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The Social Organization.

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O'Leary

The late Mr. John Fiske, in his "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," made a very interesting remark about societies like those of China, ancient Egypt, and 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 simulated modern European nations, much in the same way that a tree-fern of the carboniferous period simulated the exogenous 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. All modern Western societies have been developed out of a late patriarchal condition: the early civilizations of Greece and Rome were similarly constructed, upon a lesser scale. But the patriarchal family in Europe was disintegrated thousands of years ago; the gens and the curia dissolved and disappeared; the originally distinct classes became fused together; and a total 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 agglomerate of clan-groups, or tribes,

, — each religious and administratively independent of the rest; — and this huge agglomerate was kept together, not by voluntary coöperation, but by strong compulsion. Down to the period of Meiji, and even for some time afterward, it was liable to split and fall asunder at any moment had the central coercive power showed signs of weakness. We may call it a feudalism; but it resembled European feudalism only as a tree-fern resembles a tree.

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Peukens

Let us first briefly consider the nature of this ancient ^{Japanese} society. Its original 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 cult of the Ujigami. As I have

said before, there were two classes of these patriarchal families: the O-uji, or Great Clans; and the Ko-uji, or Little Clans. The lesser were branches of the greater, and subordinate to them, — so that the group formed by an O-uji with its Ko-uji might be loosely compared with the Roman curia or Greek phratria. Large bodies of serfs or slaves appear to have been attached to the various great uji; 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 kinds of servitude. One name was tomobé, 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 signified "dependents," 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 servitude, 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 those 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 institutions, the distinction is particularly hard to draw: we are sure 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 popu-
 -lation, also divided into many
 grades. Slaves were tattooed, either
 on the face or some part of the
 body, with a mark indicating their
 ownership. Until within recent
 years this system of tattooing appears
 to have been maintained in the
 province of Dalimna, — where the
 marks were put especially upon
 the hands; and in many other
 provinces the lower classes were
 generally marked by a tattoo
 on the face. Slaves were bought
 and sold like cattle in early
 times, or presented as tribute
 by their owners, — a practice con-
 -stantly 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 contubernium; 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 Kōshō issued the following edict on the subject:—
 "The law of men and women shall be that the children born of a free man and a free woman shall belong to the father; — if a free man takes to wife a slave-woman, her 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 of two houses, the children shall belong to the mother. The children of temple-serfs shall follow 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 certainly had no family names, — which is considered evidence of a former slave-condition. Slaves proper were registered in the names 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 aristocracy, 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. Dimmons, relates to the mode of wearing the hair among the subject-classes.

Up to the time of the Ashikaga shōgunate (1334 A.D.) all classes excepting the nobility, samurai, Shinō priests, and doctors, shaved 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 indicating that the fashion originated in a period of servitude.

~~Wayle~~ 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

evils. But the subject remains obscure. We know, however, that degradation to 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

* An edict issued by the Empress Jito, in 690, contained that a father could sell his son into ^{real} slavery; but that debtors could be sold only into a kind of serfdom. The edict ran thus: — "If a younger brother of the common people is sold by his elder brother, he should be classed with freemen; — if a child is sold by his parents, he should be classed with slaves; — persons confiscated into slavery, by way of payment of interest on debts, are to be classed with freemen; and their children, though born of a union with a slave, are to be all classed with freemen." — (Asiatic Nihongi, Vol. II, p. 402)

were of kin to their lords, and may have entered voluntarily in to servitude for the sake of sustenance and protection. Their relation to their masters reminds us of that of the Roman client to the Roman patron.

As yet it is difficult to establish any clear distinction between the freedmen 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 kunitsuko and the domonotsuko. 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 artisans — 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 clans, for which they were required to furnish skilled labour.

