiyo Gakai was in opposition to the Hakubakai, with its espousal of the outdoor school. The Taiheiyo Gakai held its first exhibition at Ueno Park in 1902, and continued them annually. The Taiheiyo Gakai, too established a study institute in Tokyo in 1904, which was later moved to a newly constructed building, and in a way similar to that of the Hakubakai, many Western school artists were produced from it.

After the dissolution of the Meiji Bijutsu Kai, a group led by Kawamura Kiyo’o, including Goseida Hōryu, Tōjō Shōtarō, and Ishikawa Kinichirō, did not join the Taiheiyo Gakai, but organized the Tomoekai (Comma Emblem Society). This society held exhibitions independently for several years, but failing to prosper as well as the Hakubakai and Taiheiyo Gakai, it broke up naturally.

Besides, in the early 1900’s, water-color came into vogue, in addition to oil painting. Miyake Katsumi of the Hakubakai, and Ōshita Tōjirō and Maruyama Banka of the Taiheiyo Gakai specialized exclusively in water-colors. They not only displayed many works in various exhibitions, but endeavored to increase interest by publish in guide manuals of water-color painting. As a result, water-color painting became extremely popular among amateurs and students.

In Kyoto, however, Western school painting hardly made any headway against the popularity of the Japanese school. In the early years of Meiji, the name of Tamura Sōritsu was known, and when the Kyōto-fu Gagakkō (Kyoto Prefectural Art School) was established in 1880, with a course in Western painting, Tamura was for a time the instructor. He was followed by Koyama Shōzō. In the 1890’s, the curriculum of the school
was revised, and the course in Western painting was abolished. So far there was no organization for Western painting, but in 1901, Itō Yoshihiko, Tamura Sōritsu, Sakurai Chūgō, Matsu-bara Sangorō, Makino Katsuji, Yamanouchi Gusen and others established the Kansai Bijutsu Kai (Kansai Art Society). This was followed by the establishment of the Kansai Bijutsu In (Kansai Academy of Art). From this Kansai Bijutsu In, there appeared such artists as Saitō Yori, Umehara Ryūzaburō, Yasui Sōtarō, Kuroda Jūtarō, Ogawa Sempei, Tsuda Seifū, and Tanaka Zen’nosuke.

F. NEW ASPECTS OF THE PEOPLE’S LIFE.

In the early years of Meiji, every aspect of life was affected by Westernization, in response to the call of civilization and enlightenment, and with the political consciousness, this brought about the appearance of the “Rokumeikan Era” around 1884. However, a reaction set in very quickly, so that by 1887 movements to preserve the national essence were beginning. By 1890’s, the general trend showed a blending of Japanese and foreign manners and customs, but in a conservative way.

1. Population and the Price of Rice

When we consider the fluctuations in the price of rice, which constituted the basis of the people’s livelihood we see that it was ¥4.71 per koku in 1887 and ¥6.86 in 1891, with the average for these five years being ¥5.93. In 1892, it was ¥7.00, ¥9.16 in 1896, and ¥11.47 in 1901, the average for these years being ¥11.51. The reason for this remarkably high average was the excessively high price of ¥13.11 in 1898. The price was ¥12.07 in 1902 and ¥14.44 in 1906, the average of these 5 years being ¥13.14, but in 1907 it rose to the price of ¥16.02. The ratio of farm households, to total households of country was approximately, 65%, since against the national
total of 8,185,552 households, the number of farmers' and semi-farmers' households was 5,177,177 in 1903, and against the national total of 8,413,688 households, the number of agricultural households was 5,416,603 in 1904. Furthermore, the majority of the farmers, who made up the largest share of all productive enterprisers in Japan, were operating to old conventional methods. Among them, the total number of those who had received any modern agricultural education whatsoever, regardless of amount was 248,954 in 1903 and 457,692 in 1905. If we assume five members per farm household, the percentage of the farm population with agricultural education is seen to be extremely small, and we can imagine the cultural level of the agriculturalists in the Meiji Era.

Now, let us consider the population trends of Japan. The population was placed at 33,110,796 in 1872, and at successive five-year intervals thereafter, steady increases occurred as follows: 1877, 628,238; 1882, 36,700,079; 1887, 39,069,691; 1892, 41,089,940; 1897, 43,228,863; 1902, 46,041,768; and 1907, 48,819,630. As to the outlying regions of the Japanese Empire, the population of Korea was 13,832,376 in 1911; that of Taiwan was 2,587,848 in 1898, which increased to 2,915,984 in 1904 and to 3,162,787 in 1911. The population of Karafuto was as small as 1,919 in 1907 and 2,114 in 1912. Although there may be some doubt the complete accuracy of these figures, we can obtain a general idea of the population in the Meiji Era from these figures.

2. Hobbies

With the rise of a general reactionary tendency to preserve the national essence, hobbies which have a history and tradition since the Edo period, or date even before, regained their vitality. Among the general public as well, well-do-persons of the business world replaced clan lords as the protectors of these hobbies and arts, so that these professions also revived. Such
hobbies as collecting old coins, old pictures, and scrolls, as well as bonsai, raising gold fish, singing gidayū and other songs, go, shōgi, the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, game hunting, garden landscaping, chrysanthemum cultivation, and from Nō to baseball and sumō, began to flourish.

For instance, the ceremonial tea service had been almost forgotten directly after the Meiji Restoration. Consequently, antiques, pictures, calligraphic scrolls, which had once been very highly valued, were spread on the front stands of roadside junk stores. The leading representatives of schools of the tea ceremony were living in difficulty like the Nō experts. However, after 1877, when the social situation became stabilized and people began to live more comfortably, signs of the revival of the tea ceremony appeared. Nevertheless, those who had an interest in this were mostly business men or wealthy former clan lords. In the middle decades of Meiji, this art developed under the spur provided by the Wakeikai (Harmonious Respect Society), a society limited to sixteen members and hence also called Jūroku Rakankai (Society of Sixteen Disciples of Buddha).

Among hobbies and amusements, by far the most popular were sumō and baseball. The former was a Japanese skill with a long tradition; the latter was a sport imported from the West. Even with its history as a national game, sumo was buffeted by the waves of civilization and enlightenment in the early days of Meiji. For one thing, being a nude sport it was looked down upon as barbarian; for another, its main centers had been in Edo, Osaka and Kyoto, and famous wrestlers had previously been supported by daimyō. With the fall of the daimyō from power, the practice of sumō almost ceased, and the sport barely maintained an existence in the form of amateur matches in rural districts. Nevertheless, it began to revive around 1878, when Takasago began to demand reforms in sumō circles. Especially after Japan defeated China in 1895, the Japanese people gained self-confidence, interest in their own national character was strengthened, and as a consequence they
gained a new appreciation of *sumō*. By good fortune, just at this time around 1897, several powerful wrestlers appeared on the scene. This was perhaps the greatest factor in establishing modern *sumō* in an unshakable basis of popularity. As Grand Champion (*Yokozuna*), there was Nishinoumi; other top wrestlers included Konishiki, Tsurugiyama, Yahatayama, Ōdohira, Asahio, Sakahoko, Ōzutsu, Hōō and Araiwa. Later with rivalry between two Grand Champions, Umegatani Tōtarō II of the East and Hitachiyama Taniemon of the West, the interest of the whole nation was focused on *sumō*, and it flourished to an unprecedented degree. The technique of *sumō* also underwent some changes through the introduction of *jūdō* principles, which it is said caused some changes in the physique of the wrestlers as well.

3. Revival of Martial Skills

The development of martial skills in the latter part of the Meiji Era is worthy of note.

In the field of *jūdō*, attention must be called to the founding of the *Kōdōkan* technique by Kanō Jigorō. During the Tokugawa period, *jūjutsu* developed as one of the military skills, with many specialties in the techniques of throwing, use of hands, waist, and feet, somersault tricks, and so forth; the total number of schools, including Kitō, Yōshin, Kyūshin, and Musō, came to more than thirty. However, like all the military skills in the early days of Meiji it declined, and came to be used only for the training of policemen. In May, 1882, however, Kanō Jigorō opened a training institute at Eishōji Temple in Tōkyō. Borrowing the good points not only of the various older schools, but also of Western wrestling and boxing, he assembled and organized their basic principles, and finally created the *Kōdōkan* school, which was perfected in 1888.

*Kendō* (fencing) was the primary accomplishment of the *samurai*, but with the collapse of the *samurai* class and the
prohibition against wearing swords, it suffered a total decline. Even Sakakibara Kenkichi, the most noted fencing instructor, was obliged to perform in a roadside show at Asakusa in Tokyo. In a period when the spectators were mostly ex-samurai, this sufficed to bring him a living, but later on as the samurai class died out, kendō was kept alive only by the Metropolitan Police Board. Interest began to revive from about the time the Metropolitan Police Board held its Military Skills Athletic Contest in 1886, and in 1893, the Dai Nihon Butoku Kai (Great Japan Military Virtue Society) was established.

Swimming was another of the military skills of the Tokugawa Period. Many schools existed, including Nōjima, Kawai, Iwakura, Mukai, and Suifu, and each with its own specialty such as the flat style, the side stroke, upright, and so forth, but all declined directly after the Restoration. In the early 1900's swimming was included in the physical education curriculum for university students. Tokyo Imperial University built a swimming installation at Heda, Shizuoka Prefecture; Tōkyō Higher Normal School built another at Hōjō, Chiba Prefecture; and other schools also established swimming facilities. As swimming became popular, newspapers began to support it, and in 1905 the Ōsaka Mainichi sponsored a cross-Ōsaka Bay swimming contest. Following this, many newspapers held similar events, and in 1907 a swimming pool was constructed in connection with the Ueno Industrial Promotion Exhibition.
Chapter Six

CULTURE IN LATE MEIJI

A. THE PERIOD

1. Situation in the Far East

JAPAN fought the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 to secure the independence of Korea. Although China and other foreign countries stopped interfering in Korea directly after the war, Russia advanced and soon occupied a position similar to that which China had once held. Minister Miura Gorō and his staff were recalled and Japanese influence in Seoul waned. Because suspicion for the assassination of Queen Min in 1895 had fallen upon Japanese residing in Korea, Tarins advantage of this situation, the Russian Minister to Korea succeeded by secret maneuvers in securing the transfer of the Emperor of Korea and the Heir Apparent to the Russian Legation, in February 1896 and pro-Japanese Koreans were decapitated, and their heads exposed. Viewing the grave situation in as serious, Japan negotiated an agreement with Russia in May that year, in which both countries approved a part of the actions of the other in Korea. For example, Russia assented to Japan’s establishment of a cable-line between Seoul and Pusan and the stationing of garrisons, and Japan sanctioned similar Russian actions in North Korea.

However, there were still other problems which required solution. The Korean Court retained Russian nationals as
financial advisors and employed Russian soldiers. In April 1898, following negotiations in Tokyo between Nishi, Japanese Foreign Minister, and Rosen, the Russian Minister to Japan, a second agreement relating to Korea was concluded. The two countries agreed to honor the independence of Korea, and not to interfere unilaterally in Korea. Despite these two agreements, Russian sincerity was doubtful, for when her influence expanded into Manchuria, Korea was again drawn into the Russian sphere of influence. Just at this time, the previously noted Boxer Uprising had broken out.

When the weakness of China was revealed by her suit for peace in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, the powers suddenly changed their attitude toward China. Their demands on China to cede concessions or rights became extremely outspoken and coercive, and they began acquiring rights on various pretexts. The country which initiated this program in the northern part of China was the Tsarist Empire. While attending the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II in May 1896 Li Hung-chang concluded a secret pact with Russia; afterwards the negotiations were transferred to Peking and a detailed secret agreement was signed between China and the Russian Minister to China. By this agreement Russia secured the right to construct railroads in Manchuria and to place Port Arthur and the Bay of Dairen under her influence. This example was not overlooked by other leading powers, and when a German missionary was killed in Shantung Province in the fall of 1897, Germany obtained a lease of the Kiaochow Bay area as compensation. England, too, acquired Whihaiwei for the maintenance of the balance of power and stationed troops there beginning in May 1898. Taking advantage of the murder of a French missionary in Shantung Province France obtained the lease to Kwangchow Bay in October of the following year. Japan concluded an agreement with China not to alienate Fukien Province. Year after year, Chinese territories were thus leased or alienated to other countries, causing the further indignation of the already
anti-foreign Chinese people. Thus, the Boxers raised an uprising to repulse foreigners in Shantung Province in 1900, hoisting the slogan, "Cherish the dynasty, exterminate the foreigners"; resorting to violence, they finally besieged Peking. When rumor began to spread that high government officials, including Tuan Chunwang, were having secret liaison with the Boxers, the leading powers resorted to military action to protect members of their legations and resident nationals, an action in which Japan also participated.

During this incident, Russia reinforced her troops in Manchuria, and after the uprising ended in April 1902, she concluded a treaty with China to evacuate the troops. Russia, however, not only failed to fulfill her pledge of evacuation but also tried to conclude a secret treaty with China to stop the lease, cession or sale of any part of Shantung Province to any third power. When faced with the strong protests of Japan, Great Britain and the United States, she withdrew this proposal and reluctantly promised an open door policy in Manchuria. But she had no intention of fulfilling this promise. In June 1903 Russian War Minister kropatkin, after visiting Japan held a conference at port Arthur to set up a program for the occupation of Manchuria. Russian pressure upon China increased, with Manchuria as its base, and Russia further, extended her ambition to Korea, leasing some land at Yongampo in August, 1903, and constructing a battery there. A conflict between Japan and Russia thus became inevitable.

When Russia's aggressive Far Eastern policy began to appear openly, Japan sought countermeasures and concluded an alliance with great Britain in January 1902. With both offensive and defensive features. The principal point of this alliance was that in case either Japanese or British interests in China or Korea were encroached upon by a third power, the two signatories would resort to necessary measures to protect them. Later revised three times, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance undoubtedly was an important means in maintaining peace in the
2. The Russo-Japanese War

After the Sino-Japanese War, Japan's potential enemy became Russia. As the leader of the Triple Intervention and the intruder into Korea, Russia was the virtual reason for the sustained determination and perseverance of the Japanese people. The expansion and replenishment of military and naval armaments were carried out with the Russian army and navy as their target.

The Army's plan to add six infantry divisions, two brigades each of cavalry and artillery, was largely realized by 1900. At the beginning of 1904, the field army had thirteen divisions, with the total fighting force consisting of 200,000 men including one mixed brigade stationed in Taiwan. In addition to these, she was able to mobilize second reservists, but these were not included in the schedule as a fighting force for the front.

The navy expedited its program of expansion, planned for ten years from 1896 to 1905, completing the whole program by 1902. The Navy was composed of one hundred six fighting vessels, including four ironclad battleships, six first-class cruisers, three second-class cruisers, three third-class cruisers, gunboats, destroyers and torpedo boats, and 584 miscellaneous vessels. At the beginning of 1904, Japan had 76 warships with a total tonnage of 258,000 tons, and 76 torpedo boats.

In February 1904, Japan and Russia went to war, with Russia's aggressive ambition towards the East as its underlying cause. Immediate reasons were Russia's failure to evacuate Manchuria, her reinforcement of garrisons in Korea and outrages on the Japanese people in Manchuria.

The strategic program conceived by the Russian Army was roughly as follows. At the beginning of the war, Japan was expected to take the offensive because Japan had twice Russia's strength on the front. Russia would avoid a decisive battle, by depending on the geographical advantages of the Yalu River
and the watershed ranges; and retarding the enemy's quick advance, she would gradually lead the Japanse northward. In the meanwhile, forces would be concentrated around Liaoyang, and a decisive battle sought there. In case the situation was not advantageous, the last battlefield would be sought around Harbin.

The Japanese strategy was for the navy to first destroy the enemy's Pacific Fleet and secure command of the sea. Then, while and one army, from the Korean Peninsula, launched a feint at the enemy, the main forces would land at Chinchow Peninsula. One part of the latter would make an assault upon Port Arthur, while the main body would march northward, occupy Liaoyang, and if necessary, advance father north in the early spring of the following year. Meanwhile, at the appropriate time, Japan would occupy Saghalien.

Finding that the war was inevitable in the spring of 1904, the Army landed temporary dispatch troops at Inchon on February 8 and promptly entered Seoul. The Navy went into action on February 6, and a fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Uryū Sotokichi defeated two enemy warships outside the port of Inchon on the 9th.

Prior to this, on February 5, Japan had sent an ultimatum to the Russian government on the severance of diplomatic relations and proclaimed the Imperial Declaration of War on the 10th. On the same day also declared war against Japan.

Japan's Combined Fleet began attacking Port Arthur on February 8 before war was officially declared, and continued the attack until May 3 destroying several enemy warships. In the meanwhile, the Fleet tried to block the mouth of the port, but failed.

The First Army commanded by General Kuroki Tamesada landed in Korea, advanced northward, began attacks upon enemy positions on the opposite bank of the Yalu River from April 29, crossed the river on May 1, broke through enemy positions, pursued the fleeing enemy, captured Chiulien-cheng and Antung.
and reached Fenghuang-cheng.

The Second Army, commanded by General Oku Yasukata, started landing at Yenta-ao on May 5, and secured the neck of the Chinchow Peninsula. The enemy, entrenched in impregnable positions on Mt. Nanshan, tried to prevent the Japanese Forces from approaching Ryōjun (Port Arthur) Fortress, but after a desperate and bitter struggle, the Second Army succeeded in capturing a part of the Nanshan fortifications.

The Independent Tenth Division landed at Takushan on May 19 and moved on Haichow-chang. In addition, the Third Army, under the command of General Nogi Maresuke, on June 6, undertook the siege of Port Arthur in lieu of the Second Army, which moved northward. At this time, with her main forces concentrated around Liaoyang, Russia sent one army southward to rescue besieged Port Arthur. The Second Army encountered the Russian south-bound forces near Telissu, and after hard fighting, routed the enemy on June 15. As the battle lines broadened with three armies and one independent division in the field in Manchuria, the Imperial Headquarters organized the General Headquarters of the Japanese Forces in Manchuria, and dispatched General Oyama Iwao to Manchuria as the Supreme Commander.

After the battle of Telissu, the Second Army began a further advance on July 6, captured Kaip'ing, defeated the enemy at Tashihchiao, and occupied Yingkou. The Independent Tenth Division, united with other divisions into the Fourth Army, and placed under the command of General Nozu Michitsura, occupied T'omu-cheng and supported the Second Army in the occupation of Haicheng. In the meantime, the First Army, winning the battle at Motienling, broke through the ranges of Kungchangling and Hanpoling, and joined the Second, the Fourth and the First Army in encircling Liaoyang. The Battle of Liaoyang began on August 26 and ended on September 4 with a Japanese victory. This was the decisive land battle in the Russo-Japanese War, and made the situation extremely
favorable to Japan, diplomatically as well as strategically.

Prior to this, the Navy had bottled up the Russian Fleet in
Port Arthur. Since the enemy fleet did not have the courage
to sail out and fight, the Russian government finally appointed
Vice-Admiral Makarov as Commander-in-Chief of the Far Eastern
Fleet and sent him to Port Arthur. He adopted the strategy
of sailing out and fighting, but was defeated in battle on April
13, and went down with his flagship. In the meanwhile, another
Russian fleet, based on Vladivostok, scoured the Japan Sea and
sank several Japanese transports, leading to popular criticism
of the inactivity of the Japanese Navy, but on August 14 the
Kamimura Fleet encountered the Russian fleet off Ulaan and
destroyed it. On August 10, occurred the Battle of the Yellow
Sea in which the Japanese Navy dealt a fatal blow to the
Russian Fleet from Port Arthur, and thus the Russian Far
Eastern Fleet was put out of commission.

Then land assault upon Port Arthur began on June 26.
Although the courageous Russian soldiers under General
Stoessel stubbornly defended this isolated, but well fortified
castle port through battle after battle, and on January 1, 1905,
the Third Army barely managed to capture it, after paying an
unprecedented cost in lives. After a triumphal entry into the
city, the Third Army hurriedly turned northward in order to
participate in the attack of Mukden.

After the defeat at Liaoyang, the Russian Army tried to
recover by mounting a grand offensive, and on October 5
launched a large-scale southward advance from the banks of
the Hunho River, south of Mukden. The major forces of
Japan and Russia met at the Shaho River in the great battle of
Shaho. Although the Japanese forces faced several critical
moments, they persevered through bitter fighting in repulsing
the enemy's offensives, and the two forces spent the year con-
fronting each other across the Shaho River. On January 24 of
the following year, the enemy launched an other offensive,
which produced the clash at Heikoutai. This was the most
perilous battles in the Russo-Japanese War for Japan, in which her armed forces narrowly succeeded in repulsing the enemy.

After the battle of Heikoutai, the time for a great decisive battle approached. The Japanese Manchurian Forces placed its First, Fourth and Second Armies in the center, the newly formed Yalu River Army took the right flank, and the newly arrived Third Army from Port Arthur the extreme left. The general advance, ordered in the last part of February, sides led to the great pitched battle from February to March, with both sides throwing into it all their available manpower. The Russian forces, however, could not recover from their initial strategic failure and began a general retreat on March 7. The Japanese troops occupied Mukden on the 10th, advanced from Tiehling to Changtu, and stopped. This was the so-called Battle of Mukden and was the last land battle of the war.

Then Russia made a desperate decision to dispatch her Baltic Fleet to the Far East in order to remedy the adverse war situation, and tried to isolate and blockade Japan by carrying out an annihilation operation on the sea with Vladivostok as her fleet base. The large armada of the baltic fleet, composed of thirty eight war vessels, left Russia in November, 1904, and after spending two hundred and twenty days on the sea, reached the Tsushima Channel before dusk on May 27 of the following year, where it encountered the Japanese Fleet. In the ensuing sea battle, which continued for two days, the Baltic Fleet suffered crushing losses and met a fatal defeat. It was the last act in the Russo-Japanese naval war and the final curtain was lowered on a great victory unparalleled in the history of the Japanese Navy.

After the Battle of Mukden, Japan began the Saghalien operation and occupied the whole island with one army division. Japan also organized the North Korea Army, which advanced into northern Korea and occupied Weining on September 1. Thus, when Japan was about to commence the next operation, peace was concluded.
CULTURE IN LATE MEIJI

The total strength of the Japanese forces mobilized in the Russo-Japanese War was about one million men with 258,000 tons of war vessels. In the first period of the conflict the Japanese Navy fought the war with 318,000 tons of warships, including nine converted merchant ships and torpedo boats, to which were added captured, salvaged, purchased and newly built warships.

President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States, who was watching the progress of the war, recommended that both Japan and Russia make peace. The two belligerents responded to this proposal, and Japan appointed Komura Jutarō and Takahira Kōgorō as negotiators with full powers while Russia appointed Count Witte. The envoys of the two countries met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, U. S. A., from August 9 to August 26, and peace was finally concluded after Japan made a great concession. The major Japanese acquisitions as a result of this war were the southern half of Sakhalien, recognition of Japan's superior position in Korea, Japan's assistance in the administration of the Korean government, and the concessions of Port Arthur and Dairen, as well as the railroads south of Harbin.

3. The Political situation after the War

Japan's diplomatic policy finally assumed its normal course after the settlement of such important affairs as the management of Manchuria, diplomatic negotiations with Korea and China, and the Russo-Japanese War. Internally, the necessity of diverting the people after their indignation at the unsatisfactory peace concluded by the cabinet led Prime Minister Katsura to resolve to resign and to transfer power to Saionji Kim'mochi, President of the Seiyūkai. Thus the Saionji Cabinet was formed on January 7, 1906. Katō Taka'aki, who was connected with the Kensei-hontō, participated in the cabinet as Minister of
Foreign Affairs, and as a result of the coalition of the *Seiyūkai* and the *Kensei-hontō*, the huge budget inevitably required after a major war and the bill to nationalize the railways were passed by the twenty second Imperial Diet.

However, differences gradually developed between the *Seiyūkai* and the *Kensei-hontō*. Under this situation, Saionji felt it necessary to have a conservative party other than the *Kenseitō*, and made the *Daidō Kurabu* (Grand Union Club) led by Ōura Kanetake and Sassa Tomofusa with eighty nine affiliated Diet members, the governmental party. By this maneuvering, the Cabinet succeeded in passing with almost no amendment such important bills as the Continuation of Emergency Special Tax Bill, the Establishment of Loan Adjustment Fund Bill, the Nationalization of Railways Bill, in the twenty second Imperial Diet. However, there was a difference in views within the Cabinet on the Nationalization of Railways Bill, and Foreign Minister Katō, who had opposed the bill because it provided for forced purchase of private railway enterprises, tendered his resignation.

