The Social Organization.
The late Mr. John Firth, in his "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," made a very interesting remark about societies like those of China, ancient Egypt, or ancient Assyria. "I am expressing," he said, "something more than an analogy. — I am describing a real homology so far as concerns the process of development. — When I say that these communities stimulated modern European nations, much in the same way that a tree-fern of the carboniferous period stimulated the eoceneous trees of the present time:" So far as this is true of China, it is likewise true of Japan. The constitution of the old Japanese society was no more than an amplification of the constitution of the family, — the patriarchal family of
primitive times. The modern Western sociétés have been developed out of a like patriarchal condition: the early civilizations of Greece and Rome were similarly constructed, upon a lesser scale. But the patriarchal family in Europe was disrupted thousands of years ago; the gens and the curia dissolved and disappeared; the originally distinct classes became free to further; and a local reorganization of society was gradually effected, everywhere resulting in the substitution of voluntary for compulsory cooperation. Industrial types of society developed; and a state-religion overshadowed the ancient and exclusive local cults. But society in Japan never, till within the present era, became one coherent body, never developed beyond the clan-stage. It remained a loose agglomeration of clan-groups, or tribes,
— each religious and administrative, independent of the rest; and this huge agglomerate was kept together, not by voluntary cooperation, but by strong compulsion. Down to the period of Meiji, and even for some time afterward, it was liable to split at a fall asunder at any moment and the central coercive power showed signs of weakness. We may call it a feudalism; but it resembles European feudalism only as a bee-farm resembles a bee.

Let us point briefly to the native of this ancient society. The unit was not the household, but the patriarchal family,—that is to say, the gens or clan, a body of hundreds or thousands of persons claiming descent from a common ancestor, and so religiously united by a common ancestor—worship,—the end of the Kujigami. As I have
soon before, there were two classes of these patriarchal families: the Tujj, or
Great class; and the Kojji, or
Little class. The lesser were branches
of the greater, and subordinate to them,
so that the groups formed by an
Tujj with its Kojji made the tobole,
compared with the Roman curia or
Greek phrathy. Large bodies of
serfs or slaves appear to have
been attached to the various great
Tujj; and the number of these,
even at a very early period, seems
to have exceeded that of the
members of the clans proper.
The different names given to these
subject classes indicate different
grades and tracts of servitude.
One name was romobé, signifying
bound to a place, or district; —
another was yakabé, signifying
bound to a family; — a third
was kakibé, signifying bound
to a close, or estate; — yet another
and more general term was tami, which
anciently signifies "dependence," but
is now used in the meaning of the
English word "folk." There is
little doubt that the bulk of the
people were in a condition of servi-
dude, and that there were many
forms of servitude. Mr. Spencer
has pointed out that a general
distinction between slavery and
serfdom, in the sense commonly
attached to each of these terms,
is by no means easy to establish;
the real state of a subject-class,
especially in early forms of society,
depending much more upon the
character of the master, and the actual
conditions of social development,
than upon matters of privilege and
legislation. In speaking of
early Japanese modes of life, the
distinction is particularly hard
I draw; we are slide but little
informed as to the condition of the subject-classes in ancient times. It is safe to assert, however, that there were then really but two great classes—a ruling oligarchy, divided into many grades; and a subject population, also divided into many grades. Slaves were marked, either on the face or some part of the body, with a mark indicating their ownership. And within recent years this system of tattooing appears to have been maintained in the province of Calyvia, where the marks were put especially upon the hands; and in many other provinces the lower classes were generally marked by a brand on the face. Slaves were bought and sold like cattle in early times, or presented as tribute by their owners—a practice undoubtedly referred to in the ancient
records. Their unions were not recognized; a fact which reminds us of the distinction among the Romans between connubium and contributing; and the children of a slave-mother by a free father remained slaves. In the seventh century, however, private slaves were declared state-property; and great numbers were then emancipated, including nearly all—probably all—who were artisans or followed useful callings. Gradually a large class

* In the year 645, the Emperor Kōtoku issued the following edict on the subject:

"The son of a free man and a free woman shall be free. The children of a free man and a free woman shall belong to the father; if a free man takes a wife, the children shall belong to the mother; if a free woman marries a slave-man, the children shall belong to the father; if they are slaves, the children shall belong to the slave of two homes, the children shall belong to the mother. The children of temple-servos shall be free. Except in regard to others who become slaves, they shall be treated according to the rule for freemen. But in regard to others who become slaves, they shall be treated according to the rule for slaves."—[Aston's translation of the NIHONGI, Vol. II., p. 202.]
of freedmen came into existence; but
until modern times the great mass of
the common people appear to have
remained in a condition analogous to
serfdom. The greater number certain-
ly had no family names, which is considered evidence of
a former slave condition. Names
proper were registered in the name
of their owners; they do not
seem to have had a cult of their
own, —in early times, at least.
But down to Meiji only the aris-
docracy, samurai, doctors, and
teachers, —with perhaps a few
other exceptions, —could use a
family name. Another queer
bit of evidence on the subject,
furnished by the late Dr. Simmons,
relates to the mode of wearing
the hair among the subject classes.
up to the line of the Ashikaga shōguns (1334 A.D.) are classes excepting the nobility, samurai, Thérō priests, and doctors, slaves the greater part of the head, and wore queues; and this fashion of wearing the hair was called yakko-atama or dorei-atama—terms signifying "slave-head," and indicative that the fashion originated in a period of servitude.

About the origin of Japanese slavery, much remains to be learned. There are evidences of successive immigrations; and it is possible that some, at least, of the earlier Japanese settlers were reduced by later invaders to the status of servitude. Again, there was a considerable immigration of Koreans and Chinese, some of whom might have voluntarily sought servitude as a refuge from worse
But the subject remains obscure. We know, however, that degradation in slavery was a common punishment in early times; also, that debtors unable to pay became the slaves of their creditors; also, that thieves were sentenced to become the slaves of those whom they had robbed.* Evidently there were great differences in the conditions of servitude. The more unfortunate class of slaves were scarcely better off than domestic animals; but there were serfs who could not be bought or sold, nor employed at other than special work; these

* A decree issued by the Empress Jito, in 690, declared that a father could sell his son into slavery; but that debtors could be sold only into a kind of serfdom. The decree read thus: "If a younger brother of the common people is sold by his elder brother, he should be claimed with freemen; if a child is sold by his parents, he should be claimed with slaves; persons convicted with slavery by way of payment of kasshu or debt, are to be claimed with freemen; and their children, though born of a union with a slave, are to be all slaves with freemen." — (Ishin's KIBOONKI, Vol. III, p. 402)
were of kin & their lords, and may have entered voluntarily in servitude for the sake of sustenance and protection. Their relation to their masters remind us of that of the Roman client to the Roman patron.

So yet it is difficult to establish any clear distinction between the freemen and the freemen of ancient Japanese society; but we know that the free population, ranking below the ruling class, consisted of two great divisions: the *kuniatsu* and the *tomonatsu*. The first were farmers, descendants perhaps of the earliest Mongol invaders, and were permitted to hold their own lands independently of the central government. They were lords of their
own soil, but not nobles. The tomonotsuko were aristocrats—probably of Korean or Chinese descent, for the most part—and numbered no less than 180 clans. They followed hereditary occupations, and their clans were attached to the imperial clan, for which they were required to furnish skilled labour.

Originally each of the Ō-uchi and Ko-uchi had its own territory, chiefs, dependents, serfs, and slaves. The chief and his chiefs were hereditary, descending from father to son in direct succession from the original patriarch. The chief of a great clan was lord over the chiefs of the sub-clans attached to it: his authority was both religious and military. It must not be forgotten that religion and government...
were considered identical.
The Japanese clan-families were classed under three heads,—
Kōbētsu, Shinbētsu, and Bambētsu. The Kōbētsu ("Im-
perial Branch") represented the so-called imperial families, claim-
ing descent from the Sun-priest;
— the Shinbētsu ("Divine
Branch") were clans claiming descent from other deities, terres-
trial or celestial; — the Bambētsu ("Foreign Branch") represented
the mass of the people. Thus it would seem that, by the
ruling classes, the common people were originally considered
strangers, — Japanese only by
adoption. Some scholars think
that the term Bambetou was at first given to serfs or freemen of Chinese or Korean descent. But this has not been proved. It is only certain that the society was divided into three classes, according to ancestry; that two of these classes constituted a ruling oligarchy; and that the third, or "foreign" class represented the bulk of the nation,—the plebs.