Originally each of the Ō-uji and Kō-uji had its own territory, chiefs, dependants, serfs, and slaves. The chiefdoms 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 ("Imperial Branch") represented the so-called imperial families, claiming descent from the Sun-goddess; — the Shinbētsu ("Divine Branch") were clans claiming descent from other deities, terrestrial 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 Bambetsu was at first given to ³serfs or freedmen of Chinese or Korean descent. But this has not been proved. It is only certain that all 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 castes — kabané or sei. (I use the term "Castes", following Dr. Florenz, the leading authority on ancient Japanese civilization,

* Dr. Florenz accounts for the distinction between Kobetsu and Shinbetsu as due to the existence of two ²military ruling classes, — resulting from two successive waves of invasion or immigration. The Kobetsu were the followers of Jimmu Tenno; the Shinbetsu were earlier conquerors who had settled in Yamato prior to the advent of Jimmu. These first conquerors, ^{the Tenno,} 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. Caste would not seem to have developed any very rigid structure in Japan; and there were early tendencies to a confusion of the kabané. In the seventh century the confusion became so great that the Emperor Temmu thought it necessary to reorganize the sei; and by him all the clan-families were regrouped into eight new castes.

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Such was the primal condition 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 *uji* only, - which *uji*, 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 to say, he could make peace or declare war in the name of all the clans, and therefore exercised the supreme military authority. His third prerogative included the right to settle disputes between 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; the right to establish new uji; and the right

& abolish an uji guilty of so acting
 as to endanger the welfare of
 the rest. It was therefore
 Supreme Pontiff, Supreme Military,
 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 depending 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 domination that it was able to impose its cult upon all the rest, and to make its hereditary chief Supreme High Pontiff. The worship of the Sun-goddess 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 its disintegration effected - at least in so far as legislation could accomplish.

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- We may call that period during which the clans became really united under one head, and the national cult was established, the First Period of Japanese Social Evolution. However, the social fabric did not develop to the limit of its type before the Era of the Tokugawa shōguns, - so that, in order to study it as a completed structure we must turn to modern times. Yet it had taken on the vague outline of its destined form as early as the reign of the Emperor Temmu, 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 his 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 Temmu established many new grades, and reorganized the whole administration, after the Chinese manner, in one hundred and eight departments. Japanese society then assumed, as to its upper ranks, nearly all the hierarchical forms which it presented down to the era of the Tokugawa Shōguns, who consolidated the system without seriously changing its fundamental structure. Wz

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 the social evolution was the rise of the Military Power, which left the imperial religious authority intact, but resorbed 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 huge feudalism, as we understand the term, but intrinsically different from any European feudalism that ever existed. The

difference lay especially in the religious
 organization of the Japanese communi-
 ties, — 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 the
 order of things; for, whatever
 Buddhist creed a commune
 might profess, the real social
 bond remained the bond of
 the *ujigami*. So that, even
 as fully developed under the
 Tokugawa rule, Japanese society
 was still but a great aggre-
 -gate of clans and subclans,
 kept together by military
 coercion only.

Chickney

1/2 line

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.

Near 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 ^{early} Japanese history, — such as the Fujiwara, the Taira, the Minamoto, — were

Kugé ; and most of the great regents and Shōguns of later history, were either Kugé or descendants of Kugé.

Next to the Kugé ranked the Buké, or military class, — also called Monofufu, Wasaraü, or Samurahi (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 Kōbiden or Shinbetsu 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 time
 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 despotism
 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
 the "Three Exalted Families"
 (those from whom a successor
 to 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 Iyeyasu. Of the Daimé,
 there were three clans, or families;
 of the Kokushū, eighteen; of
 the Tozama, eighty-six; and
 of the Fudai, one hundred
 and seventy-six. The income
 of the least 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
 fighting soldiery. There was

also a particular class of soldier-farmers, called gōshi, some of whom possessed privileges and powers exceeding those of the lesser daimyō. These gōshi, who were independent land-owners, 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 yeoman.

~~Among~~ Besides reorganizing the military class, Iyeyasu created several new sub-classes. The more important of these were the hatamoto and the gokénin. The hatamoto, whose appellation signifies "banner-supporters," numbered

about 2,000, and the gokénin about 5,000. These two bodies of samurai formed the special military force of the Shōgun; - the haclamō being greater vassals, with large incomes; and the gokénin lesser vassals, with small incomes, who ranked above other common samurai only because of being directly attached to the Shōgun's service. . . . The total number of samurai of all grades was about 2,000,000. They were exempted from taxation, and privileged to wear two swords.

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Such, in brief outline, was the general ordination of those 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 peasantry) to those
 tillers of the soil who lived only
 by agriculture, and were neither
 of Kōbeisan nor Shinbetsu descent.
 ... At all events, the occupation
 of the peasant was considered
 honourable: 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

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for was at any moment, — a condition paralleled in old Scandinavian Society. After a special military class had been evolved, the distinction between farmer and samurai still remained vague in certain parts of the country. In Oshūma and in Toosa, for example, the samurai continued to farm down to the present era: the best of the Kyūshū samurai were nearly all farmers; and their superior stature and strength was commonly attributed to their rustic occupations. In other parts of the country, as in Izumo, 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 attack 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 Arasaka may even now be seen a little rice-field. By religious tradition, immemorially 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-Ju Festival, — Shin-Shō-Sai.*

* At this festival, the first new sickle of the year, as well as the first of the new rice-crop, is also offered to the Sun-goddess by the Emperor in person.

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- Below the peasantry ranked the artisan-class (Shōkunin), including smiths, carpenters, weavers, potters, — all crafts, in short. Highest among these were reckoned, as we might expect, the sword-smiths. Swordsmiths not infrequently rose to dignities far beyond their class: some had conferred 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 enjoyed the patronage of the highest, — emperors and Kugé. The Emperor Go-Toba is known to have worked at swordmaking in a smithy of his own. Religious rites were

practised 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 Shōkumin were mostly Koreans and Chinese.

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- The commercial class (Akindō), including bankers, merchants, 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 dishonourable.

Military hierarchies, as a general rule, entertain much contempt for the trading-classes; and there is generally, in military societies, small respect for the common forms of labour. But in Old Japan the occupations of the farmer and the artisan were not despised: trade alone appears to have been considered degrading, - and the discrimination may have been partly a moral one. The relegation of the mercantile class to the lowest 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-

- peners or potter or boat-builders whom he might employ, - unless it happened that his family originally belonged to another class. In later times the Akindō included many persons of other than Akindō descent; so the class thus virtually redivided itself.

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Of the four great classes of the nation - Daimyō, Farmers, Artisans, and Merchants (the Shi-Nō-Kō-Shō, as they were briefly called, after the initial characters of the Chinese terms used to designate them) - the last three were counted together under the general appellation of Heimin, "common folk". All heimin were

subject of 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 Shintō priests, though forming classes apart, ranked with the samurai, not with the heimin.

~~Genroku~~

Outside of the three classes of commoners, and hopelessly below the lowest of them, large classes of persons existed who were not reckoned as Japanese, and scarcely accounted human beings. Officially,

They were mentioned generically as chōri, and were counted with the peculiar numerals used in counting 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 unrivalled 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 apparently 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, garden-sweepers, shaw-workers, sandal-

-makers, according to local privileges. One class was employed officially in the capacity of Torturers and Executioners; another was employed as night-watchmen; a third as grave-makers. But most of the Éda followed the business of Tanners and leather-dressers. They alone had the right to slaughter and flay animals, to prepare various kinds of leather, and to manufacture leather sandals, stimp-draps, 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 Éda 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 only 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 food gear.* As professional singers 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 occupations other than their hereditary callings were strictly forbidden to them. Between

* This is still the rule in certain parts of the country.

the lowest of the commercial classes
and the Éda, the barrier was
impassible as any ever created
by caste-tradition in India;
and never was ghetto 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 capa-
-city... 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-
-tached to it must be very old.
Even today, no Japanese habitant
of Mionosaki would think of
walking through that settlement,
though its streets are continuations
of the other streets: children
never pass the unmarked bound-
-ary; and the very dogs will
not cross the prejudice-line.
For all that the settlement is
clean, well-built, - with gardens,
buddies, 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 communities...
Nobody can now tell the history

of these outcast folk: the cause of their social & communication has long been forgotten.

Besides the Éda proper, there were pariahs called hinin, a name signifying "not-human-beings". