

*Lannahill Roy, Lord Rector's prize 1902*

LITERATURE CONSULTED.

Chapter I.

The various Histories of Japan.

DICKINS, F. V.

"The Origins of The Japanese State,"

English Historical Review, Vol. XIV.

London, 1899.

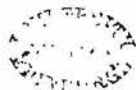
"As far as the East is from the West."



## CHAPTER I.

### The Dawn of the Island Empire.

The facts of Japanese history can be grouped into compartments in various ways. Lines of demarcation are easily furnished by the culture influences which have come upon her from without. Japan has made trial of the two civilizations which have longest enjoyed the success of survival: her persistent but eclectic personality has undergone in turn metempsychosis into the most characteristic social somata of the irreconcilable hemispheres, and the arrested growth and atheromatous decrepitude of the East has witnessed her translation into the more vigorous bodily temple of the adolescent West. The most romantic episodes of her career are the Sinicisation of the Sixth Century and the Europinization of the nineteenth. Round these revolutionary changes her whole development pivots. Between them lies the noticeable moment of hesitancy and reaction when the East and the West first came into conflict and the importunate West retired baffled for centuries. Deeper than all these factors remains the indigenous impress which the country has conserved from prehistoric days. Superimposed upon them are the shapes the constitutional fabric has taken at different periods. Popular tradition reaches back for



for thousands of years in a mist of legend and fable. Authentic history begins about the Fifth Century of the Christian era. From about 400 A.D., to 600 A.D., a rude feudalism flourished. From 600 to 1200 the country came under the sway of a centralized monarchy assisted by boards of ministers. From 1200 to 1868 feudalism again asserted itself and the nominal monarchy was in practice replaced by a duarchy where the preponderance of power lay with the military despot who towered above the ancient throne. The centralized monarch resumed power from 1868 to 1889 and in 1890 absolutism was abandoned for constitutional Imperialism. It is with the last half century that this essay has primarily to deal, but the full significance of the period cannot be grasped without some reference to the centuries that have gone before.

The genealogy of the Japanese is uncertain. Their language has affinities in grammar and syntax with the Ural-altaic group and in vocabulary and structure with Korean. Tradition makes no mention of overseas origin, but it is probable that the Western shores of Japan were peopled by two successive immigrations through Korea. The aboriginal Ainus whose extraction is not Mongol and perhaps contains Malayan and Polynesian elements, were already in possession. Intermixture of the two races does not appear to have proceeded to any great extent.

extent. The mixed breed dies out in the third or fourth generation, the races being, in Professor Chamberlain's opinion, as distinct as the reds and whites of N. America. Archaeology has thrown little light on early Japanese history. The few ancient manuscripts are of no value and the dolmens and burial mounds contain only sarcophagi in wood, stone or terra-cotta surrounded by ornaments, but with no inscriptions. The only MSS. materials are the two eighth-century compilations called the Kojiki or Records of Ancient Events and the Nihonki or Annals of Japan. The Kojiki which is supposed to be ancient Japanese written in Chinese characters is of mythological interest and less sinicised than the Nihonki which remains the sole authority for the history of Japan up to A.D. 697. The Japanese official view makes the authentic history of the country commence with the accession of Jimmu on February 11th 660 the anniversary of which date is kept as the national holiday. An elaborate mythology explains the origin of this Emperor from the Heaven and the Earth. The compiler borrows his ideas largely from Chinese models and makes the Empire spring fully formed into being.

The first seventeen Emperors cover a period of 1060 years. The compiler scruples at no improbability to magnify the reigning house and make Japan of antiquity equal to China. Some



Some substratum of historical truth may subsist at the bottom of the account of relations with Korea, which show a close and friendly relation between Japan and Pekché one of the states of the Peninsula. But Court intrigue is the staple interest of the compiler. Occasional reference is made to immigrations of artificers from Korea. Between the middle of the sixth century and the first quarter of the seventh Buddhism overran Japan. For many years the new faith had been making slow headway. The conversion of Shotoku the eldest son of the Emperor Yomei gave it a great impetus. It was adopted by the court and accepted universally by the end of the sixth century. In the wake of the Buddhist missionaries came the whole civilization of China. In 645 the Chinese chronology was borrowed: mathematical instruments came into use: learning was encouraged and literature began to take shape. The political structure of the state was recast: a census of the people was taken: the administration was made directly responsible to the Emperor. The internal administration of the village communities was left untouched but the hereditary clanlords were transformed into subordinate officials appointed at pleasure by the Emperor. In actual practice many of the administrative reforms were more nominal than real. The influence of China penetrated into every detail of daily life.

life. Two-thirds of the vocabulary became Chinese. The manners and customs of China, the arts and crafts, the weapon and implements were all acclimatized. Some notable omissions in the process of sinicisation were the rejection of the examination system and the failure to cluster the population into walled towns. Nor did the Imperial power reach the same pitch of absolute supremacy as in China. "The divine right of the Chinese Emperor" writes Dr F. V. Dickins "affirmed his personal authority; the divine descent of the Mikado insured his isolation and made him the puppet of his own court." The direct dependence of the people upon the Imperial family has been universally adopted by Japanese historians. But Dr Dickins points out that in this view of the nature and origin of the Mikadoate "The true order of history is reversed, the alleged founder of the sovereign line of Japan is treated as a fully developed Chinese monarch, and the constitutional position he came to occupy in the seventh century of the Christian era is ante-dated by no less than thirteen hundred and fifty years. The result has been that the revolution of 1868, justifiable in itself was nevertheless founded upon a double historical error--the error namely that the imperial dignity of a Tei or Chinese monarch, appertained to the Tenno from prehistoric antiquity, and the further error that the Japanese Tei ever exer-

exercised a real authority, save possibly for a short period in the course of the seventh century of our era. But these very errors served to maintain the prestige of the Mikado and so to preserve the unity of the State, in spite of the long-continued feudal divisions of the country and it is more than probable that without them the revolution would never have been accomplished. Thus the Nihonki however imperfectly it may have recorded the early annals, has had a large share in making the later history of Japan and a Japanese Ennius might still sing--'Moribus antiquis stat res Japona virisque.'"

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## CHAPTER II.

### Feudal Days and Feudal Ways.

Rooted in the cosmogony and mythology of Japan is the theory of the divine right of an absolute monarch whose descent is direct from the gods. From the adoption of Chinese civilisation to well on in the twelfth century the absolute sway of the central monarchy was theoretically acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Primogeniture did not necessarily determine the succession, the reigning sovereign enjoying the privilege of selecting his successor from amongst the princes of the blood royal. The very unquestioned right of the ruling family to the throne sapped their immediate power. The cloistered upbringing and effeminate surroundings of the mikados unfitted them for rule. The holders of office were chosen by hereditary right not by a democratic system of selection for literary proficiency as in China.

A few great families clustered round the throne and monopolized the direction of the administration. The Premiership was vested in the Fujiwara, a family whose daughters invariably supplied the consorts of the Emperor. The supremacy of this upstart house was strengthened by the practice which arose of

of the abdication of the Emperor on attaining manhood. The Buddhist ideal of a life of monastic solitude and contemplation unspotted from the world, together with the popular custom of retirement from business at an early age gave countenance to this stratagem of Fujiwara polity. At one time from 987 to 991 A.D. there were no less than four Mikados alive together and at another in the reign of the Mikado Go-Nijo (1302-8) there were five--Go-Nijo himself, made emperor at seventeen, and his four predecessors, one having reigned from four to seventeen, another from eleven to twenty-six, a third from eight to twenty one, and a fourth who had ascended the throne at twenty-three and abdicated in the same year. A retired mikado was even more honoured than a mikado in office and such vestiges of power as the monarchy retained was more easily exercised in the monastery than in the palace.

But the Fujiwara ascendancy was a purely political one. In conformity with Chinese ideas the civil services had been partitioned off from the military. The wars waged against the Ainus in the north-east of the Empire and the Koreans in the south-west led to the formation and aggrandizement of a class of military families. Soldiering became a special profession and a military class split off from the agricultural commonalty. The balance of power passed to the great heredi-

hereditary generals.

In the tenth century the two great clans of the Taira and the Minamoto became independent and began to struggle for the guardianship of the throne. In 1142 a boy Mikado designated on his deathbed a crown prince who was not in the lineal succession. The Taira upheld his choice while the Minamoto protested against it. The head of the Taira, Kiyomori was successful in the appeal to arms and became prime minister for twenty-five years. Suspecting the Minamoto clan of designs against him Kiyomori suddenly massacred their leaders. Yoritomo, a son of the chief, escaped and as he grew to manhood associated himself with his bastard brother Yoshitsune and raised the standard of revolt. Yoshitsune won a great naval battle and the Taira were ruthlessly exterminated.

Yoritomo treated his brother with jealous ingratitude but proved himself a capable head of the State. In 1184 he established a council of state and a criminal court. Though practically dictator of the country he shielded himself always behind the authority of the Emperor. To his lieutenants he issued a decree: "In all matters concerning the military class the wishes of the cloistered Emperor shall be obeyed. If any man object to aught let him quietly memorialize." He received the assent of the Emperor to the nomination of five men of his

his family name as provincial governors. The central authority was further consolidated by the appointment of a military head to each province. In due time these fighting men prevailed over the civilians and laid the foundations of the feudal system. The expenses of military administration were met by a tax on the produce of the land. Yoritomo himself was created Sei-i-tai Shogun or Barbarian - subjugating Generalissimo a title which was borne for centuries by the military deputies of the Emperor. A limit was placed on the power of the priesthood who had become great landed proprietors. Before his death Yoritomo had the Empire under his thumb and was able to give a notable impetus to the arts of peace.

In two generations the posterity of Yoritomo died out. Tokimasa, of the Hojo family, the father-in-law of Yoritomo, became the power behind the throne. For nearly a century and a half his clan remained supreme. For seven generations the head of the family acted as regent to the Shoguns whom they made and unmade at will. During the Hojo regencies the invasion of Kubla Khan was successfully resisted and in literature the period was the Golden Age of Japan.

In 1334 a Mikado of independent mind called Go-Daigo stood out against the Hojo and broke their strength. "The Hojo family" says the Japanese chronicler "was to that of Minamoto



Minamoto what the Fujiwara family was to the imperial house. Both families possessed themselves of the realm as they sat upon the mats without being obliged to have recourse to arms." Go-Daigo resumed the direct executive power but did not long prove equal to it. His lieutenant Ashikaga made himself Shogun and chose another Emperor. From 1337 to 1392 the North and the South was divided between two Mikados. Civil war devastated the country. The central authority sat lightly on the great feudal lords who maintained an internecine struggle between one another. The Ashikaga dynasty had never the country under control.

The latter half of the sixteenth century saw the rise of three warrior chiefs Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu who again extended the central power over the daimios. Nobunaga inherited the holding of a small feudal chief. With the help of his lieutenant Hideyoshi he gradually possessed himself of several provinces. In 1567 the succession to the Shogunate was in dispute and one of the claimants applied for help to Nobunaga. A large army seized the ancient capital of Kioto and Nobunaga's nominee gained his heart's desire. The resisting provinces had been all but crushed when the Shogun, chafing at the subordinate part he had to play, came to an agreement with Nobunaga's enemies. The recalcitrant ruler was thereupon

thereupon deposed and Nobunaga assumed the authority of Shogun without taking the name. The Buddhist priesthood had been unfriendly to him and part of his revenge consisted in encouraging the Jesuit mission which had made its way to Japan. His strong hand ensured a period of peace and progress to the harassed country. In 1582 he was betrayed by a subordinate to whom he had offered an unwitting insult.

Hideyoshi, whose name is revered to this day in Japan not less for his exploits in themselves than for the fact that in a country where the hereditary principle is rooted fast he rose from the humble position of a groom to become commander-in-chief and regent, took up the mantle of Nobunaga. His greatest campaigns were the subjugation of the Satsuma clan in the mountainous fastnesses of Kinshu and his Cadmean victories over China and Korea. Hideyoshi reversed the policy of his predecessor in regard to the Christians, who threatened to become as great a menace to the secular power as the Buddhists.

After the death of Hideyoshi in 1598 Ieyasu assumed the Shogunate and had to meet the opposition of the Southern and Western clans. At the battle of Sekigahara the confederate army was defeated with great slaughter. Ieyasu set to work to build his power on solid foundations. Some of the great families already existing he respected but the majority

majority of the great fiefs he distributed among his friends. He removed the central seat of government from Kioto to Yedo, built a great castle there, and overtook his only likely rival Hiyedori the son of Hideyoshi. Ieyasu compelled the great owners of feudal fiefs to reside personally at Yedo for half the year and to leave their wives and families there as hostages during the other half. Nor were they permitted to have communication with the Mikado or to enter Kioto. The Mikado was secluded in a kind of genteel poverty, surrounded by some hundred and fifty Kuges or persons of princely birth. Ieyasu died in 1616. Iemitsu the third successor followed in Ieyasu's footsteps with outstanding ability. He it was who finally shut the door of Japan against the foreigner. None of the other representatives of the line deserves any particular mention. But the Tokugawa Shogunate lasted in peace till 1868.

Ieyasu settled the mould into which Japanese civilisation was to run for two centuries and a half. He was a great law-giver and a patron of learning. He encouraged the printing of the Confucian Classics and the establishment of schools. He classified the people into various social grades. The feudal chiefs or daimios he arranged in five divisions. Beneath them came a small class of underling nobility. Between

Between the nobility and the common people were the samurai or professional class comprising the military and literary men. The badge of the order was the privilege of wearing two swords. The samurai included about a twentieth of the entire population of the Empire. They were at once the men of business and the military retainers of the feudal barons, upon whose bounty they existed. They were endowed with many privileges, especially with the privilege of looking down upon the farmers, artisans and merchants who undertook the productive labour of the community. The haughty conduct and presumption of their less disciplined members were a sore trial to the community. Yet they held before themselves, idlers and parasites as many of them were, a chivalric ideal and a tradition of valour and discretion which made them the leaders of the New Japan that was to arise.

The long years of the Tokugawa Shogunate were years of peace and prosperity. Through all the turmoil of the centuries immediately preceding had lived and flourished an immemorial civilization that told beneficently on the people. The peasantry were the backbone of the country and their position never fell as low as the peasants of Europe in mediaeval days or in pre-revolutionary France. The farmers ranked socially next to the samurai. A considerable measure of freedom was

was allowed them. The land revenue was raised with an absence of harshness. The farmer was given the benefit of the doubt if disputes arose. Irritating technicalities were absent from the administration. Taxation was not pushed beyond the ability to pay. Below the farmers came the merchant class and no farmer could become a merchant without permission. The prejudice against trade existed in the same strength that was shown in feudal Europe. It is true that further down in the social scale existed a class of pariahs who were set apart for such disagreeable work as slaughtering and skinning animals. But even the Eta were victims of social stigma who might attain to tolerable material prosperity.

The real weapon of administration was the village community. Family rule was the true source of order. A Kioto saying ran: "Government laws are three day laws." In no country was the man of the people more alive to his rights and duties. The village Hampden was accepted at a reasonable valuation. Firm appeal against injustice was nearly always successful. The feudal lord was as selfish as his European contemporary or fore runner. But his selfishness was more enlightened. The plunder and rapine and oppression of European feudalism was unknown during the Tokugawa Shogunate. The social glue of reverence for the hidden throne gave a wonderful solidarity

solidarity to the people. Taxation was not regarded as a burden but as a loyal duty. The collection of tax-rice was an annual fair when every man struggled to show the best returns.

The local autonomy of the village communities even extended to taxation. The mayor, heads of companies, and patriarchs drew up an estimate of local expenditure which had to be approved by the farmers. The Government assessor examined and criticised this local budget but he had no power of augmenting or vetoing the assessment. His duty was to watch whether the mayor oppressed the people.

Contiguity of residence guided the formation of another unit of local government. Every five families were grouped into a company. This Kumi was responsible for the defects of its members. The institution was a source of mutual helpfulness. It lies largely at the bottom of the neighbourhood aid which did duty for so long in Japan in lieu of our hospitals, crèches, savings banks and insurance societies. If a foundling was picked up by the wayside its upbringing was shared by the Kumi to which its adopter belonged. If a stranger was found unburied the expenses of sepulture was spread over the Kumi. At emergency times in any calling or during the busy season the neighbours, deserting their own vocations, would come to the help of their overburdened brother. Nor

Nor did any fine caste distinction between skilled and unskilled labour stand in the way of mutual helpfulness. The worker in cloisonne would cheerfully take his turn in the paddy fields and undergo the irksome fatigue of gathering rice. Traces of these aggregations within aggregations remain to this day. In many small districts of Tokio the lanterns have a pattern of their own for each district. Like the conseil de prud-hommes the neighbours or the family friends in conclave managed to settle many things more satisfactorily than by litigation.

There were no poor laws and no need of them. Everyone was poor and no one was in want. Even to to-day the old-fashioned Japan shopkeeper, instead of giving a rebate on a large purchase, will raise his rates. Buying in small quantities is regarded as evidence of lack of means and it is the small purchases which are cheapened. The principle of the rich paying high prices that the straitened in means may obtain the benefit of lower applies still to the Japanese hotel-tariff. Like recompensing a doctor the traveller is expected to remunerate his hotel-keeper according to his means. The bill presented may be merely nominal and the traveller makes it up by leaving chadai or tea-money. The growing tendency to overcharge travellers is as much due to the delusion that foreigners are all rich and consequently ought to pay more than their fair

fair share of the lawing, as to any petty lust of money-making.

Large holdings were discouraged by the early land laws. If a farm was sold the offender was banished, the buyer fined and the land confiscated. If the crop was a partial failure the labourers could claim everything. In bad seasons the rent was reduced. Evictions were almost unknown.

But however independent the villagers were in municipal affairs they were strictly under surveillance in their domestic concerns. Extravagance was discountenanced by the most stringent sumptuary laws. The outlay of each class in any specified direction was almost sure to be prescribed. The size of the dwelling house, the very quality of its tiles, were immutable quantities. The wedding guest had no need to rack his mind as to how much he would spend in a wedding gift. The trousseau and the wedding presents were appointed by statute. The very viands of the wedding feast were chosen from a limited dietary. Only certain families were allowed to wear silk. If a son or daughter married into a family superior in the social scale who possessed the privilege of silk the youthful aspirant for higher honours was not even allowed to match his partner by wearing silk at the ceremony. Simplicity of living was ingrained in the Japanese until it became a necessary of life.

The government was a paternal despotism of the most un-



unqualified kind. But if the greatest happiness of the greatest number is any criterion the meddling bureaucracy set up by the Shogunate cannot be dismissed as unsuccessful. The people were virtuous: they were contented: they brought the arts of architecture, painting, lacquering, sculpture, pottery to a high degree of perfection: they studied the Chinese classics and promoted education. Yet the political structure which achieved these excellent ends was sustained by a foundation of perpetual espionage. How complete this novel form of direction by delatores had become may be guessed from the account left by Laurence Oliphant in 1859. "The more we investigate the extraordinary system under which Japan is governed, the more evident does it become, that the great principle upon which the whole fabric rests, is the absolute extinction of individual freedom: to arrive at this result resort is had to a complicated machinery, so nicely balanced that, as everybody watches everybody, so no individual can escape paying the penalty to society of any injury he may attempt to inflict upon it. One most beneficial result arising from this universal system of espionage--for it extends through all classes of society--is the entire probity of every government employe. So far as we could learn or see they were incorruptible."