There was a division also into classes—kabane or sei. I use the term "castes," following Dr. Florenz, the leading authority on ancient Japanese civilization,

* Dr. Florenz accounts for the distinction between Kôbêto and Shinbêto as due to the existence of two military ruling classes, resulting from two successive waves of invasion or immigration. The Kôbêto were the followers of Jimmu Tenno; the Shinbêto were earlier conquerors who long settled in Yamato prior to the advent of Jimmu. These foreign conquerors were not dispossessed.
who gives the meaning of sei as equivalent to that of the Sanscrit varna, signifying "caste" or "colour.

Every family in the three great divisions of Japanese society belonged to some caste; and each caste represented at first some occupation or calling. Castes were not seen to have developed any very rigid class

structure in Japan; and there were early tendencies to a confusion of the kabane. In the seventh century the confusion became so great that the Em-

peror Temmu thought it necess-

ary to reorganize the sei; and by him all the clan-

families were regrouped into

eight new castes.
Such was the primal constitution of Japanese society; and that society was, therefore, in no true sense of the term, a fully formed nation. Nor can the title of Emperor be correctly applied to its early rulers. A German scholar, Dr. Florenz, was the first to establish these facts, contrary to the assumption of Japanese historians. He has shown that the "heavenly sovereign" of the early ages was the hereditary chief of one eji only, which eji, being the most powerful of all, exercised influence over most of the others. The authority of the "heavenly sovereign" did not extend over the country. But though not even a king—outside of his own large group of patriarchal
families—he enjoyed three immense prerogatives. The first was the right of representing the different uji before the common ancestral deity, which implies the privileges and powers of a high priest. The second was the right of representing the different uji in foreign relations; that is, he could make peace or declare war in the name of all the clans, and therefore exercise the supreme military authority.

The third prerogative included the right to settle disputes between the clans; the right to nominate a clan patriarch, in case that the line of direct succession to the chieftainship of any uji came to an end; and the right to establish new uji; and the right
abolished an uji guile of so active as to endanger the welfare of the rest. He was therefore Superior Pontiff, Supreme MILITIA, Commander, Supreme Arbitrator, and Supreme Magistrate. But he was not yet Supreme King: his powers were exercised only by consent of the clans. Later he was to become the Great Khan in very fact, and even much more,—the Priest-Ruler, the God-King, the Deity-Incarnate. But with the growth of his dominion it became more and more difficult for him to exercise all the functions originally combined in his authority; and, as a consequence of declining those functions, his temporal sway was doomed to decline, even while his
religious power continued to augment.

The early society of Japan was not, therefore, even a feudalism in the meaning which we commonly attach to that word: it was a union of clans at first combined for defense and offense — each clan having a religion of its own. Gradually one clan group, by power of wealth and numbers, obtained such dominion that it was able to impose its rule upon all the rest, and to make it hereditary chief. Supreme Pope. The worship of the sun-godress so became a race-cult; but this worship did not diminish the relative importance of the other clan-cults,—it only furnished them with a common tradition. Eventually a true nation formed — but the clan remained the real unit of society;
and not until the present era of Meiji was it to disintegration effect it at least so far as legislation could accomplish.

