The Rule of the Dead.
It seems now be evident to the reader that the duties of Chinese were all comprised in the doctrine of unquestioned obedience to custom originating, directly or indirectly, in the family cult. Duties were not different from religion; religion was not different from government; and the very word for government signified "matters of religion." Government ceremonies were preceded by prayer or sacrifice; and from the highest rank of society to the lowest every person was subject to the law of tradition. To obey was pious; to disobey was impiety; and the rule of obedience was enforced upon each individual by the will of the community in which he belonged.
no more than obedience to tradition, tradition itself gradually became identified with the moral law. To imagine the consequent social condition is, of course, somewhat difficult for the modern mind. Among ourselves, religious ethics and social ethics have long been practically dissociated; and the latter have become, with the gradual weakening of faith, more insipid and unimportant than the former. Most of us learn, sooner or later in life, that it is not enough to keep the Ten Commandments, and that it is much less dangerous to break most of the commandments, in a quiet way, than to violate social custom. But in old Japan there was no distinction tolerated between ethics
and custom, between moral requirements and social obligations; convention identified both, and so conceal a breach of either was impossible, as privacy did not exist.

Moreover, the unwritten commandments were not limited to a few; they were multiplied by hundreds, and the least in -friviolity was punishable, not merely as a blunder, but as a sin. Oft were in each's own home nor anywhere else could the ordinary person do as he pleased; and the extraordinary person was under the surveillance of zealous dependants whose constant duty was to reprove any breach of usage. The religion capable
A regularity was act of existence
by the force of common opinion,
requires no exception.

Note: Easy moral custom
must be coercive custom. But
as many habits, at first
painfully formed under compulsion
only, become easy through
constant repetition, and at last
automatic, so the conduct
compelled through many genera-

ditions by religious and civil
authorities, tends eventually
to become almost instinctive. Much
depends, no doubt, upon the
degree to which religious com-
pulsion is hindered by exter-

cior causes, — by long protracted
war, for example; — and in Old
Japan, there was incredible extra-
ordinary. Nevertheless, the
influence of Shinto accomplished
wonderful things, evolved
a national type of character
worthy, in many ways, of earnest
admiration. The ideal senti-
ment developed in such character
differed widely from ours own;
but it was exactly adapted
to the social requirements.
For this national type of moral
character was invented the name
Yamato-damashi (or Yamato-
gokoro), the Soul of Yamato,
(or Heart of Yamato); the
appellation of the old province
of Yamato, zeal of the early
emperors, being figuratively used
for the entire country. We
migai correctly, though less literally, interpret the expression Yamato-
-kamashi as, "The Soul of Old Japan."

It was in reference to this "Soul of Old Japan" that the great Shinbutsu scholars of the
eighteenth and nine hundred centuries and for their bold assertion
that conscience alone was a suffi-
cient ancient guide. They de-
claimed the high quality of the
Japanese conscience a proof of the
divine origin of the race. "Human
beings," wrote Motowori, "having
been produced by the spirits of
the two Creative Beings, are
naturally endowed with the know-
ledge of what they ought to do,
and of what they ought to refrain
from doing. It is unnecessary,
for them & trouble their minds with systems of morality. If a system of morals were necessary, men would be inferior to animals—all of whom are endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do, only in an inferior degree to men.” Mabuchi, at an earlier day, had made a comparison between Japanese and Chinese moralities, speaking of the disadvantage of the latter. “I have said,” said Mabuchi, “when men’s dispositions were straightforward, a complicated system of morals was unnecessary. It would naturally happen that bad actions might be occasionally committed; but the straightforwardness of men’s dispositions would prevent them from being concealed and as growing in error. Do in these days it was unnecessary & I have a doctrine