It ought to be remembered, however, that the vast majority of

of the common people were little affected by the underhand measures which were aimed at the feudal baronage. Within the bounds of their fixed castes they enjoyed liberty of conscience and freedom to work out their own intellectual salvation. Isolation and ignorance co-operated with tradition and the semi-religious reverence for the Mikado in neutralizing the solvent of political ambition. The supreme skill of the community was directed into artistic channels and the fact that the standard of taste was set for generations by a cultured aristocracy and not by the many-headed multitude kept craftsmanship at a self-respecting level. The practical application given to the democratic maxims of Mencius and Confucius profited the people more than the teachings of the Church did the despised tillers of the soil in feudal Europe. Later research has modified the unfavourable element in the criticism which summed up Sir Rutherford Alcock's opinion of Japanese civilization: "Theirs was a material civilization of a high order in which all the industrial arts were brought to as great perfection as could well be attainable without the aid of steam power and machinery--an almost unlimited command of cheap labour and material supplying apparently many counterbalancing advantages. Their intellectual and moral pretensions on the other hand, compared with what has been achieved in the more civilized

civilized nations of the West during the last three centuries must be placed very low; while their capacity for a higher and better civilization than they have yet attained, should be ranked, I conceive, far before that of any other Eastern nation not excepting the Chinese."

The conflict of civilizations is rarely free from moral misunderstandings. There is hardly any speck on Japanese civilization which her earlier European critics selected for ethical disapprobation but has easily been paralleled in the Western world by Japanese critics themselves. A tremendous sensation was created in Japan by the first translation of an English book into Japanese. It was a collection of moral lessons which appeared originally in a series of handbooks got up by Messrs W. & R. Chambers. Before this the opinion held its ground that the foreigners had no morals at all; and, judging from the enforcement of Western wills upon Japan at the cannon's mouth or by the bluster of diplomacy in a hurry, and the far from ideal conduct of early settlers in the treaty ports, who shall say that this precipitate conclusion was not as natural and inevitable as the more enlightened opinion now current that the foreigners have truly a commendable code of ethics which they rarely think worth while to put unreservedly into practice.<sup>7</sup> The one man of literary genius who has hither-

hitherto interpreted Japan to the West, Mr Lafcadio Hearn, has drawn in "A Conservative" a moving and unforgettable picture of the impression life in Europe and America made upon a man of fine moral fibre transplanted from the soil of Old Japan. The folk-lore of the country, which is illustrated in Mr Freeman Mitford's admirable "Tales of Old Japan" evaluates the virtues on a different scale from us. Filial piety which is the mainspring of Japanese morals is allotted a higher place than in our more individualistic scheme. "The Four and Twenty Paragons of Filial Piety" seem to the Western mind to carry their devotion to reprehensible excess. "Greater love hath no man than this: to lay down his life for his friend" is no less honoured a maxim than in Christendom, but it receives its highest application in a story of vendetta which raises mixed emotions in the Western breast. Yet the story of the Forty Seven Ronins deserves retelling as the most popular and most characteristic example of the code of honour of old Japan and of the feudal loyalty which has been transmuted into the fiery patriotism of to-day.

The action opens in the first year of the eighteenth century. The Mikado had designated an Imperial envoy to proceed to the Shogun at Yedo. To two nobles of distinction, Takumi no Kami, and Kamei Sama, was entrusted the reception of the royal legate.

legate. An avaricious official called Kotsuké no Suke was called in to coach them in court ceremonial and etiquette. The customary gifts which his pupils brought seemed to this preceptor unworthy and insufficient. He fooled and insulted the would-be courtiers. Kamei Sama, the more quick-tempered of the two, imparted to his councillors his determination to slay the tormentor. Fearing lest his master's rashness might bring ruin and disgrace on the clan a wise retainer bribed the churlish official with a thousand ounces of silver. On the morrow Kumei Sama was received with fair words and proffered courteous and correct instruction so that his desire for revenge was appeased. But Takumi no Kami was ridiculed more than ever until an insulting order to fasten the shoes of his mentor marked the limit of his endurance. Only the interference of Kotsuké no Suke's servants rendered an attempt to dirk their master unsuccessful. For this attempted assassination Takumi no Kami had to pay the utmost penalty of the law. He himself performed judicial suicide by **Hara-Kiri**, his lands and goods were escheat, his family struck off the peerage roll and his retainers disbanded, becoming ronins or "wave-men"--free-lances who no longer enjoyed the privileges of clansmen. To avenge their master's death in accordance with the accepted code of honour his principal counsellor Oishi Kuranosuké with forty-six

six other faithful retainers formed a secret league. Their enemy was so well-protected by the body-guard of a wealthy father-in-law that the conspirators saw no chance of success unless he were completely thrown off the alert. So they feigned remissness and cowardice. One went one way and one another; they plyed trades and followed menial occupations; while Kuranosuke openly gave himself up to a life of grovelling debauchery, harlotry and wine-bibbing. He turned a faithful and loving wife out of doors and allowed himself to be grossly insulted as he lay down on the public street. All of which was duly reported by spies to Kotsuke no Suke who dreaded a possible vendetta. Meantime some of Kuranosuke's associates have gone in and out of the enemy's castle in the guise of pedlars and mechanics and familiarized themselves with the plan of the rooms and the courage and character of the inmates. When Kotsuke no Suke's suspicions had been lulled to rest Kuranosuke eluded the vigilance of the spies and appointed a trysting place for his men. On the night of the 30th. January 1703 the attack was made. During a snowstorm one band attacked the front of Kotsuke no Suke's castle in front and another in the rear. Watchers were placed to intercept any messages for help and the neighbours warned of the identity of the attackers who were neither robbers nor ruffians. The neighbours who hated

hated the doomed man's covetousness felt no call to interfere. A shrill whistle was to be blown when Kotsuke no Suke was slain and his head was to be carried off to the temple where their dear lord lay buried. The ronins would then give themselves up to justice and to inevitable death. After a long fight where valiant deeds were done on both sides the defence proved no match for the skilful strategy of Kuranosuke. The craven noble was traced through a secret passage to an outhouse. When Kuranosuke recognised him he went down on his knees and said:

"My lord, we are the retainers of Asano Takumi no Kami. Your lordship and our master quarrelled in the palace and our master was sentenced to **hara-kiri** and his family ruined. We have come here to-night to avenge him as is the duty of faithful and loyal men. I pray your lordship to acknowledge the justice of our purpose. And now my lord we beseech you to perform **hara-kiri**. I myself shall have the honour to act as your second, and when, with all humility, I shall have received your lordship's head, it is my intention to lay it an offering upon the grave of Asano Takumi no Kami."

But Kotsuke no Suke stood speechless and trembling, and Kuranosuke, seeing it was vain to urge him to die the death of a nobleman, cut off his head with the dirk which had performed

performed hara kiri on Asano Takumi no Kami. Then the band marched to the temple where their dead master lay buried and burned incense and laid the head as an offering before the tomb. And Kuranosuke gave all the money he had to the abbot and besought him to bury the forty-seven men when they should have committed hara kiri by order of the government. Public opinion approved of the revenge. The government found themselves in a quandary. They based their course of action on the advice given by Ogin Sorai a famous Chinese scholar who was called into consultation. His lawyerlike reply was that however praiseworthy such an act might be according to the etiquette of the Samurai it was an intolerable breach of the public peace, which if it were not punished, might be the precursor of graver deeds, even affecting the dignity of the Shogun himself. The supreme court sentenced them to judicial suicide. Death they all faced without flinching and were duly interred beside their master. To their tombs the people flocked to do honour. And among them was a Satsuma man who prostrated himself before the grave of Kuranosuke and said: "When I saw you lying drunk by the roadside I knew not you were plotting to avenge your lord and thinking you to be a faithless man I trampled on you and spat in your face as I passed. And now I have come to ask pardon and offer atonement." With



With these words he also performed hara kiri and the chief priest laid his body beside the 47 ronins. To this day their graves are a place of pilgrimage, their name and fame in the mouth of every Japanese, and their exploits the theme of some of the most popular dramas on the Japanese stage.

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And Other Articles.

## The Impingement of the Aryan.

The essential oneness of ancient and modern history, the futility of drawing hard and fast boundary lines in a sort of chronological coronal section and only rarely in the equally valid psychological sagittal section has been insisted on to satiety. But the distinction has the merit of convenience and if anywhere it can be justly exemplified it is in the history of Japan. The middle of the nineteenth century is for Japan the unmistakable line of demarcation between ancient and modern, the watershed between two contrasting civilizations. On the farther side lies the crystallized conservatism of a culture cast in the mould of immemorial antiquity, an offshoot of that mysterious celestial civilization which, already possessed of all the instruments that were to lay the foundations of Western progress, found its growth arrested and its achievements stereotyped in the days when Greece was in its prime and Britain yet a swamp: on the hither side the most rapid and striking assimilation in history of the alien culture of accumulated ages and the novel spectacle of an Eastern people drawing level in intellectual and material equipment with the advancing vanguards of the West. Criticism, even

even the least meticulous, reveals invariably at the bottom of the grand cataclysms of history antecedent sapping and mining sometimes of secular insidiousness. In Japan a readiness for the great changes of 1854 and onwards had been immediately fostered by the study of the national literature with its heroengeschichte and complacent if mythopoeic pride in the rule of a royal lineage unbroken since the far-off beginnings of things; by the growing impatience with the shiftless leadership of a de facto sovereign who lacked the halo of his de jure rival in the background; by a spiritual awakening that drew sustenance partly from the patriotic ceremonial of indigenous Shintoism, partly from the purer ethics of Confucius; and not a little by the uneasy hope of advantage from further glimpses into the magic wonder world of the West to which the Dutch had always kept open at least an auger-hole. What is unique in the case of Japan is the disparity between the causes at work and the extensiveness and intensiveness of the effects. But this is but a temporal accident. During the most fruitful harvest years of material progress Japan had stood apart in artificial seclusion. But the race was quick-witted and receptive and only awaited the upheaval of competent leaders to appropriate the hoard of the searching world outside. If the knocking at the door of the western nations was long continued

continued, the completeness of the final opening was due not a little to the good will of the householder within.

The romance of the later history of Japan is in no small degree the romance of its foreign relations. And these extended over centuries before the great awakening. In 1497 the daring and skill of Vasco da Gama, the first navigator to round the Cape and breast the waves of the long trail that leads to the Indies, placed the keys of Eastern commerce for fully a century in the hands of Portugal. Even the discovery of Magellans straits, by the great seadog, who unhonoured in Portugal had taken the Spanish shilling, with the consequent Spanish settlement in the Philippines left the Portugese monopoly almost unquestioned. Forerunner of the vast Pacific trade of to-day, the rich yearly galleon between Acapuloc and Manilla alone bore witness to the rivalry of Spain. "In a short time" as the English translator of Dr Kaempfer's history of Japan put it in 1728 "the Portugese attained to the highest pitch of fortune." The native chiefs competed for the favour of the foreign settlements and Portugese influence radiated all over the East. In 1542 some Portugese sailors were cast ashore in Southern Japan. In 1547 Mendez Pinto made a successful voyage and introduced matchlocks and powder to the Japanese. Foreign trade was welcomed, and silks, furs, black

black taffetas, red and black cloths and lead became the staple imports, being usually paid for by the precious metals. In 1549 a young Japanese noble fled to Goa, then the Portuguese metropolis of the East and the seat of an Archbishopric. The fugitive was taught Portuguese by Francis Xavier and converted to the Christian faith. Xavier and his convert introduced Christianity into Japan in 1549. Official encouragement was given to the new faith and Christianity spread rapidly. Meantime the longing eyes of other nations did not fail to be attracted by the lucrative spoils of the East. Drake and Cavendish made pioneer voyages. Sir Richard Hawkins set out for the Japan seas only to fall into the hands of Spanish cruisers in the Pacific. In 1591 Lancaster achieved the first English voyage to India. But England was more intent on rifling the treasure chests of Spain than in angling for the less rapid acquisitions of legitimate trade. It was left to the Dutch to break down the Iberian monopoly. With the Spanish domination of Portugal in 1630 the merchants of the maritime provinces, who had been the middlemen of Europe, were debarred from the Lisbon trade and driven to share the English aspirations for a North-East passage which should be free from the arms and arrogance of Spain. At the suggestion of Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch skipper who had picked up some infor-

information about the East during his incarceration in Lisbon gaol, the merchants of Amsterdam formed an East India Association. The new passage was never discovered but the first expedition succeeded in establishing a footing in Java. Encouraged by this success the merchants fitted out a fleet of four squadrons. The chief pilot of one of the squadrons was a Rochester man called Will Adams. Disaster after disaster fell on the ships till Adams with a few companions was cast away on the shores of Southern Japan.

The vessel was boarded by the Japanese and Adams brought before the Emperor. Despite the poisonous insinuations of the Jesuits and the Portugese, who represented the English in particular as "Only pirates and rovers upon the sea," the new comers were set at liberty and the little band dispersed. Some years afterwards the Emperor ordered Adams to build a ship. Though no carpenter he accomplished the task of putting together an eighty-tonner on English lines. An annual pension of seventy ducats were conferred on him and he entered into high favour at Court. So much so that the Emperor would not allow him leave to return to Europe. In October 1611 Adams managed to send a letter home. He surveyed the coasts for the Emperor and built a second vessel. To the Dutch, for whom he obtained a trading concession, he sent the famous account of his

his adopted country:- "This island of Japan is a great land and lieth in lat. 48° at the South extremity and 35° at the North, in length 220 English leagues. The people are good of nature, courteous out of measure, and valiant in war. Justice is severely executed upon transgressors without partiality. There is not in the world a land better governed by civil policy. The people are very superstitious in their religion being divers in opinion. There are many Christians, by reason of the Jesuits and Franciscans, which are numerous having many churches in the land."

In the same year, the English East India Company sent out General Saris in command of its expedition with orders to detach the Clove for a journey to Japan. Adam's name is mentioned as being in favour with the Emperor, and General Saris was authorized to found a factory if the Imperial sanction could be obtained. Adams was able to guarantee the Clove a reception "as welcome and as free in comparison as in the river of London." General Saris delivered King James' letter personally to the Emperor; Adams interpreted its contents and the Emperor affixed his signature to seven articles giving privileges of trade. The Emperor's answer to King James completes the first diplomatic correspondence which passed between the future island allies. "Your Majesty's kind letter



letter sent me by your servant Captain John Saris (who is the first that I have known to arrive in any part of my dominions) I heartily embrace being not a little glad to understand of your great wisdom and power as having three plentiful and mighty Kingdoms under your powerful command. I acknowledge your Majesty's great bounty in sending me so undeserved a present of many rare things such as my land affordeth not, neither have I ever seen before....I return unto your Majesty a sincere token of my love (by your said subject) desiring you to accept thereof as from one that much rejoiceth in your friendship. And whereas your Majesty's subjects have desired certain privileges for trade and settling of a factory in my dominions I have not only granted what they demanded but have confirmed the same unto them under my broad seal for better establishing thereof."

The settlement did not prove so profitable as was expected. Dutch underselling, not to mention the frequent superiority of the Dutch goods, militated against success. "The Hollanders by reason of their fine cloths have the chief custom of the lords and gentlemen of Yedo who seldom buy any coarse except to give as livery to their servants." Adams took service with the English Company for a couple of years but afterwards engaged in the Cochin China trade on his own account. His

His assistance was constantly being enlisted in a quasi consular capacity. His death occurred in 1620 and Cocks the English Agent thus wrote home "I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was, he having been in such favour with two Emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with emperors when many Japan Kings stood without and could not be permitted."

But the Dutch and English traders could not keep on good terms. Open hostilities cut down profits. The Dutch had prevailed over the English and were on the point of expelling them when news of the Treaty of Defence (1619) between England and Holland arrived. The temporary agreement soon fell through. Dutch capital obtained the ascendancy, and finally, after losing some forty thousand pounds, the English Company withdrew. At the supreme moment of Christian proselytism in Japan when the Japanese princes were bowing the knee to Pope Gregory XIII. in the Vatican the exaggerated pretensions of the Roman Church to temporal supremacy brought about its own downfall. An edict of expulsion was published in 1587. A war of extermination was waged against all converts. Nor did the greedy exactions of the foreign traders escape retribution. The Dutch alone were allowed to retain business connections. Banished to the

the three acres of the little peninsula of Deshima, a prison artificially reclaimed from the sea, they were escorted every three or four years to the capital and for the rest of the time sat at the receipt of custom in their islet carrying on a limited business under humiliating restrictions. The maritime ambitions of the Japanese themselves were rigidly repressed. No subject was allowed to leave the Empire: no foreigner save the accredited representatives of the Dutch and Chinese settlements at Nagasaki were allowed to land. The Japanese have always been good sailors. Their junks had penetrated to all parts of the Malay Archipelago and there is even a well-authenticated history of an early voyage to Mexico. On all this activity the curtain fell with unparalleled suddenness. For two centuries the Empire was shut off from the outside world. Xenophobia has had no stranger exemplification. The policy of thoroughgoing national ἀνταρκεία has had no more successful application, save perhaps in the fastnesses of impenetrable Thibet. Kaempfer, the Dutch physician, wrote after his visit that "the country was never in a happier condition than it now is, governed by an arbitrary monarch, shut up and kept from all commerce and communication with foreign nations."

nations."

But the right of a nation to sport its oak unremittingly does not commend itself to the torchbearers of European culture and Western religion. "Knock and it shall be opened unto you" is the axiom of the missionary the consul and the gunboat alike. Hence the impingement of the West on the hermit nations. The early part of the nineteenth century saw sporadic attempts to break down the ring-fence of Japanese exclusiveness. Russia sent travellers: English and American ships attempted to enter into friendly relations. But to all appearance the nut remained to be cracked vi et armis.

The western expansion of the United States, culminating in the conquest of California, had brought the republic face to face with Japan. High tariffs and civil war had not yet struck a deadly blow at its mercantile marine. The stirrings of the industrial evolution which has made the United States the first workshop of the world were beginning to be heard. Merchant adventurers on the Pacific slope were gradually coming to dream of commercial relations with the great empires of the West. The opium war had made a breach in the exclusive self-sufficiency of China. The gold rush to California was bringing trade to San Francisco. But the establishment of communication over the six thousand miles between the Golden Gate and Hong Kong almost necessitated an intermediate coaling station in Japan. Meantime the harvest of the sea itself attracted a large amount of American capital. The Russian treaty of 1832 had thrown open the Northern Pacific to the American whaling fleet. In one year eighty-five whalers passed Yedo. The hazards of the sea began to throw American crews in contact with the Japanese. The want of the ordinary courtesies which civilization extends to shipwrecked mariners and ships without supplies added unnecessary hardships to an already perilous calling. Even American vessels performing

performing the kindly service of returning the crews of Japanese coasters which had been blown out to sea found themselves the victims of hostile attack. Dr Wells Williams has recorded his voyage on the Morrison which attempted to land some seven shipwrecked Japanese sailors both near Yedo and on the Southern Coast. The brig was fired on at both ports and as the men declared their lives would be in jeopardy if they stole ashore the purpose of landing them was given up. Dr Williams took some of them into his printing office. "They are uneasy people" he writes "for they love their fatherland as much as any nation and do not at all relish their unwitting exile." Not without some spurring of ambition to share with the governments of the Old World the glory and the profit of opening up the East the American Senate resolved on active interference.