We may call this period during which the clans became really united under one head, and the national code was established, the First Period of Japanese Social Evolution. However, the social fabric did not develop in the limit of its type before the era of the Tokugawa Shōguns, so that, in order to study it as a complete structure we must turn to modern lines. Yet it had been on the vague outline of its destined form as early as the reign of the Emperor Tenmu, whose accession is generally dated 673 A.D. During that reign Buddhism appears to have become
a powerful influence at court; for the Emperor practically imposed a vegetarian diet upon the people—proof positive of supreme power in fact as well as in theory. Even before this time society had been arranged into ranks and grades, each of the upper grades being distinguished by the form and quality of the official head-dresses worn; but the Emperor Tenmu established many new grades, and reorganized the whole administration, after the Chinese manner, in one hundred and eight departments. Japanese society then assumed, as it is, upper ranks, nearly all the hérarcs, social forms which it preserved down to the era of the Tokugawa Shōguns, who consolidated the system without seriously changing its fundamental structure.
may say that from the close of the First Period of its social evolution the nation remained practically separated into two classes: the governing class, including all orders of the nobility and military; and the producing class, comprising all the rest. The chief event of the Second Period of its social evolution was the rise of the Military Power, which left the imperial religion and unity in name, but resurrected all the administrative functions. (This subject will be considered in a later chapter). The society eventually crystallized by this military power was a very complex structure — outwardly resembling a large feudalism, as we understand the term, but internally only different from any European feudalism that ever existed.
difference lay especially in the religious organization of the Japanese communities, each of which, retaining its particular cult and patriarchal administration, remained essentially separated from every other. The national cult was a bond of tradition, not of cohesion; there was no possible religious unity. Buddhism, though widely accepted, brought no real change in this order of things; for, whatever Buddhist creed a commune might profess, the real social bond remained the bond of the _nihonomi_. So that, even as fully developed under the Tokugawa rule, Japanese society was still but a great aggregate of clans or subclans, kept together by military coercion only.
At the head of this vast aggregate was the Heavenly Sovereign, the Living God of the race,—Priest, Emperor and Pontiff supreme,—representing the oldest dynasty in the world.

Next to him stood the Kuge, or ancient nobility,—descendants of emperors and of gods. There were, in the time of the Tokugawa, 155 families of this high nobility. One of these, the Nakatomi, held, and still holds, the highest hereditary priesthood: the Nakatomi were, under the Emperor, the chiefs of the Ancestral Cult. All the great clans of Japanese history,—such as the Fujiwara, the Taira, the Minamoto,—were
Kugé; and most of the great regents and Dôguma of later history were either Kugé or descendants of Kugé.

Next to the Kugé ranked the Buké, or military class, — also called Monosufu, Wasaraü, or Samurai (according to the ancient writing of these names), — with an extensive hierarchy of its own. But the difference, in most cases, between the lords and the warriors of the Buké was a difference of rank based upon income and title: all alike were Samurai, and nearly all were of Kôbêtsu or Shinbêtsu descent. In early times the head of the military class was appointed by the Emperor, only as a temporary commander-in-
- chief: afterwards, these commanders - in chief, by usurpation of power, made their office hereditary, and became veritable imperadores, in the Roman sense. Their title of Shōgun is well known to Western readers. The Shōgun ruled over between two and three hundred lords of provinces or districts, whose powers and privileges varied according to income and grade. Under the Tokugawa Shōgunate there were 292 of these lords, or daimyō. Before that line each lord exercised supreme rule over his own domain; and it is not surprising that the Jesuit missionaries, as well as the early Dutch and English traders should have called
The daimyō "kings." The despotic
of the daimyō was first checked
by the founder of the Tokugawa
dynasty, Iyeyasu, who so re-
stricted their powers that they
became, with some exceptions,
liable to lose their estates,
if proved guilty of oppression
and cruelty. He ranked
them all in four great classes:

1. Sanké, or Go-Sanké
   (Three Exalted Families)
(Those from whom a successor
d the Shōgunate might be
chosen in case of need);

2. Kokushū, "Lords of Provinces";

3. Tozama, "Outside-Lords"

4. Fudai, "Successful Fa-
milies": a name given to those
families promoted to lordship or
otherwise rewarded for fealty to Iyéyasu. Of the Sanké, there were three clans, or families; of the Kokushū, eighteen; of the Tozama, eighty-six; and of the Tódai, one hundred and seventy-six. The income of the head of these daimyō was 10,000 koku of rice—(we may say about £10,000, though the value of the koku differed greatly at different periods); and the income of the greatest, the Lord of Kaga, was estimated at 1,027,000 koku.

The great daimyō had their greater and lesser vassals; and each of these, again, had his force of trained samurai, or samurai-sentō. There was
also a particular class of soldiers—farmers, called gōshi, some of whom possessed privileges and powers exceeding those of the lesser daimyōs. These gōshi, who were independent landowners, for the most part, formed a kind of yeomanry; but there were many points of difference between the social position of the gōshi and that of the English yeomen.