At the same time, the *Kensei-hontō*, which was showing a tendency to move into opposition, began to lose its influence, and dissatisfied elements began to appear within the party who formed the *Kakushingumi* (reformative group). This faction, led by Ōishi Masami, Koezuka Ryū, Hatano Denzaburō and others, accumulated supporters and renounced the despotism of party leaders, insisting upon discussion of every issue, and a system of election of party officers instead of nomination by the president. These views were contrary to the opinions held by the Ōkuma-Inukai faction of the party, and finally Ōkuma expressed his determination to resign from the presidency on January 21, 1907.

At that time, there was a strong opinion to abolish the *gun* (county) system, and the *Seiyūkai* was planning to propose to the Diet a bill effecting this change. However, a difference of opinions between Home Minister Hara, who supported the
change, and Katsura Tarō, who opposed it, developed into a feud between the two figures, influencing their relations with the Saionji Cabinet. The Kensei-hontō, which wanted to recover party influence by joining hands with Katsura, had a connection with the Daidō Kurabu which had close relations with Katsura, and the two parties jointly stood in opposition against the bill to abolish the gun. The bill was passed in the House of Representatives by 188 to 164, but was rejected in the House of Peers by 100 to 149. This fact shows that there was a gradual infiltration of party color into the House of Peers which had been composed mostly of members from the bureaucracy.

In addition, the issue of the 1908 budget came to be like a cancer to this Cabinet. There was an estimated revenue deficit of 150,000,000 yen in the budget estimate, which the government planned to cover by temporary loans and an increase in the issue of convertible notes. However, Inoue Kaoru, who looked upon himself as a financial expert among the Elder Statesmen and who had influence, opposed the government program and asserted that the revenue deficit should be covered by curtailment of expenditures and a tax increase. Many of the Elder Statesmen supported his opinion. The Seiyūkai, which had stood for no tax increase or floating of bonds, could not alter their traditional position, but were well aware of the disadvantages in squarely confronting the Elder statesmen. They thus recast the budget estimate by postponing certain undertakings, raising the prices of commodities under government monopoly, increasing alcoholic beverage and sugar taxes, and creating a petroleum tax. In the course of this re-compilation, Postal Service Minister Yamagata Isaburō and Finance Minister Sakatani Yoshirō opposed each other over the cost of the construction and improvements of railroads. Saionji tendered his resignation because of discord in the Cabinet, but remained in office in accordance with the Imperial Rescript issued then and faced the twenty fourth Diet. In this Diet, the Seiyūkai were opposed to the
Kenseihontō and the Daidō Kurabu. The Opposition moved to impeach the Cabinet on the grounds that the tax increase was not only contrary to past declarations of the Seiyūkai but also placed heavy burdens upon the people. The motion was rejected by a vote of 177 to 168. After the close of the twenty fourth Diet, a general election was held in May 1909, and the Seiyūkai gained an overwhelming Diet majority. In July that year, Saionji Kim'mochi resigned for reasons of health and recommended Katsura as head of the succeeding cabinet.

The Emperor, after making an Imperial inquiry of Itō Hirobumi, then in Korea as Governor-General, issued an Imperial order by which the Katsura Cabinet came into existence. It is noteworthy that Saionji recommended Katsura although the Seiyūkai was not on good terms with him, and also when Itō was the founder of the party. Members of the Katsura Cabinet were Katsura Tarō, the Prime Minister and concurrently Minister of Finance; Komura Jutarō, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Hirata Tōsuke, the Minister of Home Affairs; Okabe Chōshoku, the Minister of Justice; Komatsubara Eitarō, the Minister of Education; Ōura Kanetake, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; Gotō Shimpei, the Minister of Postal Service; Terauchi Masatake, the Minister of War; Saitō Minoru, the Minister of Navy. The Katsura Cabinet had not even a single Diet member from the governmental party.

The political platform announced after the formation of the cabinet stated:

"Towards the Imperial Diet, this Cabinet adopts the attitude of not accepting and not rejecting merely because of differences in party or faction, and will gladly work together with those who have the same opinion as us. However, we will not avoid as many Diet dissolutions as necessary, in case there is any attempt to press policies upon the government by privately accumulated numbers of forces, forgetting the public interest of the country."

Just as before, this was a non-party cabinet, and genuine
parliamentary politics appeared yet to be in the distant future. Since the political parties of that time were engrossed in strengthening their own influence by depending on governmental power, they had no will to resist the government and Since they were merely repeating the same arguments among themselves, both the twenty fifth and the twenty sixth Diets ended peacefully and quietly. In the following twenty seventh Diet, in January, 1911, there suddenly appeared the question as to whether the Southern Court or the Northern Court should be considered the authentic Imperial line, a question begun by a doubt raised in the contents of state textbooks. The Cabinet somehow managed to struggle through this Diet, but on August 25 of that year, Prime Minister Katsura resigned Saionji formed a new Cabinet which many members of the Seiyūkai joined. In drafting the budget bill the Saionji Cabinet adopted an austerity policy and postponed expansion in naval armaments an increase of two army divisions, and improvement of local ports and harbors. It submitted to the Diet the Partial Amendment to the House of Representatives Members Election Law Bill to convert the large electoral district system into the small electoral district system. On March 28, 1912, the twenty eighth Diet was opened and with the term of Diet members expiring during the session, the eleventh general election was held on May 15, 1912. As a result, the Seiyūkai, the governmental party, secured 206 Diet seats and maintained its majority strength. On July 30, Emperor Meiji who was reported to be ill since the beginning of July, died, and thus ended a great epoch in Japanese history.

4. Japan’s Position in International Society

Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War advanced her position in the international community in one great stride. One aspect of this was revision of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Concluded on August 12, 1905, this revision expanded the
extent of the application of the agreement as far as India, approved Japan’s guidance, supervision and protection of Korea, and extended the term of the alliance for ten years.

A second feature was the establishment of Japan’s right to dispose of Korean affairs. Previously in February 1904, an agreement was concluded between Hayashi Gonsuke, Japan’s Minister to Korea and Rhee Si-yung, Temporary Acting Foreign Minister of Korea, by which Korea became a Japanese protectorate. As a result of the recognition of Japan’s priority in the political, military and economic affairs of Korea by the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan dispatched President of the Privy Council Itō Hirobumi to Korea as special envoy to take over Korean rights in foreign relations. Thus, when appointed to the position of governor-general Itō Hirobumi adopted a principle of gradualism and handled Korean affairs in the form of a Korean-Japanese partnership. Although Korea’s insincerity was disclosed by the revelation that the King of Korea had sent a secret mission to the Hague Peace Conference in the Netherlands in August that year, Sone Arasuke, who succeeded to the post of the governor-general in place of Itō, continued the principle of gradualism. However, the assassination of Itō Hirobumi by An Chung-gun, a Korean, at Harbin on October 26, 1909, led to the Treaty of Annexation of Korea, concluded between Governor-general Terauchi Masatake and the Korean Prime Minister Rhee Wan-yong on August 22, 1910.

In this way, the influence of Japan expanded in the Far East. As for relations with European and American countries, one notable fact was the mutual promotion by Japan and Great Britain of their legations in Tokyo and in London to embassy status, in November, 1905. In June 1907, the Franco-Japanese Pact assuring the independence and territorial rights of China, as well as equal treatment of businesses and citizens in China was concluded; Japan and France set forth the principle of mutual respect for each other’s territorial rights and positions, as well as mutual support in securing peace and tranquility in
Asia. The Russo-Japanese Pact was also concluded in that year, providing for agreements on trade, navigation and fisheries, the principle of the maintenance of Chinese territorial integrity, and respect for all the rights bestowed by the Treaty of Portsmouth, and approve equal opportunity in China. The effect of Japan's rise to power upon the people of the United States was great, tending to invite a sentiment of Japanophobia. Such incidents as the expulsion of Japanese school children occurred in San Francisco in October 1906, and Japanese workers were rejected by an amendment of the Immigration Act. The Japanese government voluntarily took measures to restrict the number of immigrants in order to pacify the sentiments of the American people, and at the same time, concluded a pact to confirm the territorial rights of the United States in the Pacific Ocean, as well as an arbitration treaty in May 1908. Further, on November 2, they exchanged a memorandum announcing the approval of equal opportunity in China on the fundamental principle of freedom and peace of the two signatory nations in the Pacific and assurance of the independence and territorial integrity of China.

In these circumstances, what especially influenced the position of Japan in the international community was the downfall of the Ching Dynasty of China. From the autumn to winter of 1911, a revolution broke out in China. The revolutionary party secured control over Hankow and Wuchang and swept over a wide area along the Yangtze River and declared its independence. All the central districts of China were brought under central the forces of the Ching Dynasty suffered repeated defeats in many places, and finally Sun Yat-sen, who had been a refugee abroad, was welcomed as president of the new regime, and Emperor Hsüan Tung abdicated in February 1912. The revolutionary armies of the south and the north united and established a republican governmental system, and Yüan Shihkai became the temporary president of the Republic. From that time on China began to face an eventful period, and naturally, Japan also
faced such a time as the leader in the Far East.

B. EDUCATION, ACADEMIC STUDY AND SOCIAL THOUGHT

1. Further Provisions for the Educational System

The educational system was more or less put in order in the first half of the third decade of Meiji. Although there was no attempt to make a complete revision of the system, in the fourth decade the aim was to expand the system and to promote education. The most outstanding bit of expansion in the educational system, realized along with the development of the national fortune after the Russo-Japanese War, was the extension of the period of compulsory education. When the Primary School Ordinance was revised in 1900, it had been planned to extend the years of primary schooling from four years to six years. After 1902 the rate of attendance increased to over 90% for both boys and girls, indicating that compulsory education of four years was not a heavy burden for the people. In addition, it was considered necessary to promote education in order to build up national strength after the war. Thus in March 1907, the Primary School Ordinance was revised, separating the first two years of the upper primary school and adding them to the four years of elementary school. The period of elementary education became six years, and that of the upper primary school, two years. In addition, the Primary School Ordinance Enforcement Regulations were also revised. This system of primary school and upper primary school, thus established remained in effect for over thirty years.

Along with the phenomenal changes in the postwar social situation and economic conditions, the problem of the treatment of school teachers was also taken up. Measures to raise salaries and to subsidize housing were adopted in 1907. It is also not worthy that such measures to promote primary education, as the amendment of secure allowances for primary school

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teachers in 1909 and an increase in the national subsidy for elementary educational expenses in 1911, were provided for at a time of social unrest accompanying changes in the social economy.

With regard to secondary education, there was no special reform of the middle school system, for the principles of middle school education had been established in 1902 by the promulgation of the Outline of Curriculum for Middle School Education, as well as by the Business School Ordinance of 1899. With regard to middle school education for girls, an important part of higher education for girls, the Girls' Higher School Ordinance was revised in 1910, marking a significant development in education for girls after the war. Special importance was placed on practical education, with equipment provided for in schools enabling training useful for being a housewife. The Outline of a Curriculum for Practical Higher Girls' School was especially prepared, establishing two courses for higher girls' schools, thus providing for the general organization and expansion of secondary education for girls.

In accordance with the program to expand popular education after the war. An increase in the number of imperial universities was planned. In 1907, an imperial university was established in Sendai, called the Tōhoku Imperial University. The Sapporo Agricultural School of Hokkaidō was changed into the agricultural college of that university, and a medical college was added in 1911. In 1910, Kyūshū Imperial University was established, with the technical college opened in 1911 and the medical college in 1912. These newly established imperial universities were later expanded with the establishment of additional colleges. The number of imperial universities established during the Meiji Era thus totalled four. These became the seats of highest learning.

In 1911, the promulgation of the Higher Middle School Ordinance clarified the high school system as a preparatory course for the university and as an organ of higher education.
based on English and American patterns. Although enforcement of this ordinance was scheduled for 1913, it was suspended before its enforcement. The reform would have provided for higher education of seven years divided into three years for the upper course and four years for the lower course. It was not until 1918 that reform was achieved. However, as a result of deliberations in the Higher Education Conference, the contents of the Higher Middle School Ordinance promulgated in 1911 were changed to provide for seven and half years' schooling in the higher middle school, divided into five years for the upper course and two and a half years for the lower course.

By reforming the high school system of the past as a place for special science or as a preparatory course for the university, the ordinance aimed at making the higher middle school provide middle school graduates with a higher education of a deeper and more precise kind. The part system of three course was changed to two courses. i. e., the literary course and the physical science course. The Rules for Higher Middle Schools were also promulgated in 1911, clarifying the character of this system.

Because the enforcement of the measure to regard the high school as an organ of higher education had been postponed, the reform was not realized. However, the principle of a higher middle school was later approved by the Temporary Education Conference and enforced in 1919. It is in this respect that the reform program of 1911 has a great significance in the history of the development of the educational system.

Upon reviewing the development of the system of special schools, it appears that there was no need to make a fundamental reformation of the system after the enforcement of the Special School Ordinance. However, as there were too many medical schools, the Rules of the Government Medical Special School was promulgated in 1907, and the school were divided into the medical course of four years and the pharmacological course of three years. Further, as to special school in
general, many special schools were established, expansion in courses took place, and it is noteworthy that special schools for girls were newly established around that time.

Before the promulgation of the New University Ordinance in 1919, universities under private management were regulated in accordance with the Special School Ordinance of 1903. Therefore, there were many private universities with the quality of a special law school such as Tokyo Hōgakuin Daigaku, Meiji Daigaku, Hōsei Daigaku, Keiō Gijuku Daigaku, Nihon Daigaku, Waseda Daigaku, and special religious schools such as Tendaishū Daigaku, Shinshū Daigaku, Bukkyō Daigaku. In addition to these private universities, various private special schools were also established.

After the Russo-Japanese War, further provision for and expansion of the school system necessitated the expansion of normal schools and higher normal schools. By the promulgation of the Rules for Normal Schools and enforcement of its detailed regulations in 1907, the main course and the preparatory course were established in normal schools. The main course was further divided into the first department and the second department. Only graduates from middle school were admitted to the second department, thus establishing a connection between the middle school and the normal school, and strengthening the normal school. Besides the Teaching Curriculum for Normal Schools was set in 1910, and in the fourth decade of Meiji, the system and structure of normal schools were definitely determined.

As to higher normal school for boys, the Hiroshima Higher Normal School was established in 1902, in addition to the existing Tokyo Higher Normal School. The Nara Girls’ Higher Normal School was established in 1908, in addition to the existing Tokyo Girls’ Higher Normal School. Secondary school teachers were trained in these four higher normal schools. In 1912, the total number of teachers in these four schools was 223, and the total number of students was 1,637. From this we can see the conspicuous development of normal school education.
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As to temporary teachers’ training institutes, many were abolished and new ones established after 1906. Institutes for training practical school teachers were provided for, by extending the length of the course and by expanding the criteria of training after 1907.

2. Changes in Educational Theory and Practices

In this way, in the fourth decade of Meiji, efforts were further made to bring about improvements in the educational system which had been provided for in the first part of the third decade of Meiji. While much to be highly valued resulted, what should not be overlooked is the importation around 1901 to 1902 of social pedagogy which became quite the vogue in the end of the Meiji Era, and which under the name of *tsūzoku kyōiku* (popular education) was to promote social education.

In the early part of the Meiji Era the educational world was influenced by the educational theory of Pestalozzi, but gradually the educators of this country were no longer satisfied with his theory, and around 1887 they began to concentrate their attention on the educational doctrines of Herbart. Supported by the fact that the moral features of his theory coincidentally matched the items of virtue indicated in the Imperial Rescript on Education, Herbart’s theory of pedagogy enjoyed a thriving prosperity. However, changes in socio-economic conditions from around the time of the Russo-Japanese War led to the growth of such problems as labor relations and social improvement. In contrast to the idea that the absolute worth of the individual was a self-evident truth, it became clear that in reality human beings were innately destined for a social existence. Therefore, to an education focusing on the individual and to an education based on nationalism, a new field of social education was added.

In this situation, around 1901, the social educational theories
of Bergman were introduced in succession, and educators were confronted with the problem of how to adjust Bergman's ideas on social education with the emphasis on nationalism in the past. In 1901, Ōse Jintarō exerted efforts for the realization of social education by his Jitsuyō Kyōikugaku (Practical Pedagogy), and in 1905 Higuchi Kanjirō published Kokka Shakai Shugi Shin Kyōikugaku (New Pedagogy of National Socialism) and Kokka Shakai Shugi Kyōikugaku Genron (General Principles of Pedagogy of National Socialism), raising the banner of the pedagogy of national socialism. Yoshida Kumaji tried hard to combine nationalism and socialism into an educational theory by publishing Shakai Kyōikugaku Kögi (Lectures on Social Pedagogy) in 1904 and Shakai Kyōiku (Social Education) in 1909. In this way, the world of education in the fourth decade of Meiji concentrated their research and efforts on how to realize socialization of education in practical educational work based on nationalism. Later, the educational theories of Natorp, Ley, Moyman Dewey, Ellen Key, Montessori and others were introduced. It is noteworthy that the common characteristic of all these educational theories was the assertion of socialization of education. The Forties of Meiji was a period of prosperity for the theory of social pedagogy.

In the midst of the social and economic situation around the Russo-Japanese War, and with the introduction of these theories of social pedagogy, actual programs in social education were also attempted in the field of educational administration. The first move along this line was the promulgation of the Library Ordinance in 1899, and subsequent promulgation of the Rules Relating to Libraries in 1906 and the Library Ordinance Enforcement Regulations in 1910. By these laws, an independent library system as social educational installations was established, building a new step in the administration of social education. Libraries and the number of books in them gradually increased all over the country. Equipment was also improved, resulting in a gradual increase in the number of users.
OUTLINE OF JAPANESE HISTORY IN THE MEIJI ERA

In the beginning of the fourth decade of Meiji, when libraries were the only facilities for social education further planning of social education institution was an urgent problem. Thus in 1911 the Popular Education Investigation Committee was established with the vice minister of education as its chairman under the supervision of the minister of education. Authorized to investigate various installations of social education, as well as to deliberate upon measures to promote social education, it scrutinized educational policies relating to social education as a whole. This investigation committee was divided into three departments. The first department took charge of affairs concerning popular books, libraries, touring libraries and other works for observation such as exhibitions. The second department took charge of affairs concerning guidance of means of amusement, such as popular lantern slides and the cinema, and the third department took charge of affairs concerning popular lectures and compilation of materials for these lectures. These were the means by which the social order was to be built up at that time. It was inevitable that the content of social education, as well as its administration thus begun, was so poor that they were called tsūzoku or “popular” and far from broadening the schools or from providing for adult education or raising the level of social education.

However, it is noteworthy that when in examining the overall expansion of education in the fourth decade of Meiji, new measures were projected in response to the social situation of that time, pressed on by the methods contained in the theories of social education, and thus paving the way for the later development of social education.

3. The Development of Scientific Study

It can probably be said that the study of science really got under way in the latter part of the Meiji Era. Although there was no great progress compared with that of the previous
period, it is certain that progress was favorable. However, when that period is looked back upon today, it seems that a latent energy was developed during this period for the activities to follow in the Taishō and Shōwa Eras. Of course, there were several works known to the academic world that were created during this period, but we cannot escape the feeling that these were accidental and sporadic. It seems that more purposive and systematic works appeared in the Taishō Era. This is mainly true of the basic sciences. In the field of various applied sciences, especially techniques, there was a tremendous development. This may be natural after such a great experience as the Russo-Japanese War.

Thus four imperial universities, Tokyo, Kyoto, Tōhoku and Kyūshū were established in this period, and in examining the culture of the Meiji Era, it should be noted that it was mostly the branches of natural science that were first established in these universities.

Although there were several research agencies other than universities established during this period, research institutes developed later in the Taishō Era. What is noteworthy in this period was the reform of the postgraduate course. It was begun as Tokyo Gakushiin in 1879, and in 1906 in order to participate in the International Federation of Academies, its name was changed to the Imperial Academy. A First Department and a Second Department were established in this academy. Law and literature were included in the First Department, and physical science, engineering, agriculture and medicine in the Second Department, the number of members who were selected from various fields was fixed at thirty each for the two departments. Externally, this fact deepened the contacts with the scientific world of foreign countries, and, internally it became the momentum for bringing about new public concern over the social status of scientists.

When the outstanding activities of Japanese scientists are listed, there were such works as the discovery of a minor
planet by Hirayamo Shin, the study of minor planets by Hirayama Seiji, invention of an atomic model by Nagaoka Hantaro, the discovery of schistosome japonicum by Katsurada Fujirō and Fujinami Kan, the discovery of Aji-no-moto by Ikeda Kikunae, and the discovery of orizanin by Suzuki Umetarō. Moreover, although the production of salvarsan by Hata Sahachirō, the discovery of adrenalin and certain of Taka-diastaza by Takamine Jōkichi, and the study of spirochaeta by Noguchi Hideya were the works of Japanese scientists, it may not be appropriate to call them creations of Japanese science, for these were made in research institutes in foreign countries. In the field of natural science, investigation and research relating to the geology, botany and zoology of Taiwan, Saghalien and korea after the Russo-Japanese War and the annexation of Korea may be noted. Besides, there were the study of zoology in Saghalien by Iijima Isao and the study of insects in Taiwan by Miyake Tsunekata. These are, when we look back upon them today, legacies of Japanese imperialism.

In the field of technology, the study of wireless communication by Matsushiro Matsunosuke and Kimura Shunkichi was begun a few years after the invention by Marconi, and put into practical use during the Russo-Japanese War. Generally speaking, the technology of this period made its development as a result of military demands. It was an epoch-making affair for Japanese heavy industry that the Yawata Iron Works under government management began operation in 1901. The mass production of Shimose explosive powder also became possible from around the same time. As to the construction of war vessels, Japan began the Russo-Japanese War with the naval strength as stated previously in the end of 1903. Nevertheless it was only after the Russo-Japanese War that Japan became technically capable of building warships.

Electrical techniques progressed first in the field of communication, from telegraph to telephone and then to the wireless telegraph. The use of electric lighting spread during the middle
of the Meiji period and hydraulic power plants were established in many places in the beginning of the third decade thus supplying power to mines and spinning factories, and electricity replaced steam for power. It was an epochal development in 1907 when power was supplied in Tokyo from the Komabashi Power Plant by utilizing the Katsura River. In 1911 when the Ajikawa Power Plant of Osaka began operation, it was said to be the largest Plant in the Orient. Parallel with hydraulic power generation, thermal power generation also began to be developed from around that time. The fact that electricity began to be used as power has an important significance in various aspects. It shows the degree to which Japanese industry approached that of Europe and America.

4. The Trend toward Unification of Religions

One of the tendencies in the world of religion in Japan around 1907 was the trend toward the unification of religions. This was not, of course, due to any conscious governmental motive, but it was designed to secure favorable results in social administration by bringing people in the religious world closer together and to smoothen their relations with the government. Especially after the lése-majesté case in 1910, such a program was considered timely. Thus, it was pushed forward by Hara Takashi, the Minister of Home Affairs, and Tokonami Takejirō, Vice Minister of Home Affairs, in the second Saionji Cabinet in 1911. Of course, many people wondered about the true intentions of the government in carrying out a program such as this, and it created a number of debates among opposing views. However, in February 1912, a meeting of representatives of the various sects of Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity was held at the Peers' Hall. In addition to Hara Takashi, the Minister of Home Affairs, Tokonami Takejirō, Vice Minister of Home Affairs, Mizuno Rentarō Director of the Local Bureau, the Director of Shrine Bureau, and the Director of Religious Bureau,
more than twenty government officials including the ministers, vice-ministers and bureau directors of the Ministry of the Navy, the Ministry of Postal Services and the Ministry of Justice attended. From religious field, the following sects were represented at the meeting. Shintō group included Shintō Honkyōku, Shūseiha, Fusō Kyōkai, Taiseikyō, Ontakekyō, Shinrikyō, Kurozumikyō, Daishakyō, Jikkokyō, Shinshūkyō, Misogikyō, Tenrikyō. Buddhist sects included Tendaishū, Shinseihā of Tendaishū, Daikakujīha of Tendaishū, Jimonha of Tendaishū, Sankaiha of Tendaishū, Chizanha of Shingi-Shingonshū, Shingon-Risshū, Jōdoshū, Kōyaha of Shingonshū, Daigoh a of Shingonshū, Senyojiha of the same sect, Onoha of the same sect, Buzanha of the same sect, Risshū, Seizanha of the same sect, Tenryūjiha of Rinzai shū, Kenninjiha of Rinzai shū, Myōshinjiha of Rinzai shū, Tōfukujiha of the same sect, Eukakujiha of the same sect, Hōkōjiha of the same sect, Kokutajīha of the same sect, Sōkokujiha of the same sect, Nansenjiha of the same sect, Kenchōjiha of the same sect, Daitokujiha of the same sect, Eigenjiha of the same sect, Buttsujiha of the same sect, Kogakujiha of the same sect, Obakushū, Honganjiha of Shinshū, Yamamotoha of Shinshū, Koshojiha of the same sect, Takataha of the same sect, Bukkojiha of the same sect, Kibeha of the same sect, Sōdōshū, Nichirenshū, Hommonshū, Hokkeji, Fujiha of Nichiren shū, Fujufushi-Komonha of the same sect, Kempo-Hokkeshū, Hommon Hokkeshū, Hommyo Hokkeshū, Fujufushiha of Hokkeshū, Yuzu-nembutsushū, Hososhū, Jishū, and Kegonshū. From Christianity there were representatives from the Japan Methodist Church, the Japan Congregational Church of Christ, the Baptist Church, the Catholic Church, the Japan Christian Convention, the Japan Episcopal Church, Japan Haristos(?) Church.