The mission was entrusted to Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry. By way of Madeira and the Cape Perry reached Hong Kong on the 6th of April 1853. He immediately inquired for S. Wells Williams the Superintendent of the American Missionary press at Canton, whose name had been mentioned in America as a suitable interpreter to the expedition. Mr Williams agreed to act when a locum tenens could be obtained to manage his press. A full account of his connection

connection with the expedition is contained in the selections from his journal which his son and biographer published nearly forty years afterward. In his first interview with Williams Perry allowed it to be inferred that no hostilities were intended and that the expedition was merely to test the temper of the Japanese in respect to intercourse with foreign nations. The modest interpreter disclaimed any profound knowledge of Japanese, saying that he had never learned much more "than was necessary to speak with ignorant sailors who were unable to read even their own books, and that practice in even this imperfect medium had been suspended for nearly nine years." By the end of May Mr Williams was transferred to the flagship Susquehannah which touched shortly afterwards at Lew Chew. The chief man of the island sent his servants to pay a call. Much to the distress of the delegates Perry proposed to return the visit and declined to be put off. Williams draws attention (as indeed do all the pioneer voyagers to Japan) to the decorum of the islanders and their subdued way of looking about the strange vessels they found themselves in. He found the still Chinese dependency of Lew Chew under the mild sway of gentry who overawed a timid people by a system of universal espionage. In spite of the protestations of the authorities the visit to the capital was successfully carried out, a house

house on shore was conceded to serve as a depot and hospital and the reluctant islander were made to accept pay for the supplies they provided. The interest excited among the people by the visit is thus recorded by Williams:- "Men, women, and children run before in hundreds and follow in thousands, yielding the way wherever we turn, yet seldom touching us, and never speaking above a whisper or making a footfall that can be heard. It is like going with Dante through the flitting throngs of hell--purgatory, rather for there is not much misery seen. Peaceable, noiseless, agile, preternaturally serious, but not unfriendly, they are nevertheless most animated and curious as though taking in with every sense the opportunity which may never occur to them again, of seeing the foreigners. As we push away to the ships in boats, they line the coral beach, noiseless and now motionless, wondering to the last, and presenting to our view a base line of bare and dusky skins, a middle stratum of blue rags, and a crust of bare heads, each adorned with two copper pins glancing in the sun, every man riveted to the spot so long as a boat remains to be seen."

After a brief exploration of the Bonin group Perry weighed anchor for Japan on July 2nd. Williams had no very high opinion of Perry--this opinion he afterwards modified--or of the aims of the United States in Japan. But he justified



justified interference with the pagan somnolence of Japan by reference to the opportunities it might afford for the spread of Christianity. "I am sure" he wrote on July 4th "that the Japanese policy of seclusion is not in accordance with God's plan of bringing the nations of the earth to a knowledge of His truth and until it is broken up His purposes of mercy will be impeded--for His plan is made known to us and we have no knowledge of any other. To immortal glory at His right hand the Japanese can have no entrance so long as they are idolaters if they have known Christianity only through the medium of Romanism, and have never been given the means of studying the law of God for themselves, regarding this new-fangled doctrine as only a cover for political schemes, it is to be lamented, but seems to me to present no good reason why the nation should be still left in ignorance and exclusion."

Perry steamed straight for Yedo bay. The authorities at Uraga were amazed at the appearance of the expedition. The highest local officer came off to advise the commander that his action went directly in face of the strict Japanese laws and that Nagasaki was the only port open to foreigners. A messenger on horseback hastened to Yedo and the Shogun summoned a council. Meantime the two frigates of 2,500 tons, with their 68 pounders, and the two sloops of war were an irrefutable

irrefutable argument and on the 14th July a conference was held in a neighbouring fishing village. The Prince of Idzu and the Prince of Iwami, came to receive the two beautiful boxes bearing President Fillmore's message. In a brief interview Perry agreed to the Japanese request for time to deliberate and stated his intention of returning in the following year with a larger fleet and obtaining an answer to the demand for friendly treatment of ship-wrecked sailors, coaling and supply stations, and permission to barter cargoes. "These" remarks Dr Williams whose duties as interpreter had proved the less onerous than the quaint Dutch of two centuries before had proved at times the most suitable medium of intercourse "are our ostensible reasons for going to this great outlay and sending this powerful squadron to Japanese waters; the real reasons are the glorification of the Yankee nation and food for praising ourselves. Behind them and through them lie God's purposes of making known the gospel to all nations and bringing its message and responsibility to this people, which has had only a sad travesty of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus." Perry's policy was the policy of the strong hand: he declined to comply with the minutiae of Japanese etiquette which seemed derogatory to his dignity: his ships and his men were kept in readiness for active service.

service.

The hands of the government were tied by the popular feeling which was beginning to rise against the usurpation of power by the Shogun. Whichever step they took the opposition party was ready to turn it to advantage. Obviously the patriotic card was the safest to play. The capital was in a tumult owing to the expectation of war. The military classes felt themselves unprepared. Procastination was the first measure of public safety. Perry was put off for a time and the daimios called into consultation. A strong majority favoured resistance. The defences of the country were strengthened. In the midst of the turmoil the Shogun died. News of his death was sent to Perry as a pretext for further delay. The tragic occurrence had no other importance. Like the Mikado but lacking his sacrosanctity the Shogun had become a puppet in the hands of his ministers, a mere figurehead to wear the semblance of power. The inner influences at work in the councils of the bureaucracy during this crisis have yet to be elucidated. Patriotism has ever been one of the significant virtues of the Japanese. "Was intercourse with the foreigner compatible with patriotism?" was the problem to be solved. The traditional policy had proceeded on the assumption that it was not. Earlier writers like Sir

Sir Rutherford Alcock represent the ancient prejudice in full play and the ministers yielding simply to the threat of brute force. But it is noteworthy that one of the views circulated amongst the official class was that the foreigner was only to be met with his own weapons, that his drill and tactics were worthy of adoption, that the safety of Japan lay in her learning the lessons of the West. From the autobiographical references since made by men who have risen to prominence it is evident that there was an undercurrent of feeling abroad amongst the people in favour of this view. Even the restricted intercourse with the Dutch had left its mark on the people and there is no doubt that the Dutch residents had been trying to pave the way for freer communication with the West. Doubtless in the long run the holders of office, as is the convention amongst hereditary rulers, simply temporized from hand to mouth and clutched at any policy that would keep the peace and last out their time.

On the 13th February 1854, Perry returned, pushing his way with a fleet of ten vessels to within a few miles of Yedo. In a pavilion near Yokohama he met the five Japanese commissioners. The official reply to President Fillmore's message was produced. Complete acceptance of all the American proposals was forbidden by the ancestral laws of Japan; but an attempt would

would be made to meet the demands regarding hospitality to castaways and the provisioning of ships. Nagasaki was named as a coaling station. Perry took the opportunity to raise his terms. "I've been busy translating Perry's answer to the Emperor's reply" writes Dr Wells Williams. "The President's letter asked for one port now Perry wants five; that desired simply an assurance of good treatment, now the Commodore demands a treaty, and suggests in no obscure terms 'a larger force and more stringent terms and instructions' if they don't comply." In view of recent legislation in the United States one of Perry's arguments is historically interesting in much the same way as is the reclamation of the open door in Japan by a nation which has since walled itself in behind a protective tariff. To persuade Japan to follow the treaty-making example of China the Commodore pointed out the fact that 30,000 Chinese subjects had been welcomed to the United States and had engaged in business there to their great profit, being even allowed to set up temples and practice their own religion without hindrance. The diplomatic presents which were handed over to Japan comprised a lot of agricultural implements, a telegraph apparatus which was set up on shore and a liliputian circular railroad complete to the smallest detail. The Colts revolvers were the most popular item.

item. With these first-fruits of civilised ingenuity to bear witness to the advantages of foreign trade a friendly interchange of views took place for several weeks. On the 27th March the Imperial councillors dined for the first time on board a foreign vessel and on the 13th the Treaty of Kanagawa was signed.

Besides the original demands in respect of ships and shipwrecked sailors the appointment of a resident consul and the opening of two new ports Shimoda and Hakodate were conceded. At the suggestion of Dr Williams, who remembered the wording of the Treaty of Whampoa between France and China, the "most favoured nation" clause was inserted, providing that any additional privileges granted to any other nation should be held to apply to America without further treaty-making. It has only leaked out of late years that during the negotiations the innocent Japanese had a Japanese subject, who had received a common-school education in the United States, within hearing in an adjoining room, checking the translation of all the submissions made in English. On the departure of the squadron Dr Williams handed to the commissioners a general statement explaining how Japan could learn much of benefit by adopting the improvements of Western lands and allowing her subjects to visit other countries. In the same year Admiral Sir James

James Stirling concluded a similar convention on behalf of Great Britain. Within a little over a year more, Russia and the Netherlands had both followed suit.

The United States was not long in taking advantage of the terms of the Convention. On the 4th August 1855, at the joint recommendation of Commodore Perry and Secretary William H. Seward, President Pierce gazetted Townsend Harris Consul General for Japan, entrusting him with the duty by the way of negotiating a commercial treaty with Siam. Harris was a typical self-made American. Grandson of an old lady whose home had been burned to ashes by some of Burgoyne's men in the war of Independence Harris had been brought up "to tell the truth, to fear God and to hate the British" and to his dying day he would never use a Sheffield knife or wear English cloth. After an apprenticeship to the dry goods trade and a family partnership in a New York crockery business he projected some trading expeditions and spent five years in voyaging to China and the East Indies. A man of scholarly acquirements and an excellent linguist he had acted as vice-consul at Ning-po and addressed a long letter to the Washington secretariat advocating the purchase of Formosa by the United States. Such was the envoy who records in his journal: "I shall be the first recognised agent from a civilized power to reside in Japan. This forms an epoch

epoch in my life and may be the beginning of a new order of things in Japan. I hope I may so conduct myself that I may have honourable mention in the histories which will be written on Japan and its future destiny." For more than a year Mr Harris was cut off from his government and buried himself in winning the confidence of the officials and feeling his way to the substitution of a commercial treaty for the provisional convention which gave him his own standing. His success can be traced step by step in his journal. On September 4th 1853 he writes: "At half-past two p.m., of this day I hoist the first consular flag ever seen in this Empire. Grave reflections. Ominous of change. Undoubted beginning of end. Query--if for the real good of Japan?" Mr Harris could hardly be expected to recognise the germ of one of the most powerful navies of modern times in the news brought by one of his first visitors Captain Fabius who reported that two steam vessels were in course of construction in Holland, to be paid for one-fifth in specie and one-fifth each in copper, lacquer-ware, wax and camphor.

Mr Harris's patience gradually overcame the obstacles in the way of negotiating directly with the head of the state. October 30th 1853 is entered in his log-book as setting an important precedent. "The laws forbidding the Imperial Governor



Governor of a city to visit any foreigner at his residence is to-day to be broken and I am to receive the two governors with the vice-governor in a friendly and informal way." The conversation turned on the question of the hydrographic survey, which had perplexed the native mind. The consul explained the advantages of lighthouses, buoys and charts. To-day Japan has one of the best lighted and best charted coasts in the world. In many conversations with the Japanese Mr Harris found the opinion prevalent that the opening up of the country could not be long delayed. His oracular friend Moriyama, a sort of Foreign Office under-secretary, stated with regard to foreign intercourse that a great change was impending "which would surprise all, when it took place, from its suddenness." His diplomatic negotiation, no less than his domestic led Mr Harris to the sweeping generalization regarding the Japanese: "They are the greatest liars on earth." Mr Harris afterward bore witness to the honesty of many of the common folk, and to the faithful adherence of the government to the letter of the treaty stipulations. But he places his finger on one of the ethnic foibles of the Japanese. The Consul-general had been four and a half months in residence before he received his first social invitation out. The borrowing of two howitzers to fire a salute on Washington's birth-day is worth nothing inasmuch as

as the cannons obtained on loan were exact copies that had been made of a howitzer Perry presented.

Mr Harris's great lever to an audience with the Tycoon himself was an autograph letter from the President, only to be presented personally. It took months of finesse to achieve his object. Meantime in co-operation with Japanese commissioners Mr Harris revised the articles of Perry's convention. He obtained the same rights to Nagasaki as a port of supplies as had been accorded to the Russians, the privilege of ships offering goods instead of money for supplies, and the extension of the consular jurisdiction over Americans who broke the Japanese laws. The principle of ex-territoriality which proved a bone of contention for generations, brought about the downfall of several cabinets, whetted the patriotic fervour of the people almost to the keenness of war, and whose ultimate repeal was bitterly resented by the resident foreign Communities, was conceded without the shadow of a discussion. The currency question proved a thorny one. In trying to fix an agreement as to the discount for recoinage which should be allowed in exchanging American dollars weight for weight with Japanese, the Asiatic negotiators grossly exaggerated the seignorage. A six per cent discount was finally allowed, "so that one dollar goes as far almost as three did when Commodore

Commodore Perry left the quotation." In June 15th 1857 the wording of the articles was settled.

Ultimately Monday December 7th 1857 was appointed for the first reception of a foreign Ambassador by the Tycoon. The friendly officials inveigled Mr Harris into the palace an hour too soon in order to proffer a private rehearsal of the ceremony! The familiar compliments of the Christmas cards were exchanged at the audience. The Tycoon's reply was: "Pleased with the letter sent with the Ambassador from a far distant country, and likewise pleased with his discourse. Intercourse shall be continued for ever." Interpreters not being admissible to the august presence Mr Harris received an advance copy of this reply as drawn up by the secretaries of States. Learning that even the slightest present to the Tycoon could not reach that dignitary before approval by his counsellors Mr Harris makes the comment that the Tycoon must be "even more restricted than was the Doge of Venice by the Council of Ten."

The three great points of the foreign charter Mr Harris insisted on were the reception of foreign ministers at Yedo, freedom of trade with Japan, and the opening of additional harbours. As America claimed no exclusive rights the lines of an American treaty would prove satisfactory to all the

the powers. The stumbling-block to a settlement was the hesitancy of the military and the literary class. By the merchants and the common folk the policy of the open door was favourably regarded. Mr Harris drew a rosy picture of the possible future of Japan under free trade and did not hesitate to point out the probability of foreign nations one after another sending powerful fleets to exact the opening of the country. This contingency he brought forward to support his never-ceasing contention that concessions in reason to an ambassador would be more moderate and less humiliating than submission to armaments. The collapse of China before the allies clinched this argument but Mr Harris' success was substantially won before the news arrived. The commercial clauses of the treaty restricted the Japanese tariff to nominally five per cent but practically three per cent on imports. Mr Harris intended the tariff rates to be revised after five years but the great Powers took advantage of an ambiguity in the wording of the revision clause to prevent this being done. On the 29th of July 1858 was signed at Yedo the Treaty with the American government which was destined to be the model for all the treaties under which foreign intercourse with Japan was carried on up till almost the present day. On the 12th of August Harris wrote to Sir John Bowring at Hong Kong: "Lord

"Lord Elgin and Baron Gros will find their work all done to their hands when they arrive and that a large fleet will not be required as a demonstration."

Mr Harris spoke by the book. The wording of his treaty was soon followed by seventeen other countries. For nigh on forty years it stood without alteration as the Magna Charta of foreign relations with Japan. But it was the offspring on the weaker side of what a Japanese diplomatist, reclaiming, in the pages of the Nineteenth Century, judicial and fiscal autonomy for his country, has since called "ignorance and inexperience with regard to international intercourse." The extraordinary rapidity with which Japan outgrew it is shown by the fact that within twenty years the name and dignity of the Tycoon was lost in oblivion, the style of expression of the treaty and coins mentioned therein were only understood with difficulty, and the whole face of the country covered and changed by mail-trains, telegraphs, telephones and other appurtenances of a new civilization.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties.

For generations before the question of foreign admission to the country called pressingly for solution the same disintegrating influences were at work on the Shogunate that had caused previous regencies to crumble and fall. The Shogun passed into the background as a fainéant who trifled with art and literature and perhaps less reputable pursuits while a precarious overlordship was carried on in his name by a Grand Council, the Gorojio, comprising five of the leading daimios, assisted by a Junior advisory Council. The weakness of the central authority was a standing temptation to the great vassals of the South East to break away altogether from the confederacy owing allegiance to the Shogun. Besides the impatience of the natural man under restraint there was a growing disbelief in the legitimacy of the Shogunate rule. The seed of this scepticism had been sown by the Shoguns themselves in their encouragement of historical research. The collation and interpretation of the ancient records and their collective publication in the "Dai Nihonshi" had popularized amongst the

the samurai the opinion that the rightful government of the land was the direct rule of the Mikado and Shintoism the true religion of the soil. In 1827 the "Nihon Gwaishi," which has been the great historical lesson book of Japan, described the rise of the Shogunate and corroborated the conclusions of the earlier work. A leading part in this academic revival was taken by the scholars of the Mito clan, itself a branch of the Tokugawa family, the second daimio of this clan Mitsukuni being the author of the Dai Nihonshi."

The contact with the Dutch, albeit limited for long to the little turnstile of Deshima, was a potent factor in allowing ingress to ideas not easily compatible with feudalism. One of the first branches of knowledge which quickened Japanese curiosity was medicine. Two of the resident medical officers of the Dutch settlement, Kaempfer and Von Siebold, are the chief foreign authorities for the condition of Japan during the prevalence of the exclusion policy, and the medical officer appears generally to have been the man of most learning to whom the Japanese had access. Despite the repression of the Government young Japanese pupils not only managed at intervals to steal out of the country but to instruct themselves at home sub rosa in various branches of learning. Some Dutch anatomical plates which were circulated excited great interest from their dis-



dissimilarity to the crude Chinese ideas current about the structure of the body. In the face of severe penal laws ardent inquirers checked the accuracy of the Dutch plates by actual dissection. The next step was to procure a Dutch treatise on Anatomy which was translated laboriously into Japanese, days perhaps being spent over a single phrase. By the end of the eighteenth century several Dutch-Japanese dictionaries had been compiled. Sir Rutherford Alcock relates that in later days the Prince of Itzen took a fancy to have young men instructed in medical science by Dr Pompas the Dutch medical resident at Nagasaki. Anatomical figures in papier-mache were ordered from Europe to keep the <sup>surgical</sup> ~~anatomical~~ knowledge of the young medical graduates fresh. But the Shogun had also ordered similar models, and appropriated the set forwarded to the Prince on the ground that a Shogun should always be supplied first.

By the beginning of last century the land possessed many mechanical appliances--windmills, furnaces and the like--of Dutch origin. In the territory of one daimio Sir R. Alcock saw a steam-engine lying rusting at the mines. Originally ordered for the more economical working of the coal deposits it had been abandoned lest it should take the bread out of the mouths of the workmen.

workmen.

Of the eagerness of Young Japan to drink at the fountains of Western learning there are numberless stories. Archdeacon Shaw of Tokio records the history of one youth who struck up acquaintance with a Japanese who had acquired some knowledge of Dutch from members of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki. To this fellow-countryman he appealed for instruction in Dutch but could obtain no more than a promise of a lesson now and again when it was convenient to the teacher. Although his instructor resided miles from him the young student presented himself day after day for months only to receive sometimes one lesson a week. Then came Perry's expedition. He determined to go abroad. Securing a passage in a small steamer sent out by the Prince of Satsuma he got himself placed en route for America. On his return he devoted himself to translating educational works. His first achievement was the rendering of Chamber's Moral Class Book to which reference has been made supra. Among the reformers to whom posthumous honours were paid by the Mikado on the inauguration of constitutional government was one young samurai who lost his life in the persecution of 1859. What he is remembered best by is the tale of his appearance in the dead of night, unexpected, unannounced, on the deck of Perry's flagship, a dripping shivering figure

figure with hands bleeding and blistered from rowing, pockets bulging with notebooks and writing materials to store away his impressions of the distant civilization he fondly and vainly hoped he was setting out to visit, and lips inarticulate save for the one English word he knew "America ' America!"