Besides reorganizing the military class, Ieyasu created several new social classes. The more important of these were the hatamoto and the gokénin. The hatamoto, whose appellation signifies "banner-supporters," numbered
about 2000, and the gobernín about 5000. These two bodies of samurái formed the special military force of the Shōgun; — the hachimobi being greater vassals, with large incomes; and the gobernín lesser vassals, with small incomes, who ranked above other common samurái only because of being directly attached to the Shōgun’s service... The total number of samurái of all grades was about 2,000,000. They were exempted from taxation, and privileged to wear two swords.
In a brief outline, the general organization of these noble and military classes by whom the nation was ruled with great severity. The bulk of the common people were divided into three classes—we might even say castes, but for Indian ideas long associated with the term: farmers, artisans, and merchants.

Of these three classes, the farmers (hyakushō) were the highest; ranking immediately after the samurai. Indeed it is hard to draw a line between the samurai class and the farming class, because many samurai were farmers also, and because some farmers held a rank considerably above that of ordinary samurai.
Perhaps we should limit the term hyakushō (farmers, or peasants) to those tiers of the soil who lived only by agriculture, and were neither of Kobetsan nor Chinketsu descent.

... At all events, the occupation of the peasant was considered honorable: a farmer's daughter might become a servant in the imperial household itself—though she could occupy only an humble position in the service. Certain farmers were privileged to wear swords. It appears that in the early ages of Japanese society there was no distinction between farmers and warriors: all able-bodied farmers were then trained fighting-men, ready
for was at any moment, — a condition paralleled in old Scandinavian society. After a special mili-
day class had been evolved, the distinction between farmer and
samurai still remained vague
in certain parts of the country.
In Oalmeans and in Tooa, for
example, the samurai continued
to farm down to the present
era: the best of the Kyushu
samurai were nearly all far-
mers; and their superior
nature and ability were
commonly attributed to their rural
occupations. In other parts
of the country, as in Izoaro,
farming was forbidden to
samurai; they were not even
allowed to hold rice-land,
though they might own forest-land. But in various provinces they were permitted to farm, even while strictly forbidden to follow any other occupation, — any trade or craft... At no time did any degradation attach to the pursuit of agriculture. Some of the early emperors took a personal interest in farming; and in the grounds of the Imperial Palace at Akasaka may even now be seen a little rice-field. By religious tradition, innumerable old, the first sheaf of rice grown within the Imperial grounds, should be reaped and offered by the Imperial hand to the divine ancestors as a harvest offering, on the occasion of the Nin'ish Festival — Shim-Shô-Sai.

* At this festival, the first new rice of the year, as well as the first of the new rice-crop, is itself offered to the Divinities by the Emperor in person.
— Below the peasant, ranken the artisan-class (Shōkunin), including smiths, carpenters, weavers, potters, — all crafts, in short. Among these were reckoned, as we might expect, the sword-smiths. Swordsmiths not infrequently rose to dignities far beyond their class: some had inferred upon them the high title of Kami, written with the same character used in the title of a daimyō, who was usually termed the Kami of his province or district. Naturally they rejoiced in the patronage of the highest, — emperors and Kuge. The Emperor Go-Toba is known to have worked at sword-making in a smithy of his own. Religious rites were
practise during the forging of a blade down to modern times...

All the principal crafts had guilds; and, as a general rule, trades were hereditary. There are good historical grounds for supposing that the ancestors of the Thokumin were mostly Koreans and Chinese.

The commercial class (Akindō), including bankers, mercantile agents, shopkeepers, and traders of all kinds, was the lowest officially recognized. The business of money-making was held in contempt by the superior classes; and all methods of profiting by the purchase and re-sale of the produce of labour were regarded as dis-honourable.
Weil they hierarchies, as a general rule, underlain much contempt for the trading classes; and there is generally, in militant societies, small respect for the common forms of labor. But in Old Japan the occupations of the farmer and the artisan were not despised: had they alone appeared to have been considered degrading, and the discrimination shown have been purely a moral one. The relegation of the mercantile class to the lower place in the social scale must have produced some curious results. However rich, for example, a rice-dealer might be, he ranked below the car-
- pedlers or pollin or boat-builders

whom he might employ, unless
it happened that his family ordi-

narily belonged to another class.
In later times the Akindo inclu-
ded many persons of other
than Akindo descent; on the
class thus virtually reduced
itself.