After exchanging various opinions, the meeting decided upon the following resolutions:

1. We will each observe our own religious principles, guard and maintain the prosperity of the Imperial Throne, and
thereby hope for the promotion of popular morality.

2. We desire that the authorities respect religion, bring harmony among politics, religion and education and thereby contribute to the development of the national fortune.

The meeting ended by expressing a desire to work to promote the national fortune through unified cooperation by friendly discussions among religionists, educators and scientists. And in order to attain that objective, the Kiitsu Kyōkai (Unification Association) was established in June 1912.

5. The Evolution of Social Thought

Since the opening of Japan by the Restoration, various ideas flowed into the country throughout the Meiji Era. Having already discussed the ideas of anti-foreignism and chauvinism, basic civil rights, freedom and popular rights, civilization and enlightenment, philanthropy, nationalism and new moral conceptions, we should state that what constituted the great current in the latter half of the Meiji Era was the idea of socialism. Of course, even before the Meiji Era, there was a similar thought, with the same fundamental idea, but with a different name. What created a public sensation was the establishment in May, 1882, of the Tōyō Shakai Tō (The Oriental Socialist Party), originated by Tarui Tōkichi of Shimabara, Hizen Province. Although this party adopted Oriental morality as the basic standard in its platform announced upon its formation, it drew public attention because its name reminded the people of the activities of socialist parties in Europe. In June 1888, a case involving the mistreatment of miners at the Takashima Coal Mine of Hizen Province, under the management of the Mitsubishi Company, stirred the Tokyo journalistic world. Then from around August 1891, socialism was actively discussed in the Yomiuri Shimbun and other newspapers. Takano Fusatarō, who was then in the United States, reported the actual situation concerning the Knights of Labor in the United
States, and the news that Sakai Yūzaburō attended the convention of the Socialist Parties held in Brussels as a Japanese delegate also drew public attention. But, it was only after these ideas were joined with labor problems that socialism began to be active. The Shokkō Jijō (Information on Workers) described the real conditions of labor in this country around 1890, as follows:

"Although labor hours in weaving factories differ according to each factory, there is generally a great difference in working hours between the plants using power-driven looms and small plants using hand-driven looms. In the former, it is generally around twelve hours, but in the case of the latter, a working day of twelve to thirteen hours from sunrise to sunset is the shortest, and it is frequently as long as fifteen to sixteen hours a day from sunrise to 9:00 p. m. or 10 p. m. The majority of weaving factories are adopting the latter system, with even some plants requesting workers to work from seventeen to eighteen hours a day."

In the part concerning cotton spinning workers in this book, it states:

"They frequently instruct working girls, who were to leave the plant after finishing a day’s work, to remain in the plant and to continue work standing until the following morning as long as twenty-four hours, or in the case of the worst example, though scarce, they let these girls continue to work on a daytime shift in the following day up to thirty-six hours."

Besides, it states that, "We can say that although the word 'recess' exists, there is no actual recess," and mentions that the wages were very low.

In 1897, Tarui Tōkichi, Miyake Yūjirō, Taguchi Ukichi, Amano Tameyuki, Katayama Sen, Kōtoku Denjirō and others formed the Shakai Mondai Kenkyūkai (Social Problems Study Society), and in the following year, Kōtoku, Katayama and others established the Shakai Shugi Kenkyūkai (Society to
Study Socialism) which was changed to Shakai Shugi Kyōkai (Association of Socialism) in 1900. There appeared a gradual and natural alienation of those who aimed to realize a world of socialism from those who aimed to study socialism scientifically. In April of the following year, Abe Iso’o, Katayama Sen, Kawasaki Kiyoshi, Kōtoku Denjirō, Kinoshita Naoe, Nishikawa Kōjirō and others established the Shakai Minshutō (Social Democratic Party). Its declaration states:

“Economic equality is basic, and political equality is a matter of minor consideration. Therefore, even if political power is equally distributed under parliamentary politics, there will still exist unhappiness among the majority of the people so long as economic inequality is not eliminated.”

......“When the present political situation in this country is reviewed, it seems that all the political organs are in the hands of the wealthy.”

It presented their ideal and defined labor relations in its platform as follows:

“We shall disseminate the principle that all mankind are brothers without disarimination because of race or political boundaries. We shall first abolish armaments in order to realize peace for all nations. We shall abolish the class system. We shall turn all land and capital required as productive means into public property. We shall distribute assets and wealth equally. We shall let all the people enjoy equal political rights. The country shall bear all educational expenses in order to give equal education to all the people.”

“We shall establish a labor bureau to investigate into all affairs relating to labor. We shall abolish employment of children and women for night work. We shall prohibit employment of school-age children. We shall prohibit placing of women in work harmful to morality and health. We shall abolish labor on Sundays and shall limit the working hours to eight hours per day.”
On the day following the report of its establishment, the Minister of Home Affairs issued an order prohibiting its formation. In this way, the people of this group turned to antimilitarism in wartime, and finally there arose the Lèse-majesté case of 1911.

In this case, in June 1908, a meeting in Tokyo to congratulate the release from jail of Yamaguchi Koken, a socialist, was about to be adjourned, when a police squad clashed with the people attending the meeting because of a dispute over red flags they had and a song they had sung, and a dozen people including Ōsugi Sakae and Arata Kanson were punished. Then, Kōtoku Denjirō came to Tokyo from Tosa Province his native district, and worked to gather comrades. Just then, the Matsumoto Police Station of Nagano Prefecture discovered that a worker in Matsumoto City was secretly holding some twenty odd pieces of explosives and arrested him in May 1910, and as a result of cross examinations, a court judgment was issued that Kōtoku Denjirō, Okuyama Kenshi and others were conspiring in lèse-majesté, and were heavily punished.

Although there were four instances in which Japan sent expeditionary forces abroad during the Meiji Era, i.e., the Taiwan Incident in 1874, the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895, the Boxer Uprising in 1900 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–1905, anti-war movements against these expeditions appeared for the first time only during the Russo-Japanese War. These movements were advocated and led by socialists and carried out as one aspect of the socialist movement. No anti-war movement had existed before the Russo-Japanese War, first, because in the early Meiji Era the traditional feudal thought of admiring the martial spirit and militaristic concepts still had deep roots among the people. Secondly, because the isolation policy and the system of semi-independence of local lords which had continued for three hundred years had molded the people into a particularism and had plucked off the buds of a broader love of mankind or international thought, the Japanese people looked at foreign countries contemptuously as the lands of birds.
or beasts or barbarians, and indulged in no self-examination against the use of military force towards another country. Thirdly, because wars in the early years of Meiji still did not have the strong color of imperialism or aggression, and the number of war victims was comparatively small, popular sentiment rejecting war was not especially stimulated.

The reasons for the appearance of anti-war movements during the Russo-Japanese War are several. First with the development of capitalism, wars gradually began to demonstrate imperialistic characteristics leading to increased unity of the working class and an awakening of class consciousness. An anti-war feeling developed as wars were deemed to be launched by victimizing the working class. Secondly, because the development of capitalism inevitably produced the rise of socialist thought, it was natural from its theory that socialism opposed war. Therefore, in the latter part of the Meiji Era, the advocacy of anti-war opinions by the socialists was intensified. Besides, the anti-war movements of the socialists were considerably influenced by Christianity, a fact which can be deduced from the fact that there were many Christians among the early socialists.

The Boxer Uprising brought the first public expression of an anti-war opinion. It appeared in the editorial of the newspaper Yorozu Chōhō of August 7, 1900. With the title “Ultimate Ideal is Peace,” the newspaper stated:

"Of course, we are well aware of the fact that it is impossible to prohibit war in the world, to abolish armament of countries or to limit them, in the near future. However, the ideal of mankind must decidedly be for peace. The happiness of a society can exist only in peace. Armaments or war are only for the protection of this peace."

On the formation of the Shakai Minshutō in May 1901, the party presented a clause to abolish armament in its ideals, but got no further because the party was instantly ordered to dissolve.

Two years later, in 1903, when the Russo-Japanese War was imminent, the newspaper Yorozu Chōhō started an anti-war cry
with Editor-in Chief Kuroiwa Ruikō writing from the standpoint of humanism, Kōtoku Shūsui and Sakai Kosen from the standpoint of socialism, and Uchimura Kanzō from the standpoint of Christianity, each asserting that Japan and Russia should not fight each other. However, by October when the influence of jingoists among governmental and public circles increased their strength, the Yorozu Chōhō suddenly abandoned its advocacy of pacifism and began to show an attitude supporting the war. Indignant at this change, Sakai, Kōtoku and Uchimura left the newspaper, and Sakai and Kōtoku formed the Heiminsha (Society of Commoners) in November 15 of that year. They published the Heimin Shim bun and continued publishing anti-war opinions based on socialist grounds.

While the Heimin Shim bun actively presented anti-war opinions, the Heiminsha held speech meetings, lectures and study groups, and worked to propagate anti-war ideas. The government took a policy of suppression, but the Heiminsha undaunted, made their speeches more pointed, and their attacks upon army circles increased in bitterness in the columns of their newspaper. Ripples of the stone thrown by them into the anti-war movement, though small gradually widened. Among the Christians, Uchimura Kanzō took an anti-war position, and the number of people who responded to his call gradually increased. This situation startled the government and army circles, who repeatedly put pressure upon the Heimin Shim bun, by prohibiting its sale, as well as sending a confidential letter in the name of Ishimoto Shinroku, Vice Minister of War, to local governors and other officials instructing them to prevent reporters of the Heimin Shim bun from interviewing family members or bereaved families of soldiers. This meant that the army circles were squarely confronted with the anti-war stand of the socialists, an unprecedented situation almost inconceivable to army circles until then.

Nevertheless, those in authority were powerful, and on January 11, 1905 the court announced a judgment prohibiting
publication of the *Heimin Shim bun*. The *newspaper* had, however, voluntarily declared discontinuation of publication with the January, 29 issue as its final number. After that, the members of the *Heiminsha* continued their anti-war activities by a weekly circular, but this too, under various circumstances, stopped publication when the Russo-Japanese War was ended. The organs of the *Heiminsha* thus appeared with the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War and disappeared upon its termination. After that there was no anti-war movement worthy of mention in the Meiji Era.

In the early years of Meiji, management of various factories was attempted by the government, such as the Tomioka Silk Reeling Factory, Fukagawa Cement Plant, Senjū Woolen Factory, and the Shinmachi Waste-yarn Spinning Plant. Therefore, legislation to protect workers in the early period was mainly aimed at accident compensation for workers in government factories, such as the Regulations for Casualty Allowances for Government Workers promulgated on April 9, 1875, or the Bylaws Granting Allowances for Casualties of Government Technical and Industrial Workers, promulgated on February 1, 1879. But the government altered its economic policy in 1880 and sold the governmental enterprises to private concerns, supporting the development of private industries on the one hand, and at the same time, indicating an intention to enforce laws to protect workers.

With the objective of collecting reference materials for the drafting of these labor laws and factory regulations, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce instructed local prefectural government to carry out surveys on the actual conditions and customs of workers and factories in 1885. Based on these reports, the government drafted two bills, regulations for workers and regulations for apprentice workers, but both were discarded. Again from 1889 to 1894, the government conducted a survey of actual conditions among factory workers in order to enforce a law to protect workers, drafted bills, but nothing
more was done. However, in addition to the development of various industries, including the armament industry because of the Sino-Japanese War, the acquisition of reparations, and the expansion of markets in China and other areas, the development of industry was further integrated and resulted in an increase in both factories and workers. Various labor problems began to appear, necessitating the enforcement of laws to protect workers.

In 1896, the government made an inquiry of the Local Governor's Conference from which it obtained almost unanimous support, and in addition made an inquiry of the First Supreme Council on Agriculture, Commerce and Industry held in the same year. The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce drafted a Workers' Law Bill in 1897 and planned to submit it to the eleventh Imperial Diet. But the bill was dropped due to the Diet dissolution. Then the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce again drafted bills concerning regulations for workers and factories, and the Ministry of Home Affairs drafted the Workers Medical Insurance Bill, but none of them got to the stage of promulgation.

By approximately 1897, the labor movement became active and aggressively began to make demands, and social policy planners began to assert the necessity of labor legislation. For the first time, legislation to protect workers came to be supported by public opinion. The government then amended in 1898–1899 the previously drafted workers bill into the factory bill inquired into the views of local chambers of commerce, the Supreme Council on Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, as well as local governors, obtained their support, and began compilation of a draft of the Factory Law in 1900, completing it in 1902. With the possibility of a major showdown between Japan and Russia, the economic world went on an austerity policy, and the vissitudines of the economic world after the war did not provide an opportunity for the submission of this bill to the Diet. Public opinion supporting enforcement of the Factory Law became
more intensive after the war, and the problem was discussed at the First Conference of the Academy of Social Policy held in 1907. The government then made a few amendments to the drafted bill of the Factory Law and submitted it to the twenty-sixth Diet in 1909. In February 1910, because of stormy opposition from capitalist circles against the portion relating to prohibition of night work for women and children the government had to withdraw the bill on the pretext of making further studies and changes. After amending the bill, the government submitted it to the twenty-seventh Diet in February 1911. The House of Representatives passed it with minor amendments, and the House of Peers passed the bill as amended by the lower house. In this way, on March 28, 1911, approximately thirty years after the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce began to work on a law to protect workers in 1882, the Factory Law, as a result of their efforts at compilation, was finally promulgated.

With regard to representative government, and the movement for universal suffrage, Akamatsu Kōsaburō, a student of Dutch knowledge of the Ueda Clan (Shinano Province), had advocated as early as 1866, the selection of men of ability by public election from his own and neighboring provinces, but he did not give any detailed explanation as to how to qualify voters or candidates. In 1874, when there were noisy discussions between the advocates of an earlier opening of the Diet and those who held that it was still premature, Tsuda Mamichi expressed an opinion partially explaining the representative government system. He stated:

"As is usual, there are more literate people among the samurai class, and there are few among the commoners who read books, except the wealthy. Therefore, representatives should be limited to members of the peerage and the samurai class, high tax-payers among the common people, and in the case of common people in the cities, those with land certificates valued at over ¥ 200 or ¥ 1,000. Of
course, their wives and children and those disabled or imprisoned shall be excluded. These qualified people shall be called first electors, and one hundred of those first electors will elect one person of wisdom who shall be called the main elector. The main electors will elect the representatives, who will assemble to discuss state affairs in behalf of the people. Gentlemen, nobles, the samurai class, literary people, wealthy farmers, wealthy merchants, poor students, rustic countrymen can be elected as representatives without discrimination.”

Out of the population of 30,000,000 in Japan, between sixty and one hundred and twenty representatives shall be elected. That is, there shall be one representative to every 250,000 to 500,000. The term of a representative shall be four years, and it may be extended with re-election. Further, representatives shall be divided into two groups, with half of them being replaced every three years.”

In July, 1878, the Prefectural Assembly Regulations, promulgated as one of the three great new laws determined that a candidate shall be a male over twenty five years of age, with a registered domicile in a prefecture of over three years, and paying over ¥ 10 land tax in the said prefecture. These disqualified from candidacy were lepers and idiots, those punished with over one year’s penal servitude, those who had declared bankruptcy and those who had not completed redemption of debts. At the third Local Governors Conference held in 1880, the qualifications for prefectural assembly members were discussed. According to the record of the proceedings theoretical discussions were apparently thoroughly exchanged, and there were even views that the tax qualification should be set at the minimum of the national tax paid on the grounds that there were more people among the low tax payers who took an interest in politics than among those paying a high tax.

According to the House of Representative Member Election Law promulgated together with the Imperial Constitution in
February 1889, Japanese male subjects over twenty five years of age, paying a direct national tax of over ¥ 15 could qualify as voters and males above thirty paying over ¥ 15 of direct national tax, could qualify as candidates. After that, the expansion of electoral rights was continuously asserted and frequently proposed to the Diet, but all these proposals provided for restrictions of one kind or another. In 1902, Itakura Chū and five other Diet members submitted a general suffrage bill to the eighteenth Diet, but it was almost completely ignored. In 1908, Matsumoto Kumpei and two others submitted a bill to amend the Election Law to the twenty-fourth Diet, but it did not reach the stage of the second reading. In 1909, Hinata Terutake and some others submitted a bill to the twentieth-fifth Diet, but it was pigeon-holed. Then in 1910 Hinata Terutake and thirteen others submitted a bill to the twenty-sixth Diet, but it again did not reach the stage of the second reading. In 1911, Hinata Terutake and twenty one others submitted a bill again. This bill, providing for male suffrage for those over twenty five who had fulfilled only a residence requirement of one year, but no tax payment, was passed by the House of Representatives, but was blocked by the House of Peers. In that way, a universal suffrage bill was not passed in the Meiji Era. The universal male suffrage bill was finally passed by the two houses for the first time in the fiftieth Diet session in 1925.

C. LITERATURE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

1. Plays, Translations, Essays and Other Works

First, with regard to plays, Kawatake Mokuami was the first ranking playwright active from the end of the Tokugawa period to the early years of Meiji. Most of the dramas presented on the stage around that time were his productions. He died at
the age of seventy eight in 1893, and until his final work *Shimachidori Tsuki no Shiranami* (Island Sea-gulls with White Waves in the Moonlight), which he wrote to commemorate retirement at the age of sixty six, he had written more than three hundred dramas over a period of forty years.

Tsubouchi Shōyō, who pioneered in the dramatic literature of Meiji, translated Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* as early as 1884. From that time on, improvement of theatrical entertainment was advocated both in and out of that professional circle, and in 1886 Suematsu Kenchō and other men of learning established the *Engeki Kairyō Kai* (The Dramatic Reform Society). Then in 1889, Shōyō, Takata Hampō (Sanae) and others established the *Nihon Engeki Kyōkai* (Japan Dramatic Association) and began the movement to improve theatrical entertainment. Yoda Gakukai (Hyakusen) was also an able man in favor of renovation of the drama, and in 1887, he wrote *Yoshino Shui Meika no Homare* (In Praise of an Excellent Poem in the Supplement to the Yoshino Anthology) which was a pioneer work among the new historical plays, and he also wrote *Mongaku Shōnin Kanjincho* (Book to Solicit Contributions for High Priest Mongaku). Fukuchi Ōchi (Gen’ichiro), who broke away from the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*, was also another distinguished figure who contributed to the world of theatrical entertainment; he established the Kabukiza in 1889 and wrote dramas, among which *Kasuga no Tsubone* (Lady Kasuga) and *Kyōkaku Harusame Gasa* (Chivalrous Spirit with Umbrella in the Spring Rain) are his representative works.

Reflecting the social tendency of liberty and popular rights, as seen in such events as the promulgation of the Constitution and the opening of the Diet, there arose a new type of play called *shosei shibai* (students’ plays) and *sōshi shibai* (plays of political bullies), and at one time these new plays overwhelmed the old school drama, or *kabuki*. Sudō Sadanori wrote *Gōtan no Shosei* (The Undaunted Students), and Kawakami Otojirō wrote *Itagaki Haku Sōnan Jikki* (The True Story of the
Assassination of Count Itagaki), each presenting his own play in Osaka and Tokyo, respectively.

Under this situation, no dramatic work of consequence was produced during the period from 1887 to the Sino-Japanese War, but in the course of time, Shōyō produced both the theory and new historical plays. In 1893, he presented comments on historical dramas, in the Waseda Bungaku, analyzing the characteristics of the old drama and advocated character-plays in the realistic style. Through his dramatic works such as Kiri Hitoha (One Leaf of Paulownia), Maki no Kata (Lady Maki) and Hototogisu Kojō no Rakugetsu (The Cuckoo and the Setting Moon Over the Solitary Castle), the theatrical world had perfected for the first time dramas worth calling the new classics of the kabuki. Later Shōyō also wrote Nagori no Hoshizukiyo (The Starry Night) and Yoshitoki no Saigo (The End of Yoshitoki), which constitute a trilogy together with Maki no Kata. While at the same time making the most use of traditional kabuki techniques he was the first person to create the new kabuki by infusing into it the spirit and thought of the new age.

Ōgai, too from the early days was interested in reforming the theater and as the first step in this task he translated such plays as Shirabe wa Takashi Gitaru no Hitofushi (El alcalde de Zalamea) by Pedro Calderon de la Barca, Ori Bara (The Broken Rose) by Lessing, among other dramas, and by describing the form and content of Western dramas furnished guides to playwrights. He also wrote two plays, Tama-kushige Futari Urashima (Treasure Box of the Two Urashimas) and Nichiren Shōnin Tsuji-zeppō (Street Preaching of Priest Nichiren).

Other playwrights active from the middle to the latter part of the Meiji Era were Takayasu Gekkō, Matsui Shōyō, Yamazaki Shikō, Okamoto Kidō. Gekkō wrote Shigemori (Shigemori of the Taira Clan), Ōshio Heihachirō, Edo-jō Akewatashi (Delivery of Edo Castle to the Imperial Army). Kidō wrote Ishin Zengo
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(Before and After the Meiji Restoration), *Shuizenji Monogatari* (The Tale of Shuizenji, the Mask Maker) and other dramatic works. We should especially not forget that Gekkō, as early as the middle of the Twenties of Meiji, translated *Shakai no Teki* (Enemy of the People) and *Ningyō no Ie* (The Doll's House) by Ibsen and introduced social dramas to Japan.

Shōyō, the pathfinder and awakener of the Meiji theatrical world, produced a treaties on new musical drama in 1904 in which he advocated the production of new musical plays based on Japanese national music and the life of the people. At the same time, he wrote seven musical plays to be actually performed such as *Shinkyoku Urashima* (Urashima: A New Adaptation), *Shinkyoku Kaguyahime* (A New Adaptation of Kaguya-Hime), *Hachikatsugi Hime* (The Princess with a Pot), *Kimmō-Ko* (The Golden-haired Fox), *O-Natsu Kyōran* (O-Natsu Goes Mad), *Kosode Monogurui* (Kosode the Maniac). Shōyō called these new musical dramas *furigoto-geki* (dance drama), for they were set to music arranged for dancing.

Two new theatrical movements are worthy of special mention in the history of the movement of the new theater at the end of the Meiji Era in 1909. Shimamura Hōgetsu, Doi Shunshō, Tōgi Tetteki and others, under the guidance of Shōyō, formed the *Bungei Kyōkai* (Literature Association). Osanai Kaoru, together with Sadanji (a kabuki actor), established *Jiyū Gekijō* (The Free Theatrical Group). These two organizations stepped with lively enthusiasm into the theatrical world.

Dramatic works published from about the time of the Russo-Japanese War to around the end of the Meiji Era, include social dramas such as *Ikutagawa* (The River Ikuta) by Ōgai; *Shihō Daijin* (The Minister of Justice) and *Bokushi no Ie* (The House of a Minister) by Nakamura Kichizō (Shun'u); *Kaburagi Hideko* (Hideko Kaburagi) by Doi Shunshō (Tsunemoto); and *Dainō* (A Big Farmer) by Sano Tensei (Tsunoda Kisaburo), and besides, *Izumo no Okuni* (Okuni of Izumo Province) by Ihara Seiiseien (Toshirō), a dramatic commentator; *Dai-ichininsha*
(The First Man) by Mayama Seika; Dai’ichi no Akatsuki (The First Daybreak) by Akita Ujaku; Gogo Sanji (Three P.M.) by Yoshi’i Isamu; Izumiya Somemonoten (The Dye Shop Izumiya) by Kinoshita Mokutarō (Ōta Masao); and Kanraku no Oni (The Demon of Pleasure) by Nagata Hideo.

Further, in the theatrical world of that time, parallel with the introduction of the social dramas of Ibsen and the presentation of such translated plays as Hamlet, The Doll’s House, Borkman, Kokyō (Homeland) and others by the Bungei Kyōkai, the works of Western playwrights began to be translated and published one after the other.

Along with the increase in frequency of communication between the East and the West after the Sino-Japanese War, new books were imported from foreign countries in rapid succession. The literature from abroad introduced in the previous period consisted mostly of pre-modern works, but around the time of the Russo-Japanese War, modern European literature began to be imported one after another, and along with it the translation of literature became very active.