Mr Stafford Ransome has a citation from a native writer referring to Mr Fukusawa the chief journalist and educationalist in Japan who made his way to the United States in the fifties. "During the period when people were discussing the opening of the country, he was already teaching Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." In an age when feudalism was not yet wholly abolished, his students were already reading John Stuart Mill's "Representative Government." Professor Chamberlain quotes from Mr J. F. Lowder the following passage in the life of Count Mutsu a well-known statesman who died a few years ago: "In the very early sixties, when he was in his nineteenth and twentieth year, he was in Nagasaki desirous of acquiring a knowledge of English. A lady of my acquaintance, taking an interest in him, used to devote an hour or two every morning to teaching him to read and write; but it was not long before he came to me, despairing of his slow progress, and asking whether I could not get him a berth on board ship where nothing but English was spoken. Believing him to be physically too

too weak to stand such an ordeal I endeavoured to dissuade him, but without success and so, with some misgiving, I snipped him as a cabin boy, which was the only situation I could obtain for him, on board a small British schooner that used in these days to voyage between Nagasaki and Shanghai. How long he remained on board I cannot say; but my recollection is that it was for a very considerable time." Nor was the ardour confined to the future political leaders. One young commercial man in his anxiety to learn English succeeded in painfully translating the whole of Johnson's dictionary into the laborious Chinese script. One of the current English monthly magazines repeats again the oft-told tale of the early nautical adventures of two of the most prominent leaders of Japan to-day Marquis Ito and Count Inouye. Possessed by a desire to learn seamanship they embarked on board a London-bound vessel. The only word of English they had picked up was "Navigation." This they repeated again and again to the captain to signify their desire for instruction in that art. But the obtuse captain could only conclude that his passengers desired to work their passage and promptly set them to scrub and holystone the decks. The two future peers accordingly sailed to England before the mast. A statesman of an older generation still, Kido, one of the two men who successfully planned the coup

coup d'état of 1867, obtained employment from Commodore Perry as a porter to carry about the instruments of the surveying expeditions sent ashore by the American Commander.

Too much importance cannot be placed on this eagerness of the keenest and most independent minds amongst the young samurai to learn European languages and European science in the teeth of burcaucratic opposition. The great bulk of the common people were ready to be shepherded in almost any direction: the daimios were chafing under the central government: the samurai, who were more rigidly hedged in by etiquette and multifarious ceremonial than any other class, could not but feel that a change of government might open out new opportunities for their energy and abilities. The pressure of intruding Western diplomacy fired a mine where the train was already laid.

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## CHAPTER V.

### Que Messieurs les Assassins Commencent.

The Treaty negotiations revealed a split among the great daimios. On the one side a party supported foreign relations, either as promising active advantage to the country, or as inevitable and less likely to do damage if peaceably accepted, or as precursors of outside alliances in any civil struggle that might occur. The Perry Treaty had come to be approved by a three to two majority of the daimios. Many daimios would not have scrupled to go further than the Shogun. But a strong minority suspected that the hope of personal aggrandizement lay at the root of this welcome to the foreigner. If the issue of admission or non-admission had alone been present to the feudal lords matters would have been much simplified. But a network of intrigue was soon woven round the problem. The South Western clans intrigued with the Mikado. The Shogun had unquestionably the power of concluding treaties and the private assent of the Mikado had been obtained to the treaties under discussion. An able regent Ii Kamon-no-Kami momentarily stifled the opposition and rusticated the daimio of Mito.

Mito. This firmness was the first spasm of the dying Shogunate. The assassination of the regent in March 1860--a crime consummated by eighteen ronins of the province of Mito--heralded some years of quasi-anarchy.

Assassination strikes the keynote of the history of the next few years. "It is more than probable--the Dream of Genji and the short History of Recent Times makes it indeed almost certain--that the principal fomenters of opposition to the Bakufu were clansmen of low rank and clanless men of no rank, who in the concoction and handling of intrigues saw some chance of winning place and wealth, or at least the bare protection of retainership. The murders and outrages which stained the earlier years of Japanese intercourse with the west were not in truth or at least were rarely the expression of any honest dislike of the foreigner, but the work either of members of the clans, who merely desired to get the Bakufu into trouble, or of ronin, landless, clanless and often familyless men who were still quasi-samurai, and were anxious to gain the favour of some person of influence by a deed which should at once smack of patriotism and embarrass the Shogun." Thus the biographer of Sir Harry Parkes.

The removal of the regent had been prefaced by other acts of lawlessness. In August of the previous year a Russian



Russian officer and two men were murdered and mutilated in Yokonama. In November a Chinese servant attached to the French Legation was killed in the town. In January 1860 Denkichi the Japanese interpreter on the suite of Mr Alcock who had taken up the duties of British Consul General in July 1859, was mortally wounded at the door of the legation. In February two Dutch skippers were hacked to pieces in Yokohama.

This resistance by assassination broke out at intervals during the whole time the foreign settler was taking root. It would be tedious to enumerate the exemplifications. The murder of Lieutenant de Camus was made the ostensible reason of one of the two missions to Europe which did not a little to open Japanese eyes to the strength of their antagonists. The murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird in 1864 was notable because the offenders were brought to justice and shown to be ronins acting on their own initiative from a mistaken idea of patriotism.

"Under this oft-renewed menace of massacre" runs Sir R. Alcock's narrative "the representatives of all the great maritime Powers had lived for eighteen months past, isolated and unprotected. Singly pitted as it were against the millions which surged round their dwellings--cut off from all friendly intercourse by the jealousy of Eastern rulers--watched hemmed

hemmed in Dyst undefended--it must be confessed the position of a Diplomatic Agent in this farthest Eastern station was anything but enviable."

The New Year's greeting sent by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1861 to the Foreign legations was the news that a band of ronins had conspired to slay the foreign diplomatists. On the 14th of the month the interpreter and secretary to the American legation was waylaid and killed. Shortly afterwards the Japanese foreign minister committed hara-kiri. Pleading inability to protect the legations the government of the Shogun obtained the temporary withdrawal of the foreign consuls to Yokohama. On the 15th of July the British legation which had returned to Yedo on the Shogun's invitation was attacked by ronins. Some of the sentries were killed and amongst the wounded was Mr Laurence Oliphant.

On a paper found on one of the assailants who was taken prisoner was written according to custom his apologia for the act: "I though a person of low degree have taken the earnest resolution to perform a great deed to the honour of the Sovereign and to expel the foreigner, as it is intolerable to stand by and see the sacred Empire violated by the barbarian." The government tried to impress on Mr Alcock their inability to prevent such attacks. Their apologies doubtless seemed at

at the time merely to put a gloss on their bad faith. But the tension between the conflicting courts of Kioto and Yedo seem to have placed the tottering Shogunate in a pitiable plight. In October 1862 the standing witness to Shogunate supremacy, the obligation upon the daimios to keep up residence at Yedo was abrogated. The situation was saved for a time by the marriage of the Mikado's sister to the Shogun. The protection of imprisonment was accorded the legations. The leading minister of the Shogunate himself narrowly escaped assassination. The difficulties of the Yedo administration were so far admitted as to be accepted as an excuse for delaying the opening of new treaty ports till 1868.

In 1862 Shimadzu Saburo, the head of the Satsuma clan, the most powerful principality of the South set out for Yedo to push his views of dealing with the crisis. He picked up on the way a large body of ronins. At Kioto he swore friendship with the Prince of Choshin. Yielding to the solicitations brought to bear on him the Mikado resolved to command the expulsion of the barbarians. An envoy was despatched to Yedo with the message. In his train went Shimadzu Saburo. Their advice was not welcomed by the Shogun. Shimadzu left for home with resentment rankling in his mind. A party of three Englishmen and a lady riding along a river bank well within the treaty

treaty limits intersected the file of Shimadzu's men. The strangers were passing quietly by when a retainer from out the ranks struck out at them. One of them was mortally wounded and afterwards had his throat cut as he lay in agony. There has been some discussion as to whether the victim was not himself partly to blame. An 'Athenaeum' reviewer this month (October 9.) remarks: "we must protest against the statement that the murder of Mr Richardson in 1862 was due to his 'imprudence.' There is absolutely no justification whatever for the statement as a perusal of the official correspondence and the evidence of old residents in Japan well acquainted with all the parties sufficiently prove."

Colonel Neale who was in charge of the British legation during Mr Alcock's furlough succeeded in withstanding the clamour of the foreign settlement for instant reprisals. It may have been that the central government would not have construed the chastisement of one of the most independent and hectoring daimios as an act of general hostility, but the risk of an unnecessary war made Colonel Neale hesitate. The surrender of the assassin and the payment of an indemnity were pressed on the Yedo Court. Their agreement was given but they were unable to enforce compliance upon Satsuma. Thereupon Admiral Kuper bombarded Kagoshima. The town was destroyed by

by fire. This demonstration brought out the indemnity but the assassin was never identified.

About the same date an American ship entering the Inland Sea was fired upon by men of war belonging to the Prince of Choshin. A Dutch corvette and a French aviso which proceeded to the spot attracted the fire of the same warships and of eight batteries on shore. The United States and France promptly sent a squadron which silenced the forts.

In September 1864 an international fleet made assurance doubly sure by dismantling the batteries which commanded the straits of Shimonoseki and practically kept them closed. The Japanese government was made responsible for the cost of the expedition, <sup>and</sup> the injury done by its rebellious vassal. A liberal indemnity was exacted. Twenty years afterwards the United States refunded its share of the swag. Mr F. V. Dickins quotes part of Sir E. M. Satow's blue-book report and sums up the situation: "In the course of the negotiations (with the Prince of Choshin) these events gave rise to it became abundantly clear that whatever might have been the sentiment of the clan in 1860 or 1861 hatred of foreign intercourse was a mere pretext in 1863 and 1864 that the real motive that underlay their action was jealousy of the Bakufu and a desire to embarrass the government of the Shogun."

Shogun."

The declension of the Shogunate was specially marked between 1863 and 1864. In the former year the Shogun went up in state to Kioto for the first time in 230 years. Against the will of the Yedo officials the Mikado promulgated a decree for the expulsion of the foreigners. The Shogun politely informed the powers of the decree but took no further steps. His reward came in 1864 when his second visit was turned to humiliation by the Mikado's refusal to countersign his decrees and to tolerate his control of the treasury.

In 1863 the Choshin clan was suspected of scheming to obtain the person of the Emperor to lead him out against the foreigners. Their forces were expelled from Kioto. Sanjo and other seven Court nobles were degraded for complicity in the plot. The province of Choshin became a cave of Adullam. A large following of clansmen and ronins marched on Kioto. The fight raged round the Imperial Palace for some days. Finally the Satsuma Clan threw in their lot with the Shogun and turned the day. The Satsuma men fraternised amicably with their Choshin prisoners--a friendship which afterwards bore fruit in a secret understanding between the clans. In a despatch of Mr Winchester's some retainers of Choshin are quoted as having learned the lesson of Western supremacy: "They

"They were unaware of the daily progress of the Western nations in the arts, being like the frog at the bottom of the well. But lately they have learnt in battle (though small) the accuracy of foreign mechanical contrivances; the ease with which they are transported from place to place. They acknowledge that they fall short themselves and have begun to improve. The eyes and ears of the stupid have thus been opened."

In 1865 Sir Harry Parkes, the bearer of the most famous name in the diplomacy of the Far East, was accredited as Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan, which post he held for eighteen years till his promotion to Peking. An orphan consigned at a tender age to the care of a kinsman in China, Sir Harry had passed through the various grades of the British Consular Service, and acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the tongues and traditions of the East, which made him the worthy if at times the importunate representative of British interests during the most stirring years of Japanese history. He had hardly set foot in Yedo when he resolved to appeal straight to the Mikado for the ratification of the treaties which had been drawn up in consultation with the Shogun. The mission was entirely successful. Any theoretical invalidity that might have attached to the original treaties was removed: an agreement regarding revision of the tariff was come to and arrangements were made

made to discharge the indemnity due under the Convention of 1864. The decree of the Mikado was thus succinctly worded: "The Imperial consent is given to the Treaties and you will undertake the necessary arrangements in connection therewith. To the Shogun. The above decree having been just issued shall be communicated to all the daimios and hamemotos without exception. You will be informed of the terms of the proclamation at Yedo. I hereby put this on record. Signed 24th November, 1865."

The ratification was well received by the daimios.

In June 1865 the Shogun put himself at the head of 60,000 men in Kioto to crush out the Choshin resistance. Mr Dickins quotes the curious appeal for voluntary contributions to defray expenses which was issued. The money was to be paid back by instalments in ten years. But the insurgents had picked up a good deal of military experience during the revolt and successfully defied the troops of the Shogunate. The death of the Shogun Iyemochi at Osaka on the 19th September put an end to operations. A few months afterwards the Mikado died from smallpox. In January 1867 the regent Hitotsubashi who prevailed upon to accept the thankless office of Shogun. The jealousy of the daimios was not to be killed by kindness. The Shogun advised the Mikado to take counsel of the leading daimios



daimios. The daimio of Toca addressed a letter to the Snogun maintaining that the cause of trouble lay in the fact that "the administration proceeds from two centres, causing the Empire's eyes and ears to be turned in two different directions. The march of events has brought about a revolution and the old system can no longer be persevered in. You should restore the governing power into the hands of the sovereign and so lay a foundation on which Japan may take its stand as the equal of other countries." The Shogun sent in his resignation. It was only half-heartedly accepted and it was arranged that he should continue to exercise power provisionally until the general opinion of the daimios was ascertained. For the moment it looked as if the spectre of civil war had been laid.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### The Coup d'Etat of 1868.

The opening of Osaka and Hiogo to foreign trade was celebrated with great rejoicings on New Year's Day 1868. On the third of January a handful of men skilfully engineered a revolution which has proved one of the most momentous in history. At midday a contingent of troops belonging to the clans of Aki, Echigen, Owari, Satsuma and Tosa overpowered the detachment of the Aizu clan, the most faithful feudatories of the Shogun, which was on the duty as the Palace bodyguard. The princes of the royal retinue were dismissed and replaced by adherents of the conspirators. The Great Seal was appropriated and a series of revolutionary decrees immediately promulgated. The Shogunate was abolished and the assumption of the supreme power by the Mikado notified. A provisional government was declared and the leading administrative offices filled.

"Fifty-five men" says Captain Brinckley "may be said to have planned and carried out the overthrow of the Yedo administration, and only five of them were territorial nobles. Eight, belonging to the Court nobility, laboured under the traditional

traditional disadvantage of their class, poverty; and the remaining forty-two, the hearts and hands of the movement, may be described as ambitious youths, who sought to make a career for themselves in the first place and for their country in the second. The average age of the whole did not exceed thirty."

The principal conspirators appear to have been Iwakura, Kido, Okubo and Saigo Takamori. The inner history of the plot has never been made clear. Iwakura Tomori (1835-1883) was a Kuge who received in his youth a household appointment in the Palace. An early story is told of his audacity and decision of character. One day, the Mikado, composing verses found no writing paper in the palace and no money in his purse - the Shogun being intentionally stingy in drawing up the civil list and unpunctual in doling it out. The young councillor demanded an audience of the Governor of Kioto and an immediate advance. The money he obtained, but the unfortunate governor, on writing to Yedo to suggest an increase in <sup>the</sup> Mikado's allowance, was promptly black-listed as one of the disaffected. In 1858 Iwakura opposed the proposal of the Great Council to open up Japan. He supported the alliance of the Shogun with the Mikado's sister and was exiled from the Court for suspected Tokugawa proclivities. The suspicion seems to have been unfounded for he kept up communication with Saigo, Kido, and

and others who favoured the destruction of the Shogunate. In 1872 he became Foreign Minister and Prime Minister and in 1873 head of the embassy to Europe. He disapproved of an aggressive Korean policy in the early seventies and narrowly escaped assassination by some members of the war party, retiring from politics shortly afterwards. Kido Jiuichiro (1830-1877) was the son of a medical man of the Choshu clan. Founder of a school for fencing and the study of the Chinese classics, he was brought into contact with men of the Mito clan who were strong Imperialists. With Iwakura he seems to have organised the capture of the Mikado, and with Okubo the still more radical move which converted the clans into prefectures. Attached to the Iwakura mission of 1872-73 he became a Privy Councillor on his return. Okubo Ichizo (1829-1878) was like his colleagues Kido and Saigo a Kerai, and like Saigo a member of the Satsuma clan. The leading political thinker of his clan he was also the most eminent practical statesman in the movement. His influence was thrown into the scales on the side of constitutional advance rather than bellicose impatience and he fought strongly against the wave of Jingoism which swept over Japan in the seventies. He conducted the negotiations arising from Japan's piratical raid into Formosa, staving off war with China. He was assassinated by friends of Saigo. Saigo

Saigo Takamori (1825-1877) was the soldier of the Revolution, the hero of popular legend and the representative of the Conservative element in the machinations against the Shogunate. His services were rewarded with a pension and a Field Marshalship. In 1873 he led the war party in the Cabinet and clamoured for the invasion of Korea. The peace party carried the day and Saigo retired. His career will be considered more fully in the account of the Satsuma Rebellion.

Shimadzu Saburo, the head of the Satsuma clan although past his prime and already being eclipsed in fame by his famous chief counsellor, would doubtless have taken a more prominent share in the coup d'etat had he not been invalidated at the time by an attack of beri-beri. One other member of his clan who stood in the van was Serashima Munenori (1832-1893), an old pupil in medicine of the Dutch physician at Deshima. Sent abroad by his daimio before it was permissible for any Japanese to travel outwith the country he studied for two years in London. During his absence his patron died, and the successor being adverse to Western learning he was forced to change his name and become a teacher in the Shogun's schools. His qualifications secured him a post in the foreign office and after a term as governor of the Yokonama district he became Assistant Foreign Secretary in 1872, Japanese Minister

Minister in London shortly thereafter. From 1873 to 1879 he was Foreign Minister and negotiated most of the later Treaties with foreign powers. He also served in succession as Minister of Education, plenipotentiary at Washington and President of the Senate.

The coup d'etat was a piece of sharp practice which incensed the Shogun who had been acting with commendable disinterestedness. "However much I might be in the right" wrote the Shogun in reply to a note from the foreign plenipotentiaries, declaring their neutrality "I certainly would not be the cause of a national convulsion. In order to avoid such an unfortunate disturbance of the peace I came down to Osaka." The revolutionary party sent a deputation asking the Shogun to return to Kioto and interview the Emperor, and offering him a safe conduct. But the Shogun's friends persuaded him to take an escort of 10,000 troops with him. The Fushimi and Toba roads were blocked up by the Court party with orders to allow the Shogun to pass only if unaccompanied. A conflict ensued. The Shogun's forces, despite their superiority in numbers, were driven back. The government troops followed Keiki to Yedo and he accepted the terms which were offered - banishment to Mito, evacuation of the castle in Yedo and transference of the war-vessels and stores in his possession.

possession. His clansmen continued hostilities on their own account. After some early successes had drawn from the government the offer of a general amnesty, the restoration of the Tokugawa fiefs and a seat in the Cabinet for the Shogun, the tide began to turn decisively against the adherents of the Shogunate. On the grounds of the Uyeno temple, the burying place of the Shoguns, which commands the city of Yedo, the rebel forces were routed and driven to join the Northern clans who had proclaimed a new Mikado. The last stand was made in Yezo with the aid of the Shogun's fleet under Enomoto. After a six days' siege by land and sea the capitulation of Hakodate to the forces of the Mikado brought the brief civil war to an end.