* All of these opinions are quoted from Solow's great essay on The Shinto Revival.
of right and wrong. But the Chinese, being bad at heart, in spite of the teaching which they got, were good only on the outside; and their bad acts became of such malign influence that society was thrown into disorder. The Japanese, being straightforward, could do without teaching. " Motowari repeated these ideas in a slightly different way: — "It is because the Japanese were truly moral in their practice that they required no theory of morals; and the fines made by the Chinese about incoherent moral oaths is owing to their laxity in practice.... To have learned that there is no Way [ethical system], to be learned and practiced, is really to have learned to practice the Way of the Gods." As a latter day interpreter wrote: — "Learn to stand in awe of the unseen, and that will prevent you from doing wrong. Cultivate the conscience implanted in you; then you will never wander from the Way."
Though the sociologist may smile at these declarations of moral superiority, especially as based on the assumption that the race had been better in primitive times, even yet fresh from the hands of the gods) there was in them a grain of truth. When Malachi and Motowori wrote, the nation had been long subjected to a discipline of almost incredible sternness, in the face, and of extraordinary response to application.

Yet this discipline had actually brought into evidence a wonderful average of character,—a character of surprising patience, unselfishness, truth, kindness, and docility combined with high courage. But only the sociologist can imagine what the cost of developing that character must have been.
It is necessary here to observe that the discipline with which the nation had been subjected up to the age of the great Shinsō rulers, seems to have had a curious evolution. In primitive times it had been much less uniform, less complex, less minutely organized, though no less impregnable; and it had continued to develop and elaborate more and more with the growth and consolidation of society, until under the Tokugawa Shōgunate the possible maximum of regularity was reached. In other words, the yoke had been made heavier and heavier in proportion to the growth of the national strength,—in proportion to the power of the people to bear it.

... We have seen that, from the beginning of this civilization, the whole life of the citizen was
ordered for him: his occupation, his marriage, his rights as fatherhood, his rights to hold and dispose of property,—all these matters were settled by religious custom. We have also seen that outside as well as inside of his home, his actions were under supervision, and that a single grave breach of usage might cause his social ruin. In such cases he would be given to understand that he was not merely a social, but also a religious offender; that the communal God was angry with him; and that he would be held responsible for any act which provoked the divine vengeance against the entire settlement. But it yet remains to be seen what rights were held by the central authority ruling his district, which held a kind of religious authority from which there was no appeal in
ordinary cases.

Material for the study of the old laws and customs have not yet been collected in sufficient quantity to yield us full information as to the conditions of all classes before Meiji. But a great deal of precious work has been accomplished in this direction by American scholars; and the labours of Professor Wigram and of the late Mr. Sonnens have furnished documentary evidence from which much can be learned about the legal status of the masses during the Tokugawa period. This, as I have said, was the period of the most elaborated
The extent to which the people were controlled can be best inferred from the nature and number of the customary laws to which they were subjected. Customary laws in Old Japan probably exceeded in multitude and minuteness any thing of which Western legal history yields record. Rapidly as the family, cult, and clan behaviors in the home, strictly so the common rules enforced its standards of communal duty, just so rigidly and strictly did the rulers of the nation dictate how the individual — man, woman, or child — should dress, walk, sit, speak, work, eat, drink. Announcements were not less mercilessly regulated than were labors.

Every class of Japanese society was under customary regulation, with the degree of the regulation varying
in different centuries; and this kind of legislation appears to have been established at an early period.

It is recorded that, in the year 681 A.D., the Emperor Tamme regulated the costumes of all classes, "from the Prince of the Blood down to the common people, and the wearing of head-dresses and girdles, as well as of all kinds of coloured stuffs, according to a scale."