Of the four great classes
of the nation — samurai, farmers,
artisans, and merchants (the
Shi-No-Ko-Sho, as they were briefly
called, after the initial characters
of the Chinese terms used to design-
name them) — the last three were
counted together under the general
appellation of Heimin, "common
folk". All heimin were
subject to the samurai; any samurai being privileged to kill the heimin showing him disrespect. But the heimin were actually the nation; they alone created the wealth of the country, produced the revenues, paid the taxes, supported the nobility and military and clergy. As for the clergy, the Buddhist as well as the Shinto priests, though forming classes apart, ranked with the samurai, not with the heimin.

Outside of the three classes of commoners, and hopelessly below the lowest of these, large classes of persons existed who were not reckoned as Japanese, and scarcely among human beings. Officially
They were mentioned generically as *chōri*, and were confused with the peculiar minerals used in comestibles animals: *ippiki, nihiki, sambiki*, etc. Even today they are commonly referred to, not as persons (*hito*), but as "things" (*mono*). To English readers (chiefly through Mr. Milford's *Yet Univalled Tales of Old Japan*) they are known as *Eda*; but their appellations varied according to their callings. They were pariah-people: Japanese writers have denied, upon apparent, good grounds, that the *chōri* belong to the Japanese race. Various tribes of these outcasts followed occupations in the monopoly of which they were legally confirmed: they were well-diggers, gardeners, sweepers, saw-wooders, sandal-
-makers, according to borne privileges. One class was employed officially in the capacity of jurors and executioners; another was employed as night-watchmen; a third as grave-makers. But most of the Êna followed the business of tanners or leather-dressers. They alone had the supply of slaughter and flayed animals, and prepare various kinds of leather, and manufacture leather sandals, slippers, straps, and drum-heads. The making of drum-heads being a lucrative occupation in a country where drums were used in a hundred thousand temples. The Êna had their own laws, and their own chiefs, who exercised powers of life...
and death. They lived always in the suburbs or immediate neighbourhood of towns, but not in separate settlements of their own. They could enter the town to sell their wares, or to make purchases; but they could not enter any shop except the shop of a dealer in foodgear. As professional tailors they were tolerated; but they were forbidden to enter any house—so they could perform their music or sing their songs only in the street, or in a garden. Any occupation other than their hereditary calling was strictly forbidden to them.

* This is still the rule in certain parts of the country.
the lowest of the commercial classes and the Éda, the barrier was impossible as any ever created by caste tradition in India, and never was Ghettó separated from the rest of a European city by walls and gates, than an Éda settlement from the rest of a Japanese town by social prejudice. No Japanese would dream of entering an Éda settlement unless obliged to do so in some official capacity. At the pretty little seaport of Mionoséki, I saw an Éda settlement, forming one termination of the crescent of streets extending round the bay. Mionoséki is certainly
one of the most ancient towns in Japan; and the Eda village at
anches 2 it must be very old. Even today, no Japanese inhabitant
of Minowa-bai would think of
walking through that settlement,
though its streets are continuation
of the other street; children
never pass the unmarked bound-
dary; and the very dogs will
not cross the prejudice-line.
For all that the settlement is
clean, well-built, with gardens,
bushes, and temples of its own.
It looks like any well-kept
Japanese village. But for per-
haps a thousand years there has
been no converse between the people
of those contiguous communibies...
Nobody can now tell the his to...
of these outcast folk: the cause of their social and communicative loss has by been forgotten.

Besides the Edo proper, there were particular called hinin,—
a name signifying "not-human-beings". Under this appellation were included professional mendicants, wandering ministers, actors, certain classes of prostitutes, and persons outlawed by society.

The hinin had their own chiefs, and their own laws. Any person expelled from a Japanese community must join the hinin; but that signified goodbye to the rest of humanity... The government was too shrewd to persecute the hinin. Their gipsy-existence saved a world of trouble. It was unnecessary to keep petty offenders in jail, or to provide for people
incapable of earning an honest living, so long as these could be driven into the sinnin class. There the incorrigible, the vagrant, the beggar would be kept under discipline of a sort, and would practically disappear from official cognizance... The killing of a sinnin was not considered murder, and was punished only by a fine.