The provisional Government at Kioto was being managed with consummate ability. Okubo the effeminate environment of the past and presented a memorial to the Emperor advocating his emergence from seclusion and personal participation in the work of the administration. He further recommended a change of capital. These proposals <sup>were</sup> a bold break with tradition but met with instant approval. In the wake of his army the Emperor removed to Yedo and in honour of his arrival the name of the city was changed to Tokio. Sir Harry Parkes asked that the foreign ministers should be received in audience.



audience. The Mikado assented and received the representatives of France and Holland, but unfortunately a regrettable assault on the English ministers' retinue prevented his presence. The gallantry of a Japanese guard limited the casualties and the Mikado promptly sent a message of regret and took steps to bring the offending ronins to justice. A curious sequel to this occurrence is mentioned by Mrs Hugh Fraser. The British government struck medals and sent them out to the Japanese guard. But the soldiers declined to wear them lest they should exasperate their fellowcountrymen. Twenty years afterwards the forgotten medals were discovered in a chest at the British legation. Of his own accord before Sir Harry Parkes had complained or asked for indemnities the Mikado offered full reparation--a spontaneous act which marks a new era in the diplomatic relations of Japan.

The new constitution provided for a Prime Minister with an executive council and an advisory Committee. The administration comprised eight departments: the supreme administration in charge of the Prime Minister: Public worship which concerned itself with the Shinto priests and festivals: Home affairs including transport and local administration: Foreign affairs: Finance including taxation, internal trade and public works: Judicial affairs: War including the Army and Navy and the

the protection of the Emperor: and Legislative Affairs. The executive Council, for which only Kuges or daimios were eligible, was practically run by subordinate samurai such as the principal leaders of the revolution, aided by such fresh blood as Ito and Inoue. On this original draft a number of changes were quickly superadded. Attacks upon foreigners were forbidden, but Christianity was prohibited, and an attempt was made to root out the sect of native Christians which still survived near Nagasaki, by distributing tacm among a number of daimios. Foreign trade progressed by leaps and bounds and Mr Consul Flowers remarks in a report regarding the disposition of the natives: "So anxious are they to learn that there is not a single steamer that enters the harbour but they are sure to visit and take minute copies of everything they see, and such rapid progress have they made with regard to machinery that they are able to work all the steamers they have recently purchased for themselves. The people are quick and intelligent and it is a rare thing to meet with a native who cannot read and write. In a despatch to Lord Stanley Sir Harry Parkes expressed himself in the most eulogistic terms about the sensible and unostentatious way in which the Mikado addressed himself to the duties of his new station.

In taking his coronation oath at an assemblage of the

the territorial nobles on April 17th 1869 the Emperor made a declaration removing restrictions on personal liberty, encouraging the study of social and political economics, and promising that all the absurd usages of foreign times should be disregarded, that a deliberative assembly should be formed and all measures decided by public opinion, and that wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of the empire.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### The Great Renunciation.

The new Government soon found its actions hampered at every step by the ruins of the feudal fabric. The preservation of public order offered great difficulties. Assassinations were rife: there were threatened risings among the peasantry: the mutterings of civil war were heard among the discontented clans. But the treasury was empty and no administrative machinery existed beyond the establishments of the local daimios. It was plain that these discrete organisations would have to be co-ordinated and brought under the control of one stable central authority. The first step was taken by the Western clans which had overthrown the Shogunate. A joint memorial was presented to the Emperor by the Princes of Satsuma Choshu Tosa and Hizen. This document is conjectured to have been drafted by Kido. "By the conferring of rank and property" it states "the Emperor governs his people: it is his to give and his to take away; of our own selves we cannot hold a foot of land: of our own selves we cannot take a single man: this constitutes the Great Strength....We now reverentially offer

offer up the list of our possessions and men." A second memorial was forwarded from the Prince of Unshiu calling on those who wished to show their faith and loyalty to restore the territories they had received from the Emperor, to abandon their titles and call themselves officers of the Emperor. The smaller clans followed suit. Within six weeks 118 out of 1276 daimios had begged permission to restore their fiefs to the Emperor and the number soon rose to 241. The voluntary surrender of the territorial rights of the daimios was given effect to on August 29th 1871. The seventeen discontents, whose property was valued at about one-fourteenth of the whole, were ordered to conform to the will of the majority. The title of Chihanji or Prefect of the Clan was conferred on each of the daimios. Before settling the financial details of the transference a new assessment of all the lands was ordered. The central government reserved the right of appointment to all the subordinate offices under the daimios. The Court nobility (Princes of the blood) and the territorial nobles were placed on a footing of equality. A tenth of the revenues of each fief was set apart as a private income for the daimio: the expenses of administration and the maintenance of the samurai remained a further charge and the surplus was to be handed over to the Imperial treasury.

treasury.

How did a stroke of the pen abolish a system which took centuries of swordmanship to eradicate in Europe? The unfitness of many of the daimio for their position was one chief factor. "The great majority of the feudal lords" runs a native pamphlet "are generally persons who have been born and nurtured in the seclusion of the women's apartments; who have been cherished as tenderly as if they were delicate ornaments of jewels or of pearls; who, even when they have grown up to man's estate, still exhibit all the traits of childhood; having never mastered the details of business, they feel no sense of responsibility in approaching affairs of State." These happy irresponsibles delegated their executive authority to counsellors. The advice of these deputies was unanimous for change. Apart from questions of patriotism or sentiment the counsellors' private interests coincided with approval of the transference. The personal of <sup>the</sup> local administration was bound to remain substantially the same. No body of competent rivals existed nor could a new class of men be trained up at a moment's notice. Service under the Emperor offered more honour and dignity than service under a feudal chief: the field of ambition for the able was immeasurably widened: security of tenure and regularity of income became better assured. Many

Many of the daimios hailed with delight their relief from public duties. The liberty of the private citizen allowed them to move about and comfort themselves without being burdened by the ceremonial exactions of a tiresome etiquette. Nor does the pecuniary sacrifice prove so startling on examination. The enormous incomes returned as enjoyed by the daimios in the appendix to Sir R. Alcock's "Capital of the Tycoon" are misleading. The net personal income of the daimio was but a fraction of the gross assessment levied in his province. Not only were the gross returns saddled with all the expenses of administration but the samurai had a claim for hereditary pensions. By the time the preference shareholders were satisfied the ordinary dividend had dwindled to from a fifth to a twentieth of the total earnings. Some of the daimios in times of agricultural depression were what Mr Stead calls "splendid paupers." The prospect of a fixed income promptly paid had its attractions. Many of them had savings which were allowed to rank as private property. Nevertheless in the case of Shimadzu Saburo and one or two other chiefs who exercised an authority that was not merely the shadowy remnant of former glory, the sacrifice was a real one, which must be counted to them for righteousness. Though by an accident the majority of the daimios did not stand to lose much, it is not at all



all improbable that even if ruin had stared them in the face their personal interests would have been counted as naught in face of their country's need. It was an era of exaltation of the loyal and patriotic sentiments.

The crux of the question became the maintenance of the Samurai. The standing armies of the clans furnished one of the Imperial troops thank to the initiative of the Great Western clans. But the distinction between classes had been publicly abandoned: universal conscription was on its way to deprive the military caste of their monopoly of bearing arms and it was utterly impossible to transform the Samurai into a gigantic Imperial army. Four hundred thousand Samurai were in receipt of retaining fees conditional on their readiness to fight. To stop their incomes suddenly would have been to plunge the country into incalculable misery. To go on paying their former salaries would have been a drain impossible for the treasury to meet. True to the last to their place in the popular estimation as the model of all the virtues the Samurai resigned their privileges with little disturbance and threw themselves on the generosity of the government. Many plans were brought forward. The scheme adopted was to pay each samurai who voluntarily surrendered his income, a sum equivalent to six years' purchase for hereditary pensions and four

four years' purchase for life pensions (half in cash and half in bonds bearing 8 per cent interest). The commutation was obviously not on a very generous scale but it was all the government could afford. A large number of the Samurai accepted the offer, discarded their swords and were one by one absorbed into the civil population. Three years afterwards option became compulsion and the withdrawal of the privilege of wearing two swords stirred the conservative Samurai to the last struggle of the sympathisers with the old system.

To this unhappy outburst of reaction events had long been tending. It was the struggle of the clan which considered itself the natural inheritor of the Shogunate against the new unification of the country which had passed beyond the crude philosophy of Shoguns and Shogunates. It was the Satsuma clan which had first proposed to disestablish the Tokugawa Shogunate.

In the field operations which finally crushed the Shogun the most distinguished part was played by Satsuma troops. So outstanding had been the services of this one clan to the Imperial cause that the Mikado sent a special letter of acknowledgment to Shimadzu Saburo: "For many years you have been the special upholder of my cause. The defeat of the rebels at Fushimi in 1868 which was the greatest blow to the Shogun's power and which caused a general change in the feeling of the

the country was mainly brought about by your troops. You sent them also to the north-east and gaining one victory after another, you have conquered the insurgents and brought about the present peace. It is owing to your efforts that I am restored to my present position, and I regard you as the pillar of our country. In acknowledgment of your meritorious service I reward you with an annual pension of 100,000 Koku of rice and raise your rank." A letter of similar tenor was forwarded to Saigo Takamori.

Saigo Takamori, after an early education at Kioto, rose to considerable influence in his clan and imbued his daimio with the conviction that force would play a prominent part in settling the constitutional crisis and that due preparation of the military organisation of Satsuma would enable it to come to the top in the upheaval. The attitude of the supporters of the Saigo was crystallized into the motto Kenno or "duty towards the Emperor." The Shogun attempted to repress the teaching of the Saigo school. A priestly friend of Saigo's was arrested but escaped. The two friends despairing of success jumped overboard from a ferry. Saigo was resuscitated by the boatman. Like Clive he thought better of his rashness and retired to a small island where the Satsuma authorities, unable to harbour him at home, had arranged for his retreat. The bombardment of Kago-

Kagoshima reinforced his arguments for military reform and Shimadzu Saburo reinstated him in office with promotion to the dignity of Chief Councillor. His part in the revolution has already been sketched.

In November 1870 the Satsuma troops who had guarded the Mikado for two years requested to be relieved. Embarrassed finances at home furnished the ostensible reason for this act but the real reason was the dissatisfaction of Saigo and Shimadzu at not being advanced to positions of greater power in reward for their decisive military aid. Iwakura went on a special mission to the disaffected principality and succeeded in obtaining a fresh levy of troops for Tokio. An arsenal, fortifications, and an efficient military organisation, were still under the orders of the head of the clan. A lengthy manifesto quoted by Mr Mounsey is believed to have been inspired by Saigo in 1871. It calls for an absolute Imperialism tempered by the three great clans, a lasting system of laws--the new government had been tinkering with everything till the laws were a chaos--liberty of speech, a convertible currency backed by a proper reserve and laws protecting the people. But it concludes that the centralization system cannot be carried on for long and calls for the abandonment of steam machinery and railroads. To conciliate Shimadzu and Saigo the

the government tried every plan in its power. Saigo was offered a seat in the Cabinet which consisted of Sanjo as Prime-Minister (Chairman of Committee is perhaps nearer his true function) Iwakura as Deputy-Prime-Minister and four councillors, Sanjo himself representing the Satsuma clan, Kido the Choshu clan, Itakigi the Tosa clan and Okuma and Hizen clan, with Okubo the finance minister and Goto the minister of public works playing the parts of assessors. Saigo's approval was accorded to some of the great changes. But his support seems to have been due to the expectation of ulterior advantages. A succession of episodes revealed his aims. Korea had signified its dissent from the new policy of Japan by sins of omission and commission. The embassy laden with gifts to the Shogun, which used to gratify Japanese national pride as an evidence of accepted overlordship, had been allowed to lapse into desuetude. An embassy of Japan to Korea was denied admission and the hermit kingdom broke off all diplomatic relations. The Cabinet was divided in policy. The peace party saw the danger of involving the country in a needless war during a period of internal reconstruction. Saigo declared for revenge on the contumacious Koreans. No standing army was yet in existence: the conscription law had been passed but was not yet stringently enforced, nor had its recruits had any satisfactory training. Warfare

Warfare meant the employment on a large scale of the disbanded Samurai. Success in a foreign war would obviously place Saigo, already the most popular man in the country, in a position to dictate his views to the Cabinet. His views, as the Cabinet well knew, were generally reactionary. The advocates of peace carried the day. Saigo resigned when he saw this path to glory closed. Of less importance, save as a sign of future tendencies, was the resignation of Itagaki the advocate of a popular Parliament. Okubo's plan of universal conscription was another bitter blow to Saigo. It put officers and gentlemen on a rank with the meanest peasantry.

In deep dudgeon Saigo retired to his province. Not even the outbreak of Samurai revolts in other clans had power to draw him hence. Convinced that Satsuma must stand alone he did not join the Hizen outbreak. The co-operation of his chief Shimadzu made Satsuma anti-progressive to the backbone. Shimadzu drew up a manifesto of his position. He protested against foreign ideas, foreign employes, foreign drill, foreign methods of pedagogy, foreign dress at Court and in the Public offices, the increase of officialdom, the insolvency of officials, the non-prohibition of idle pleasures amongst the nobles, the non-appointment of a fencing master for the Mikado, the near approach of common soldiers to the Royal presence, the

the permission to intermarry with foreigners, the erection of unnecessary buildings, the non-prohibition of the extension of evil doctrines (Christianity), the union of the Treasury and the Home offices, the abandonment of the practice of wearing two swords, and the growth of public disrespect for those who still remained faithful to the ancient custom.

The liberal grant he had received for military services Saigo now devoted to founding a Shi-gakko or "private school." In reality it was a most efficient military academy. The Chinese Classics were studied from 9 to 10 in the morning: the rest of the day was devoted to drill and tactics. Some of the ablest students were sent to Saint-Cyr. The attendance roll comprised two thousand names. The arsenal was kept working to full pressure turning out brass carronades and gunpowder. Satsuma was pre-eminently the military clan of Japan. It had the advantage of quantity as well as quality. Out of 812,327 of a population in 1877, 204,143 belonged to the Samurai class, supplying a proportion of military effectives unequalled by any province in the Empire. By 1877 everything was ripe for action.

The ostensible cause of war was an unfounded story that the government had despatched emissaries to murder Saigo. It was the sixth insurrection, the most serious, and the last, the

the government had to contend with. Mr F. V. Dickins aptly applies to the Japanese La Bruyere's criticism of the Frenchman: "Il faut beaucoup de fermet  et une grande  tendue d'esprit pour se passer des charges et des emplois." "Trop de fonctionnaires" is indeed already becoming a war-cry in Japan as well as across the Channel. The passion for place rather than the revolt against abuse of power is the keynote of aggression against the governments of Japan.

In the middle of February 1877 Saigo started to march for Kioto. His waste of several weeks in blockading the castle of Kumamoto gave the government time to organize the public defence. During a campaign of eight months the government put over sixty thousand troops in the field, nearly double of Saigo's resources. Quarter was rarely given, which accounts for the fact that nearly a third of the combatants were ultimately killed or disabled. The raw commoners who formed the official army were officered by samurai from the ranks of the police and were welded into an effective fighting force not inferior to the men of the military caste alone. The fall of Saigo resembles the story of the last stand round James V. of Scotland at Flodden. But when Saigo was wounded one of his staff performed the friendly office of decapitation to prevent him being delivered alive into the enemy's hands. With Saigo's



Saigo's death the revolt flickered out. The submission of Satsuma placed the colophon on the history of feudalism in Japan.

CHAPTER VIII.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### An Apprenticeship to the Occident.

The crushing of the Satsuma insurrection marks the conquest of the New Japan over the Old. From this time onwards the history of Japan is one uninterrupted tale of the successful adoption of the social institutions and material environment of Western civilization. Adequately to summarize the changes would require multifarious chapters of encyclopaedic scope. Europe and America have been ransacked with ruthless eclecticism and whatever they could suggest that would assist the Japanese ambition of becoming one of the great powers of the world, has promptly been sifted and built in, if suitable, to the superstructure of alien culture that a benevolent government has imposed on the soil of Dai Nippon. The European who sets foot in Japan near the old Dutch settlement of Desnima finds himself in a port equal to any in the world. The shops are crammed with everything that can be bought in Paris or London. The great Inland Sea is marked with over a hundred and fifty lighthouses and thronged with steamers of the most modern construction. The government has actually declared it illegal

illegal to build junks after the traditional pattern. At Yokohama is a harbour built to accomodate the largest vessels afloat and carrying on an import and export trade which amounts to fifteen million pounds sterling a year. A railroad connects this port with Tokio. The capital has now a population of nearly a million and a half and its municipal boundaries are the largest in the world--the custom of building houses only one storey high and attaching to each a little garden spreading the city over an enormous area. A nine-mile tramway track connects the termini of the two great railways; the horse-cars--soon to be displaced by electric traction--carrying the passenger all the way for a penny halfpenny; gas and electric light are in evidence and petroleum lamps among the poor though the lighting of the public thoroughfares is not yet sufficient; magnificent public buildings are springing up; the streets and avenues are being Haussmannized especially where one of the frequent fires has cleared an opening; and forty thousand rickshaws--the invention of an ingenious foreigner--are plying for modest hire. Everywhere are the signs of busy prosperity.

In the business houses transactions are being carried on as in London or New York: banking and financial houses, joint-stock companies, insurance societies, great shipping and indus-

industrial concerns are efficient and advancing. Professional services of every kind are within call: instruction in the leading branches of science and sociology is accessible. The army and navy, the police, the judges, the teachers, the civil servants, and the political leaders themselves compare favourably with the West. Public opinion is vocal, even vociferous, in a crowd of journals. The hospitals are magnificently managed: the old law of the Tokugawa regency forbidding more than five persons to associate together for any purpose has been long ago forgotten in the crowd of learned and charitable societies: the Red Cross Association has a membership of over 315,000.

To what is this transformation due? Not a little to the approval and aptitude of the people themselves--that indeed is an indispensable factor--and a great deal to the foresight and enterprise of the clan oligarchy which has held the helm of state for the last thirty years. "I cannot for my part" writes Sir Harry Parkes in a despatch "consider the careers of such leaders as Okubo, Kido, Iwakura and Terashima--to mention only those who have passed away--without a feeling of deep admiration for their statesmanlike insight, their patience, resourcefulness and courage in relation to all domestic affairs. It is less their success as promoters of a revolution that was

was not, after all, very difficult to bring about that will command the applause of posterity, than their steadfast and resolute mastery both of the anarchic and of the revolutionary forces they had to deal with, on the emergence of their country from the isolation of centuries. If their constructive work has been less fruitful of permanent result (Sir Harry is writing in 1873 and his cautious conclusion already requires modification) it is simply because they attempted to achieve in a decade what, under the most favourable of human conditions, could scarcely be effected in much less than a century." But the immediate instrument that has given shape and being to the ideas that the ruling oligarchy formulated and financed has been the foreign employé. "The foreign employé" says Professor Chamberlain "is the creator of New Japan." The law was codified by a Frenchman M. Boissonade: the technical instruction of the country was organised during 1873-1882 by a Scotsman, Dr Henry Dyer, now of Glasgow: the general educational system has been supervised by Americans, Britons and Germans: the medical training has been directed by German physicians: the navy was set on its feet by a British officer Lieutenant A. G. S. Hawes and his numerous successors: the army was drilled by German officers: British experts have devised a currency system inferior to none: the ubiquitous Scotch engineer

engineer has set the wheels of modern machinery going in ships and factories: when a new administration problem has arisen, ~~was the~~ as in treatment of native races brought under Japanese sway by the annexation of Formosa, foreign civil servants, British or other, have reported and advised. "The posts, the telegraphs, the railways, the trigonometrical survey, improved mining methods, prison reform, sanitary reform, cotton and paper mills, chemical laboratories, water and harbour works:- "all" in Professor Chamberlain's words "are the creation of foreign employés of the Japanese Government." Professor Chamberlain himself, the son of an English admiral of the well-known Hampshire family of that name, exiled from home for reasons of health, has made himself the chief authority on Japanese philology: the critical study of Japanese literature has been chiefly developed by Mr Chamberlain and two members of the British consular service Sir E. M. Satow and Dr W. G. Aston. The foreign diplomatists accredited to Tokio have rendered incalculable services to the administration. The kind of influence brought to bear by Sir Harry Parkes may be gleaned from one of his despatches to Lord Clarendon: "I have had frequent opportunities of discussing with the Mikado's government the desirability of introducing railways and telegraphs into Japan. It is essential to the establishment of a vigor-

vigorous and compact administration under the new constitutional system and of equal importance to the interests of commerce and industry of the people that improved means of communication should be provided. Japan, unlike China, does not possess navigable rivers; the rate of travelling averages only twenty miles a day, and provinces that are separated by 400 or 500 miles are at nearly a month's distance from each other. The two capitals of Yedo and Kioto, though connected by the best line of road in the country, are a fortnight's distance apart, and the difficulty of transporting rice often exposes one part of the country to scarcity and distress; while another district may be wanting an outlet for its produce."