Aibiki (Rendez-vous) and Meguriai (A Chance Meeting), which are a part of Turgenev’s Three Encounters, translated by Futabatei, appeared in the magazines Kokumin no Tomo and Miyako no Hana, respectively, in 1888, marking an epoch in the history of the literature of translation in the Meiji Era. The publication of these two translated works startled the young literary world of Meiji. The effects of their influence upon such writers as Doppo, Katai, Tōson and others were beyond imagination. Following these, Futabatei translated and published in 1896 Turgenev’s Katakoi (One-sided Love) and in the following year he translated Ukigusa (Drifting Grasses) for the magazine Taiyō. Together with the previous translations, these also gained high public favor as excellent pieces among his works of translation.

Shiken mainly translated and introduced French literature in his own unique exquisite style patterned after the Chinese
literary style. Among them, *Jūgo Shōnen* (Fifteen Youths) originally written by Jules Verne and *Tantei Yuberu* (The Detective Hubert) originally written by Victor Hugo were translations which made his name as a translator suddenly widely known among the public. Especially *Jūgo Shōnen*, a fluent and facile translation, is esteemed as one of the most excellent pieces of children’s literature in the Meiji period. While his translations were not so nature and artistic as those of Futabatei, or so novel as those of Ōgai, he left a great contribution as the earliest introducer of French literature and in paving the way toward a new style through his excellent Chinese literary style.

Shōyō’s achievements in translation, along with those of Ōgai, belong to the highest class, both in quality and quantity, in the history of translated literature in the Meiji and Taishō eras. Although his early translations such as Sir Walter Scott’s *The Bride of Lucia di Lammermoor* and the *Lady of the Lake* and Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* in the jōruri (ballad) style are fine works, his translation of *Hamlet* which appeared in *Waseda Bungaku* in 1896 was his most difficult laborious work. Shōyō began his study of Shakespeare as early as the beginning of the second decade of Meiji, and in 1928 after devoting forty years to translation, he accomplished the great task of the complete translation of Shakespeare’s dramas. The highest evaluation may be given to this achievement among his life-time works which ranged over a wide field.

Uchida Fuchian (Ro’an) is another man of letters who, following Shōyō, produced artistic and conscientious works of translation. Being proficient in English, although recognized generally as a literary or cultural critic Ro’an’s translating activities extended beyond English and American literature to include Russian, French, German, Polish, Dutch and Spanish works. He translated that laborious work *Crime and Punishment* by Dostoevskiy during 1892–1893, it being significant as the first translation and introduction of a work by Dostoevskiy in Japan.
Then he published *Urukogo (?)*, a collection of six translated novels, including *Yuki no Jo'ō* (The Show Queen) by Andersen and *Kuroneko* (The Black Cat) by Edgar Allan Poe, and further translated Tolstoy’s *Husband and Wife, Sculptor* by B. Cornwall, and *Dust of Combat* by Emile Zola. In 1906, he translated and published Tolstoy’s *Ivan the Fool* and *Resurrection, Two Painters* by Sienkiewicz, and others. In Ro’an’s translations, the value of his attitude in trying to express the style and flavor of the original works and in his mature renditions must be recognized.

Wakamatsu Shizuko, who came from the same background of the study of English literature as Ro’an, wrote in the second decade of Meiji, mainly contributing to such magazines as *Jogaku Zasshi, Shōnen-en* (The Children’s Garden) and *Kokumin no Tomo*. She translated the first part of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* from the original novel by F.H. Brunett, which was published by the *Jogaku Zasshi Sha* in 1892. In 1897, the whole part was published for the first time in Japan and was so widely welcomed that repeated printings were made. Still used today more than a half century after its first appearance, this excellent translation is presented in an easy, fluent colloquial Japanese, faithful to the original and expressing the delicate nuances of the original. Not only has it become a model for home readings, but it has an important significance as the pioneer work in children’s literature in Japan. Besides these, she translated Charles Dickens’ *A Christmas Carol*, and the *Young Bride*. In 1903, a collection of her works entitled *Wasure Gatami* (Souvenirs) was published posthumously.

It was Ōgai who made an achievement in the history of translations in the Meiji Era, comparable with the works of Shōyō and Futabatei. His name as a translator became well known in the literary world as a result of his translation in 1889 of Hoffmann’s *Fräulein von Scuderi* under the title *Tama o Idaite Tsumi Ari* (There is a Sin in the Cherishing of Jewels together with his younger brother Miki Takeji, who was known
as a dramatic critic on the newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun*. In the following year he presented *Umoregi* (The Fossil Wood) of Ossip Shubin in the magazine *Shigarami Zōshi* and *Aku-Innen* (Evil Destiny) of H. Kleist in the magazine *Kokumin no Tomo. Minawashū* (A Water-Spray Anthology) published in 1892 was a memorial to his activities in the days of the *Shigarami Zōshi*. In this collection, there were included sixteen works of the writers of realism and romanticism of France, Germany, England, America and other countries. This volume, which introduced varied and versatile new Western literary works elegantly translated in Ōgai’s unique style together with the translations of Futabatei, greatly fascinated and influenced the young men of letters of that time. However, what raised his reputation higher as a translator was the translation of *Sokkyō Shijin*, Hans Andersen’s *The Improvisator*, on which he spent nine years and contributed to the magazines *Shigarami Zōshi* and *Meza-mashi-gusa* after 1892. It was praised as better than the original, showing the peak of his beautiful literary style and is valued as a gem among translations of the Meiji Era. Ōgai, who remained inactive for some time after 1903, began work again in 1909, with the publication of a collection of the translated dramas *Hitomaku Mono* (One Act Plays) a collection of the translations of *John Gabriel Borkman*, the works of Arthur Schnitzler and others. One after another, he published translations, such as *Ōgon-Hai* (The Golden Cup) and *Gendai Shōhin* (Contemporary Short Pieces), then *Hito no Isshō* (Life of a Man) by Adreev and *Hikōki* (Airplane), *Sabishiki Hitobito* (Einsame Menschen) by Gerhard Hauptmann, followed by *Yūrei* (Gengangere) by Ibsen, and further *Miren* (Sterben) by Schnitzler. Excelling over others in the Meiji Era, Ōgai completed in 1913 the translation and published the first and the second parts of *Faust* which indicated the maturity of his vernacular style. It is well known that Ōgai continued his translation activities even into the Taishō Era and left many excellent translations.
Ogai's younger sister, Koganei Kimiko, was known as a writer in the literary world around 1897, and was praised for her elegant translation style suggestive of Ogai's. Her major translations include Yokusenki (Memo of a Hot Spring) of M.I. Lermontov, Meiyo Fujin (Honored Lady) written by Birdemann, Ukiyo no Saga (Kinder der Wert (?)') written by P. Heyse, and others which appeared in the magazine Shigarami Zoshi around 1894 to 1895. These were brought together in Kage Gusa (Grass in the Shadow), a collection of Ogai's translated works, published later.

The Bungaku Kai faction consisting of such individuals as Tokoku, Tokuboku, Shukotsu, Ryuson, Kocho, and Katai cannot be ignored in the history of Meiji translated literature. Cossack translated by Katai was published in 1893. In the following year, a biography Emerson translated by Tokoku was published. This was one of the biographical series put out by the Min'yusha, about twelve great writers including Jhonson translated by Ro'an, Schiller by Ogata Ryushi, Tolstoi by Roka, Wordsworth by Koshoshi, Carlyle by Hirata Hisashi, Hugo by Hitomi Ichitaro, Byron by Yoneda Minoru, Goethe by Takagi Isaku, and Shelley by Hamada Kazumi. These people followed their seniors Futabatei, Shoyo and Ogai in translating and introducing foreign literature. Their special significance lies in their introduction of subjective literature with emphasis on man's inner mentality and idealism.

Ryuson not only contributed greatly to the world of poetry by publishing a collection of translated prose pieces Miotsukushi (Channel Markings) in 1901 and a collection of translated poems Kaicho'on (The Sound of the Tide) in 1905, but also demonstrated a model of skilful translation to the world of literature. Miotsukushi is a collection of a dozen excellent short stories and prose pieces by modern writers of France, Italy, Germany, Russia, and United States and Spain; the translations were in a mature colloquial style and were as beautiful as exquisitely polished precious stones. Besides these translations, he also
left such works as *Kokoro* (The Heart) of L.N. Andreev, *Bokuyoshin* (Faun), an anthology of translated poems, and an unfinished translation of Dante’s *Divine Comedy* entitled *Shinkyoku*.

Tokuboku is a translator worth mentioning second to Ryūson. His translations from the Meiji to the Shōwa Era, can be ranked as of top calibre both in quality and quantity. They were mainly of the works of English writers, and were so excellent as to be called in the Tokuboku style, characterized by his great learning, accuracy and flowing style, based on his full mastery of English literature. Early representative translations are Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* called *Kyoei no Ichi*, *David Copperfield* by Charles Dickens, and *The Egoist* or *Gai’no Hito* by George Meredith.

Shūkotsu also devoted his long life of literary work to translation. His translations include Turgenev’s *Ryōjin Nikki* in 1909, two volumes of Emerson’s *Collection of Essays* in 1911, *Les Miserables* or *Aishi* by Victor Hugo, and Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, called *Tōka Monogatari*.

Kochō, who was recognized as an introducer of Western poetry in the early days, was also another first class translator. He introduced a considerable amount of European literature, by publishing *Yadorigi* (The Parasitic Plant) in 1903, a collection of his translations of short stories by Maxim Gorky, Maupassant, Balzac and others; *Taisei Meicho Shū* (A Collection of Western Masterpieces), consisting of translations of such works as those of Turgenev; and *Kokuji Tantei* (Political Detective) by Gorky, published in 1910.

While the complete translation of Shakespeare’s work has been mentioned as the great project of Shōyō, the translation *Sa-Ō Zenshū* (The Complete Works of Shakespeare) jointly translated by Tozawa Koya (Masayasu) and Asano Hyōkyō (Wasaburō), graduates of the English literature course of the Imperial University, was also one of the distinguished works in the history of translation in the Meiji Era. It is regretted that only ten volumes of this work was published, *Hamlet* and
Romeo and Juliet being published in 1905 and Twelfth Night in 1909. The work was praised for its linguistic accuracy and flowing style.

Takayasu Gekkō, who occupied a position in the world of literature as a poet as well as a playwright, translated Shakai no Teki (People’s Enemy) and Ningyō no Ie (The Doll’s House) by Ibsen as early as 1893 and published them as Ibsen no Shakai Geki (The Social Dramas of Ibsen) in 1901. He also translated works of Dostoevsky and others.

Hara Hōitsuan (Yosaburō), a pupil of Shiken, was also known as a translator. As his major works of translation, there are A B C Kumiai (A B C Union), Seijin ka Tōzoku ka (Saint or a Robber), Taisei Kibun (Strange Story of the West), Parin no Himitsu (Secrets of Paris) and others. Matsui Shōyō, who is famous as a playwright, also translated Cervantes, Don Quixote, entitling it Donkiō Bōken Monogatari, Kyomutō Kidan (Chase of Nihilists) and Rakuten Goya (Optimistic Cottage).

Besides, there are Puraton Zenshū (Complete Works of Plato) and the works of Byron translated by Kimura Yōtarō in 1903, and three volumes of Morieru Zenshū (Complete Works of Moliere), translated by Kusano Shibaji (Wakasugi Saburō), and published in 1908. Nagata Shūto (Chūichi) translated Tsubaki-hime (La Dame aux Camelias), Ōkan (Crown) and several others, Fujisawa Kosetsu (Shuji) translated Ourean no Shōjo (The Maid of Orleans), and Miura Hakusui, Akimoto Rofū, and Ohara Mugen translated Western poetry from around the latter half of the third decade of Meiji.

In addition, there were such translators and works of translation as Sakai Kosen (Toshihiko) who mainly translated works in the field of socialism and social thought; Tobari Chikufū (Shi’nichirō) who translated Chinshō (Die Versunkene Glocke) by Hauptmann; Shimamura Hōgetsu who translated Umi no Fujin (Lady of the Sea) by Ibsen; Tsuchi’i Bansui (Rinkichi) who translated Eiyūron (Heroes and Hero-Worship) by Carlyle
and others; Senuma Kayō a specialist of the works of A. Tchechov; Iida Kiken who translated Paris by Zola and others; Matsumoto Un shū who translated Doko e Yuku (Quo Vadis) by Sienkiewicz. Further, the Contributions of Noboru Shōbu (Naotaka), who translated many famous works of Russian literature including Hakuyashū (Collection of White Nights), Donzoko (The Lower Depths), Rokuninshū (Collection of Six Writers), Doku no Sono (Garden of Poison) and others, should be recorded, as the work the No. 1 translator of Russian literature active during the period from the Thirties to the end of the Meiji Era.

Another translator who is worthy of special mention is Kuroiwa Ruikō (Shūroku). He was well known as a journalist, being the editor of Eiri Jiū Shimbun and Konnichi Shimbun (the predecessor of Miyako Shimbun) during the rise of journalism, and the founder and manager of Yorozu Chōhō after 1892. At the same time, he may well be called a master translator. His translations made from around the beginning of the 1880’s to the middle of the Taishō Era, included over one hundred long and short pieces. Beginning with a novel about a court case. Hito ka Oni ka (Man or Demon) of Emile Gaborioau translated in 1888, three volumes of Tekkamen (Iron Mask) by Boakobei (?), translated and published in 1893, four volumes of Gankutsuō (Le Comte de Monte Christo) by Dumas, translated and published in 1905, two volumes of Ah Mujō (Les Miserables) by Hugo, published in the following year, and many, many others, which all appeared as serials in the Yorozu Chōhō, his translations were accepted with great popularity by the masses of readers. They were mostly about court cases and detective stories, written by French writers, and aimed the general public, literal translation was avoided, and a free translation form almost close to adaptation was used. This method was successful and created the so-called era of Ruikō from the middle to the latter period of Meiji. He was actually the pioneer in introducing detective stories to the literary world.
and the pioneer of popular literature. Although his translations may not be called artistic or literary, we cannot ignore the merit of bringing translated works to the general masses.

There were several other kinds of publications produced in series form by compiling the translated literary works of the West. They include seventeen volumes of Sekai Bunko (World Library) published by Hakubunkan in 1893 to 1894, sixteen volumes of Shōnen Sekai Bungaku (World Literature for Children) revised by Tsubouchi Shōyō, eleven volumes of Tsūzoku Sekai Bungaku (Popular Literary Works of the World), published by Fuzambō in 1902–1903.

Brief mention should be made of such items as Shaseibun (sketch writings), travel accounts essays, and war records.

Shiki, who contributed to the promotion of new style haiku and tanka, advocated the shaseibun (Sketch writings) as a development of his spirit of realism. An article entitled Shōen no Ki (The Record of a Small Garden) which he presented in the magazine Hototogisu (The Cuckoo) in 1899 was an actual Shaseibun piece. At the same time, he urged his students of haiku and tanka, called the Negishi faction, to try this style, and shaseibun prospered at one time. Hekigodō, Kyoshi, Sōkotsu, Shihōta, Sachio, Takashi and others were known as shaseibun writers. Sunkō-Shū, published in 1900, was a collection of short articles written by Shiki, Takashi and others, with the addition of some twenty odd short pieces contributed as a public response to the invitation of the magazine Hototogisu on a given title, and was the first Shaseibun collection. At the same time, the first part of Kangyoku-Shū (The Cold Gem Anthology) was published, its second part being published the following year, written by Shiki, Shihōta, Kyoshi, Hekigodō, Meisetsu, Seisei and others. In 1903, Shaseibun-Shū (A Shaseibun Anthology) containing contributions by Shiki, Sōseki and others was published, and in 1906, Hotategai (A Scallop), a joint work of Shihōta and Kyoshi was published. In the next year, Zoku Shaseibun-Shū (Shaseibun, Continued), collecting the sketch writings of many
people which had appeared in *Hototogisu*, was published, followed by *Shin Shaseibun-Shū* (New Shaseibun), including the works of Sōkotsu, Kyoshi and Shihōta. *Yume no Gotoshi* (As If a Dream) by Shihōta, included in the last publication, and *Shin Shūjin* (The New Prisoner) a record of imprisonment, written by Sōkotsu and published in 1901 were excellent examples of *shaseibun*. The sketch writings influenced considerably the creative novels of Sōseki, Miekichi, Yayoiko and others and the essays of Fuyuhiko.

Although Rohan’s *Chintō Sansui* (Nature at One’s Bedside) was an early travel account. Usui must be regarded as the representative writer of this type of writing after the Thirties of Meiji. He produced such excellent accounts of travel as *Sentō Shōkei* (A Small Landscape at the Top of a Fan), *Gingga* (The Milky Way), *Mokuranshu* (Boat of Magnolia), *Nihon Sansui Ron* (Comments on the Landscapes of Japan), *Sansui Mujinzō* (Inexhaustible Beautiful Scenery), *Umpyō* (Above the Clouds), which he wrote from 1899 to 1907, but the four volumes of *Nihon Arupusu* (Japan Alps), published successively beginning in 1910, are especially known as his representative works.

The novelist Katai was also known as a writer of travel accounts. The first and continued publications of *Nansen Hokuba* (North by Boat, South by Horse) and *Kusa Makura* (Grass for a Pillow) were written in the Thirties of Meiji. Ōhashi Otowa also wrote many accounts of travel, and among his works the first and the continuing publications of *Senzan Bansui* (Ten Thousand Mountains and Ten Thousand Bodies of Water) and *Ōzan Beisui* (European Mountains and American Waters) are well known. *Higasa* (Cypress Sedge Hat) by Kubo Tenzui, *Nihon Meishō Ki* (Noted Spots in Japan) and *Futokoro Suzuri* (A Pocket Ink Stone) by Chizuka Reisi, *Kantō no Sansui* (Landscapes of the Kantō Region) and *Kōun Ryūsui* (Floating Clouds and Flowing Water) by Ōmachi Keigetsu, *Ryoku’un* (Green Clouds), *Kōgen* (Plateau) and *Tabi yori Tabi e* (From a Trip to a Trip) by Yoshiie Kogan are the major works among
travel accounts published from the Thirties to the end of the Meiji Era. *Sanzenri* (Three Thousand Ri), a collection of poetic accounts of travels all over Japan by Hekigodō, and *Futokoro Nikki* (A Pocket Diary) by Kawakami Bizan which increased his fame with its elegant new *haiku* style, were travel accounts having a distinctiveness as artistic literary works.

*Waga Sode no Ki* (A Record of My Sleeve), an impressionistic article, which appeared in the *Chūō Kōron* in 1897 and was included in *Jidai Kankan* (Viewing the Current Age) published in the following year, was a prose work by Takayama Chogyū. Although despairing of life due to sickness, he tried to find himself as a poet by looking for consolation in nature, art, and friendship. His elegant poetic phrases and beautiful sentimentality strongly attracted the young people of that time.

A collection of literary comments *Fukkatsu no Shokō* (Flickering Light of Resurrection), a collection of essays of travels abroad *Hana Tsumi Nikki* (Diary of Picking Flowers), and a collection of essays *Teiunshu* (Faltering Clouds), written by Anezaki Chōfū (Masaharu), a friend of Chogyū, were also welcomed by the intellectual class. *Byōkanroku* (Records in a Sick Bed), *Kaikōroku* (A Record of Reminiscences), *Sunkōroku* (A record of Flashes of Time) among others, which are books of essays on thought by Tsunajima Ryōsen, contemplating human problems from a philosophical and religious stand, also made a deep impression on some young people. *Ichinen Yūhan* (One and a Half Year) published in 1901 and its second part, written by Nakae Chōmin, too are unforgettable works. Besides, *Bokuju Itteki* (One Drop of India Ink), *Byōga Manroku* (Leisurely Records of the Sick Bed) and *Byōshō Roku-Shaku* (The Six Foot Sickbed) are collections of essays, a kind of biographical record of Masaoko Shiki who worked for the reformation of *haiku* and *tanka* despite illness. Two volumes of *Azamukazaru no Ki* (A Record of No Deception) written by Doppo and published in 1908–1909, as the author himself mentioned, are his own
story of events, sentiments and thoughts, and its contents are impressive as a record of the progress of the author's soul.

The short essays of Saitō Ryoku'u (Shōjiki Shōdayū) are literary works which stand out in the literary world of the latter part of the middle of Meiji. This can be ascertained by looking into such collections of essays as Amagaeru (A Green Frog), Arare Zake (Sipping Sake to a Hailstorm), Wasuregai (The Forgetful Sea-shell), Midarebako (The Clothes Basket) and others published in the Thirties of Meiji, Adding to the polished phrascology and the light hearted technique of the short essay a quality of sharp satire which has been unequalled was his unique characteristic. An admirer of the tastes of the Edo Period, he resisted the new tendencies and condemned their weak points with sharp satire and clever irony.

Shōhin or short pieces became prosperous around the beginning of the Forties of Meiji, although Shiomachigusa (Grasses at Ebb Tide) and Shōhin Jisshu (Collection of Ten Short Pieces) of Rohan may be considered early example of this type of writing. Shizen to Jinsei by Roka may also be called a shōhin, but it is believed that this classification was started when the magazine Bunshō Sekai (The World of Letters), founded in 1906, established the shōhin column in the magazine. Rishū (Sorrow of Parting), Shinshū (Early Autumn) and Shūko Shōhin (Shōhin of Shūko) by Shirayanagi Shūko, Hibiki (Sound) and Mori (Forest) by Mizuno Yōshu, Yume (Dream) by Mayama Seika. Aozora (Blue Sky) by Yoshie Kogan and Tsubaki (Camellia) of Katai are the representative shōhin collections. Garasudo no Naka (Inside the Glass Door) of Sōseki is also an excellent short piece. In 1909, ten volumes of Shōhin Sōsho (Series of Shōhin) collecting those of Katai and nine others were published, and in 1913, six volumes of Gendai Shōhin Sōsho (Series of Contemporary Shōhin), consisting of writings of Kogan and five others, made their appearance. Writers of Shōhin, besides those mentioned, included Kyūkin, Chōka, Genji, Gyofū, Mokujō, Utsubo, Hōgetsu, and Hakuchō.
Next will be mentioned a few words on war literature. These can be classified into poetry, novels and records. Products of the Sino-Japanese War are *Seishin Kashū* (Anthology of the Expedition to China), *Jinchū Shihen* (Poetry in a War Camp) or Shiki's *Jūgun Nikki* (Diary of a Camp Follower), but a work which is also a literary piece and which is worth reading is *Aitei Tsūshin* (Letters to My Dear Brother) written by Doppo, who followed the Navy on board the battleship *Chiyoda*.

There are many war records and literary works resulting from the Russo-Japanese War. Such novels as *Ippeisotsu* (A Private) and *Kuruma no Oto* (Sounds of a Cart) written by Katai with battle themes are well known. In addition, there are *Dai Ni Gun Jūsei Nikki* (The Diary of Following the Second Army) by Katai, *Nikudan* (Human Bullets) and *Jūgo* (Home Front) by Lieutenant Sakurai Chūon, *Jūgun Sannen* (Three Years Following the Army) by Shibukawa Genji, *Jinchū Nikki* (War Camp Diary) by Chizuka Reisui and *Uta Nikki* (A Poetic Diary) by Ōgai as major ones relating to land battles, and *Kono Issen* (This Battle) by Lieutenant-Commander Mizuno Hironori and *Zanka Ichirin* (A Single Flower Left Blooming) by Second Sub-lieutenant Ichikawa Zenkai aboard the battleship *Hatsuse* as accounts relating to sea battles. However, the most welcome among these works commemorating the Russo-Japanese War are the two war records, *Nikudan* published in 1906 and *Kono Issen* published in 1910. *Nikudan* which recorded the bitter battles at Port Arthur with passion and blood and was regarded as a great lyrical poem, and *Kono Issen* which recorded the true facets of the Battle of the Japan Sea and was received as a systematic historical poem, were read widely; both were reprinted over one thousand times as the two finest examples of war records in the history of Meiji literature.

2. Writers and Their Works in the Golden Age of Naturalism

The Russo-Japanese War marks a turning point in the history
of Meiji literature. Kōyō, the writer of realism, had already died in 1903, and Rohan, the writer of idealism, had also stopped writing after completing his last great novel Sora Utsu Nami (The Heaven-Striking Waves.) The war saw the rise of a naturalism which marked a line between the old and the new, and which became the main current of the literary world. From around the end of the Twenties of Meiji, some works with a naturalistic inclination were being written. Among the first were such works as Neoshiroi (Night Powder) by Oguri Fūyō in 1896 and Renbo Nagashi (A Flood of Affection) in 1898. However, the writer who consciously advocated naturalism and wrote such novels was Kosugi Tengai. Dissatisfied with the works of realism produced by members of the Kenyūsha faction, he imitated the French school, especially the naturalism of Emile Zola, and claimed that writers should search into and experiment with human life with the attitude of a scientist, and sketch and record human life as it existed. Produced in 1890, Hatsu Sugata (The New Year Dress) was his first work in which he set forth his ideas on naturalism. His bold portrayal of things as they were, by rejecting concepts of goodness and beauty, shocked the literary world of that time. The meaning of realism in literature thus took another step forward. Hayari Uta (Popular Song), published in the following year, was a laborious work in which he tried to follow the true course of the deterministic novels of Zola, and which might be called a good example of naturalism. Makaze Koikaze (Winds of Demons and Love), which he wrote as a serial for the Yomiuri Shimbun in 1903, floridly depicted the life of girl students and the atmosphere of the students' town of Hongō. It attracted the curiosity of the young people of that time and gained an overwhelming popularity.