The costumes and the colours to be worn by priests and monks had been already fixed, by an edict issued in 679 A.D. Afterwards these regulations were greatly multiplied and detailed. But it was under the Tokugawa rulers, a thousand years later, that sumptuary laws obtained their most remarkable development; and the nature of them is best indicated by the regulations applying to the peasantry. Every detail of

The farmer's evidence was prescribed for by law,—from the size, form, and cost of his dwelling, down even to such trifling matters as the number and the quality of the dishes to be served to him at meal-times. A farmer with an income of 100 kori of rice—(let us say £90 and £100 per annum)—might build a house 60 feet long, but no longer; he was forbidden to construct it with a room containing an above; and he was not allowed—except by special permission—to roof it with tiles. None of his family were permitted to wear silk; and in case of the marriage of his daughter to a person legally entitled to wear silk, the bride-groom was to be requested not
I was sick at the wedding. Three kinds of viands only were to be served at the wedding of such a farmer's daughter or son; on the quality as well as the quantity of the soup, fish, or sweetmeat offered to the wedding guests, were legally fixed. So likewise the number of the wedding gifts: even the cost of the presents of rice, wine, or dried fish was prescribed, and the quality of the simple fan which it was permissible to offer the bride.

At no time was a farmer allowed to make any valuable presents to his friends. At a funeral he might serve the guests with certain kinds of plain food; but if rice-wine were served, it was not to be served in wine-cups,
— only in soup-cups! [The latter, regular in probably referred to Chinese funerals in especial.]

On the occasion of a child’s birth, the grandparents were allowed to make only four presents (according to custom), — including “one cotton baby-dress”; and the values of the presents were fixed. On the occasion of the Boys’ Festival, the presents to be given to the child by the whole family, including grandparents, were limited by law to “one paper-flag,” and “two toy-spears.”... A Farmer
whose property was assessed at 50 koku was forbidden to build a house more than 45 feet long. At the wedding of his daughter the gift-girdle was not to exceed 50 den in value; and it was forbidden to serve more than one kind of soup at the wedding feast... A farmer with a property assessed at 20 koku was not allowed to build a house more than 36 feet long, or to use in building it such superior qualities of wood as Kayakii or hinoki. The roof of his house was to be made of bamboo thatch or straw; and he was strictly forbidden the comfort of floor-mats. On the occasion of the wedding of his daughter he was forbidden to have fish or any roasted food served at the wedding feast. The women of his family were not allowed to wear leather sandals; they might wear only
drawn sandals or wooden clogs; and the
soles of the sandals or the clogs
were to be made of cotton. The
women were further forbidden to
wear hair-bindings of silk, or hair-
ornaments of tortoise-shell; but
the men might wear wooden combs and
combs of bone — not ivory. The men
were forbidden to wear stockings,
and their sandals were to be made
of bamboo.* They were also forbidden
to use sun-shades — hi-gasa, — or
day paper umbrellas.... A farmer
assessed at 10 koku was forbidden
to build a house more than 30 feet
long. The women of his family were
required to wear sandals with slings
of bamboo grass. At the wedding of
his son or daughter one present only
was allowed — a quilted sheet. At
the birth of his child one present only
was to be made: namely, one toy-
spear, in the case of a boy; or one
paper doll, or one "mud-doll" in the
case of a girl....

---* These are sandals or clogs made of bamboo-wood, but the meaning here is "sandals."

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...the more unfortunate class of farmers, having no land of their own, and officially termed mizunomi, or "wallow-drinkers," it is scarcely necessary to remark that there were also more severely restricted in regard to food, apparel, etc. They were not even allowed, for example, to have a quilt sheet as a wedding present. But a fair idea of the complexity of these humiliating restrictions can only be obtained by reading the document published by Professor Iwamura, which chiefly consists of paragraphs like these:

"The collar and the accessories of the clothes may be ornamented with silk, and an obi (silk sash) of silk or crepe-silk may be worn—but not in public..."

"A family ranking less than 20 koku must use the Takōda-wan (Takōda rice bowl), or the Nikkō-zen (Nikko bow)."

[These were the utensils of the cheapest kind of lacquer ware].

"Large farmers or chiefs of Kumi may use an umbrella; but small farmers and barn-dwellers must use only mine, straw-tamoco, and broad straw hats..."
These documents, published by Professor...

In Tsuno, I found, prior to Meiji, there were

The size of rooms, as well as the size of homes, was fixed here by law

It was difficult for the Western mind to understand how human beings could patiently submit to laws that regulated not only the size of one's dwelling and the cost of its furniture, but even the substance and character of clothing.
expense of a wedding outfit, but the quality of the marriage feast, and the quality of the vessels in which the food was served,
not only the kind of ornaments to be worn at a woman's hair, but the material of the clothes of her sabanda,
not only the price of presents to be made to friends, but the character and the cost of the cheapest boy to be given to a child. And the peculiar constitution of society made it possible to enforce this supplementary legislation by communal will; the people were obliged to coerce themselves! Each community, as we have seen, had been organized in groups of five or more households, called *kumi*; and the heads of the households forming a *kumi* elected one of their number as *kumi-pashira*, or group-chief, directly responsible to the higher authorities. The *kumi* was accountable for the conduct of each and all of its members; and each member was in some sort responsible for the rest. "Every
member of a kuni," declares one of the documents above mentioned," must carefully watch the conduct of his fellow members. If any one violates these regulations, without excuse, he is to be punished; and the kuni will also be held responsible."

Responsible even for the serious offense of giving more than one paper doll to a child?... But we should remember that in early Greece and Roman cities there was much legislation of a similar kind. The laws of Sparta regulated the way in which a woman should dress her hair; the laws of Athens fixed the number of her robes.

At Rome, in early times, women were forbidden to drink wine; and a similar law existed in the Greek cities of Melos and Massilia. In Rhodes and Byzantium the citizen was forbidden to shave; in Sparta he was forbidden to wear a moustache.
I need scarcely refer to the earlier Roman laws regulating the cost of marriage fees, and the number of guests that might be invited to a banquet; — for this legislation was directed chiefly against luxury. The astonishment provoked by Japanese samurai laws, particularly as inflicted upon the peasantry, is justified less by their general character than by their implacable vindictiveness, — their fervor of detail.

# lie #

Where a man’s life was legally ordered even in the least particulars, — even the quality of his food, as well as his headgear, the cost of his wife’s hairpins, and the price of his child’s doll, — one could hardly suppose that freedom of speech
would have been tolerated. To ask not exist; and the degree in which speech became regulated could be uninsisted by no one who never attempted to study the spoken language.

The hierarchical organization of society was faithfully reflected in the coordination of organization of language, in the organization of pronouns, nouns, and verbs, in the grades conferred upon adjectives by prefixes or suffixes. With the same mercenary exactitude which prescribed rules for dress, diet, and manner of life, all adherence was regulated, both negatively and positively — but positively much more than negatively. There was little insistence upon what was not to be said; but rules innumerable decided exactly what should be
said,—the word to be chosen, the phrase to be used. Early training
enforced caution in this regard: every body had to learn that only
certain verbs and nouns and pro-
nomins were lawful when addressing
superior, and other words permissible
only when speaking to equals or
teriors. Even the uneducated
were obliged to learn something
about this. But education culti-
vided a system of verbal etiquette
de multiple forms dealt only the training
of years could enable anyone to
master it. Among the higher
classes this etiquette developed
almost inconceivable complexities of
grammatical modifications of
language which, by implication,
exalted the person addressed or
humbly deprecated the person
addressing, must have come in to
general use at some very early period; but under subsequent Chinese influence these forms of propriety in speech multiplied exceedingly. From the Mikado himself—who still makes use of personal pronouns, or at least pronominal expressions, forbidden to any other mortal—down through all the grades of society, each class has an "I" peculiarly its own. Of terms corresponding to "you" or "them" there are still sixteen in use; but formerly there were many more. There are yet many different forms of the second person singular used only in addressing children, pupils, or servants. * Honori
dic or