# ½ lin
The reader should now be able to
form an approximately correct idea of
the character of the old Japanese
society. But the condition of that
society was much more complex than
I have been able to indicate,—so
complex that volumes would be
required to treat the subject in
detail. Once fully realized,
what we may still call Feudal
Japan, for want of a better
name, presented most of its
features of a double-composed
society of the militant type,
with certain marked approaches
toward the tribe-composed type.
A striking peculiarity, of course,
is the absence of a true eccle-
siastical hierarchy,—due to
the fact that Government never
became dissociated from religion. There was at one line a tendency on the part of Buddhism to establish a religious hierarchy independent of central authority; but there were two fatal obstacles in the way of such a development. The first was the condition of Buddhism itself; divided into a number of sects, some taught op-
posed to others. The second obstacle was the implacable hostility of the military class, jealous of any religious power capable of interfering, either directly or indirectly, with their policy. So soon as the foreign religion began to prove itself formidable in the world of action, ruthless measures were
decided; and the frightful massacres of priests by Nobunaga, in the sixteenth century, ended the political aspirations of Buddhism in Japan.

Otherwise the regimen-
tation of society resembled that of all antique civilizations of the military type, — all action being both positively and negatively regu-
larized. The household ruled the person; the five-famil-
group, the household; the com-
munity, the group; the lord of the soil, the community; the
Okugun, the lord. Over the whole body of the producing classes, two million samurai had power of life and death; over these samurai the daimyō held a like power; and the
daimyō were subject to the Shōgun. Nominaly the Shōgun was subject to the Emperor, but not in fact: military usurpation disturbed and shifted the natural order of the higher responsibility. However, from the nobility downwards, the regular discipline was much reinforced by this change in government. Among the producing classes there were countless combinations — guilds of all sorts; but these were only despotisms within despotisms, despotisms of the communistic order; each member being governed by the will of the rest; and enterprises, whether commercial or industrial, being impossible outside of some cor-
- position... we have already seen that the individual was bound to the commune — could not leave it without a permit, could not marry out of it. We have seen also that the stranger was a stranger in the old Greek and Roman sense — that is, to say, an enemy, a hostis, and could enter another community only by being religiously adopted into it. As regards representativeness, therefore, the social conditions were like those of the early Aryan society; but the multitudinous conditions resemble rather those of the great Asiatic empires.

Of course such a society had nothing in common with any modern form of Occidental civilization. It was a huge mass of clan-groups, loosely united under a duarchy, in
which the military head was omnipotent, and the religious head one an object of worship, - the living symbol of a cult. However this organization might outwardly resemble what we are accustomed to call feudalism, its structure was rather like that of ancient Egyptian or Persian society, - minus the priestly hierarchy. The supreme figure is not an emperor in our meaning of the word, nor a king of kings and vicegerent of heaven, - but a God incarnate, a race-divinity, an Inca descended from the Sun. About this sacred person, we see the tribes ranged in obedience, each tribe, nevertheless, maintaining its own ancestral cult; - and the clans forming these tribes, and the communities forming these clans, and the households forming these communities, have all their separate
and out of the mass of these
cults have been derived the customs
and the laws. Yet everywhere the
customs and the laws differ more
or less, because of the variety of
their origins: they have this only
in common, that they exact the
most humble and implicit obedience,
and regulate every detail of private
and public life. Personality is wholly
suppressed by coercion; and the coer-
cion is chiefly from within, not from
without, the life of every individual
being so ordered by the will of the
rest as to render free action, free
speaking, or free thinking, out of
the question. This means something
incomparably harsher than the
socialistic tyranny of early Greek
society: it means religious
communism doubled with a
military despotism of the most
derive Kind. The individual did not legally exist, except for punishment, and from the whole of the productive classes, whether serfs or freemen, the most servile submission was universally expected.

It is difficult to believe that any intelligent man of modern times could endure such conditions and live, (except, indeed, under the protection of powerful rulers, as in the case of the English pilot Will Adams, created a samurai by a Japanese: the incessant and multi-form constraint upon mental and moral life would, of itself, be enough to kill... Those who write today about the extraordinary capacity of the Japanese for organization, and about the "democratic spirit" of the people as natural proof...
of their fitness for representative government and in the Western sense, mistake appearances for reality.