Nagai Kafū in his early days, too, was influenced by Zola, and wrote several pieces which are called the forerunners of the literature of naturalism. Jigoku no Hana (The Flower of Hell) published in 1902 was the work which gained him wide
recognition. His manner of writing, which, while depicting the gloomy aspects of life, showed a flash of hope in the end, was slightly different from that of Tengai, and represented another step forward in the literature of naturalism. It suggested the gallant spirit of the author who was also a social commentator. His first piece Nigori-zome (The Beginning of Muddiness), Oboroyo (Night of a Hazy Moon) and Hana Chiru Yo (Fading Night), which appeared in the magazine Yoshiashigusa (Good and Bad Grasses) published in Osaka, and Yumeno Hana (Flower of a Dream), Yami no Sakebi (Cry in the Dark), Yashin (Ambition) and others, were unique in the literary world of that time. At any rate, these early works of Kafū, along with the works of Tengai, are considered the forerunners of novels with a naturalistic tendency.

Ogai Fūyō, too, can be considered one of the distinguished writers of naturalism. Reflecting the thought of the period from the end of the Twenties to the middle of the Thirties of Meiji, his novels include Kikkyo Zuru (Tortoise-shelled Crane), Rembo Nagashi (Love Disappeared) and Katsura Shitaji (Under the Wig) in which the writer described the world of love in the style of Köyō, as well as such works as Sametaru Onna (The Woman Now Cold), and Kozue no Hana (Flower on a Branch Tip). However, Fūyō was a writer with a naturalistic attitude, unreservedly describing the gloomy side of human life, unshackled by such concepts as beauty or ugliness or the sense of the realistic trend. His long piece Seishun (Youth), which appeared as a serial in the Yomiuri Shimbun in 1905, created asensation by dealing with love affairs of the young people of the new age as its theme. His writing style was coquettish and brilliant, indicating the switch from romanticism to naturalism. Seishun was a representative work worth noting from the standpoint of literary history.

Kunikida Doppo, who brought a refreshing air into the literary world by his fine piece Musashino was influenced by William Wordsworth, the poet of nature. While his conception
of human life and nature was amply tinged with romanticism, he adopted overtones of naturalism in his descriptions and became one of the forerunners of the literature of naturalism. Beginning with his first work *Gen Oji* (Uncle Gen) in 1897 the following may be classified as his representative works: *Gyūniku to Bareisho* (Beef and Potatoes), *Shuchū Nikki* (A Wine-Soaked Diary), *Jonan* (Troubles with Woman), *Unmei-Ronsha* (A Fatalist).

The writers following Doppo who ushered in the heyday of naturalistic literature were Tayama Katai, Shimazaki Tōson, Masamune Hakuchō, Tokuda Shūsui and Iwano Hōmei.

Katai, who had been writing such works with exquisite landscape descriptions, delicate lyricism, and unlimited imagination as *Furusato* (Homeland), *Nano Hana* (Flowers of the Field), *Nabari Shōjo* (A Girl of Nabari), was mainly influenced by French writers of naturalism such as Zola, Maupassant, Flaubert and Concourt. He made a great change from his past romantic emotionalism to naturalism, marking an epoch in his conversion to naturalism by his *Juemon no Saigo* (The End of Juemon) published in 1902. Before long, he was working hard to espouse and propagate naturalism by publishing such literary commentaries as *Rokotsu naru Byōsha* (A Straightforward Description). *Futon* (The Quilt) appearing in *Shin Shōsetsu* (New Novels) in 1907 dealt with the love affair of middle-aged man, presumably modelled on the author's own experience, which frankly revealed the hitherto hidden sexual life of a man and which was commented on as being the "blood and flesh of naturalism." Although there were many criticisms with regard to its artistic value, it put into effect the author's theory of techniqueless technique, "straight-forward description", and is a work of great historical significance in the naturalistic literature of Japan.

Following this, Katai wrote a trilogy, *Sei* (Life), *Tsuma* (Wife) and *En* (Relations) published in 1908 and 1910. Into these the author, who had secured the attention of the literary world
as well as of the public by breaking old conventionalism by his *Futon*, poured out his heart’s blood. These can be equalled with Tōson’s *Ie* (House) which is a great piece showing the epitome of human life. They are his representative masterpieces, together with his long piece *Inaka Kyōshi* (A Country Teacher) (1909), and they include the great harvest of naturalistic literature in Japan.

*Hakai* (Transgression of the Commandment), published in 1906, was the first long piece by Tōson after he turned from poetry to prose writing. Together with Katai’s *Futon*, this is an epochal monumental work commemorating the blossoming of naturalistic literature. *Hakai* was written “without adding any subjective concept”, by gazing at the confused aspects of the outside world, by contemplating self, and by intently looking at the tragedy of individuals passively existing in the pits of society, amidst the exciting atmosphere of the Russo-Japanese War. As stated by the author, “Unending rumors of the war here and there, cries of the sellers of newspaper extras running past outside the gate everyday, all these things did not leave me untouched even when I was living under a thatched roof behind the Koromo riding grounds” This novel was an unprecedented new work with a unique theme. Although it is called naturalistic in style and form of description, it had a strong humanistic inclination. The passion of the author for righteousness and sincerity is combined with the innate character of the author as a poet so that it emanates with a noble tone of exclamation. In that sense, *Hakai*, too, together with *Tōson Shishū* (Anthology of Tōson), is called a book showing the youthfulness of the author. At any rate, this is an epoch-making work which will have a steady place in the history of novels of the Meiji Era.

The long piece *Haru* (Spring) is a work describing objectively the youthful days of the brothers Tōkoku and Tenchi, the author himself, and other young literary men of the *Bungaku Kai* faction. It deals with the road they had tread with sin-
cerity, although in agony with the contradiction between reality and the ideal, as well as interweaving their love affairs and activities. This is an excellent piece with an impressionistic character, depicting many a passionate and lyrical scene by calm, objective description. Considered a continuation of Haru, Le is an unparalleled huge work, describing the history of the vississitudes of two large families for twenty years, with the life of the author himself at its center. Presenting this material in a tight construction and purely objective description by discerning deeply and fully into various aspects of human life, this work may be said to be an incomparable masterpiece in the Meiji literary world and can be said to represent the apex of the literary works of naturalism,

The next writer of naturalism is Tokuda Shūsei, who can be called a "born naturalist." It is generally recognized that he is the writer who perfected the literature of naturalism. Although his works do not have the pressure and power of Tōson’s, he is probably foremost in observing things as they are and objectively describing them. Chiba Kameo commented rightly that "His eyes, fixing on reality, are sharp just like a winter morning, and in his lusterless, but tasteful technique which reminds us of oxidized silver and the pleasant mildbitterness of a well-mellowed man who has tasted the sweet and the bitterness of life, he vividly paints the complicated love affairs of middle-aged men." Shin-Shotai (A New Household), published in 1908, which was almost his first work after turning his attention to the realities of human life and which is said to have been decisive in determining his creative attitude, is a harmonious work showing his techniques of naturalism. Ashiato (Footprints) (1910) was his first long novel, treating through purely objective description the eventful life of a woman who was gradually enlightened both in body and soul while roaming the paths of life in the hands of fate. Katai discussed the merits of this work in the following way: "The wide fields of the life of mankind develop eternally around a frail woman.
CULTURE IN LATE MEIJI

I saw an art by which we can ladle out the fountain of human life, in describing man as precisely as this, concerning the complicated events which revolve so impressively around him.” While Kabi (Mildew) published in 1911 is an autobiographical work in which the author attained this ultimate of non-subjectiveness and subjectlessness, it shows the atmosphere of the literary world of that time. An excellent piece which firmly established the literary fame of the author, its historical value was recognized as a leading example of shishōsetsu (private novel) of naturalism in Japan. Following this work, the author published two novels, Tadare (Corruption) and Arakure (Indulgence) which reveal the highest peak in the works of naturalism of this writer in the beginning of the Taishō Era.

The writers who distinguished themselves in the literary world of naturalism, following the four masters, Doppo, Katai, Tōson and Shūsei, are Masamune Hakuchō and Iwano Hōmei. Although of the same naturalist school, the four master-writers each had his own uniqueness in intrinsic quality and leanings. Similarly Hakuchō and Hōmei had their respective unique specialities. In the first place, as conspicuously shown in his works, Hakuchō had the character and special talent to observe society and human life in a dispassionate way, and to deal with it in a resistive, ironical tone. But from another point of view, he had the stern temperament to be thorough with a healthy understanding and lucid eyes of observation, as well as the idealistic character of refusing to compromise.

Dokoe (Whither) (1908) is a work depicting the nihilism of young intellectuals of that time which greatly excited the society. The main character of this novel is a young man who not only refused to admit the authority of the old morality, religion and social order, but looked upon these with an ill-tempered sneer. Pearing a lonely, forlorn and unbearable solitude in his heart, the young man believed himself to be alone; there existed an unsurpassable deep gap between himself and others. Not desiring to be loved nor to be sympathized with, he could not
trust even himself. He could not be elated with ideas, with sake, with women, nor with his own talent and wisdom. All ideals had disappeared, and he existed only because he could not die. Denying everything, whither shall he go? Presenting well such agony as this, work is one of the representative works of Hakuchō who was regarded as “the heir of the age of decadence”. Biko (Feeble Light), published in 1910, shows the artistic realm in the middle period of the author’s life. Doro Ningyō (A Clay Doll), which was published in the following year, is a work that completely smashed the conventional romantic conceptions of marriage, family life, and wife and children. This is also another of Hakuchō’s representative works in which the characteristics of the author himself can be found.

In opposition to the naturalism of writers like Katai, Iwano Hōmei hoisted the banner of the new naturalism. He was a naturalistic writer of mono-dimensional descriptions, advocating the impulsiveness of the unity of flesh and soul, and asserting that doing was art. He wrote many novels in his extremely loose style. Tandeki (Indulgence) published in 1909 is considered as representative work. In this novel, the author described the relations of a novelist and a country geisha, and although scenes so ugly as to be unbearable to read are recklessly presented, his descriptive technique of digging into the fundamentals of human character is unique and unattainable for ordinary writers. As can be seen in some of his other works such as Hōrō (The Wandering), Hatten (Development) and Dokuyaku o Nomu On’na (The Lady who Takes Poison), the works of Hōmei were the records of human beings based on his theory that practice is art.

About twenty years after writing his first work Ukiyugo (Floating Clouds), which came into the limelight and became the forerunner of the contemporary literature of Japan, Futarabatei published two works, Sono Omokage (Those Vestiges) and Heibon (Mediocrity) in 1906 and 1907, respectively. Although
they do not have as great significance as *Ukigumo*, the latter especially was one of the representative works of the author with a naturalistic tendency, having some similarity to works of the *Yoyū-ha* (The Leisure School) faction such as those of Sōseki.

3. Literature at the End of the Meiji Era.

The literature of naturalism which held sway over the entire literary world at one time gradually began to show signs of decline. The year 1909 marked its climax. Voices of anti-naturalism and supernaturalism began to increase in various corners of the literary world. Although such naturalistic writers as Katai, Tōson, Shūsei, Hakuchō and others were still writing, so-called neo-idealism and neo-romanticism were in process of rising in the literary world. Beginning with Sōseki’s ironical criticism of naturalism in advocating *yoyūha shōsetsu* (novels of the Leisure faction) in the preface he wrote for the collection of short pieces *Keito* (Cockscomb) by Kyoshi in 1908, writers such as Gotō Chūgai, Higuchi Ryūkyō, Izumi Kyōka, raised the voices of anti-naturalism and non-naturalism in the magazine *Shin Shōsetsu* (New Novels). They also went into action by organizing the *Bungei Kakushin Kai* (Literary Reform Society). Ógai, also began to charge that naturalistic literature was a literature which is playing around, (asobi no bungaku) in contrast to the literature of the *Yoyū-ha*. Against the realistic, impulsive and emotional tendency of the naturalistic faction, the *Yoyū-ha* was generally considered to have the character of evasion, dilettantism and lukewarmness. The representative writer of this faction was, of course, Natsume Sōseki. The works of this faction were in the lineage of the shaseibon of the *haiku* poets, and can be said to have been originated by Shiki, developed somewhat by Kyoshi, and perfected by Sōseki.

As for the works of Kyoshi, such short pieces as *Haikaishi* (Haiku Poet), *Bon Jin* (Mediocre Man) and *Keito* (Cockscomb)
published during 1908–1909, are completely works belonging to
the Yoyū-ha from the view point of technique and attitude. He was a writer of pure Japanese taste, without being influenced by foreign literature.

Although the works of Sōseki had emerged from Japanese style Shaseibun as had those of Kyoshi and others, his works came into existence as a mixture of the flavour of English literature and Oriental taste. Within a given society and family circle, his philosophy of life was to enjoy tastes and plessures as much as possible for good health, and the art of doing so underlay his outlook on life. While there are some literary historians who criticize his works as containing no anguish touching individual thought and expressing no flavor of the agony of life, his epigrammatic observations, freshness of writing style, and the moderate morality in the contents of his works attracted the general public. Sōseki certainly created a new style in literature. Following in that style there appeared the writers of the first and second periods of the magazine Shin Shichō (The New Current of Thought).

Sōseki started writing novels from around 1905, beginning with such romantic works as Rondon-tō (The Tower of London) and a type of shaseibun such as Wagahai wa Neko de Aru (I Am a Cat), and won literary fame. Then he published in succession a series of excellent novels such as Botchan (Young Master), Kusa Makura (Pillow of Grass), Gubijinsō (Field Poppy), Sanshirō, Mon (Gate), Higan Sugi Made (Until After the Equinox). In his first work to win fame, Wagahai wa Neko de Aru, are found the author’s views and comments on society and culture. Filled with a bright atmosphere, a rich humour flows throughout the story. However, resistance against social evils and a feeling of hatred toward the contradictions of life are felt in the background, and at the same time, a certain sense of pessimistic sadness permeates the work. Botchan and Kusamakura are works in which the author unreservedly expressed his own view of the world, his sentiment of righteousness
but the work in which he elevated these conceptions to the level of dramatic composition was Gubijinsō. After these works, his writing tended to become more submerged in the recesses of his thought and approached more descriptions of reality.

The views of Ōgai, who along with Sōseki expressed dissatisfaction with naturalism, can be found in such commentaries as Shizen-shugi o Ronjite Waga Kyakuhon Sakka ni Oyobu (Comments on Naturalism and Playwrights), which appeared in the magazine Engei Gahō (Theatrical Pictorial) in 1907. He did directly oppose naturalism, but dissatisfied with it, looked at it with coolness and advocated a literature with a non-naturalistic bent. His works reflecting that trend include Asobi (Play) and Seinen (Youth) written in 1910, and Gan (Wild Goose) and Moso (Wild Fancy), written in the following year. These works were richly filled with intellectual expressions and elegant dignity, and were pervaded with the atmosphere of his harmonious philosophy of life. However, because his attitude was too far removed from life he lived like Sōseki in proud loneliness, isolated from the main current of the literary world.

Kyoshi and the members of the Yoyūha (Leisure faction) or Ōgai and other members of the Yūriha (Isolated faction) can be said to have turned from naturalism or the spirit of realism and to have sought relief in tastefulness and intellectuality. However, the young literary spirits of the age could not remain satisfied with this passive way of existence. They could not remain idle, but had to search for and construct a positive world of beauty in the reality of human life, and to entrust their dreams there. It may be appropriate that the realization of these aspirations led to their being called the Kyōraku-ha (Faction of dilettantism) or Tambi-ha (Faction of Aestheticism), but it did not necessarily mean decadence.

The representative writer of this group was Nagai Kafū. He first expressed his artistic attitude, which may be considered as a forerunner of naturalism, in his work Jigoku no Hana
(Flower of Hell). In 1903 he aimlessly traveled to the United States and for quite a while discontinued communication with the literary world of Japan. Then he went to France, the country of his longing, and upon returning to Japan in 1908, he presented his work *Amerika Monogatari* (Tales of America) to the literary world in Japan where naturalism was at the height of its prosperity, and in the following year he published *Furansu Monogatari* (Tales of France). After these, he published in succession such excellent pieces in an enjoyable and aesthetic vein as *Shukuhai* (Cup of Congratulation), *Reishō* (Derisive Smile), *Kanraku* (Merry-making), and *Sumidagawa* (The Sumida River).

Among the members of the first period of the *Shin-shichō* faction, those who were active at the end of the Meiji Era were Osanai Kaoru and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō. *Okawabata* (The River Bank), a long piece by Kaoru, was a purely aesthetic work in which the jesting style of Kafū is not found. The works which raised the literary art of aestheticism to a more diabolical and grotesque character were those by Jun'ichirō as *Irezumi* (Tattooing), *Kirin* (Giraff), *Shōnen* (A Young Boy), and *Akuma* (Demon). When these were published, they astounded the literary world.

Suzuki Mieki of the school of Sōseki wrote such welcome short pieces full of romantic lyricism and colorful feeling as *Akai Tori* (A Red Bird), *Chidori* (Plovers) and *Yamabiko* (Mountain Echo), and Morita Sōhei, another student of Sōseki, made his debut to the literary world with *Baien* (Smoke Soot). Ogawa of the Waseda faction, who had continued writing in his own way even in the heyday of naturalism, published a collection of short pieces *Mono Iwanu Kao* (A Face Which Reveals Nothing) and clarified his new literary inclination based on his yearning for nature and human life. In addition, Kinoshita Mokutarō, Yoshi’i Isamu, Nagata Hideo and others, who took positions of anti-naturalism, and who were the separated remnants of the *Myōjō* and the Subaru factions, together with
the aforementioned writers, who were called writers of the new romanticism by historians because of their tendency toward art for art’s sake, pleasure-seeking, or aestheticism, together with the Shirakaba faction of humanitarianism, continued their lively writing activities from the end of the Meiji Era to the early years of the Taishō Era, following the prosperity of the writers of naturalism. The Shirakaba faction was a well-united group among the reactionary influences opposed to naturalism, and gradually developed to become the main current of the literary world in the next period. This faction was composed of those people entrenching in the magazine Shirakaba, founded in 1910. They developed in the young and healthy atmosphere of realism and included such writers as Mushanokōji Saneatsu, who published Seken Shirazu (Inexperienced), Shiga Naoya, Arishima Takeo, Satomi Ton and Nagayo Yoshio. In addition, such writers as Nagatsuka Takashi, a poet, who wrote in 1910 a novel of farm life called Tuchi (Clay) in the impressionistic style in the lineage of the shaseibon faction, should be remembered. In this situation in the literary world, the days passed on from Meiji to Taishō.

D. THE WORLD OF PUBLIC ENTERTAINING ARTS

1. The World of Nō

The previously mentioned Nōgaku-sha (Nō Society) was renamed the Nōgaku-kai (Nō Association) in 1896, and the nō stage located in Shiba Park became the theater of this Nōgaku-kai. Along with the growing prosperity of the nō, each nō school established its own stage, and the theater at Shiba Park was used less and less, resulting in financial difficulty in maintaining the hall. In 1902, the hall was therefore dedicated to the Yasukuni Shrine of Kudan.

When the Russo-Japanese War brock out, nō, performances
were held to help raise funds, just as during the Sino-Japanese War. Among the no performances presented, one by the Kanze school in March 1904 introduced a newly written drama called Washi (Eagle). Written by Ōwada Kenju and Kanze Kiyokado, master of the Kanze school, who composed the music and arranged the dancing for it, even performing in it himself, this was a new play to meet the national crisis by symbolizing Russia as an eagle.

While new no dramas were produced even in the Edo Period, as well as in the Meiji Era, these new plays did not last very long. Many new no dramas also appeared during the Russo-Japanese War, reflecting the current situation of the country, but most of them faded away as temporary attempts. However, among those who wrote new plays were some who were interested in improving the no dramas. But it was a time when the shimpapa (new faction) was prosperous in the theatrical world, and the traditional kabuki was in hardship. Even a type of Western opera was introduced, supported by the dissemination and development of Western music. Since the no was a traditional stage art older than the kabuki and was a musical drama closer to opera than the kabuki, there were apprehensions for its future, as well as suggestions to improve it. However, opinions opposing reformation of the no were stronger on the grounds that improvements might lead to destruction of this unique stage art polished during long years of tradition. Although some new plays appeared, they did not have much influence in reforming the no. On the other hand, utai (singing of no texts), which had been popular since olden days, gradually gained popularity. It was this which supported the no to enable it to remain through the Taishō and Shōwa Eras.

2. The Prosperity of Shimpapa and the Distress of Kabuki

In 1903 and 1904 three master actors of the Tokyo Kabuki that is Ichikawa Danjūrō, Onoe Kikugorō and Ichikawa Sadanji,
who were collectively called Dan-kiku-Za, died one after the other, creating opportunities for the rise of a new generation of actors. However, at that time Shimpa (new faction) was welcomed by the public, and in addition, the new generation of kabuki, actors had not mastered the matured art of kabuki as had Dan-Kiku-Za. Therefore, the kabuki (kyūha) was overwhelmed by the shimpa. Further, the new faction of that time was already well developed technically, and master actors of the new faction appeared. In addition, when the Russo-Japanese War began in January 1904, the new faction exhibited its characteristic feature in the presentation of war dramas. The old faction tried to follow their example and also presented war dramas. Even the kabuki-za of Tokyo presented a war drama written by Takeshiba Shinkichi, a playwright, together with the play Kiri Hitoha (A Leaf of Paulownia), a new historical play written by the literary artist Tsubouchi Shōyō.

Originally, most Kabuki dramas were written by playwrights (kyōgen sakusha), who were considered technicians and not literary artists. The function of playwrights was to plot stage versions, taking into account the strong points of each of the major actors so as to present the characters with maximum effectiveness. It was an unwritten law in kabuki society that when an influential actor disagreed with the character he was to act, he could request the playwright to rewrite the drama, and the dramatist had to obey the request. During the movement to reform theatrical dramas which appeared from around 1887, it was argued that dramas should not be left in the hands of illiterate playwrights, but should be written by literary artists of great learning. But, those who knew the traditional customs of kabuki society showed no interest in writing dramas for the kabuki. Although the Nihon Engeki Kyōkai expected the production of new dramas after inviting topflight men of letters as members of the literary art committee, this expectation was not to be fulfilled in a short time. However, the demands of the times gradually lured men of letters toward an interest in
writing dramas, and theater managements also began to seek dramas written by people other than the playwrights. The fact that Kawatake Mokuami, the outstanding playwright, stopped writing new dramas might have been one reason which led theaters to search for new dramas by writers other than the playwrights. Thus, Miyazaki Sammai and other men of letters gradually began to write dramas, although they wrote only when requested by theaters or actors. By 1894, new historical plays, in which an author's views on the theater and his ideals were freely included, began to be written. *Kiri Hitoha* by Tsubouchi Shōyō was the first of this kind, appearing in the magazine *Waseda Bungaku* beginning in its November issue and published in book form in 1896. Although this drama was written for the kabuki, the world of kabuki was not developed enough to perform it.

When the years later in 1904, this drama was given at the Tokyo-za, Aeba Koson, a drama critic, praised it in the newspaper *Niroku Shimpō* as follows:

"There have been many examples of playwrights borrowing works written by noted men of letters, but in most cases theirs were adaptations which impaired the value of the original by cutting there and deforming here. It was said that they used to mutilate the original by ignoring the ideals of the original writer, changing plots and lines on the pretext that circumstances on the stage differ from those in books. However, this time they were very discreet. There was no change in plot, and the play was very faithful to the original, with only a very minor change in lines."

The agony of the kyū-ha, in being overwhelmed by the shimpa, made them resolve to take up this drama and the play gained audience favor as a result of the enthusiastic efforts of the actors. Kataoka Gatō, the main actor, also presented this drama at Osaka in the same year and was very successful. This gave him such confidence, that he began to take up the fine literary pieces among the new dramas.
At the Tokyo-za, Which gave *Kiri Hitoha, Hototogisu* (Cuckoo), written by Tokutomi Roka and dramatized by Take-shiba Shinkichi, a playwright, was presented in September that year. Actors who had roles in this drama were Nakamura Shikan, Ichikawa Komazō and other kabuki actors who had played in *Kiri Hitoha*. This was the first instance in which the old faction performed a drama in the new faction style. This theater also took up such new faction dramas as *Chikyōdai* (Foster Sisters) and *Ono Ga Tsumi* (My Sin), originally written by Kikuchi Yuho, and *Makaze Koikaze* (Suspicious Wind, Love Wind), originally written by Kosugi Tengai. Coincidentally, *Chikyōdai* and *Ono Ga Tsumi* were presented competitively, as the new faction was also presenting these same dramas at the Hongō-za. This shows the inactivity and agony of the old faction. The new faction, which was in its golden age, dramatized domestic novels (*katei shōsetsu*) which were popularly thriving at that time. It can also be said that the popularity of the domestic novels was responsible for the prosperity of the new faction. In addition, in its April performance in 1905, the Kabuki-za presented an opera *Roei no Yume* (A Dream of a Bivouac) with Ichikawa Komazō as the leading actor. The verses were written, and the music composed by Kitamura Sueharu. This was an example showing the anguish of the old faction in taking up a war drama, after modifying it into something like an opera. At this time, opera was just beginning to be performed, in order to attract audiences by something novel, when theaters were competing against each other by presenting war dramas.