Sir Harry Parkes acted as intermediary between the government and Mr H. N. Lay who contracted for the Yedo-Yokohama line which was opened in 1872. The mountainous nature of the country renders railway construction difficult and the mileage as yet has only reached 3,000, part being public property and part in the hands of private companies. Railway rates are the lowest in the world, not even excepting the American and Trans-Siberian lines. Water carriage is more suitable for goods transit so that the traffic receipts are mainly from passengers, who are charged  $\frac{5}{4}$ d. a mile first class,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. second class and  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. third class. An average profit of 10 per cent



cent is earned and 25 million passengers carried annually. The admirable lighthouse system has been claimed by Sir Harry Parkes as "the child of his own creation" and the same authority persuaded Japan to adopt vaccination and institute lock hospitals.

The advance of Japan proceeded along well-defined lines. Not even the Occident could place a new head on old shoulders. The new culture of the race proceeded most rapidly on the lines the old culture had laid down. Japan was a nation of skilled craftsmen: the cunning of the West brought tools that invested Japanese skill at higher interest than ever before. The race is naturally endowed with capacities for various scientific professions. These it has embraced with much success. The British Surgeon-General attached to the Japanese forces during the China War reported that "there was only one word that would adequately describe the Medical Services of the Japanese Army and Navy during the war, and that word was perfection." There are no defter surgeons than the Japanese. In bacteriology, Kitasato, the joint discoverer of anti-toxin serum and the discoverer of the bacillus of the bubonic plague, is one of the two or three most eminent investigators in the world. In chemistry and other natural sciences first class work has been done, for instance the discoveries of Hirase and

and Ikeno in botany. In the spheres of war and politics positive genius has been displayed.

But Japanese life has remained untouched over wide fields. The emotional environment of the race has refused to mix with some of the most characteristic forms of Western expression. The attempt to acclimatize Western Art or Western music has not been a success. Western literature in one of its forms, the literature of knowledge, has been instantly appreciated, but the literature of power has to be remodelled with the utmost freedom. Plays have to be adapted and novels rewritten, for a literal version would be replete with unintelligible situations, emotions and thoughts. 'The Sorrows of Werter' has been one of the few successful literal translations. The choice made of books to translate is sometimes incomprehensible. Mrs Hugh Fraser has put on record that the English book which moved a brilliant young Japanese student in England--son of an eminent official--to go through the throes of translation was a story by the authoress of 'Dora Thorne' (of 'Family Herald' fame). Professor Chamberlain states that the first English novel to be translated was Bulwer Lytton's 'Ernest Maltravers' which appeared in 1879 under the title of a "Spring Story of Flowers and Willows." The same authority cites the quaint fact that the most popular novel published during the present Mikado's reign

reign has been a romance of Theban politics with Epaminondas for hero, and a surfeit of veiled allusions to contemporary Japanese politics. During the Chino-Japanese war a Tokio paper achieved success by publishing a feuilleton with two Red Cross Nurses as heroines. "The story was that of the coming defeat of England by Japan, who, after annexing Hong Kong, India, Malta and Gibraltar sends her fleet up the Thames to raze the fortresses there and to exact from the cowering Britishers an enormous indemnity." The "New Magdalen" Mr Hearn points out, becomes a Japanese girl who married an Eta; 'Les Miserables' a tale of the Japanese civil war and Enjolras a Japanese student.

One feature of Western civilization which perplexes the Japanese is the literary canonisation of the eternal feminine. "Western life" says Mr Lafcadio Hearn "in a general sense is a mystery to him. Any social system of which filial piety is not the moral cement; any social system in which children leave their parents in order to establish families of their own; any social system in which it is considered not only natural but right to love wife and child more than the authors of one's being; any social system in which marriage can be decided independently of the will of parents, by the mutual inclination of the young people themselves; any social system

system in which the mother-in-law is not entitled to the obedient service of the daughter-in-law, appears to him of necessity a state of life scarcely better than that of the birds of the air and the beasts of the field, or at best a sort of moral chaos." Western science carries its recommendation with itself but Western aesthetics and Western metaphysics seem often inept and indcorous. Still, even the relation of the sexes in Japan has not escaped uninfluenced. At the silver wedding of the Emperor and Empress in February 1894 husband and wife rode together <sup>for the first time</sup> side by side in an open carriage. The introduction of other usages of European society is mitigating the ancient subjection of women. Europe still takes the Pauline view of womankind but is beginning to be a little ashamed of itself: Japan, unshaken in its conviction of the truth of Buddha's teaching on the same subject, is being indirectly influenced by Europe. In feudal days Japanese women were excluded from hereditary pensions, and the absence of a male child meant the dissolution of the family. They were also ineligible to possess real property. Even in those days the women of Japan were free from the strict seclusion of most Oriental countries. Now the woman enjoys liberty of conscience instead of being obliged to take her husband's religion as heretofore. She has the right of private property which was for-

formerly confined to her tortoise-shell ornaments and mirror, and may have stocks and shares in her own name. She may now become the head of the family after her husband's death and look after the interests of a pupil son. She is even eligible to hold office under the crown. The gap between the sexes is unfortunately widened by the laxity of public opinion in the matter of female education. Whereas 80 per cent of the possible number of boys in Japan attend the elementary schools only 40 per cent of the girls do. Higher schools for girls are still few.

A not less effective barrier to the complete comprehension of the West is the isolation of the Japanese language. "All the nations of the West" says Mr Chamberlain "have, broadly speaking, a common past, a common fund of ideas from which everything that they have and everything that they are springs naturally as part of a correlated whole--one Roman empire in the background, one Christian religion at the centre, one gradual emancipation, first from feudalism and next from absolutism, worked out or now in process of being worked out together, one art, one music, one kind of idiom, even though the words expressing it vary from land to land. Japan stands beyond this pale because her past has been lived through under conditions altogether difficult. China is her Greece and Rome.

Rome. Her language is not Aryan as even Russia's is. Allusions familiar from one end of Christendom to the other require a whole chapter of commentary to make them at all, intelligible to a Japanese student who often has not even then any words corresponding to those which it is sought to translate. So well is this fact understood by Japanese educators that it has been customary of late years to impart most of the higher branches of Knowledge through the medium of the English language....But between English and Japanese the gulf fixed is so wide and gaping that the student's mind must be for ever on the stretch. The simpler and more idiomatic the English the more it taxes his powers of comprehension." The sinicisation of the language still continues. New words to express new things and ideas are coined from Chinese as the Western scientist coins from Greek. Not only is the language an imperfect vehicle of expression but its ideographs are so confusing and so numerous that it takes years of study to master them. The sinicisation keeping pace with new foreign ideas, has made Japanese more dependent on Chinese than at any time since the sixteenth century. It seemed at one time as if Japan would become bi-lingual by act of Parliament the Government adopting English as the official language. But the present tendency is rather to relax the study of European

European languages. Until 1895 pupils from the Higher Middle Schools who wished to enter the Imperial University could hardly hope to be ready before about twenty-three and had to show a mastery of written Chinese as well as a good practical knowledge of English together with either French or German. Since then Count Inouye has shortened the High School course and made French and German optional. Further the high hopes of the reformers who aimed at writing Japanese in roman characters have been falsified, the vitality of the ideographs proving very considerable. The peculiar nature of the language in which all metaphor is practically lost renders it impossible to bring ~~the language~~<sup>it</sup> up to the level of a second-rate European tongue.

Though the new civilization is the official uniform of the country the old remains its mufti. In private life the old dress, the old ceremonies, the old ways of living are cherished. Indeed of all the fashionable crazes which have overrun the country at various times the most widespread has been the renaissance of the old costumes and manners of Japan. The national sentiment has been quickened into a prouder appreciation of them than ever before. "Japan for the Japanese" has become a watchword and there is a tendency to scrutinize new departures in the way of further Westernization. Most of the

the foreign employes have been replaced by natives. This is right and proper, and even if in some cases the pupil has prematurely taken over the reins of power, that is a healthy sign of self-confidence. But the inclination to lose touch with the West may cause deterioration not entirely to be compensated for by the vigorous development of autochthonous institutions.



## Chapter IX.

### Constitutional Progress.

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Reference has already been made to I resignation  
of Count Itagaki from I cabinet of 1843 owing to  
his conviction that, had there been any means for  
ascertaining I will of I people, a majority would  
have supported an aggressive Korean policy.  
This session was I nucleus of a political  
group which has grown into one of I great  
political ~~parties~~ <sup>divisions</sup> - I Tomyoto or "Liberal Party". The  
Itagaki agitation in favour of representative government  
was severely repressed at first & during I Satsuma  
insurrection there was some expectation that Itagaki  
of Iosa clan would make common capital with the  
insurgents. But Itagaki was a philosophic  
radical of I most disinterested type who spoke up  
for dim & distant ideals even to his present  
disadvantage. He did no more than memorialize  
I government ~~in I midst of their difficulties~~  
to grant representative institutions, ~~the terms~~  
~~of his~~ in terms which suggested doubt as to

preparedness of the people. This party was soon  
dominated by samurai of other clans than I  
four in power who chafed under exclusion from  
office. The government preferred to feel its way  
slowly and cautiously. In 1874 it experimented  
with an assembly of prefects. These good &  
faithful servants reflected I government's own will  
but I people's views of no value as an index to I  
popular attitude towards I changes in  
progress. In 1875 a senate was entrusted with  
duty of revising bills. The concession bought  
over some able outsiders to I government &  
accomplished useful work. The assassinations of  
Orino in 1878 alleged I failure to grant  
representative institutions as one of their motives

In 1881 another cabinet split led to  
retiral of Count Okuma I Minister of  
Finance. His followers formed a new party  
the Kaishin-to or "Progressives" on much  
same platform as I already existing Liberal  
party. But I two groups did not coalesce, although

centered on the main issue of the desirability of establishing an elective Chamber. Persons of different principles, placed not proselytism, have been the cohesive elements in the formation of Japanese party groups. But though opposed to each other the Liberals & the Progressives were equally opposed to the Government. The moral effect of this agitation for an immediate recourse to an elective Diet was sufficient to exact an Imperial promise of compliance in 1890.

During all this time the management of the affairs was in the hands of a great Sat-cho coalition comprising the leaders of the two great southern clans of Choshu & Satsuma. The population of the provinces which recruited the Sat-cho & monopolized the administration, the army & the navy, was only one million. No matter how competently the work was done outside

forty millions were bound to grumble  
at this one-sided distribution of  
power + fishes. As M. Leroy Beauclien  
claims in paralleling 1 case: "Imagine  
France ruled exclusively for thirty years  
Provençaux!" It may be remarked that  
~~the~~ the opposition was also largely  
an oligarchy, Okuma being 1 leader of  
Fujer clan + Itaki of 1 Iosa clan.

The Japanese constitution was  
based on 1 model of Prussia by Count Ito  
promulgated in 1889. It is a document  
of 4 chapters + 76 articles. The subjects of  
chapters are I. The Emperor II. The Subjects' Rights  
and Duties III. The Imperial Parliament IV. Ministers  
of State + Privy Council V. Judicature VI. Finance  
+ Supplementary Rules. The rigidity of 1  
American Constitution is preferred by Japanese  
states to ~~be more suitable~~ that 1 flexibility of 1  
British system. The Emperor is 1 cornerstone

building. The legal, executive, & judiciary  
powers are centred in 1 throne. Class  
distinctions are abolished. Freedom of speech  
& writing of residence, of public meeting, of  
associations, of religious belief & worship is  
established. No one can be arrested detained  
tried or punished except according to law  
No one can dwell ~~in~~ be entered without a  
magistrate's warrant. The right of property &  
privacy of correspondence is inviolable. All  
subjects are equally eligible for civil &  
military appointments. The right of petition  
is granted as a free gift by 1 Emperor  
The third chapter deals with 1 organisation  
Parliament which is referred to 1 ordinary  
and modified from time to time. The  
qualifications of 1 electorate are variable. The  
system ~~resembles~~ <sup>recalls</sup> 1 U.S. Congress rather than  
English Parliament, for <sup>as</sup> in 1 United States  
English prerogative of impeachment which was



provisions of Constitution are ~~fixed~~  
~~fixed~~ unalterable by House. But  
Constitution of Japan proceeds from Emperor  
and not from people. The Emperor is  
depository of sovereign power just as  
Parliament in England & People in  
United States. The four most important  
powers of Japanese Parliament are (1)  
to deliberate & discuss points of law brought  
either by government or by its own members  
(2) to examine & vote upon national budget  
(3) to receive petitions from people & to  
question Government upon them  
(4) to present an address to Emperor  
upon grave questions of national affairs  
to report to him on condition of  
ministerial confidence.

The clause provides for removal of an  
unsatisfactory minister. It resembles  
English prerogative of impeachment which has

not been exercised since 1805. If a minister  
loses confidence reposed in him an  
address from either or both Houses of  
Parliament is presented to the Emperor & if he  
considers the charges proved the minister is  
dismissed from office.

The usage of modern states tends to  
make ministers responsible to Parliament  
which gains sovereignty at the expense of  
ministerial stability. But Japan takes  
more conservative ways of Prussia. Bismarck  
claimed in a speech to be responsible  
neither to the people nor to Parliament, but to  
the Emperor alone. The Japanese men of  
"hard iron" do not need to recant custom  
in speeches; it is set down in black & white  
in the constitution. "The respective ministers of  
the State give their advice to the Emperor & are  
responsible for it." Really the Minister has  
a twofold responsibility, direct to the Emperor



and in relation to questions of law & to National Budget, indirect to Diet.

The Privy Council is a supreme deliberative body attached to the sovereign. It decides disputes from interpretation of Constitution or quasi-Constitutional laws such as law of House, election law the law of finance or like or disputes in regard to budget or other financial measures. It has also power of deliberating on amendments to Constitution or quasi-Constitutional laws.

The Judiciary system forms a subject of a later chapter.

Financial affairs differ from accepted usage in fact that Budget is submitted to Upper House as well as Lower - absolute power of Lower House being thus considerably restricted.

Expenditure is divided into

moveable + immoveable. The former  
includes ~~such~~ casual or temporary  
charges ~~so~~ <sup>which</sup> are annually brought before  
Parliament, (latter all expenditures  
necessary for the existence of the Government,  
civil list, army & navy estimates, civil  
services salaries, interest on national  
debt & so forth, ~~and~~ which  
are secured from reduction or rejection  
by either House. The English Consolidated  
Fund offers a parallel.

The constitution is prospective not  
retrospective all old laws standing.  
There is no power of amendment save  
by the Emperor alone.

One clause which has been more  
severely criticised in Europe than any  
other ~~so~~ runs:

The Emperor in consequence of an urgent  
necessity to maintain public safety or to

covert public calamities issues when  
Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial  
Ordinances in place of law." Mr.  
John Morley & Mr. Bryce both ~~took~~  
~~exception to~~ introduced this clause  
into their political speeches as  
an example of undesirable & excessive  
power to be placed in hands of  
Crown. But Mr. F. T. Pigott (Legal  
Adviser to the Japanese Cabinet  
has warmly defended it on ground  
that a written Constitution must be  
construed like an unwritten by  
customary interpretation which grows  
up round it. He compares its possible  
working to that of Veto of Crown in  
England or veto of House of Lords  
which is not likely to be exercised in  
face of an unquestionable certainty of  
public opinion.

CHAPTER X.

CHAPTER X.

## CHAPTER X.

### The Supreme Test of War.

From time immemorial Korea has been a bone of contention between China and Japan. The neutrality and independence of Korea is a valuable safeguard to each of the two nations. But possession of the country would be more valuable still. In 1876 Korea concluded a treaty with China in which she ranked as an independent state with the same rights as Japan. But China feared Japanese aggression and set herself to thwart in every way Japanese influence in Korea. Japan on the other hand felt her own security endangered by the prospect of Korea falling into the hands of an aggressive and expanding western power such as Russia. By the convention of Tientsin in 1885, both China and Japan had withdrawn their troops from Korea and agreed to act in concert in any future occupation. In 1894 the Korean government was completely outmatched by the insurrectionists. An appeal for aid met an immediate response from China. Japan demurred to any Chinese violation of the Tientsin treaty and occupied Seoul. It was this rivalry of would-be reformers which precipitated war. Doubtless a struggle had long been inevitable owing to the strained rela-

relations which their different attitudes to the innovating West had brought about between the two great neighbours.

<sup>That</sup>  
~~Whether~~ the internal disturbances of Japan had anything to do with the actual choosing of the time when hostilities broke out is ~~not~~ merely guesswork. It is at least certain that a spirited foreign policy was the natural cataplasm to apply to the constitutional breakdown from which Japan was suffering. It is equally certain that the counter-irritation of war acted as a magic specific.

Neither state would give way. Japan declined to acknowledge Korea's subjection to China and proposed joint action in settling the Korean disturbances. The Tsung-li-Yamen held that "measures of reform must be left to Korea herself. Even China would not interfere with the internal administration of Korea and Japan, having from the very first recognised the independence of Korea cannot have the right to interfere." Japan held that the Korean government was not able to carry out the necessary reforms and pressed for the abandonment of the suzerainty claimed by China. On the 20th July an ultimatum was delivered to Korea by the Japanese minister at Seoul. In a few days the palace and administration were taken over by the Japanese troops.

War was declared on August 1st. Japan was in possession

possession of the Korean capital while China held a strong position 40 miles to the North, had a detachment of 8000 men en route for the Yalu river and reinforcements in Manchuria. Japan's only line of communication lay on the high Seas. The overland routes from China were so long and difficult as to make the command of the sea of the utmost importance. The Chinese fleet moved north to shut in Seoul between the land and sea forces of China. A week before the formal declaration of war three advance cruisers of the Japanese squadron met two Chinese cruisers. One of the Chinese vessels was run aground the other chased to Wel-hai-wei. A despatch boat was captured and the British steamer Kowshing carrying 1200 Chinese troops was sunk.