The truth is that the extraordinary capacity of the Japanese for communal organization, is the simplest possible evidence of their unfitness for any modern liberal form of government. Superficially, the difference between Japanese social organization, and local self-government in the modern American, or the English colonial meaning of the term, appears slight; as we may justly admire the perfect self-discipline of a Japanese community. But the real difference between the two is fundamental, prodigious, measurable only by thousands of years. It is the difference between compulsory and
free cooperation, — the difference between the
more despotic possible form of communism,
founded upon the most ancient form of
religion, and the most highly evolved
form of industrial union, with unlimited
individual rights of competition.

There exists a popular
error to the effect that what we
call communism and socialism in
Western civilization are modern growths,
represent its aspiration toward some
perfect form of democracy. As a
matter of fact, these movements
represent reversals, — reversal toward
the primitive conditions of human
society. Under every form of
ancient despotism we find exactly
the same capacity of self-government
among the people: it was mani-
destered by the old Egyptians or
Peruvians as well as by the early
kings in Rome; it is ex-
hibited today by Hindus and
Chinese communities: it may be studied in Quanzhou or Annamese villages quite as well as in Japan. It means a religious communism, despoticism, a supreme social tyranny suppressing personality, forbidding enterprise, and making competition a public offense. Such self-government also has its advantages: it was perfectly adopted to the requirements of Japanese life so long as the nation could remain isolated from the rest of the world. Yet it must be obvious that any society whose ethical traditions forbid the individual to profit at the cost of his fellow-men will be placed at an enormous disadvantage when forced into the industrial struggle for existence against communities whose self-
government permits of the greatest possible personal freedom, and the widest range of competitive enter-
priee.

we ought suppose that perpetual and universal coercion, moral and physical, would have brought about a state of universal sameness — a dismal uniformity and monody in all life's mani-
tenance. But such monody existed only as to the life of the commune, not as to that of the race.

The most wonderful variety characterized their quaint civilization, as it also characterized the old Greek civilization, and for precisely the same reasons. In every patriarchal civilization, ruled by ancestor-worship, all
tendency to absolute sameness, to general uniformity, is prevented by the character of the aggregate itself, which never becomes homogeneous and plastic. Every unit of that aggregate, each one of the multitude of petty despots composing it, most jealously guards its own particular traditions and customs, and remains self-sufficient. Hence results, sooner or later, incomparable variety of detail, small detail, artistic, industrial, architectural, mechanical. In Japan such different clientele and specialisation was thus main-lined, that you will hardly find in the whole country even two villages where the customs, industries, and methods of production are exactly...
The customs of the fishing-villages will, perhaps, best illustrate what I mean. In every coast district the various fishing-settlements have their own traditional ways of constructing nets and boats, and their own particular methods of handling them. Now, in the time of the great tidal-wave of 1896, when thirty thousand people perished, and scores of coast-villages were wrecked, large sums of money were collected in Kobe and elsewhere for the benefit of the survivors; and well-meaning foreigners attempted to supply the want of boats and fishing-apparatus by purchasing quantities of locally-made nets and boats, and sending them to the affected districts. But it was
forms and these presents were of no use to the men of the northern provinces, who had been accus-
-ter to boats and nets of a totally different kind; and it was further discovered that every fishing-hamlet had special re-
quirements of its own in this regard. Now the difference-
-entiations of habit and custom, thus exhibited in the life of the fishing-communities, is paralleled
in many crafts or callings.
The way of building houses, and of roofing them, differs in almost every province; also the methods of agriculture or of horticulture, the manner of making wells, the methods of weaving and lacquering and pottery-making are of
-baking. In every town and village of importance the trade of some special product, bearing the name of the place, and unlike anything made elsewhere, ... no doubt the ancestral cults helped to conserve and develop such local specialization of industry.

The crafts—ancestors, the patron-gods of the guild, were equipped. I desire that the work of their descendants as worshippers should maintain a particular character of its own. Though individual enterprise was checked by communal regulation, the specialization of local production was encouraged by difference of cults. Family—

conservation or guild—conserva-

tion would tolerate small in-

provements or modifications sug-

gested by local experience, but

would be wary, perhaps supercilious
likewise, about accepting the results of strange experience.

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While, for the Japanese themselves, not the least pleasure of travel in Japan is the pleasure of studying the curious variety in local production,—the pleasure of finishing the novel, the unexpected, the unimagined. Even those arts or industries of Japan, primarily borrowed from Korea or from China, appear to have developed and conserved innumerable finer forms under the influence of the innumerable local cults.