In August of the previous year, Ichikawa Sadanji, one of the three master-actors, who also owned the *Meiji-za*, died. Ichikawa Enshō succeeded in the management of the theater and this young actor-proprietor, also dismayed at the course being followed, presented adaptations from Western dramatic pieces such as *Hernani* by Hugo, *Niwaka Ishi* (the Doctor In Spite of Himself) by Moliere, or *Chūshingura* and other Japa-
ness classics. After succeeding to the name of Sadanj in 1906, he went abroad, returned in the following year, and in January 1908 carried out some reforms, improving the conventional customs of the kabuki world at the Meiji-za. He added the play The Merchant of Venice, translated by Tsubouchi Shōyō, using his younger sister as an actress. However, this performance resulted in failure. Although there were many reasons for that failure, the greatest reason lay in the conservative character of the devotees of the kabuki. As a result, Sadanj lost his popularity.

In September that year, Kawakami Otojirō joined the reform performance aimed at the rationalization of plays. On that occasion, Kawakami asked Okamoto Kidō to write a new drama Ishin Zengo (Before and After the Meiji Restoration) for Sadanj and presented it. This drama had the character of a new kabuki play, and opened the way for Sadanj to gain great fame through other dramas written by Kidō. Besides, this reformatory presentation by Kawakami covered both fields of the new and the old faction, for he was active as a promotor at that time.

Kawakami felt it necessary to develop actresses too, and founded the Teikoku Joyū Yōseijo (Imperial Actress Training Institute) in 1908. Fujisawa, Asajirō, an actor of the new faction, also established the Tokyo Haiyū Yōseijo (Tokyo Actors Training Institute) for male actors in that year by inviting Osanai Kaoru as the lecturer. In addition, in November that year, a modern small theater in purely Western style called the Yūraku-za was established, and the new faction made further advances.

3. Emergence of the Shingeki and Revival of the Kabuki

The word shimpa was used in contrast to the kabuki which was referred to as the old faction, and indicated the new theater in contrast with the old. It was also called shingeki (new drama). Along with the modernization of Japanese litera-
ture after the Russo-Japanese War, new theatrical plays came to the fore influenced by Western theatrical plays, and the word *shingeki* was coined to be applied to these new theatrical plays of Western color. The *shimpa* (new faction) stemmed from *sōshi-shibai* and *shosei-shibai*, which were based on political themes, but which followed the techniques of the *kabuki*, adapting them with some improvements. While it improved upon the traditional theater, at the same time it was a successor to the old. *Shingeki*, on the other hand, having no relation with the traditional theater, made its rise under the influence of modern Western theatrical plays. However, it did not appear suddenly but grew gradually, for although both the new faction and the old faction experimented with it, the time was not yet mature to import modern Western theatrical plays in their full scope of presentation.

In January 1906, the year following the return of Shimamura Hōgetsu from Europe, the *Bungei Kyōkai* (Literary Art association) with Tsubouchi Shōyō as its president was born. Organized by Shōyō, Hōgetsu and others related to the Department of Literature at Waseda University, it aimed to work for "the improvement, development and diffusion of literature, fine arts and the theater of this country." However, as Shōyō was very enthusiastic about improving and raising the level of the theater, the major efforts of this society were concentrated on theatrical plays. Besides, since Shōyō was studying and translating the works of Shakespeare around that time, the society presented new dramas based on the national theater (*kokugeki*) and the works of Shakespeare, and in the early period did not take up modern Western theatrical plays.

It was the theatrical group called *Jiyū Gekijō* (Freedom Theater) which took up modern western theatrical plays seriously for the first time. This theatrical group was organized through the cooperation of Ichikawa Sadanji, the leading reformer in the world of *kabuki*, and Osanai Kaoru, a researcher on the theater. It presented the first experimental performance at the
Yūraku-za on the 27th and 28th of November, 1909. They chose the drama John Gabriel Borgmann by Ibsen translated by Mori Ōgai. Sadanji and other kabuki actors of his school were the performers, and Osanai was the director. It proved to be very successful. Stimulated by this success, there were born in the following year in 1910 the Shin Shakai Gekidan (New Social Theatrical Group) and the Shin Jidaigeki Kyōkai (New Age Theatrical Association). The former was established by Nakamura Shun'u, a researcher on the theater, as well as a playwright, with the aim of presenting his own new social dramas; and the latter was established by Inoue Masao, a reformer among Shimpa actors with the objective of presenting modern dramas. In this year, the Jiyū Gekijō presented its second and third modern performances. This trend of presenting modern dramas inspired the Bungei Kyōkai, and as a result, an experimental performance of Ningyo no Ie (Doll's House) by Ibsen was given in September 1911 on the occasion of the inaugural solemnity of the experimental theater affiliated with the Bungei Kyōkai. The translator of this drama was Shimamura Hōgetsu, who assumed also the role of director. Nora, acted by Matsui Sumako, won a great ovation. In November that year, this drama was publicly presented at the Imperial Theater, a newly built purely Western style large theater, and again won great public favor. One by-product of the success of a drama dealing with the problem of the emancipation of women was the birth of the Seitōsha (Blue-stockings Society), an organization of women which raised the cry of emancipation of women.

In this way shingeki gained increasing popularity, leading to the birth of many a new shingeki group in the Taishō Era. These shingeki groups took up other dramas besides modern ones, and they uniformly tried to entertain small enthusiastic audiences in an experimental way by presenting conscientious performances without being restricted by commercialism.

Along with the growth of the popularity of shingeki, the kabuki regained its original liveliness. In the beginning, the
shimpä was the new theater, but it lost its novelty with the birth of shingeiki and by its falling into mannerisms in techniques of presentation. They came to be typed so as to be called in the shimpä style. In addition, the stagnation of domestic novels, the rise of which was attributable to the development of the golden age of shimpä, led to its decline. The shimpä style did not suit the modern drama, and it was difficult for shimpä actors to present shingeiki without the shimpä style. It was easier for kabuki actors to play shingeiki, as there was a distinct difference in the techniques between the kabuki play and shingeiki. However, the education of kabuki actors was inadequate to fully master shingeiki, and they required good directors. That is why the necessity of a director became an issue after the rise of shingeiki.

Although shingeiki became popular, its supporting strata were mainly composed of cultural people and students, and the theater-loving masses showed no interest in shingeiki. Those who did not like shingeiki turned to the kabuki. The fact that leading young kabuki actors, after the death of Dan-Kiku-Za, trained and polished their own art was also one of the reasons for the revival of the kabuki. Thus, along with the decline of shimpa, the kabuki gradually regained its past influence.

In the world of kabuki, the Kabuki-za established the system of gigeiin (technician) in 1907 and appointed Nakamura Shikan and others as regular actors. Around that time, the Shōchiku Gōmei Kaisha in the Kansai district was gradually gaining possession of theaters and actors in Osaka and Kyoto. In Tokyo, leading young kabuki actors, Nakamura Kichiemon and Onoe Kikugorō VI, made their appearance in the Ichimura-za in November of the following year, and were gradually winning popularity by presenting kabuki dramas in the lineage of Ichikawa Danjūrō and Kikugorō V, the master-actors of the Meiji Era. In November that year the Shōchiku Gōmei Kaisha made their advance into Tokyo and took possession of the Shintomi-za. In February 1911, the Imperial Theater was constructed in
a purely Western Renaissance style, and new and old dramas were performed there, with regular actors composed of kabuki actors including Onoe Baikō, as well as actresses from among the first graduates of the Theatrical School, affiliated with the Imperial Theater established in 1909. In addition, in May in that year, Ichikawa Sadanji made his first presentation of Shuzenji Monogatari (Tale of a Mask-maker of Shuzenji) written by Okamoto Kidō at the Meiji-za. It won great public favor, making the coalition between Sadanji and Kidō even closer, and thereafter Sadanji’s popularity rose to new heights, assisted by the new kabuki plays written by Kidō. The Shōchiku Gōmei Kaisha frequently brought to Tokyo popular actors from Osaka, who were its regular actors and before long acquired Ichikawa Sadanji, the most popular actor of the Tokyo kabuki, as one of its regular actors. In October 1912 Shōchiku was to gain control of the stage world in Tokyo.

4. War Songs

War songs, which had once declined after the Sino-Japanese War, regained their liveliness after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. One reason for this was the publication of collections of war songs. Publishers who were encouraged by the success of song collections repeatedly published new war songs and anthologies. However, the situation was different as compared with the Sino-Japanese War, for schools did not take up war songs as educational materials so much this time. Because there were a considerable number of songs and the teaching of singing was improved to a great extent, war songs hurriedly and carelessly produced were no longer adequate. There are only a few war songs produced at that time which gained wide favor and were sung for a long time.

Opera attracted public attention after the presentation of Orpheus in 1903. During the war from the end of March 1905, the opera Roei no Yume (A Dream in a Bivouac) was presented
at the *Kabuki-za*. It was a war play in the style of an opera, performed by *kabuki* actors, when many of the theaters were competing in the presentation of plays related to the Russo-Japanese War.

In the year previous to this performance, Tsubouchi Shōyō published *Shin Gakugeki Ron* (On New Musical Drama) in which he stated that for a true Japanese theater a form of a musical drama should be developed, not as a simple direct imitation of Western opera, but by learning from Western opera and by making the best use of the strong points of native music. At the first public presentation of a performance by the *Bungei Kyōkai* in 1906, the opera *Tokoyami* (Eternal Darkness) written by Shōyō was presented, but the accompanying music was still Western style music of string and wind instruments. However, at the second public performance of the *Bungei Kyōkai* in the following year, *nagauta* music was used as an accompaniment to a dance-drama *Urashima*, written by Shōyō. This was a new musical drama using the national music of Japan.

In 1907 and 1909, the Bandman(?)’s Comic Opera Company of England visited Japan, and at Christmas in 1909, Yamada Kōsaku, who had just graduated from the Tokyo Academy of Music, presented a short opera written and directed by himself. In 1911, the Imperial Theater, which was inaugurated in that year, also presented several operas in addition to *Kabuki* plays.

**5. Progress in Western Music**

There was already a considerable development in Western musical performances by 1907 when compared with the early period of the importation of Western music. The most authentic was that of the Tokyo Academy of Music, but there was a considerable development in the performance of Western music by the Army and the Navy Bands, as well as that of the Court Music Department of the Ministry of the Imperial Household.
Audience quality also greatly developed in the appreciation of Western music.

On August 1, 1905 soon after the termination of the Russo-Japanese war, the Army Band held performance at the Hibiya Park Bandstand, which had just been built (the park was opened two years before), and prior to the commencement of the performance, Ozaki Yukio, the Mayor of Tokyo, addressed a greeting of the citizens of Tokyo. On the 12th of the same month, the Navy Band of the Yokosuka Naval Training School also presented a musical performance there, and thereafter, the two bands took pride in giving performances at this stand, and worked to polish their performances. Until then, the two bands had been studying only wind instruments, but from that time on, the Navy Band sent their members to the Tokyo Academy of Music for orchestra, and the Army Band took lessons for string instruments from the Music Department of the Ministry of the Imperial Household. (In November, 1907, the Court Music Department of the Ceremonial Bureau of the Ministry of the Imperial Household was renamed the Music Department.) This department which had prestige not only as the guardians of classical court music, but also as one of the pioneers in Western style orchestra, always participated in the Orchestral performances of the Tokyo Academy of Music.

In 1910, the Army Band was sent to London and performed at the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition held there. In England for twenty two weeks, they improved their technique, taking instruction from the Commander of H.R.M. King’s Honor Guard Band. In 1912, a music hall was established in the Tennōji Park, Osaka, and the Army Band of the Osaka Fourth Division began giving musical performance there from June 26 (the name of the era was changed from Meiji to Taishō on July 30 this year). In addition, the mitsukoshi Department Store of Tokyo created its Young People’s Music Band in 1909, and the Matsu-zakaya Department Store of Nagoya also organized one the following year. They not only performed in their respective
stores, but also on the outside upon request. This fact shows that there was a considerable increase in the number of devotees of music, not only in the upper class but among the middle class as well. Students usually comprised the majority of the audience at almost every Western musical recital, and by entering into the society of these students, the taste for Western music infiltrated well into the society. Not only listeners but those eager to study Western music also increased, and many private music schools, besides the Tokyo Academy of Music, were established around 1903. These private schools also contributed as preparatory training organs for entrance into the government-sponsored Tokyo Academy of Music. In addition, many organizations for musical training within universities and special schools came successively into existence.

E. THE WORLD OF FINE ARTS.

With the development of capitalism after the Russo-Japanese War and the subsequent economic boom, the world of fine arts also commenced to show prosperity. In architecture, iron-frame and reinforced concrete structures were widely used, and large railway stations, theaters, department stores, and business offices made their appearance one after another. Various organizations relating to painting and sculpture were also established, but when the Fine Art Exhibition under the auspices of the Ministry of Education was held in 1907, following the Tokyo Prefectural Industrial Promotion Exhibition in that year, it was requested that fine arts of various kinds and representing various schools be collectively displayed each year.

This Fine Art Exhibition of the Ministry of Education, commonly called Bunten, was established by Makino Nobuaki, then Minister of Education. Since he had served as Japanese Minister to Italy and Austria, he was knowledgeable on the administration of fine arts, and he had an ambition to establish an organ similar to the Salon of France. Taking advantage of the
opportunity of the poet of Minister of Education, and also supported by the proposal of Fukuhara Ryōjirō, Director of the Special Education Bureau of the Ministry, and Masaki Naohiko, President of the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts, as well as petitions presented by Professor of Aesthetics Ōtsuka Yasuji of Tokyo Imperial University, and Kuroda Seiki, a Western school artist, he decided upon the establishment of the Fine Arts Screening Committee in 1907. It was from this that the Fine Art Exhibition got its start in the autumn of that year. In setting up the committee, the government requested the participation of Kuri Ryūichi and Okakura Tenshin in the expectation of an impartial selection of committee members. As a result, *Bunten* was able to exhibit a comprehensive display of outstanding works until the beginning of the Taishō Era. It showed a great vitality and played an important role in the progress and dissemination of fine arts.

However, a division between the old and the new factions in the field of Japanese school painting had already appeared in the early days of *Bunten*, and among Western school painters who had visited Europe and were familiar with the new tendencies in Western fine arts a movement arose to oppose bureaucratic exhibitions. Thus, the Japan Board of Fine Arts made its revival in the field of Japanese school painting and the *Nika Kai* (Second Department Society) was established in the field of Western school painting in the Taishō Era, both to begin activities as non-governmental bodies opposed to *Bunten*.

In the field of architecture, Iron-frame and reinforced concrete structures were already being used in the previous period, but this trend became more pronounced as a result of the development of heavy industries and the progress of structural dynamics. While this development was especially desirable as countermeasures against earthquakes and fire, it was a tendency common to all parts of the world. This fundamental change in building materials led to the beginning of a great reformation in the world of architecture, which had been following the mode of
the past. In 1909 under the sponsorship of the Academy of Architecture, a round-table discussion on how to deal with the architectural style of Japan in the future was held, but opinions expressed were too varied, some supporting the eclectic style of the East and the West, some advocating the Western Style, or a new Japanese style. However, they went beyond the stage of imitating the Western style, and it cannot be denied that the self-awakening to establish of a modern Japanese architecture occurred at that time.

Nevertheless, it required some time for the appearance of a new style of architecture, for that of this period of transition mostly depended on the past, although with new materials. Major buildings constructed included the Imperial Theater, completed in 1911, and planned and constructed by Yokogawa Tamisuke; the Memorial Library of Keiō Gijuku, completed in 1912, by Sone Tatsuzō and Chūjō Sei'ichirō; the Tokyo Club completed in 1912 by Conder, the Tokyo Central Station completed in 1913 by Tatsuno Kingo; and the Mitsukoshi Dry Goods Store completed in 1914, by Yokogawa Tamisuke.

Wood carving, which began its revival in the Twenties of Meiji, continued its gradual development, and in 1908 the Japan Sculpturing Society was established as an organization of wood sculptors by Yamazaki Chō'un and others. Western style techniques of realistic delineation were adopted in both wood and ivory carving, and the method of first making an original mold and then transproducing it in wood or ivory was also generally used.

Moreover, Western style sculpturing made a rapid development, surpassing wood and ivory carving in quantity and quality in the exhibits at the Industrial Promotion Exhibition held by the Tokyo Prefecture. Judges at this Exhibition included Takamura Ko'un as chief judge, Ishikawa Kömei, Takeuchi Kyūichi, Naganuma Morinori, Shinka Taketarō, Shirai Uzan, Ōmura Seigai, Numata Yujirō, Yonehara Unkai and Yamazaki Chō'un. The outstanding works exhibited were Kesshin (Re-
solution), Kiba (On Horse-back), Kame-Buro (Bath) by Shinkai, Kasumi (Mist) by Kitamura Shinkai, Haruno no Tomo (Friends on a Spring Field) by Mori Noritake, Jūdō (Judo) by Ikeda Yūhachi. However, confusion over the problem of conferring awards caused Kitamura to destroy his work Kasumi which was among the exhibits. This action not only shocked the general public, but provided a good warning in the selection of judges of the Bunten, held shortly afterwards.

The establishment of Bunten provided a great stimulation to the world of sculpture as well. The first judges selected were Tsukamoto Yasushi as chief judge, Ōtsuka Yasujī, professor of aesthetics, Ni’inō Chūnosuke, a writer; Kōmei, Kyūichi, Naganuma, Shirai, Shinkai, Ko’un and Ōkuma Ujihiro. Naganuma resigned at the fifth Bunten, and sculptors Yonehara Unkai and Yamazaki Chō’un participated in his place. Those active in the early period of Bunten among these judges were Shinkai, Unkai and Chō’un. Beginning with Yuami (Bathing) and Roei (Bivouac) in the first exhibition, Shinkai exhibited distinguished plastic images of realistic delineation such as Ryokō (Travel) and Sekko (Reconnoitering), and at the same time, showed a breadth of activities, producing such works in the memorial statue style as Rakun (A Buddhist Apostle) and Genjin (Primitive Man), or the facile Itchi (Accord), depicting human life through wood carving. Unkai showed a delicate taste by the exquisite use of his sharp tools in producing Shinrai (Advent of God), Sentan (Elixir of Life), Taketori no Okina (Oldman of the bamboo-hewer’s tale), and Chō’un displayed romantic sentiments in his Ōbako, “Tō-ō no Otome” (Maiden of the east of Province), and Moya (Hazy Mist). Other wood sculptors active as newly rising artists were Hirakushi Denchū, Naitō Shin, Yoshida Hakurei.

Sculptors who rose to fame like comets were Ogiwara Morie and Asakura Fumio. Ogiwara went to France and studied under Rodin, and through his works and writing, he assiduously introduced Rodin and greatly stimulated the world of sculpture.
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He first drew public attention by displaying his work Mongaku (The Priest Mongaku) at the second exhibition, and he later exhibited Hōjō Torakichi Zō (Statue of Hōjō Torakichi), Rōdōsha (Worker) and On'na (Woman), the last of his works, and injected a fresh atmosphere into what had been filled with typified conventional works. Asakura exhibited Yami (Darkness) in the second exhibition and was awarded the second prize, and thereafter, won a prize in every exhibition, displaying Yama Kara Kita Otoko (Man Who Came Down From the Mountain), Haka Mori (Grave-keeper), Dōjin no Kao (Face of an Aborigine), and Wakaki Hi no Kage (Shadow of a Youthful Day). All of these were in the realistic style, and the representative work, which displayed this specific feature the best, was Haka Mori. In addition to these artists, others who gained recognition were Mori Noritake, Takebata Taimu, Fujii Koyu, Ikeda Yūhachi, Kunikata Tenkai, Ishii Tsuruzō, Hori Shinji, Ogura Yūichirō.

The world of Japanese school painting, which was swimming on the waves of revival, began to show activity in the Thirties of Meiji. By 1907 the Japan Board of Fine Arts gradually had gone into obscurity and transferred its training institute to Itsumura Village in Hitachi Province. But its radical faction, which formed the Nihon Bijutsu In faction, and its conservative faction, which formed the Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai faction, were active, together with the previously mentioned Nihon Gakai, Museikai, Ugokai, Kojikai, as well as many other large and small organs, including the Bijutsu Kensei Kai, Futaba Kai, Daidō Kaiga Kai, Tatsumi Gakai, Jitsugetsu Kai, Shimbi Kai, which were newly established. Bunten was inaugurated to hold comprehensive exhibitions by collecting the works of members of all of these organizations; in this it was successful.

The Tokyo Prefectural Industrial Promotion Exhibition, held prior to Bunten, was a grand-scale exhibition in the field of Japanese school painting as well, collecting the works of master artists from all over Japan. As judges, with Kawabata Gyokusō as its chief, Araki Kampō, Matsumoto Fuko, Noguchi Shōhin,
Mochizuki Kimpō, Suzuki Kason, Takashima Hokkai, Terasaki Kogyo, Shimomura Kanzan, Kobori Tomoto, Kawai Gyokudō and Taki Siichi were selected. As can be gathered from this list, the conservative faction were in the majority, while the artists of the new tendency were only Kōgyō, Kanzan and Gyokudō. However, the works exhibited generally had the features of the new faction rather than the old faction, and there were many works showing great effort. Among them, Futsuka Zuki (The Second-Day Moon) of Kawai Gyokudō and O-ma-Kitsu (?) of Terasaki Kogyo, which were awarded the Superior Prize, were the outstanding ones. The fact that they received higher awards surpassing the old master-artists was welcomed by the public.

However, considering the unpopularity of the judges selected for this exhibition, as well as the lack of confidence in and disagreements over the judges, the selection of judges for Bunten was carefully carried out, representing scholars and artists from the Tokyo and Kansai areas, as well as the factions in these districts. However, even before the opening of Bunten, the selection of judges was charged to be prejudicial in favor of the new faction, and the artists affiliated with the Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai, Nihon Gakai, Nihon Nansō Gakai, Jitsugetsu Kai, expressed their dissatisfaction. Such artists refused to exhibit their works and organized their own society called the Seihō Dōshi Kai (Legitimate Faction Comrades Society).

Against this movement of the conservative faction, such organs supporting Bunten as the Daidō Kaika Kai, Futaba Kai, Koji Kai, Ugo Kai, Tatsumi Gakai, Kokko Kai, Edokō Kai, Tenshinsha, Nihon Bijutsu In, formed the Kokuga Gyokusei Kai (National Painting Society) and prevailed upon Okakura Tenshin to be its president. In that way, taking advantage of the opportunity of the opening of Bunten, various large and small organizations of the past faced each other by dividing into two fronts, the old faction and the new.

In 1908, during the second Bunten, the old faction, taking
advantage of the change in the Minister of Education, gained success, and artists of the old faction were selected and added to the judges of the previous year. As a result, artists of the Kokuga Gyokusei Kai became indignant at the inconsistency of Bunten officials and decided not to participate, and held the Japan Painting Exhibition for their own members only in opposition to Bunten. But the Gyokusei Kai returned to Bunten after the third exhibition, and Bunten continued to be a comprehensive exhibition for some time after that. However, the opposition between the old and the new factions intensified year after year, and finally in 1912 exhibitions of Japanese school paintings were divided into two, the old painting style and the new painting style.

In the field of Western school painting, too, opposition between the old and the new increased around that time, and some members of the department of Western school painting proposed the establishment of a second department, but the exhibition officials did not accept this proposal. Moreover, they abolished the second department of Japanese school painting. Then Yokoyama Taikan, Shimomura Kanzan, Yukihiko and others of the Japanese school of painting broke away from Bunten and re-established the Nihon Bijutsu In in 1914. In the field of Western school painting as well, Ishi’i Hakutei and others established the Nika Kai (Second Department Society). Thus, Bunten lost its comprehensive character, and the world of painting in the Taishō Era saw a competitive situation in the confrontation between the government-sponsored Bunten and the non-governmental Nihon Bijutsuin.

While the changes in artists’ organizations took the forms described above, there was a mixture of painting styles in Bunten, the conservative, the radical, and the medium. One conspicuous tendency of this period, the study of Yamato-e, or the works of Sōdatsu and Kōrin by newly rising artists was gradually achieving favorable results, in addition to the activities of the sketch faction. And further, Nanga (painting in the
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Southern Sung Dynasty style) was gradually making its revival.

Leading artists and their works in the early period of Bunten were Usei (End of the Rain) by Takeuchi Seihō; Konoma no Aki (Autumn Amid the Forest) by Shimomura Kanzan; Daibutsu Kaigen (Celebration of a New Great Buddha) by Terasaki Kogyō. Prize-winning works at the first Bunten exhibition were Kenshu Bosatsu (Kenshu Goddess of Mercy) by Hishida Shunsō, Shigure (Winter Rain) by Kijima Okoku, Tsuji Seppō (Roadside Preaching) by Noda Kyuho, Hoko (Toyotomi Hideyoshi) by Yasuda Yukihiro, Chōya (Long Night) by Kamimura Shōnen.

At the Second Exhibition, since members of the Nihon Bijutsu In of Tokyo and others of the new faction did not exhibit their works, the activities of Kyoto artists were conspicuous, such as Kawaretaru Saru to Usagi (Domesticated Monkey and Rabbit) by Seihō, Yukimatsu by Yamamoto Shunkyō, Meishi Chochu (Mourning of a Distinguished Person) by Kikuchi Keigetsu, Katsu ka Makeru ka (Victory or Defeat) of Kijima Okoku.

The Third Exhibition showed a flourishing development by the return of the artists of the new faction. Such excellent and well-conceived works as Ryūtō (The Floating Lanterns) by Yokoyama Taikan, Are Yūdachi (Heavens, a Sudden Shower) by Seihō, Shiobara no Oku (Hinterland of Shiobara) by Shunkyō, Tani Yon Dai (Four Scenes of a Dale) by Kogyō, Rakuyō (Falling Leaves) by Shunso, Yudan (Negligence) by Odake Kokkan, were exhibited. The Fourth Exhibition was prosperous, too, with Masho-zu (Devilishness) by Kanzan, Sosui no Maki (Tales of the CH’u River) by Taikan, Natsu no Ichinichi (One Day in Summer) by Kogyō, Kuroki Neko (Black Cat) by Shunso, and Waka Take (Young Bamboo) by Kikuchi Hobun. Those awarded high prizes were Kyōtō (Dedication of Light) by Keigetsu and Otozure (Viviting) by Odake Chikuha. In the Fifth Exhibition, Yamaji (Mountain Path) of Taikan, and Saiu (Thin Rain) of Gyokudō drew public attention, and Wakaba no Yama (Mountain of New Leaves) of Okoku, Nikkō Shiki (Four Seasons of Nikkō) of Yamada Tamon, Sobaé (Rain in the Sunshine) of
Kitano Tsunetomi, Gokarei (?) of Imamura Shikō, and Saezuri (Chirping) of Yuki Somei each displayed the peculiar individuality of the artists, and made them famous. In the Sixth Exhibition, Taikan and Kogyo coincidentally exhibited works with the same title Shojo Hakkei (Scenes of the lonely Hsiang River). Second prize winners were Yumedono (The Dream Pavillion) by Yuki-hiko and Ōmi Hakkei (Eight scenes of Ōmi Province) by Shiko, and Mikoshiburi (carrying the Mikoshi) by Maeda Seison. Shima no Onna (Woman of the Island) by Tsuchida Bakusen and Gokuraku no Ido (Fountain of Paradise) by Kobayashi Kokei were also recognized as excellent pieces.

During this period, Gaho died, and such old master-artists as Gyokushō and Kampō declined because of age as well as style. Such artists as Taikan, Kanzan, Shunso, Kogyō, Gyokudō, Seihō and Shunkyō, who had polished their art in the Twenties of Meiji, and those of a younger generation displayed a fresh painting style. These artists were to exhibit the great products of their efforts in the Taishō Era.

Western-style painting made a leaping development during the period from the Twenties to the Thirties of Meiji. Educational institutions were established, various artists organizations were formed and competed against each other. The inauguration of Bunten contributed greatly to the progress and diffusion of Western school painting.

Generally speaking, plain literalism in sketching nature in a straightforward way was dominant in the styles of the works exhibited at Bunten exhibitions. There then developed a movement among new artists resisting the formalistic painting style. Artists who went to Europe after the Russo-Japanese War and studied impressionism and post-impressionism, blew a refreshing air into the world of Western school painting around 1912, from the end of the Meiji Era to the beginning of the Taishō Era. Among them, Saitō Yori exhibited works in the post-impressionist style at the exhibition of the Taiheiyou Gakai, and Fujishima Takeji showed works at the Bunten exhibition, pro-
duced while in Europe, with a fresh style based on impressionism, as well as over thirty pieces at the *Hakuba Kai* as a special exhibition, drawing public attention. Yamashita Shintarō returned to Japan after studying under Renoir, and exhibited his *Dokusho no Ato* (After Reading a Book) and *Kutsu no Onna* (Woman Wearing Shoes) painted while in Europe. In a two-man exhibition held jointly with Minami Kunzō under the sponsorship of the magazine *Shirakaba*, Arishima Ikuma exhibited his works produced while in Europe, which showed the influence of Cezanne.

In addition, painting styles and biographies of master artists of these new tendencies were introduced in succession through newspapers and magazines, and these together with colored prints and copper-plate illustrations, greatly enlightened many young artists. In this period, the idea of rejecting stereotypes, of expressing the subjective views of artists, and of recognizing the unlimited power of individuality was very strong. Van Gogh, Gauguin and Cezanne were especially highly valued and became the admired targets of many young artists.

Beginning in 1909, the painting styles in the new tendency were introduced in literary and fine art magazines. In 1911, the number of artists introduced as well as the number of articles and comments continued to grow. In 1912, introductory articles and translations relating not only to post-impressionism and artists of impressionism, but also introducing futurism, fauvism and secessionism further increased in number.

As for actual samples of post-impressionism brought into Japan during this period, there was only a small piece *Suiyoku no Rafu* (Woman in Bathing) by Renoir, which Yamashita Shintarō brought back from France. Young artists had to depend only upon frontispieces and illustrations in magazines or exhibitions of plate-printings or reproductions of the works of modern artists sponsored by the magazine *Shirakaba*. They therefore produced works in the tendency of anti-naturalism in a rather groping way. These young artists, as well as those who had returned
from Europe, were to leave the comprehensive exhibition of Bunten in the Taishō Era, and to establish the Fuzan Kai, Nika Kai, Western school painting department of Nihon Bijutsu In and Sodōsha.

F. DEVELOPMENTS IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

1. Changes in Agriculture

As stated previously, even after the revision of the land tax, farmers still had to pay a high tax not much different from that in the old Shogunate days. Even after 1877, the rate of the land tax was always higher than for other taxes. What necessitated this heavy tax were the demands of the major state policy under the Meiji Restoration to increase national wealth and military strength. This policy involved the buildup of a modern military establishment and the conversion of a fuedal economy into a modern industrial one. the industries on which stress was laid for production increase and industrial promotion were manufacturing, mining transportation, and banking.

Thus, at the cost of a high land tax upon farmers, modern industry and economy were rapidly promoted and furthered, but the modern development of agriculture was inevitably uneven. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Restoration government were not at all indifferent toward the modern progress of agriculture. There were some who contemplated quick measures to modernize agriculture, and almost all foreigners employed by the government, who participated in the task of agricultural reformation, unanimously recommended the necessity of rapidly modernizing agriculture through extensive farming and mechanization. In fact, the leaders of the policy of production increase and industrial promotion in the Restoration government strenuously tried to import Western agricultural science and techniques, and established such model farms as the Naitō Shinjuku
Experimental Station. Located on the lot of the present Shinjuku Imperial Garden in 1872, this station carried out after 1877 agricultural experiments and improvement of species of animals and plants, agricultural implements, sericulture, silk reeling and tea-making out under the supervision of the agricultural promotion bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs. In 1879, this station was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Imperial Household, and the enterprises were transferred to various concerns. Planned in 1874, the Mita Livestock Breeding Station was established as a model farm with 40,000 chōbu (1 chōbu is equal to 2.45 acres) of land at Mita in Tokyo in 1877. Such educational organs in agricultural techniques, as the Komaba Agricultural School and the Agricultural Museum, an agricultural training institute, and an agricultural museum were established within the premises of the Naitō Shinjuku Experimental Station in 1874. At first the museum was used as a classroom of the institute, but it was transferred at the end of 1877 to Komaba Field and called the Agricultural School. While various other modern measures for agricultural promotion were adopted, and while, of course, their influence was by no means small, the speed of modernization in agriculture was still behind those of other industries.

As stated above, after the reduction of the land tax in 1877, the burden of the land tax was rapidly alleviated, especially in the process of inflation during 1879, 1880, and 1881. Although no problem existed in reducing the burdens of owner-farmers, it was not so easy in the case of tenant-farmers, for any profit from a decrease in the land tax went to the landowners since rents were still paid by harvested crop. Despite the change in payment of land tax to money, rents continued to be paid by crop. This fact meant a continuation of a great problem in the agricultural economy.

At any rate, as a result of the process of readjustment of paper currency finance and conversion of the industrial policy begun at the end of 1881, the agricultural community faced a
tragic depression. The heavy drop in the rice price hastened the
impoverishment of farmers, and small farmers especially who
lost their lands because of the increase in tax burdens and ex-
ploration by landowners were reduced to semi-tenant farmers,
tenant farmers, farm workers under indenture and day-laborers,
or left their communities to become propertyless workers. Many
went into manufacturing, mining or transportation. When the
situation of farmers is reviewed through the records of that
time, one such document, *Opinions on Industrial Promotion*
compiled by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1884,
states:

“Recently, they (the farmers) are bearing mountainous debts,
and if they are not selling their ancestral immovable family
assets, they are mortgaging their assets for debts, and a great
many of them are becoming unable to maintain their past
standard of living. Some of the worst of them are in the terri-
ble situation of having to secure food by digging grass roots.”

In his *Impoverishment of Japanese Farmers and Remedial
Measures*, Paul Meyett(?), a German employed by the govern-
ment, stated that the number of those whose properties were
restrained because of defaults in paying the land tax or the shares
of land tax during the period from 1883 to 1890 was 367,000,
and the amount of arrears totalled ¥114,000 with an average
of 31 sen per head, while their loss from governmental seizure
of land amounted to ¥3,155,000, with an average of ¥8.31
per head. The amount of their loss was twenty seven times
larger than the amount of tax arrears. Thus during the few
years around 1887, there was a conspicuous trend toward an
increase of large landowners and small land-owing farmers, along
with a decrease in medium landowners and owner farmers, as
well as an increase in tenant farmland and consequent increase
of semi-tenant farmers and tenant farmers. This tendency was
general throughout the period before and after the Sino-Japanese
and the Russo-Japanese Wars. It can be clearly seen from the
following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farmland of owner-farmers</th>
<th>Farmland of tenant-farmers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Ratio of tenant land to total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>2,790</td>
<td>1,810</td>
<td>4,600</td>
<td>39.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>3,040</td>
<td>2,030</td>
<td>5,080</td>
<td>39.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>3,920</td>
<td>2,340</td>
<td>5,260</td>
<td>44.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3,110</td>
<td>2,580</td>
<td>5,690</td>
<td>45.34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unit: 1,000 chōbu (1 chōbu is equal to 2.45 acres)

Generally speaking, in contrast to the growth of the importance of manufacturing the position of agriculture became weaker and weaker. This shift in importance was particularly conspicuous during the great Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. Agricultural productivity was almost at a standstill when compared with the tremendous development in productivity in manufacturing. Notwithstanding, there can be found some significant changes in agriculture.

When viewed from the point of changes in planted acreage and amount of the output, the self-sufficient economy of the agricultural community was eroded year after year by the rapid progress of modern large-scale industry. Production of such crops as were cultivated mainly for self-consumption or those which suffered competition from foreign products was at a standstill or declined, while those agricultural products to be exported to markets abroad increased. The fact which most candidly discloses the rise and fall of agricultural products was the increase in mulberry orchards, that is, the increase in cocoon production, and the decline of cotton cultivation. Along with the development in foreign trade, raw silk became the staple article for export, and sericulture became very profitable, leading to nationwide increases in the acreage of mulberry orchards, as well as in cocoon output. This tendency became more obvious after 1877, and was further accelerated during the Sino-Japanese War. During the period from 1887 to 1914, or just before the outbreak of World War I, the acreage devoted to mulberry orchards increased from 100,000 chōbu to 450,000 chōbu, and the amount of output of silk cocoons made a sharp increase from 3,190,000
kan to 44,120,000 kan (1 kan is equal to 6.25 lbs.).

On the other hand, the cultivation of cotton became extremely disadvantageous due to the import of cheap foreign cotton yarn, and was already showing signs of decline around 1877. It made a sharp decrease by the abolition of the import tax on cotton in 1896. When the acreage of cotton cultivation of 1887 and 1912 is compared, there was a great decrease from 98,000 chōbu to 20 chōbu.

Besides mulberry and cotton, some other products took a similar course. Wheat and Irish potato production increased as commercial agricultural products for marketing. Those products which showed a trend of stagnancy and decrease in acreage cultivated and amount of output were tea, millet, buckwheat, barley, soybeans, rape-seed, flax, and indigo.

As for reorganization of agricultural techniques, various reasons greatly hampered the application of machinery, improvement of techniques, and the development of modern agricultural management. In the first place, the land tax rate was extremely high compared with other kinds of taxes even after rivesion of the land tax. Moreover, petty landowners were in an overwhelming majority, and tenant-farmers and semi-tenant farmers accounted for 60 to 70 per cent of the working farmers who engaged in extremely petty farming practices under the pressure of farm rents. Finally, there was the special feature of paddy-farming, the major branch of agriculture in this country. Although in the improvement of species, manure, and irrigation, as well as in the cultivation of fruit trees and vegetables, there were considerable modern developments, there was worthy of mention in the field of mechanization until the end of the Meiji Era. Paddy-field farming was not much different from that during the Edo Period in its use of mechanical equipment. As a whole, modern reorganization in the management and techniques of agriculture was not so notable as in other enterprises. On this point lies one significant feature of the process of building the industrial economy after the Meiji Restoration.
2. Protection, Encouragement and Growth of Modern Manufacturing and Mining Industries

From the beginning of its establishment, the Restoration government hoisted the banner of "national wealth and military strength" and "production increase and industrial promotion" as major policies and attempted to import and develop modern industry under a strong national authority. The fact that the government itself implanted, promoted, and managed modern manufacturing and mining industries was a very outstanding feature of industrial development, which has an important significance in the history of the building of Japan's modern industry and economy.

At the end of the Edo Period, it was the Shogunate government who imported and implanted modern mechanized industry. Directly after the Meiji Restoration, the government confiscated the ordinance factories of the Shogunate government, expanding and improving them, and even establishing others. The branch which first came under government management was the armament industry, the major factories being the Tokyo and Osaka Ordinance factories, the shipbuilding yards of Yokosuka, Naganosaki, Hyögo, Ishikawajima, and Kagoshima, and the powder plants of Itabashi, Megro and Iwahara. With the objective of achieving military preparedness, the government hurriedly instituted mechanical production in these ordinance factories and these armament factories became the stimulus for the development of the system of mechanical production.

Besides, the government placed various other factories under its management. Factories established in 1870 under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Engineering, were the Akabane Kōsaku Kyoku (machines and bricks), Fukagawa Kōsaku Bunkyoku (cement), and the Shinagawa Glass Factory. Such important mines as the Ikuno Silver Mine, Sado Gold Mine, Innai Silver Mine, Kozaka Copper Mine and Miike Coal Mine
were also operated under the management of that Ministry. Further, in the field of textiles, various model factories were operated first under the management of the Ministry of Finance, and then the Ministry of Home Affairs after 1874, in order to promote and encourage the production of export commodities, to prevent the influx of foreign goods, and to enlighten civilian minds for enterprises, or to enhance industrial techniques. These included the Tomioka Silk Reeling Factory, inaugurated in 1872, Sakai Cotton Spinning Factory also opened in 1871, Shimmachi Waste Yarn Spinning Factory, inaugurated in 1877, and the Senju Woolen Factory, inaugurated in 1879. For the promotion of the cotton spinning industry, the government especially imported two units of two thousand loom spinning machines in 1878 and ten additional units in 1879, and established spinning factories in twelve localities.

Except for a few examples, the results of government management of model factories and mines were generally unprofitable. The significance of such enterprises lies in the fact that they laid the foundation for the building and promotion of modern industry in Japan, and moreover, this situation produced unique features in the history of world industrial policy. One point is that in form they were similar to the mercantilist policies of industrial promotion prosperously enforced by the West European countries from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century. However, while the industries promoted by mercantilist policies in the European countries were manual industries under the factory system which were protected by tariffs, the industries protected and fostered in Japan in the beginning of the Meiji Era were modern-mechanical industries. Since Japan did not have tariff autonomy at that time, she could not support her industry by protective tariffs.

At any rate, the industrial policy based on the principle of model government management had to make way for another industrial policy after carrying out its historical role. The policy of government management was given up in the process
of currency and financial readjustment, and with the change in industrial policy in 1881, many government factories and mines were sold to private concerns at low cost. The government changed its policy to one of protecting private industries, except for the armament industry, rather than of operating them. The economic conditions which made possible this change in policy are the following. First, as modern industry had achieved a certain progress as a result of government efforts at implantation, encouragement, guidance and enlightenment for approximately ten years, industrial knowledge among the general public had been developed to a considerable degree. Secondly, therefore, private capital had been built up, and the ability of the people to self-manage and operate industries had grown to such an extent that the policy of government management was being felt more or less as hindrances, rather than aids. Thus, after around 1882, the silk reeling and spinning industries especially made rapid progress, with the cotton spinning industry becoming the center of the growth of what was known as “enterprise fever.”

The modern mechanical industry of Japan established during the Sino-Japanese War was mostly centered in the textile industry. For example, 84% of the total number of companies in Japan as of 1902, and 50% of the total number of factories were established after 1894. The textile industry occupied 56% of the total number of factories, 64% of the total number of workers and 63% of the total horse-power of all the factories as 1902. The majority of these textile factories was, of course, composed of silk-reeling, cotton spinning and woolen factories. The cotton spinning enterprises especially made an outstanding development as a result of the joint efforts of the government and private entrepreneurs. From 1887 to 1903, the total number of looms increased from 76,000 to 1,380,000, the number of factories from 19 to 76, and the ratio of foreign goods in the cotton-yarn market decreased from 83% to 9%. Already in 1891, the amount of domestic production had surpassed
imports, had again overtaken imports in 1897, and in 1903, the amount of exports reached 300,000 bales as against 3,000 bales of imports. Cotton-yarn exports, which comprised nearly 40% of domestic production, were mostly destined for Asian markets. Despite yearly increases in production, the number of factories began to show a decrease after 1899. This fact indicates that the spinning industry was in process of concentration into large-scale enterprises. The Böseki Rengō Kai (Cotton Spinning Association) was formed by thirteen factories as early as 1882, and during the panic of 1890, it resolved to carry out a reduction in operations for a maximum of eight days and nights. Further, the cotton yarn export tax was abolished in 1894, followed by the cotton import tax in 1896. These were epoch-making victories for the newly rising spinning factories, enforced despite the opposition of agricultural organizations. In addition, as a result of Japan’s advance into China and Korea because of victories in war, Japan succeeded in the expulsion of Indian cotton yarn from Asian markets, and the Japanese spinning industry became prosperous, leading the world.

Another industry which made progress in machine production parallel with the cotton spinning industry was silk reeling. Since the opening of ports to foreign intercourse in 1859, the rapid increase of silk exports resulted in the dissemination of improved hand-reeling machines instead of hand spinning as in the past and the consequent development of the silk reeling industry. This industry, which had grown as a cottage industry during the Restoration, was at first applying a very primitive and coarse method called teishi teppo or shimada. However, along with the growth of exports, quality and uniformity in the products, as well as mass production, became acutely necessary. Therefore, a two-way development was born. One was the improvement in hand-reeling machines and other, the use of imported mechanized reeling. The development of these two factors was encouraged by the government, and the contribution
of the Tomioka Governmental Model Silk Reeling Factory to the development of the silk-reeling industry of this country was especially great. The fact that the silk-reeling industry prospered as one of the most important export industries, as well as the fact that it became an important supporting main-stay of the farm economy by making mulberry cultivation and sericulture profitable, shows that this industry developed under conditions completely opposite to those of the spinning industry. However, the degree of the mechanization was lower than in the spinning industry, and therefore, it also took a different process of growth, in its widely distributed small-scale management of manual industry and in its co-existent competition.

Here we shall compare the situation of motive-power factories using over thirty workers in both the spinning industry and the silk-reeling industry in 1900, when the degree of mechanization was still low even after the Sino-Japanese War.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Silk-reeling industry</th>
<th>Spinning industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of factories</td>
<td>2,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30 workers</td>
<td>1,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50 workers</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 100 workers</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 500 workers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1000 workers</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the total number of factories in the silk-reeling industry was over six times more than the total number of spinning factories, the number of workers was less than two times as many. The average number of workers per factory in the spinning industry was about four hundred, while that in the silk-reeling industry was no more than fifty. However, after the Russo-Japanese War, expansion in the scale of production and the development of large mechanized factories were furthered. This can be seen in the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of silk-reeling households</td>
<td>409,000</td>
<td>375,000</td>
<td>303,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Culture in Late Meiji

Number of workers: 142,000, 188,000, 220,000

Raw silk by mechanical production: 1,200,000 kan, 2,230,000 kan, 2,890,000 kan

Raw silk by hand-reeling: 630,000 kan, 750,000 kan, 610,000 kan

Dupion silk: 110,000 kan, 170,000 kan, 240,000 kan

Total output of raw silk: 1,940,000 kan, 3,170,000 kan, 3,750,000 kan

This table shows that despite the expansion in production, the number of households decreased by approximately 100,000, while the number of workers increased.

Along with the mechanization of the cotton spinning industry, the woolen industry was also gradually mechanized. However, because of the special character of small-scale management, the low wages of this cottage industry, and the variegation of the kinds of products in the woolen industry, the development of mechanized production was slow. Small-scale management and the cottage industry system remained over a wide area and for a long time. The first mechanized weaving machine, which was said to have the capacity to produce three to four times output than a hand-weaving machines, was imported in 1875. It was only after 1887 that machine production became dominant in the production of silk textiles for export. In the end of the Meiji Era the production of cotton textiles was mechanized, and as a result there occurred a conspicuous development from the cottage industry system to factory production. The shift in importance from silk textiles to cotton textiles also occurred in the end of the Meiji Era.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1903</th>
<th>1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>¥ 65,310,000</td>
<td>¥102,480,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk textile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton textile</td>
<td>¥ 51,320,000</td>
<td>¥150,380,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile total</td>
<td>¥138,280,000</td>
<td>¥326,460,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile manufacturers</td>
<td>385,000</td>
<td>352,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of weaving machines</td>
<td>624,000</td>
<td>622,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of workers</td>
<td>638,000</td>
<td>610,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table indicates the development of factory production and the decline of cottage industry production along with the use of hand-looms. The production of cotton textiles surpassed the production of silk textiles and occupied over one half of the total textile production in the end of the Meiji Era, and almost the whole output of cotton sheeting was produced by those factories under combined management of spinning companies. Thus the number of looms made a sharp increase from 5,000 to 25,000 during the period from 1903 to 1914, and in 1909 the mechanical production of cotton textiles drove away imports and made possible advances into Asian markets.

Heavy industries were very negligible until the second decade of Meiji. Although there were some which may be mentioned among the armament factories and shipbuilding industries under government management, there was almost no development in private enterprise. It is said that almost the entire supply of military requirements such as weapons and machinery for the Sino-Japanese War was met by the government factories, except those produced by the shipbuilding yards.

However, it can be said that the basis for heavy industries was laid in the period from the Russo-Japanese War to World War I. We can find the trend of development of large industries from the doubled increase in the number of factories from some 8,200 to approximately 17,000, and the number of workers from 483,000 to 853,000 during the period from 1914. The number of factories using motive power increased over 2.7 times as much from 3,741 to 10,344. The sharp increase in the number of machine-operated factories to 3.8 times, and in chemical factories to three times as much, especially draws our attention as an indication of the rapid development and expansion of heavy and chemical industries.

An enormous expansion of various large factories under government management, which had excelled in productivity, in addition to the above stated private industries, should be noted. Factories under government management increased from 66 to
84, the total horse-power increased from 110,000 to 310,000, and coal consumption increased from 500,000 tons to 1,240,000 tons during the period from 1905 to 1914.

When we note the fact that most of these factories were for heavy industries, we can conclude that the development and expansion of heavy industry was the center of industrial development in this period. By the establishment of heavy industries, the mechanization of all industrial production, as well as an increase in capital formation, was accelerated. In 1900, the ratio of factories using motive power to the total number of factories was 32.8%; and this ratio increased to 54.5% in 1911 and to 60.6% in 1914.

Of course, the machine industry occupied the key position among the heavy industries, but it was almost negligibly small until after the Sino-Japanese War. The Meiji, Shōkō Shi (History of Commerce and Industry of Meiji) states that until around 1897:

“When we are reminded of the fact that the greater part of the machinery used by large and small industries of this country were those imported from foreign countries, we are reminded that we felt a deep regret for that.”

However, this branch of industry, too, made a conspicuous development after the Russo-Japanese War.

Production of machine tools, that is, machinery for the production of machines, self-production and self-sufficiency of which in a country is an indication of the establishment of modern industry, showed a certain amount of development in the end of the Meiji Era. Two units of lathes manufactured by the Ikegai Iron Works were for the first time purchased by the Navy in 1898, and later, planers and drilling machines were also used for the production of naval weapons. In 1905, the production of an American type lathe under accurate standards was successful for the first time to become the forerunner of full-scale machine tool production in this country. Many armaments used in the Russo-Japanese War were produced by
the machine tools manufactured in Japan, and the war was considered as "the period of development of the specialized machine tool industry." The sharp development of domestic production of machine tools can be seen from the annual decrease in the import of lathes, which amounted to ¥3,350,000 in 1905 at its peak, and decreased to ¥360,000 in 1910.

Japan depended upon imports for the greater portion of her supply of railway locomotives until the end of the Meiji Era. Domestic production was accelerated by the establishment of a protective tariff in 1911. The shipbuilding industry, for which strong promotional measures were adopted after the Meiji Restoration, also reached the world standard during the Russo-Japanese War. The three warships, including the I.J.S. Satsuma, the building of which was started in 1905–1906, were considered to be equal with those of European and American countries in performance and efficiency.

With regard to the iron and steel industry, which constitutes the basis of heavy industry, the most important iron mine after the early period of Meiji was the Kamaishi Iron Mine, but despite various improvements, the iron works was not very successful because of inadequacy in techniques. The production of good quality pig iron became possible only after Tanaka Chôbei established four charcoal-burning blast furnaces in 1884. The production of iron and steel developed by being joined with armament production in government factories in order to secure self-supply in armaments. In 1882, the Tsukiji Ordinance Factory established a steel manufacturing plant with a Krupp type crucible furnace, and Western style steel production was for the first time started in Japan. In 1890, a two hundred kilogram furnace was installed in the shell manufacturing plant of the Osaka Ordinance Factory and succeeded in the production of steel of a superior quality with pig iron from Kamaishi, and six years later a three ton open-hearth furnace was also installed. In the same year, a Siemens' type oil-burning furnace was established in the Yokosuka Ordinance Factory, and in
1896, a two ton open-hearth furnace was established in the Tokyo Arsenal.

The steel industry began its development stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War, but the amount of imports and domestic production of pig iron were equal in 1900, that is, imports of 24,000 tons as against 23,000 tons of domestic production. As to steel production, the amount of domestic production was merely 1,000 tons as against 289,000 tons of imports, and it can be said that Japan depended almost totally on imports for her supply. Aiming at self-sufficiency in iron and steel from economic, as well as from military, necessity, the Yawata Steel Works was established in 1901 and was further expanded during the Russo-Japanese War. The import tax on iron ore was abolished in 1901, and nearly half of the amount of iron ore consumed in Japan was supplied from China, mainly from the Daiya (Ta-yeh) Iron Mine. The importance of the Yawata Steel Works, which depended on the supply of iron ore from Daiya and cool from mines in Kyūshū, can be seen from the following figures:

**Output of Pig Iron of the Yawata Steel Works**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage to total domestic production</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage to total consumption</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Output of Steel Materials of the Yawata Steel Works**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage to total domestic consumption</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage to total consumption</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1913, private steel companies had a paid up capital of ¥45,000,000, and operated twenty two steel works, but as in the case of output, Yawata dominated the industry with a capital of ¥38,000,000. However, even after the Russo-Japanese War and in the early years of Taishō, the steel industry did not achieve complete self-sufficiency. As for pig iron, domestic
production surpassed imports after the Russo-Japanese War and supplied over 60% of the demand, but in the case of iron and steel production, it merely met approximately 40% of the demand in the period from 1911 to 1915. World War I had to be awaited for its real establishment.

What supported the establishment and development of large-scale industries as described above was the significant development of electricity as power. The electrical enterprise was negligibly small before the Russo-Japanese War, but under the impetus of this war, it made a great development. When 1903 and 1914 are compared, capital investment increased from ¥28,000,000 to ¥580,000,000, the number of entrepreneurs increased from less than 100 to 461, and the total power generation, including both those already under operation and those still under construction, increased from 80,000 kilowatts to 1,100,000 kilowatts. Hydraulic power generation overwhelmed thermal power and increased from 37,000 kilowatts to 760,000 kilowatts during that period, and accounted for 70% of the total electric power generated. The use of electricity as the power for operating machinery spread greatly in every field, including factories, railroads, mines, and ships. It naturally led to the concentration of production and large-scale expansion of industries.

Other modern industries besides the spinning industry and heavy industry also made all-out developments. The chemical industry especially became solidly established during the Russo-Japanese War, although some of its branches were already in operation from the early years in Meiji. For example, in the paper manufacturing industry, beginning with the establishment of the Ōji Paper Mill in 1873, many other mechanized foreign-paper manufacturing plants were established in succession, and Japanese-paper manufacturing by the manual method rapidly declined. Further, the development of large-scale factories led to the appearance of monopolistic enterprises from the early days, and already in 1880, the Seishi Rengō Kai (The Paper Manufacturers Association) was formed by eleven
leading paper manufacturing companies which produced 70% of the total national output. In 1894, a marketing league, which was the predecessor to an enterprise combine, was concluded between the Tokyo Itagami and the Fuji Seishi companies, and in 1899, the Nihon Yōshi Gōshi Kaisha (Japan Foreign paper Joint Stock Company) was established by the amalgamation of five large companies. As for the match manufacturing industry, the export of matches to China was begun directly after the establishment of the New Match Company.

The chemical industry in its broader meaning saw its growth in total capital from ¥38,170,000 to ¥140,000,000 from 1902 to 1913. Especially the distillery, paper, ceramics, sugar refining, and chemical fertilizer industries each reached over 16,000,000 yen. The amount of production in matches increased from ¥12,200,000 to ¥15,550,000; that of foreign paper increased from ¥11,060,000 to ¥25,010,000; industrial chemicals from ¥2,810,000 to ¥7,510,000; and glass from ¥2,170,000 to ¥7,850,000 during the period from 1905 to 1914.

Lastly, with regard to the mining industry, most mines under government management were sold to large capitalistic concerns such as Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Furukawa and others after 1884, and under the impetus of the Sino-Japanese War, the mining industry made progress in technical changes. During the Russo-Japanese War under its stimulus, the development of large-scale mining, expansion of productive scale, and accumulation of capital were brought about. Of course, the amount of output made a rapid increase, tripling from ¥57,470,000 to ¥155,030,000 during the period between 1903 and 1914. Gold output increased from 835 kan to 1,916 kan; iron sulfide ore increased from 4,300,000 kan to 30,870,000 kan; coal from 10,090,000 tons to 22,290,000 tons. With respect to mining techniques, modern machinery and chemical scientific methods came to be used. Various kinds of rock drills were developed in mining ore. However, the major basis of the large-scale
mining industry was due to electrification, which became conspicuous especially after the Russo-Japanese War. When the situation in the beginning of the Twenties of Meiji and that at the end of the Meiji Era are compared, the total motive power made an increase of more than fifty times.

3. Development of Transportation Enterprises

As stated previously, the Meiji government abolished various feudalistic systems relating to transportation directly after the Meiji Restoration and established a free system. But at the same time, it exerted great efforts for the importation, implantation, and encouragement of modern means of transportation preparatory to the promotion and encouragement of modern manufacturing and mining industries. Perhaps, the free and brisk circulation of merchandise not only constituted the basis for the development of a modern capitalistic economy; but from the need to establish modern military preparedness rapidly as well, it was indispensable to promote and to provide adequately for modern means of transportation as quickly as possible.

First, with regard to railways, the Meiji government began to construct a railroad between Tokyo and Yokohama by raising a foreign loan in the British market in 1869, completing the railroad of eighteen miles in 1872. Following this, the government established a program to spread a railroad network all over the country on the principle of realizing trunk railroad lines under government management. But the program did not progress because of financial difficulties, and with private railroads yet paper plans, the total length of railroads in 1880 was only ninety eight miles.

However, when the establishment of a private railroad between Tokyo and Aomori by the Nihon Tetsudō Kaisha (Japan Railway Company) was approved under government protection in 1881, private railroads suddenly increased. The total mileage
of 228 miles in that year increased close to 2,000 miles in 1893. And especially despite the fact that the construction of private railroads mostly occurred after 1884, they surpassed government railroads in this period, controlling 70% of the total mileage in 1893. After the Sino-Japanese War, railroad construction made a significant development with private management taking the lead, and the total mileage was almost doubled from 2,180 miles to 3,915 miles during the seven years from 1894 to 1900.

The Russo-Japanese War became the cause of an epochal change in railroad history when the railways were nationalized in 1906 mainly due to military considerations. In this year until the next, the total mileage of approximately 3,000 miles of railroads and over 25,000 pieces of rolling-stock were brought together under government capital by a bond payment of ¥480,000,000. In 1914, the length of national railroads was 5,686 miles, with 2,611 locomotives, and the length of private lines was only 217 miles.

Government protection and promotion of the shipping industry were outstanding ever since the beginning of the Meiji Era. At the time of the Restoration, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company of the United States virtually controlled Far Eastern shipping. It was natural that the Meiji government keenly felt the necessity of encouraging and developing Japan’s own shipping industry in order to challenge the dominant foreign shipping. A semi-governmental shipping company was established in 1870 and was commissioned to handle the shipping between Tokyo and Osaka, but this company was dissolved within a month due to difficulties in management.

Later, the government granted considerable protection to such firms as the Yūbin Jōkisen, Mitsubishi Kisen Kaisha, Yūbin Kisen Mitsubishi Kaisha, Kyōdō Unyū Kaisha. In 1885, it permitted the Mitsubishi and the Kyōdō to amalgamate, resulting in the establishment of the Nippon Yūsen Kaisha with a capital of ¥11,000,000. The establishment of the Yūsen marked an epoch in the history of shipping of Japan. With
the enforcement of the Mercantile Code in 1893, the Yūsen was converted from a semi-governmental company into a purely private firm; its fleet in that year consisted of forty seven vessels, with a total tonnage of 7,000 tons.

Prior to this, the Asano Kaisō Bu, the predecessor of the Tōyō Kisen Kaisha, and the Osaka Shōsen Kaisha had already been established. In 1893, the sphere of navigation was extended to Korea, China, India and the Pacific Ocean, with a fleet of over 400 vessels, having a tonnage of 160,000 tons; it seemed ages were removed when compared with the twenty five vessels of 20,000 tons which existed in 1870.

As in other industries, the Sino-Japanese War brought about an unprecedented development in the shipping industry. Within two years, Japan doubled her total tonnage to 580 vessels with 320,000 tons. The Law to Promote Navigation was promulgated in 1896, and the three great routes, the European, the North American and the Australian lines, were opened. Thus, the shipping force increased to 1,088 vessels with 650,000 tons in 1903, but spurred by the Russo-Japanese War, it grew to 5,089 vessels with 1,260,000 tons by the end of 1905. In this period, mainly the large and medium type steamships increased, the ocean-going shipping route subsidy law was promulgated; and the expansion of the shipping routes was furthered. The total strength of the merchant fleet in 1914 consisted of 3,487 vessels with a total tonnage of 1,590,000 tons.

Lastly, in reviewing the development of organs of communication, we must mention that the new postal service system was enforced under government management beginning in 1871, and nation-wide control established in 1873. In 1882, the nation-wide equal postage system was realized; in 1885 the Ministry of Postal Communications was established; the Postal Service Law was enforced in 1900; and the communication system completely altered its appearance. The number of post offices increased from 21 to 7,242 during the period from 1872 to 1913, and the number of pieces of mail handled increased
from 38,000,000 in 1877 to 1,817,000,000 in 1914.

Telegraphic communications were inaugurated between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1869. The regulations dealing with telegraphic communications were enforced in 1873, the Telegraph Ordinance was promulgated in 1874, and a nation-wide system of equal charges was established. The use of a telephone exchange was started in large cities in 1890, and a long-distance telephone of 155 ri between Tokyo and Osaka was established in 1899. Submarine cable lines were also laid, that between Kagoshima and Formosa being inaugurated in 1897, and the Trans-Pacific line established in 1906. In 1903, the unification of laws and regulations relating to telecommunications was realized by the enforcement of the Telecommunications Law. Thus, telegraphic and telephone communications, which are the nerves of modern society, made an astounding development. The number of telegraph offices increased from 2,493 in 1903 to 4,939 in 1914; the number of telephone exchange offices increased from 35 in 1905 to 120 in 1909; the number of special telephone exchanges from 21 to 367; and the number of subscribers from 37,000 to 107,000 in the same period.

4. The Development of Foreign Trade

The treaty of amity and commerce concluded in 1858 with the United States, Great Britain, France, Holland and Russia and the tariff convention of 1886 forced Japan to recognize extraterritoriality and denied her tariff autonomy. They were thus unequal treaties. By the provisions stipulated in the tariff convention, Japan could not levy more than five per cent import duty. This was the reason governmental and non-governmental circles in Japan exerted continuous efforts to revise these unequal treaties after the Meiji Restoration. However, the fundamental reason which enabled foreign countries to force these unequal treaties upon Japan lay in the differences in national strength, and therefore, it was a very difficult task to
realize treaty revision. Finally, in 1899, treaty revision was realized, extraterritoriality was abolished, but a part of the autonomous tariff rights was secured only in 1911. Completion of an industrial revolution was necessary for the thorough realization of treaty revision. Therefore, Japan could not carry out trade policies by adopting a fullscale system of protective tariffs throughout the whole period of the Meiji Era, and in a slightly exaggerated way of expression, Japan had to endeavor to carry out policies to protect and encourage modern industry and economy under a semicolonial condition. It should not be forgotten that this fact constitutes an important characteristic in the process of building the modern industry and economy of this country.

The following is merely a conspectus of the general tendency in the development of foreign trade in the Meiji Era. The total amount of exports and imports increased 45.5 times from ¥ 26,000,000 in 1868 to ¥ 1,186,000,000 in 1914. Out of this, exports increased 37.5 times from ¥ 15,550,000 to ¥ 591,100,000, and imports increased 57 times from ¥ 10,690,000 to ¥ 595,730,000. The excess of imports was characteristic of almost every year throughout the period, and consequently, the net payment in trade paid by Japan amounted to as much as ¥ 1,170,150,000. Nevertheless, there were fifteen years in which the trade registered a favorable balance, namely, 1868, 1876, 1882 to 1889, 1891 to 1893, 1895 and 1906, although the amount was no more than ¥ 85,550,000.

The major export commodities throughout this period were raw silk and silk textiles, tea and processed marine products, which occupied approximately 50 per cent of the total export. After them, copper, coal, ceramic wares, cotton yarn and cotton textiles, matches, sundry goods of minor manufacture, especially cotton goods, were the major export items. When these are classified into kinds, there can be seen an increase in manufactured goods and a decrease in raw materials and foodstuffs. The effects of the development of light industry and the esta-
blishment of the basis of heavy industry were reflected in the increase of exports of manufactured commodities. Among the export commodities, textiles advanced into Korea and China after the Sino-Japanese War, and to Hongkong, the Dutch East Indies, Thailand, and British India, after the Russo-Japanese War, ousting other foreign goods from these markets. Raw materials and semimanufactured goods were generally exported to Europe and America; most of the raw silk was exported to the United States, and silk textiles to England.

On the other hand, the major import commodities prior to the Sino-Japanese War were cotton yarn, cotton sheeting, sugar, machinery, but after the war, cotton yarn and textile goods showed a marked decrease, and instead, raw materials for the textile industry, such as jute and raw cotton, increased. The development of the cotton spinning and woolen industry around the time of the Sino-Japanese War reversed the import of these commodities to export and increased the import of raw materials for the production of these commodities. Further, the increase of imports of iron and copper materials also became conspicuous from this period because of the development of modern large-scale industry. This tendency increased further after the Russo-Japanese War. As a whole, the increase in imports of raw materials and machinery and the decrease in imports of manufactured goods were the characteristic phenomena throughout the period. For exports, on the contrary, manufactured goods made a gradual increase, and raw materials decreased, this fact reflecting the process of construction and development of Japan’s modern industry. When this situation is reviewed by country, raw cotton was imported mainly from British India, sugar from the Dutch East Indies, iron and steel machinery, vehicles and chemical products from England, Germany and the United States.
5. Establishment and Development of the

Currency and Banking systems

While various conditions for modern economic development were created by the changes resulting from the Meiji Restoration, reformation of the currency system, particularly its nationwide unification, was one of the necessary consequences. As stated previously, the currency system in the Edo Period was never completely unified. Various kinds of coins and paper currency were in use, and toward the end of the Shogunate, an extremely confused situation existed as a result of the mixed use of foreign currencies as well. As it was impossible to carry out currency reform at one bound, the government first defined the value of old and new gold and silver coins in 1868 in order to quicken the circulation of existing coins.

The government then issued in 1868 non-convertible notes, called kinsatsu, or Dajōkansatsu, gold notes issued under authority of the Dajōkan, in order to supplement government finances, and at the same time to promote industry and production increases. It was planned to retire these notes within thirteen years, but they were followed by the issuance in 1896 of small notes by the Civil Affairs Department, then in 1871 by convertible securities issued by the Ministry of Finance, and convertible securities of the Colonization Commissioner in 1872. All of these were actually non-convertible notes issued merely to meet the financial requirements of the government. In addition, these notes were of poor and inferior quality. New notes were issued in 1872 in order to withdraw old paper currencies and to unify national circulation, and old notes were withdrawn by 1879.

With regard to specie, on the other hand, the new currency system on the silver standard was adopted in 1869, but was
changed to the gold standard by the promulgation of the New Currency Ordinance in 1871. However, what was defined in this ordinance was in reality a plural standard of both gold and silver, approving the unlimited circulation of Chinese silver coins, although for once the character of national unification, as well as international circulation, was achieved. And in May 1878, the double standard system was nominally and virtually established.

As is to be mentioned later, since 1873, there were bank notes issued by money exchange companies and those issued by the national banks, but these were withdrawn together with the liquidation of government inconvertible notes after 1881. Reformation of the currency system was completed by the establishment of the convertible system in 1885. However, ten more years were required for completion of the reform relating to specie. This was accomplished with the establishment of the gold standard in 1897. Until that time, the currency system was bilaterial as stated above, with greater weight placed on the silver standard. However, as there were a world-wide decline in the price of silver and a tendency to convert to the gold standard in many countries after the early years of Meiji, Japan decided to convert to the gold standard, which was enforced by Matsukata, the Minister of Finance, in 1897. The establishment of the gold standard restricted drastic changes in commodity prices and credit uncertainty by preventing changes in the value of currency, thereby facilitating foreign trade and making national finances predictable. Thus it promoted the establishment and development of the modern capitalistic economy of this country.

Next, let us examine banking and finance. In order to protect and promote modern capitalistic industry in an under-developed country as in the case of Japan, it was necessary to consolidate banking organs to provide funds to industry. It was also necessary, as stated previously, to promote the development of modern means of communication prior to the development of
manufacturing and mining. As a whole, the special characteristic in the process of the establishing and developing modern industry and economy in this country lay in the fact that the consolidation of branches of subsidiary industries was the basis for the development of the manufacturing and mining industries.

Even before the Meiji Restoration, money changers were also engaging in a business similar to a bank, but they were essentially private individuals who did not have the capacity to function as modern banking organs, and therefore, it was impossible for them to supply funds smoothly to modern commercial and industrial enterprises. Therefore, soon after the Restoration, the government attempted to create modern banking organs. In 1868, the establishment of commercial transaction officials was the first project of the Restoration government to modernize commercial and banking systems. In the following year, bill exchange companies on a stockholding system were established at eight different places under the supervision of foreign trade officials. These were established to make smooth the financing of funds in the manner of banks in foreign countries and were given extraordinary privileges and government protection. Their major business consisted of the acceptance of deposit money, issuance of bank notes, loans of funds, draft exchanges, transactions and exchange of silver, as well as old gold and silver coins. Government officials were dispatched from among the foreign trade officials to help them. However, the bill exchange companies resulted in failure within a few years because of the ignorance of the general public relating to companies and banks, as well as mishandling by the government, which did not have complete knowledge of the function of modern banks.

In 1872, the government, aiming to help support the policy of production increase and industrial promotion, promulgated the National Bank Ordinance, in order to consolidate a complete modern banking system and to withdraw the inconvertible notes issued by the government directly after the Meiji Restoration. In accordance with this Ordinance, approval to begin business
was given to four banks. These national banks were entitled to issue convertible bank notes and handle government receipts and payments as special rights. This authority to issue convertible bank notes was aimed at the withdrawal of inconvertible government notes and also at controlling the money supply. However, contrary to government expectations, there were few who were interested in establishing national banks, and the government was unable to achieve its original objectives. While the Ordinance of 1872 provided for the conversion of notes into specie, bank notes of national banks did not circulate as expected, but returned promptly to the banks, as the price of government paper currency was lower than specie. The result was a shortage in reserve specie in the national banks, making it difficult for the business of national banks to continue. In 1876, therefore, the government revised the Ordinance, appropriating government paper currency as reserves for conversion. Thus, in effect the bank notes of national banks became inconvertible notes. Thereafter, national banks were established in succession, and it then appeared that too many were being established. In 1879, with the establishment of the Kyoto National Bank as the one hundred and fifty third national bank, restrictions were placed on setting up new banks.

Under a revision of the National Bank Ordinance in 1876, ordinary financing companies resembling banks also came to be called banks. Gradually knowledge about banks spread among the general public, and thus private banks finally began to be established and developed. However, following the issuance of hereditary pension bonds to former samurai, because of the great increase in the issuance of government paper currency during the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877 and the excess of inconvertible bank notes as a result of the immoderate establishment of national banks, the value of paper currency and the prices of bonds declined heavily, bringing about soaring commodity prices, and there developed the first inflation after the Meiji Restoration. It was especially conspicuous in the period
between 1879 and 1881. During this process, the banking business made a great development and consolidated its basis. As stated above, because the establishment of new national banks was restricted in 1879, the zeal for banking was concentrated upon private banks, and the number of private banks made an enormous increase from only two banks with a capital of ¥ 2,150,000 in 1879 to 94 banks with a total capital of ¥ 10,440,000 in 1881, increasing to 176 banks in the following year.

The readjustment of paper currency and government finances by Matsukata, the Minister of Finance, was begun in 1881 and completed by the establishment of the conversion system in 1885. During the process of this readjustment, the Bank of Japan was established in 1882 as the central national bank. Besides, laws and regulations relating to ordinary banks were enforced in 1890, and ordinary banks made a significant development around 1892. In the meantime, national banks, which had been the central banking organs in the former period of Meiji, gradually disappeared through dissolution or conversion into private banks. Of the total amount of capital put into newly planned enterprises during a three-year period from 1895 to 1897, banks ranked next to railways, occupying 15 per cent of the total. In 1901, the total number of banks reached its peak with 2,359 banks. Then, among newly planned enterprises between 1905 and 1913, banks occupied 14.9 per cent of the total. During this period, the number of banks which were dissolved or amalgamated was greater than the number of those newly established. Thus, banks gradually decreased in number, but the average amount of capital increased. The number of head offices of banks decreased to 2,153 in 1914, the number of branches increased to 3,352, the total paid-up capital to ¥ 645,000,000, the amount of deposits to ¥ 2,317,000,000, and the total amount of loans to ¥ 2,817,000.

In the days of the development of modern industry centering around the two great wars, the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, concentration in production and capital
also took place. This phenomenon led to the expansion of banking and credit to match industrial development. The expansion and strengthening of banking organs gradually brought about the control of industry by bank capital. The tremendous development in banking organs by the establishment of various special banks clearly reveals this fact. Special banks established between 1896 and 1902 included the Japan Hypothec Bank, Agricultural and Manufacturing Bank, the Industrial Bank of Japan, Hokkaidō Development Bank, and The Bank of Korea. In addition, an association underwriting public bonds, that is, a syndicate, was established for the first time in 1910. During the third decade of Meiji, bill exchange offices were established on a nation-wide basis. In addition, the role of the Deposit Bureau of the Ministry of Finance became increasingly important after the Russo-Japanese War, together with the increased significance of the postal savings system as a banking organ for the ordinary person.
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