For two months the Chinese fleet remained in the background while Japan with unexampled celerity and clock-work precision transported detachment after detachment to Chemulpo. 14000 men converged northwards to meet the Chinese forces from Manchuria defeated them Ping Yant, and forced them to retreat. On the 13th September a Chinese squadron which had been protecting five transports during the successful disembarkation of 4000 men at the mouth of the Yalu river came into action against a pretty evenly matched Japanese squadron. The Chinese ships were early thrown into disorder and by nightfall



night-fall four cruisers had been sunk by shells. Two of the Japanese cruisers suffered some damage and the Japanese loss was 115 killed and 103 wounded. Of the Chinese 600 were drowned in the sunken ships, and about 100 killed and 200 or 30 wounded. A series of remarkable Japanese victories succeeded. The great naval bases of China were taken. At Wei-hai-Wei four of the Chinese war vessels were sunk, the remaining nine on the spot surrendering and Admiral Ting committing suicide. After seven months fighting the services of the American ambassador at Peking were utilized as intermediary and Li Hung Chung selected as peace envoy. After some delay owing to full powers not having been granted to the Chinese plenipotentiary peace was signed at Shimonoseki on the 17th April 1895. Korea was declared independent, part of the Liatung Peninsula ceded to Japan, an indemnity of two hundred million taels agreed upon and various commercial privileges granted. [The victories of war heralded the no less striking triumphs of peace. A moral tonic no less than a dividend-paying speculation, the conflict with China, braced up the captains of industry to keener and more audacious enterprise. Commercial expansion was the counsel of the Cabinet but the capitalist was already convinced. "Between January 1895 and April 1896" says Mr H. Tennant "new enterprises were started absorbing 644,

644,896,790 yen, of which 348,950,290 yen were invested in railways; 113,535,000 in banks, and 182,411,500 in miscellaneous companies." During this period a dozen important railway companies were floated; half a dozen steamship companies; half a dozen dockyard and harbour trusts; several banks, insurance companies, breweries, textile factories and paper mills; and concerns founded to carry on such diverse industries as gold mining, iron manufacture, petroleum or sugar-refining, shipbuilding or locomotive building, silk, hemp, straw hats, and cycles.

The shipping industries are handsomely subsidised, builders and proprietors being both recompensed. "The ships are subsidised according to their tonnage and speed. Thus a vessel of 1000 tons steaming at a speed of ten knots receives a subsidy of 25 sen per ton for every knot over 10 knots per hour up to 17 knots." The mails have to be carried in return and a certain quota of native-born apprentices to the mercantile navy. Like the British R.N.R. the subsidized ships are understood to be available for transport services in war.

The war indemnity could not have been obtained more opportunely. It enabled Japan to adopt monometallism on a gold basis--a financial conversion of magnitude and delicacy.

The ratification of this treaty was opposed by Russia,

Russia, France and Germany who declared Japanese occupation of the mainland to be a menace to international peace. The Japanese cabinet backed down but the popular sentiment of Japan took on a feeling of unfriendliness towards the interfering countries. The action of the German Emperor is understood to have been dictated by the ideas which infuse his famous cartoon, The Yellow Peril--a dread of Japan arming and leading China against Europe.

The effect of the war on foreign relations was even more striking than the unification of antagonistic parties at home. The demonstration that Japan had not been wasting her time had been clinched by the last argument of force. What Japan could not gain by her achievements in peace, she obtained at once by her prowess in war--an acknowledged place in the comity of nations. Her participation in the march of the united powers to Peking, her recent alliance with this country and her success at last in abolishing extra-territoriality have all followed naturally on the revelation of her strength due to the war with her ancient neighbour.

PART II. Chapter I.

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"Cedant arma togae."

"I have often admired" says Kaempfer "while travelling through this country, the shortness and laconism of these tables which are hung up on the roads, in places especially appointed for the purpose, to notify to the public the emperor's pleasure, and to make known the laws of the country; for it is mentioned in as few words as possible what the Emperor commands to be done or omitted by his subjects. There is no reason given how it comes about that such and such a law was made: no mention of the law-giver's views and intention: nor is there any certain determined penalty put upon transgression thereof. Such conciseness is thought becoming the majesty of so powerful a monarch." The biographer of Sir Harry Parkes may be called in to qualify this impression of edicts-that-must-be-obeyed. "At no period before 1868" he says "did the Imperial writ run from Shimoneseki to Sendai, from Nambu to Nagasaki." If Obedience followed the Shogun's behests it was because of the deep-seated loyal sentiments of the race. The central authority had to show itself not incompatible with considerable local autonomy.

autonomy.

Such as it was the law was of Chinese origin. The primitive confusion between law and morals and the primitive conjunction of the executive and the legislature both obtained. The prime minister and the governor of the city had each a seat on the bench. But feudalism restricted the field of operations. Land was vested in the feudal chief: his retainers were attached to the land. The ordinary rights of individual property hardly came into play. Even the power of life and death was exercised by the chief according to his caprice. Occasionally the central government laid down rules for important contingencies. There were checks on the abuse of the seignorial privileges of metayage. Civil and criminal trials were conducted in private and court procedure relapsed into an official secret. Conviction in a criminal case was made dependent on full confession. But it was permissible to exact a confession by torture. Legal practice tended to degenerate into technical pedantries. Elaborate written decisions were issued. The penal code was of drastic barbarity. Crucifixion, burning, sawing, beheading and whipping were in vogue. Unwritten tradition and custom and sometimes natural equity arbitrarily determined much of the local practice.

After the revolution the Tokugawa laws were gradually

displaced. In 1870 a separate Judicial Department was set up. Yeto Shinpei the Minister of Justice, framed a new criminal code similar to that of China. Capital punishment was retained but all forms of penal torture abandoned. English and French legal advisers were attached to the department and only his demission from office prevented Yeto Shinpei from acclimatising the Code Napoleon. Law schools were established and students sent to England, France and America to complete their studies. To one of the teachers of French law M. Boissonade, an agrégé of the Paris faculty of law and one of the editors of the Revue de Legislation, was entrusted the compilation of civil and criminal codes.

The Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure both came into force in 1882. Delicts are scheduled (a) as police-court cases, (b) as major or minor offences against the state or the royal family or infractions of the statutes devoted to the public peace, the public health etc., and (c) as crimes against person and property. For most crimes the ordinary Western scale of punishments is meted out. The capital penalty is retained for murder, high treason and arson, but hanging has been substituted for beheading. The disastrous effects of fire-raising amongst the wooden dwelling-houses of a Japanese community explains the retention of arson amongst capital



capital crimes. It is only on rare occasions, however, that the extreme penalty for incendiarism is exacted. Young offenders are not birched but sent to reformatories. A clause forbidding duelling has recently been added to the Code. It does not appear that any increase in crime followed the sudden substitution of humaner penalties for the barbarities of the traditional penology.

Criminal procedure follows French practice. Policemen can only arrest offenders seen in flagrante delictu by themselves or some complainant, otherwise a warrant must be made out by the local procurator. Bail may be allowed by agreement between the judge and the procurator. The prisoner must be brought up for examination within 48 hours of his apprehension. The public prosecutor states a case for the examining judge who may either acquit the prisoner or proceed to further inquiry. To secure that no available evidence should be lost through fear of publicity a preliminary examination is conducted privately by the examining judge. The prisoner may give evidence on his own behalf at both trials but is not allowed the services of counsel at the private examination. Notes of the evidence at the private trial may be used by the ordinary judge at the public trial. Witnesses make a solemn declaration to speak the truth, without binding themselves by any religious

religious sanction. The testimony of intimate friends of the defendent is only accepted with considerable reservations. The Civil and Commercial Codes are modelled after Germany. Land tenure and the laws of succession and family relations furnish the outstanding differences. Landowners have an absolute title subject only to the right of eminent domain. The only relics of the feudal system are the common of pasture, the common of piscary and the common of drawing water, interference with which would disorganise the farming interests. Parental consent is necessary for marriage but the modern parent does not stand upon his rights. The deceased wife's sister does not rank among the forbidden degrees. Mutual agreement is a ground for divorce in addition to the usual reasons enumerated in European statute-books. The perpetuation of the family name is as reverentially guarded as in ancient Rome and the universal practice of adoption repairs the deficiencies of Nature.

In addition to the local courts presided over by a single juge de paix, there are three grades of courts with jurisdiction over civil and criminal business--the District Courts with three judges, the Appellate Courts with five judges and the Court of Cassation with seven. The English example of dispensing with a Court of Criminal Appeal has not been followed. On a ques-

question of fact the Court of Appellation is the final authority and on a question of law the Court of Cassation.

Trial by Jury has not been adopted. The leading Japanese authorities were unanimously of opinion that miscarriages of justice would be less frequent with the ultimate verdict left in the hands of the judges. Except in the small local courts all cases are considered by a jury of judges. There are now 1200 judges, dealing annually with over three million cases.

The judges are irremovable except by decision of the disciplinary court. The German fashion of elevating young specially trained graduates to the Bench almost right away instead of choosing the most experienced advocates at the Bar has been generally followed. In 1884 the law declared only graduates of the University of Tokio, counsellors and those who have passed the prescribed examination to be eligible as Judges "after one year's experience as an attaché of a Court of First Instance or two years' practice as a counsellor." Of late years some appointments have been made from the ranks of experienced barristers. But the converse transition is also true. Judges have resigned their appointments to practice at the Bar. The reason is that the leading barristers are beginning as in other countries, to command fancy prices while the judges receive as a rule salaries of from £70 to £400 per annum.

annum. Living is cheaper in Japan than in Europe so that the purchasing power of such modest honoraria is not so low as it looks.

The legal reform of Japan has run on Latin lines. To the British mind the judicature is not sufficiently independent of the executive, there is a lack of publicity about the proceedings, the prohibition of cross-examination of the witnesses by the prisoner's counsel is a fatal flaw, while the stringency of the press laws removes a valuable safeguard against arbitrary injustice.

Law has become a very popular study: the young samurai do not scruple to lay aside the sword for the long robe and throng the fourteen law faculties. Some thousand graduates are sent out yearly. The degree is a passport to employment in the administration as well as to private practice.

PAKT II. Chapter II.

### The Curia and The Comitia.

For twelve years before the opening of the Diet Japan had a systematic local government. In every provincial capital is a large stuccoed building roofed with white-bordered tiles where for a decade or more the people had debated and harangued to their heart's content over schools, salaries, police, irrigation and all the local interests. In the smaller towns were district assemblies not dissimilar in function to our Parish Councils. A training in the local bodies is considered of much value and of the 300 members returned to the first Diet 134, according to Mr Wigmore, had had previous experience in the provincial assemblies, 28 having been Presidents and 12 Vice-Presidents. Of the other members 48 had held government appointments in the provinces and 28 in the capital. There was thus no lack of familiarity with public business. Mr Ransome gives a table exhibiting the proportion of members returned by the different classes of society. Save for the absence of labour representatives it seems to the writer to show a better balance of interests (though that does not say much) than the similar statistics relating to the British House of Commons which were drawn up some years ago by Dr John Inglis

Inglis the eminent shipbuilder. The Agricultural element has fluctuated from 144 in 1890 to 156 in 1897; the mercantile from 12 to 30; the commercial and banking from 14 to 13; the lawyers from 24 to 18; the journalists from 12 to 11; the physicians from 3 to 1; the government officials from 27 to 5; and the industrial element from 10 to 1. Members receive an allowance of £80 per annum but the session only lasts three months.

The lack of controlling power over the government is naturally a standing grievance with the House which does not find contentment in fulfilling the function of a safety-valve to which Mill attaches so much importance. It has hitherto devoted itself to thwarting the Cabinet at every step and throwing out most of its measures. Fortunately the Cabinet has nine months of the year to itself and sufficient powers to carry on business independently. The House is fighting for party government for which it is doubtful if the country is fit. At present the House is pretty much of an excrescence on the actual working of the constitution, but it is doubtless crystallizing into an institution which will yet wrest the supreme power from the clan oligarchy. It has been mainly useful in keeping a keen eye on the national expenditure. During the war with China and the financial crisis of 1898 it showed acumen

and common sense and cordially co-operated with the Cabinet in taking all the emergency steps necessary.

The internal arrangement of the House of Representatives, as shown in the photograph which adorns Lord Curzon's book, <sup>see in "</sup>to be very similar to that of the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. Speakers must ascend a tribune in front of the President's chair. A novel feature is the row of seats aligned from this centre where members of the Government (who are not directly responsible to the House) sit in readiness to answer questions, or intervene in debate. The members' seats are ticketed and the President calls on speakers by their number. Debates are carried on in the same fashion as elsewhere but with rather less ceremoniousness. There is no periphrasis of "gentleman from such and such a place" or "honourable member for such and such a division." Plain names are used, not even the phonastic courtesy of "Mr" being expected. Speeches are reported by Japanese stenographers.

The actual working of an electoral contest has been described by M. André Bellessort, whose visit to Japan coincided with the succession of the Cabinet Ito to the Cabinet Matsukata. To a Gallic observer accustomed to the excitement of a Parliamentary dissolution at home the tranquil temper of the constituencies was sufficiently astonishing. It was explained to



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to him that frequent appeals to the country were taken as a matter of course as affording a valuable gymnastic for the body politic. Japan had no time to lose if she wished to catch up the West. Perhaps there is a trace of irony in his assertion that it seemed to be considered advantageous and almost necessary that the Japanese elector should be called on to vote for a member as often during his brief electoral career as successive generations of his Western fellows during a century. The stability of French administrations hardly furnishes a strong critical point d'appui. But one can share M. Bellessort's admiration for a programme of political education directed to the manufacture of experienced citizens in fifteen or twenty lessons.

Even in the most insignificant constituencies an election rarely costs less than five or six thousand yen. The deputies are not wealthy, and to impoverish an opposition that does not yet hang well enough together to have evolved an effective caucus in control of plentiful party funds is naturally regarded as a strong weapon in the armoury of the holders of office. In incorruptible Great Britain the parliamentary candidate is bled down to the smallest item in his expenses. The local newspaper charges his election address at three times the ordinary space rates and the very out-of-works who address

address, his envelopes must be recompensed at double the ordi-  
market  
nary price. Matters are much the same in Japan. Of course  
the proprietors of the tea-houses, the provincial geishas, and  
the various other parasitic professions rejoice to replenish  
their coffers during the contest. But the soshis stand to  
profit most. "What are the soshis?" Mr Douglas Sladen asked  
a British Consul. "People who have too much education and  
too little to eat" was the reply. Probably it was the parono-  
masia that led Mr Sladen to the transliteration: "University  
students are the curse of the country; they grow into moshi-  
-the socialists of Japan" "Tammany heelers" is Mr Henry Nor-  
man's comparison, and it is perhaps the most apt. "Political  
bravos" Mr Arthur Diósy styles them for "there are Japanese  
impostors--sometimes of the religious variety, collectors for  
bogus missions, quacks, begging letter writers and fraudulent  
company promoters--in fact almost every kind of evil-doer  
known in the West is to be found in Japan." A cross between  
condottieri and chevaliers (sc. d'industrie?) is M. Belles-  
sort's summing up. Nowadays the *déracinés* and *déclassés* of  
every kind find a refuge amongst the *moshi*, who appear to have  
been recruited originally from the displaced samurai, to have  
been the odd men out in the great game of musical chairs that  
was played all over Japan during the hurried transition from

from feudalism. Not yet is the name altogether a reproach in Japan. The license of the Latin Quarter is willingly accorded to a class around which hangs the halo of the old free-booting ronins whose exploits haunt the imagination of the people. The soshis are the self-chosen guardians of the country against electoral indifference. The brute courage of hired camelots is everywhere requisitioned by accepted social convention, to arouse popular enthusiasm, to break up meetings, to prevent meetings being broken up, to form a body-guard for candidates, and to canvass for votes. Cabinet ministers themselves have been known to employ soshi though usually in self defence.

The legal qualification for electors and candidates alike is the payment of at least fifteen yen of direct taxation in the year before the revision of the voters list. This limits the suffrage to between one and two per cent of the population. The absence of pocket boroughs and party funds is made up for by the custom of adoption. Ambitious poverty sets out on the search for a new father and mother who are willing to open their purse for the glory of having a son in Parliament. The example of China where there are only about a hundred surnames is followed at a distance by Japan so that it may not be necessary for the aspirant to honours to change a syllable of the

the name that is already presumably one of his assets. The obligations of adoption are as stringent as they were in Greece and Rome. M. Bellessort quotes a dilemma that came under his notice. A distinguished economist Mr Kotegawa was desirous of Parliamentary honours. He found a compatriot of the same family name who was willing to be responsible for the election expenses of a son. The settlement was all but concluded when it appeared that if the son was forty years old the father was barely thirty. The Home Secretary stated that the law could not countenance such an anomaly and the economist had to continue the search for a father who was at least his coeval.

M. Bellessort's interpreter Mikata, a one-time Lyonnais, had a friend Mr Kumé who was setting off on an electoral campaign. An invitation was procured for the French visitor. On the railway journey Mr Kumé unfolded his prospects. His native village was solid for him. Nor was the opposition very strong in other parts of the constituency. His friends had assiduously spread abroad the report that he meant to spend 30,000 yen if necessary. The news of this promised lavishness had nipped several political ambitions in the bud. Only one opponent remained in the field. He was a man of straw put up to ensure that the advertised amount would be spent on the constituency, that the wanted splendour of the electoral

electoral banquets should remain undimmed and that the indecent stinginess apt to accompany an unopposed return should be effectually obviated. A typical product of American education, Mr Kumé was fresh from the construction of one of the Formosan railroads, and now that many novel industrial enterprises were likely to be floated in the wake of the new treaties he judged the moment opportune for a self-respecting engineer to seek a seat. He stood aloof from the various political groups but what was radical in the policy of each of the parties courted his support. Being a Northerner he arrayed himself against the great Southern clans which have monopolised the reins of power since the Restoration. He leaned towards Republicanism as a form of government suited to the business community but considered a constitutional monarchy quite a satisfactory makeshift.

Questioned if he would develop these ideas before the electorate he smiled a negative: "Not yet, they would not understand me." Political enthusiasm of a less cynical cast was personified in his private secretary who was paid thirty yen a month and spent twice or thrice as much in disinterested electioneering. A home-staying youth of indifferent education he had no other ambition than to harangue a mob and see his name in the newspapers. America and France appeared to him as

as happy lands where citizens perorated and voted from morning till evening and his hobby was the collection of the journals which published the portraits and the pantomime of the most famous foreign orators.

The journey ended at Maysbashi where the local committee gathered on the platform to receive the candidate. The town was traversed in some thirty Kuruyamas to a sort of Fancy Fair that had been organised. There in a wooden pavilion of one storey high the notabilities of the neighbourhood solemnly de-filed before Mr Kumé with much polite curtseying. From a tribune on a hillock outside the president of the committee thanked Mr Kumé for his visit; the candidate briefly responded and the geishas filled up the rest of the programme. A tipsy onlooker caused some amusement. "Est-ce un electeur? the visitor asked Mikata. "Non certes!" "A quel titre boit-il donc le saké de M. Kumé?" "He! fit-il, pensez-vous qu'on n'ait a plaire qu'aux electeurs? Chacun a ses amis, ses conseillers, ses cliens, ses vieux serviteurs qu'il est indispensable de fêtoyer si l'on veut obtenir son suffrage." To the geishas rather than the orators fell the applause of the crowd.

In the finest hotel of the village the candidate held a further reception. In the midst of the refection the handsome chief of <sup>the</sup> Soshis silently retired to repulse an attack of the

the rival candidates' bravos. For the opposition kept a band of Soshis to put Mr Kumé to the same expense. A little out of touch with his native district through long absence Mr Kumé had cherished the illusion that the electors would heckle him on his policy. He had spent several days in anticipating probable inquiries and preparing fitting answers. But the electors smoked his cigars in peace and showed no desire to make acquaintance with his political philosophy. After an hour's silence the candidate set out to return the visits he had received. On his native soil this radical representative of the people became a sort of taciturn feudal chief whose word was law to his retainers.