* The sociologist will of course understand that these facts are not by any means restricted to that very sparing use of pronouns so amusingly described in Percival Lowell's "Soul of the Far East." In society, where object is extinction there is an avoidance of the use of personal pronouns, though as Herbert Spencer points out in illustrating this, even it is just among such societies that the most elaborate distinctions of pronominal forms of address are attempted to be found.
or humble forms of names indicating relationship were similarly multiplied and padded: there are still in use nine terms signifying "father", nine terms signifying "mother", eleven terms for "wife", eleven terms for "son", nine terms for "daughter", and seven terms for "husband". The forms of the verb, above all, were complicated by the exigencies of etiquette to a degree of which no idea can be given in any brief statement. At nineteen or twenty years of age a person carefully brought up from childhood might have learned all the necessary verbal usages of respectable society; but for a
mastery of the etiquette of superior converse many more years of study and experience were required. With the increasing multiplication of ranks and classes there came a correspondence in corresponding variety of forms of language: it was possible to ascertain to what class a man or a woman belonged by listening to his or her conversation. The written, like the spoken tongue, was regulated by social convention: the forms used by women were not those used by men; and these differences in verbal etiquette arising from the different training of the sexes resulted in the creation of a special espie language style, or 'woman's language,' which remains in use. And this sex differentiation of language was not confined to
letter writing; there was a woman's language also of converse, varying according to class. Even today, in ordinary conversation, an educated woman makes use of words and phrases not employed by men. Samurai women especially had their particular forms of expression in former times; and it is still possible to decide, from the speech of any woman brought up according to the old home training, whether she belongs to a samurai family.

Of course the matter as well as the manner of converse was restricted; and the nature of the restrictions upon free speech can be inferred from the nature
of the restraints upon freedom of demeanour.

Demeanour was most elaborately and mercilessly regulated,—not merely as to observances, of which there were countless modes, varying according to sex as well as class,—but even in regard to facial expression, the manner of sitting, the conduct of the breath, the way of sitting, standing, walking, rising. Every body was trained from infancy in this etiquette of expression and deportment. At what period it first became a mark of disrespect to betray, by look or gesture, any feeling of grief or pain, in the presence of a superior, we cannot know;—there is reason to believe that the most perfect self-control in this respect was enforced from prehistoric times.
But there was gradually developed — partly, perhaps, under Chinese teaching — a most elaborate code of deportment which required very much more than inpassivity. It required not only that any sense of anger or pain should be denied all outward expression, but that the sufferer’s face and manner should indicate the contrary feeling. Sullen submission was an offence; mere im-passive obedience inadequate; the proper degree of submission should manifest itself by a pleasant smile, and by a soft and happy tone of voice. The smile, however, was also regulated.
One has to be careful about the quality of the smile: it was a mortal offense, for example, to smile in addressing a superior, that the back-teeth could be seen. In the military class especially this code of demeanor was ruthlessly enforced. Samurai women were required, like the women of Sparta, to show signs of joy on hearing that their husbands or sons had fallen in battle: it being any natural feeling under the circumstances was a grave breach of decorum. And in all classes demeanor was regulated so severely that even today the manners of the people everywhere still reveal the nature of the old discipline.
fact is that the old-fashioned manners appear natural rather than acquired, instinctive rather than made by training. The bow, the sibilant "r" in "drawing of the breath" which accompanies the pronunciation, and is practised also in praying to the gods, — the position of the hands upon the floor at the moment of prayer or of farewell, — the way of sitting or rising or walking in the presence of a priest, — the manner of receiving or presenting anything, — all these ordinary actions, have a charm of seeming naturalness that mere reaching seems incapable of producing. This is still more true of the higher *etiquette*, — the *exquisite* *etiquette* of the old-time training in
more cultivated classes, particularly as displayed by women. We must suppose that the capacity to acquire such manners depends considerably upon inheritance— that it could only have been formed by the past experience of the race under discipline.