Awaiting his return M. Bellessort was introduced to an ex-deputy who had been unseated by a premature dissolution. Perhaps disappointment had soured his judgment. At any rate his experience, he avowed, had given him the impression that the deputies are corrupted all by office or honours or money. There was not a single statesman in Japanese public life. The visitor suggested the Marquis Ito. "Alas, he is for the moment indispensable. He has more malice than character. But he is not easily taken by surprise." The name of the Emperor acted as a talisman. "The Emperor is wisdom itself." "And the Princes?" But like the most of the people the ex-



ex-deputy had scant respect for the princes. The Emperor monopolises the veneration of his subjects. Japanese Imperialism has no demi-gods.

During that night the opposition soshis were thrice repulsed. On the morrow the party journeyed on in kuruyamas to Mr Kumé's native village. The candidate nodded his greeting to unimportant passers-by but dismounted and made grave obeissance thrice before important friends. Arriving at a bridge on the outskirts of the village the party perceived men brandishing great coloured banners which celebrated Mr Kumé and bore extracts from his election addresses. "My heart belongs to the fatherland" was printed on the most conspicuous. These standard bearers led the way to the village inn. A hundred fog signals detonated. But the village itself was indifferent to this carefully engineered welcome.

Being the first visit Mr Kumé had paid to his birthplace for six years, he donned native garb and revisited his father's tomb. An ancient samurai thrown on his own resources by the Restoration his father had founded a school. On the commemorative tablet grateful pupils had graved their appreciation of his services.

A hundred guests, mostly hardy peasants, were invited to a banquet on the first evening. There were a few short

short speeches. The most successful fell from the lips of the ex-deputy. The substance of his address was the interpretation of a dream he had dreamed the previous night. This dream was a glorified pun. The name of the rival candidate Araé resembled that of a mountain village, while the name Kumé was similar to the word Kumai signifying "rice offered to the gods." Further Mr Kumé's proname could be translated as "Assistance-of-the-people." Nothing could be clearer than the significance of the dream. The ex-deputy had seen a stream overflow among the mountains and carry away the village Araé, then spread its fertilising strength over the furrowed plains beneath. The plains had grown an excellent crop of rice (Kumai) which became the "Help of the people." "Long Live Kumé" cried the enthusiastic auditors. To which the gratified candidate responded with the sacramental formula "Now amuse yourselves." And forthwith music and dancing extinguished politics.

On the following day a meeting of three hundred electors was held. Mr Kumé spoke of clan politics. A second speaker delivered an ornate address on the relation between the snow outside (it was snowing) and the Japanese civic virtues. Mikata eulogised Napoleon and Gambetta and discussed the aspects of representative government. Nojo chief of the soshis took

up his parable: "Mr Mikata has spoken of France. Our proverb "The wind of spring brings luck to the sellers of spectacles" may have been translated from the French. In truth spring is the sweetest of the seasons: no one stays indoors. The wind raises dust, everybody puts on spectacles; everybody breaks them and so the dealer profits. The election of Mr Kumé is the spring wind which blows for the kurumayas, the geishas, the restaurateurs and for a soshi like me! I should be always poor if there were no elections and no Mr Kumé....Mr Igarashi has spoken of snow. Snow gentlemen is a presage of victory," which declaration the orator supported by allusion to various exploits of Japanese tradition which took place in snowy weather, and clinched by the citation of Napoleon's winter march across the Alps. A municipal banquet followed. An unguarded dignitary asked the chief of the soshis to retire. Another asked him to stay. The insulted orator wreaked his wrath on the crockery and on the morrow proffered a request for an indemnity of 100 yen to wipe out the insult. A feature of the feast was an old country dance by Mr Kumé. This evening's entertainment concluded the electoral campaign which won over the district for Mr Kumé.

Part III.

THE HOROSCOPE OF THE EXTREME  
ORIENT

Chapter I.

VIA CRUCIS.

## VIA CRUCIS.

The first & most potent influence in the history of most nations that have adopted an alien civilization has been religion. Whether it is that religious forces which as Mr. Lecky has pointed out have shaped modern civilization so strongly in its early developments, are no longer dominant influences or whether Japan is fortified by a more independent and deeper rooted conservatism than any nation has hitherto been placed in a similar position it is certain that religion has had little enough to do with the transformation of Japan. But in any speculation as to the future of the island Empire the consideration of the prospects of Christianity naturally claims a prominent place.

As a spokesman from the missionary side

1 has laboured in Japan naturally  
demands to be called forward.

the most cultured representative of the Church who

In a long letter penned to the Master of Pembroke  
College Oxford, of which foundation he

was himself a fellow, Rickersteth reviews the  
situation in the diocese to which he had just

been consecrated. He notes a change in the

popular attitude towards Christianity & an

increased willingness to give its claims a respectful

hearing. This he attributes mainly to the spread

of popular education to which cause he also

traces a revived interest in Buddhism. "In 1860

a missionary wrote that when he mentioned the subject

of Christianity in the presence of a Japanese his hand

would almost involuntarily be applied to his throat

to indicate the extreme perilousness of such a topic ....

In 1881 a leading Japanese paper declared

Christianity to be the only religion that can satisfy

the aspirations of the Japanese people today." But

the general result of the contact with Western

civilization tends, the Bishop regretfully admits, to

philosophical writings of evolutionary  
 agnosticism. To University of Tokio & to  
 ascribes a prepotent influence in this  
 direction. But only is a young graduate  
 disabused of the superstitions of his youth  
 but "too often" he has also been led by his  
 European teacher to regard the creed of  
 Christendom as practically on a level  
 with the faith of his own country..... I would  
 not be understood to bring a sweeping charge  
 of infidel propagandism against all  
 European professors who have taught in  
 Japan ---- But admittedly a great majority of  
 those who have left England & Germany to  
 teach in Japan have not themselves been  
 Christian in faith & have led their pupils to  
 adopt their own attitude towards Christianity  
 .... In Japan a wide dissemination of  
 literature which is more or less directly  
 hostile to Christianity is said also to have  
 had a disastrous tendency in the same  
 direction. In an able article on this subject  
 which was read at a missionary conference  
 at Osaka, I find the works of Spencer, Mill  
 and Huxley Draper & others mentioned  
 as having prejudiced the educated classes  
 against the claims of Christianity." The Bishop's



conclusion was that 1 English Universities  
should establish a mission & send out men  
& counteract these hostile agencies. Other  
characteristic features to which 1 Bishop  
draws attention are rapid development of  
an independent native church, 1 return to  
Roman obedience of thousands of 1  
descendants of 1 early Christians, & 1  
presence of a powerful & well-worked mission  
of 1 Russo-Greek Church under Bishop  
Pierre Nicolai, and 1 activity of 1  
American Protestant communities. In  
a later letter 1 Bishop comments on 1  
difference between 1 people of India & Japan.  
"Here foreigners & can only suggest & guide, in  
India they rule; so that even by missionaries,  
as to say Bishops, continual care has to be  
taken not to offend Japanese susceptibilities. They  
have not yet realized this in Salisbury Square  
& send out pages of regulations for native  
churches. In 1 one case where a missionary  
unwisely took them in his hand & said  
that this was 1 plan agreed upon for their  
organization in England, 1 whole thing was  
promptly rejected with 1 offer of monetary help  
which was attached to its acceptance"



At a speech in London before the Society for the  
propagation of the Gospel Bishop Bickersteth  
again examined the attitude of the people towards  
Christianity & described it as one of respectful  
hesitation. He had never heard of an instance  
where a <sup>sympathetic & tactful</sup> missionary conversant with the language  
had failed to gather considerable numbers into  
the fold. It was not beyond the bounds of sober  
expectation that Japan might be counted  
among the Christian nations within the  
lifetime of those now living. Besides ~~ordinarily~~ <sup>depending</sup>  
~~work of the missionary clergy to be about 6.~~ The Bishop  
depended much upon the acceptance of educational  
posts in schools by sincere Christians who  
were willing to act as auxiliaries to the missionary  
clergy. In this fashion. Amongst women the field  
was specially promising. Elected on to the  
board of management of a new institution  
founded in Tokio for higher education  
of women the Bishop consented to look out for

available teachers in England on condition that  
ladies chosen should be free to exercise  
definitely religious influence on their pupils.  
The proviso was readily conceded & Bishop  
wrote home that "men themselves agnostics  
as keen as razors in intellect not seldom  
admitted that religion is a great element  
even in culture". The headmistresses of one of  
Church of England High Schools, <sup>in London</sup> with five  
other ladies accepted posts. But 1 zeal of  
Bishop's nominees did not appear to himself  
to be evenly tempered with discretion & within  
a few years 1 Japanese authorities restricted  
opportunities of direct proselytism.

The Bishop saw that 1 great end  
of planting English missions in Japan was 1  
quick establishment of an autonomous native  
church. The Portuguese in 16<sup>th</sup> century had not  
inducted a single native to 1 priesthood &  
this omission lay <sup>one of</sup> 1 seeds of their failure. "We

glad of teachers" said a Japanese "we require no  
masters." By co-operation with 1 mission of 1  
Protestant Episcopal Church of America 1  
Bishop founded 1 Nippon Sei Kōkwai or Holy  
Catholic Church of Japan. Conscious always  
of kindness ~~to~~ to 1 spread of Christianity  
hindered by 1 ~~disruption~~ <sup>disruption</sup> of 1 ~~various missions~~  
Church into competing sects he looked forward to  
an eventual re-gathering into one large communion  
and with approval Professor Milligan's saying: "The  
world will never be won by a disunited Church"  
at 1 address he delivered at a Conference with 1  
Methodist missionaries of Japan is disappointing  
as an olive branch: it simply amounts to an  
invitation to dissenting bodies to accept 1  
hierarchical organisation of 1 Church of England.  
~~English~~ <sup>A</sup> translation of 1 English prayerbook  
was published but it was not deemed advisable  
to set up 1 39 articles as 1 dogmatic expression  
of beliefs of 1 new Church. The most unfortunate

object in Bishop Bickersteth's seem to have  
been their excessive High Churchism. On  
schools for girls to which he attached so much  
hope Mrs Fraser (wife of a former British  
Minister at Tokio) thus comments:

I do not sympathise greatly with the kind of school  
which only receives girls of a class who can pay very  
highly, and give them in secular teaching, only  
that which they could have on a very much higher  
scale in various high schools where the best foreign  
teachers are employed. The Christian element  
although enforced by Bible & Catechism lessons  
affects most strongly in a kind of rough contempt  
for all devout traditions of Japanese.

At one time it seemed probable that Japan  
would adopt Christianity by statute as  
a national religion. But a Royal Commission  
which was sent to Europe to investigate reported  
that the <sup>value</sup> ~~influence~~ of Christianity as  
shown by its effect on ~~Christian~~ morals  
was no greater than that of the indigenous  
religion of Japan.

If Japan could not have won her way into 1 first rank of nations without adopting Christianity it seems probable she would have done so. But 1 acceptance of Christianity on its merits is a very different thing. Even since Bishop Bickersteth wrote there seems to have been a distinct set back. Mr. Ransome quotes one of 1 leading Japanese journals as stating: "when Christianity first came to Japan it was warmly welcomed; in after years it was bitterly opposed; and, at 1 present day it is treated with indifference." Mr. Ransome himself remarks: "it is bitter ignorance of 1 subject nor hostility to it which has caused 1 Japanese to eschew Christianity for 1 younger generation at all events, have a more complete knowledge of its doctrines than have many of 1 half-educated missionaries who go out to teach them. But 1 heads of 1 modern 1 Japanese are full of 1 doctrines of John Stuart Mill, Auguste Comte & others whose writings they have studied side by side with 1



able." As Mr. Hearn ~~maintains~~: Those who hope to substitute their own Western creed in (room of one such way weak by (aid of knowledge borrowed from modern science, do not imagine that (arguments used against (ancient faith can be used with equal force against (new. Unable himself to reach (higher levels of modern thought, (average missionary cannot foresee (result of his small teaching of science upon an Oriental mind naturally more powerful than his own. He is therefore astonished & shocked to discover that (more intelligent his pupil (truer (form of that pupil's Christianity. To destroy personal faith in a fine mind previously satisfied with Buddhist cosmogony because innocent of science, is not extremely difficult. But to substitute in (same mind, Western religious emotions for Oriental, Presbyterian or Baptist dogmatism for Chinese & Buddhist ethics, is not possible. The psychological difficulties in (way are never recognized by our modern evangelists." One effect of Christian

missions has been greatly to stimulate native religions. Even Shinto can now boast of scholars educated at Oxford & Paris among its clergy, "men whose names are known to Sanscritists I would over." Mr. Heathen believes that Buddhism transmuted by Western science will suffice Japan. But it would seem that among the higher classes Buddhism has mostly been displaced by Simple Agnosticism. The writer ~~has~~ asked a Japanese fellow student some years ago a question about the creeds of his country. The reply "came in good faith" it is only the lower classes that have any religion." Probably Mr. Herbert Spencer's view of the relative value of religions holds a field amongst many critics. And doubtless not a few of them agree with Gibbon's dictum that all religions are equally true, equally false & equally useful. But in any case by far the greater number of non-missionary writers agree with Lord Curzon's conclusion: "but meantime I must bear to be against the official or popular selection of any professed branch of Christian theology."

THE COMING JAPAN.

"Japan?" said Sir Harry Parkes in a conversation  
"Japan? Japan?" repeating himself after a habit he  
had "Japan will be a South American Republic"  
and I once did seem to point in that  
direction. But his biographer very properly dissents  
in a footnote. The world has moved since then.  
It may be that ultimately republicanism will come  
to the front. But only the other day a Japanese  
journalist was sent to jail for a lengthy period  
for venturing to hint at such a possibility & no  
voice was raised in his defense. Certainly the only  
republic that ever existed in Asia found footing in  
Japan. It was a republic pour rire & lasted in  
Tokodate for a few weeks of 1869. But Imperialism  
probably more deeply rooted in Japan than anywhere.  
and the difference between Republicanism & a  
constitutional monarchy does not appear to have  
any great bearing on its future. Probably Japan



will be mainly influenced by the course of affairs in Europe. Whatever tendencies appear Japan will be in the swim. It seems to me to write that she will continue to model herself in this respect upon Great Britain. Since Dr. A. R. Wallace in his 'Island Life' called her the Great Britain of the East she has claimed no prouder title.

In his note on Chauvinism in Japan Prof. Chamberlain alludes to a programme which some Japanese publicists have drawn up with grandiloquent pen: "Japan is to engross the trade of the Pacific, to be the leader of Asia in modern warfare & diplomacy, to found colonies, to annex the Philippines (the quotation is from the 1898 edition of "Things Japanese") & Australia. According to some she will remodel philosophy; for Europe is incurably superstitious, Japan essentially reasonable. Mr. Inagaki a well-known publicist who has lived abroad & even published a book in English, has written essays to demonstrate Japan's special fitness for originating new & important views on international law."

heartime | irony of fate has set up Japan's international diplomacy as probably | most important & most conservative factor in preserving | status quo in | Far East. And Japan + England + America seems likely to be a permanently dominating influence in preventing | break-up of China. more + more Japan will improve her armaments: a telegram from Yokohama on | 30<sup>th</sup> October signifies a course of action that will be repeated till | fleet of Japan is equal to combined fleets <sup>that</sup> of all | powers that have interests round | Yellow Sea can place there.

#### JAPANESE NAVY INCREASE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

Yokohama, October 30.

The scheme of naval expansion adopted by the Cabinet involves an annual outlay of 16,500,000 of yen, spread over 10 years from 1904. It provides, among other things, for the construction of three new battleships and three large armoured cruisers.

whether Japan will be an expanding power is doubtful. Her inland accommodation will suffice for her population yet a long while. And all | powers of | West will be arrayed against her. Santa Anna here

the chief authority on Brazil has championed the  
cause of Japanese as immigrants into South  
America. But British Columbia has long  
been at daggers drawn with another country  
over admission of Japanese miners into  
North America. The spread of neo-Malthusianism  
in Australia & utter failure to develop its  
resources without having recourse to Asiatic  
labour leads one to believe that when Japan  
becomes as she will become, one of the ~~three~~  
two or three greatest naval powers in the world  
she may be able to procure admission for  
her superabundant population into claims  
that white man thinks he has finally begged  
out for his own posterity. But nearer home  
in vast areas of Malay Archipelago lie  
spoils that may go in part to Japan.

which I would nations will crystallize & he adverts to the possibility of a Japanese understanding with China.

It is in Eastern Asia alone that there seems to be any possibility of a synthesis sufficiently great to maintain itself, arising outside of, and independently of, the interlocked system of mechanically sustained societies that is developing out of mediæval Christendom. Throughout Eastern Asia there is still, no doubt, a vast wilderness of languages but over them all rides Chinese writing. And very strong — strong enough to be very gravely considered — is the possibility of that writing taking up an orthodox association of sounds, and becoming a world speech. The Japanese written language, the language of Japanese literature, tends to assimilate itself to Chinese, and fresh Chinese words and expressions are continually taking root in Japan. The Japanese are a people quite abnormal and incalculable, with a touch of romance, a conception of honour, a quality of imagination, and a clearness of intelligence that renders possible for them things inconceivable to any other existing nation. I may be the slave of perspective effects, but when I turn my mind from the petty fogginess of the English House of Commons, for example, that magnified body that is so proud of itself as a club — when I turn from that to this race of bold and smiling people, abruptly destiny begins drawing with a bolder hand. Suppose the Japanese were to make up their minds to accelerate whatever process of synthesis were possible in China! Suppose after all I am not the victim of atmospheric refraction, and they are indeed, as gallant and bold and intelligent as my baseless conception of them would have them be — they would almost certainly find co-operative elements among the educated Chinese.

The consideration of Mr. Wells' hint naturally leads to a fascinating + portentous picture which Dr. C. H. Pearson has drawn of a Yellow Peril. The writer has only time to record his agreement with Lord Curzon's criticism of Mr. Pearson. If Japan had set out on a path of progress fifty years before she did Mr. Pearson's forecast would be fifty times more probable than it is today. But a golden gate of opportunity for a rise of a Yellow Empire holding a West in awe, are too jealously guarded today. The future of a East, <sup>however,</sup> as a competitor in a industrial market of a world is ominous enough.

In Japan herself noteworthy tendencies are already coming into play. The small stature of a race seems to be partially due to a universal cowering posture adopted. The length of limbs from a symphysis pubis downwards have been stated to be several inches below a average of a white race. But conscription + physical training are

worried from religion it will go hands

ready working wonders. The introduction of a flesh diet which is now fostered by use of meat in army & navy leads in same direction. The age of marriage is now being postponed by conscription & increasing industrial competition so that race is less & less likely to suffer as it has done from immature births. It is doubtful if there will be any corresponding improvement in morals.

Individualism is already hardening heart & relaxing old self-sacrificing ways. But glowing patriotism of country covers a multitude of sins. The vices of opium & drink ~~are~~ are a far less potent cause of degeneration than in either China or Occident. It is true some alarm is felt at dissolution of old moral sanctions. It was probably this feeling which led to extraordinary moral rescript which Emperor issued to his subjects in 1890 & which was quoted by a Japanese writer in "International Journal of Ethics." In morality cannot be divorced from religion it will go hand with /

with the upper classes of Japan. But patriotism may have for them almost the sanctions of a religion ~~as~~ just as Socialism is almost becoming a religion in the West. One may almost expect that the influence of a Christian Occident on Japan will be less than the influence of an Agnostic Japan on the Occident. Intellectually Japan has only to guard against retrogression.