What such discipline, as regards politeness, must have signified for the mass of the people, may be inferred from the maxim of Ijyasan and Inagiziy a samurai? kill any person of the three inferior classes guilty of rudeness. Be it observed that Ijyasan was careful to qualify the meaning of "rude": he said that the Japanese term for a rude fellow signifies "an other than expected..."
person"—so that it committed an offense worthy of death, it was only necessary
of act in an "unexpected manner";
that is to say, contrary to prescribed
étiquette:

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- The Damavais are the masters
of the four classes. Agriculturists,
merchants, and merchants may not
behave in a rude manner towards
Damavais. The term for a rude
man is "other-than-expected
fellow"; and a Damavai is
not to be interfered with in
cutting down a fellow who has
behaved ill, or in a manner
other than is expected. The
Damavais are proud of their
direct retainers, secondary
retainers, and retainers of
high and low grade; but
the same line of conduct is
is equally allowable to them all
towards an other-than-expected
fellow. — [411. 426.
But there is little reason to suppose that Dyégaau created any new privilege of slaughter; he probably did no more than confirm by enactment certain long-established military rights. These rules about the conduct of inferiors to superiors would seem to have been pitilessly enforced long before the rise of the military power. We read that the Emperor Yuuriakun, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, killed a steward for the misdemeanor of remaining silent, through fear, when spoken to; we also find it recorded that he struck down a maid-of-honour who had brought him a cup
of wine, and that she would have cut off her head but for the extraordinary presence of mind which enabled her to improvise a poetical appeal for mercy. Her own fault had been that, in carrying the wine-cups, she failed to notice that a leaf had fallen into it; — probably because court custom obliged her to carry the cup in such a way as not to breathe upon it; for emperors and high nobles were served after the manner of gods. It is true that Yūriakin was in the habit of killing people for little mistakes; but it is evident that in the cases cited such mistakes were regarded as breaches of long-established decorum.
Probably before as well as after
the introduction of the Chinese penal
laws — the so-called Ming and Tsing
laws — by which the country was ruled
under the Manchus, — the bulk of
the nation was literally under the rod.
Common folk were punished by cruel
whippings for the most trifling offenses.
For serious offenses, death by torture
was an ordinary penalty; and there
were extraordinary penalties as savage
as almost as savage, as those established
during our own medieval period —
burnings and crucifixions and quarter-
strings and boiling alive in oil.
The document regulating the life of
village folk does not contain any
indication of the severity of legal
discipline. The Kuni-chō declares
what shall be punished, "suggesting nothing
terrible to the reader who has not
made himself familiar with the
ancient code. As a matter of fact, the term "punishment" in a Japanese legal document might signify anything from a lifting fine up to burning alive... Some evidence of the severity need to repress quarrelling, even as late as the time of Iyeyasu, may be found in a curious letter of Captain Saris, who visited Japan in 1613. "The first of July," wrote the Captain, "two of our Company happened to quarrel with the other, and were likely to have gone into the very field [i.e., to have fought a duel]..."
their whole generation.... The literal meaning of "cut in pieces" he explains later on, when remarking in the same letter, an execution that came under his observation:—

"The eighth, three Japanese were executed, viz., two men and one woman: the cause was, the woman, none of the honestest (her husband being travekkers from home) had appear'd at these two their several hours to repair unto her. The lady, man, not knowing of the former, and coming in before the hour appointed, found the first man, and enraged thereat, he whipped out his cattan and wounded both of them very sorely—having very near hewn the chine of the mans' back in two.
But as well as he might be cleared himself, or recovering his cutters, wounded the other. The street, among the mother of the fray, forthwith seized upon them, led them aside, and acquainted King James therewith, and sent I knew his pleasure, (for according to his will, the parts in executed), and presently gave order that they should cut off their heads: which done, they ran that served (as many many did) came to bring the sharpness of their swords upon the corpses; so that, before they left off, they had shorn them.
all three in 2 pieces as small as a man's hand, — and yet no violation of bending, and not then.site over, but placing the pieces one upon another, would by how many of them they could slide through at a blow; — and the pieces are left & the funeral, to devour."
Evidently the execution was in this case ordered for cause more serious than the offense of fighting; but it is true that quarrels were strictly forbidden and rigorously punished.

Though privileges do cut down "other than expected" people of inferior rank, the military class itself had to endure a discipline even more severe than that which it maintained. The penalty for a word or a look that displeased, or for a trifling mistake in performance of duty, might be death. In most cases the samurai was permitted to be his own executioner; and the spirit of self-destruction was deemed a privilege; but the obli-
-galea to thrust a dagger deeply into one's belly on the left side, and then draw the blade slowly and steadily across to the right side, so as to sever all the entrails, was certainly not less cruel than the vulgar punishment of crucifixion, or rather, double crucifixion.
Just as all matters relating to the manner of the individual's life were regulated by law, so were all matters relating to his death,—the quality of his coffin, the expenses of his interment, the order of his funeral, the form of his tomb. In the seventeenth century laws were passed to the effect that no one should be buried with unnecessary expense; and these laws fixed the cost of funerals according to rank and pride. Subsequent edicts described the dimensions of coffins, and the size of graves. In the eighteenth century every detail of funerals, for all classes of persons from prince to peasant, was fixed by decree. Other laws, and modifications of laws, were
made upon the subject in later centuries; but there appears to have always been a general tendency to extravagance in the matter of funerals,—a tendency so strong that, in spite of centuries of sumptuary legislation, it remains today as strong as ever. This can easily be understood if we remember the beliefs regarding duty to the dead, and the consequent desire to honour and to please the spirit even at the risk of family expen-
—poverty.

Bryder—Most of the legislation in more recent times has already been made more appear in modern minds as unnecessary; and some of
The regulations seem to us strangely cruel. There was, moreover, no way of evading or shirking these obligations of law and custom: whoever failed to fulfill them was doomed to perish or to become an outcast; — implicit obedience was the condition of survival. The tendency of such regulation was necessarily to suppress all mental and moral differentiation; to stifle, to quench, personality; to establish one uniform and unchanging type of character; — and such was the actual result.

To this day every Japanese mind reveals the lines of that ancient mould by which the ancestral mind was compressed and limited. It is impossible to...
understand Japanese psychology without knowing something of the laws that helped to form it,—
or, rather, to crystallize it under pressure.

Yet, on the other hand, the ethical effects of this un
discipline were unquestionably excellent. It compelled each
successing generation to practice the frugality of the forefathers,
and that compulsion was partly justified by the great poverty
of the nation. It reduced the cost of living to a figure far
below our Western comprehension of the necessary; it cultiva-
ted sobriety, simplicity, economy; it enforced cleanliness,
courtesy, and hardihood. And—strange as the fact—
may seem— it did not make the people miserable; they found
the world beautiful in spite of all their trouble; and the
happiness of the old life was
reflected in the old Japanese
art, much as the joyousness
of Greek life yet lingers to
us from the vase-designs
of forgotten painters.

And the explanation
is not difficult. We must remem-
ber that the coercion was not
exercised only from without; it was really maintained from
within. The discipline of the
race was self-imposed. The
people had gradually created
their own social conditions, and
therefore the legislation conserving
these conditions; and they
believe that legislation the best
possible. They believed it to
be the best possible for the
excellent reason that it had
been founded upon their own
social experience; and they
could greatly endure because
they had great faith. Only
religion could have enabled any
people to bear such discipline
without degeneracy in idleness
and cowardice; and the Japanese
never so degenerated: the
Indians had compelled them
social and obedience, also
cultivated courage, and is instilled upon other faculties. The power of the ruler was unlimited because the power of all the dead supported him. "Law," says Herbert Spencer, "is the written or unwritten, formulated rule of the dead over the living. In addition to that power which past generations exercise over present generations, by transmitting their nature,—bodily and mental,—and in addition to the power they exercise over them by bequeathing habits and modes of life,—there is the power they exercise through their regulations for public conduct, handed down orally, or in writing... I am pleased...
...these deeds," he adds, "for the purpose of showing that they simply a tacit ancestor worship.

Of no other laws in the history of human civilization are there observations more true than of the laws of Old Japan. And striking it is that they "formulate the rule of the dead over the living," and the hand of the dead was heavy: it is heavy upon the living even today. The new Japan, like the old, is governed by the dead.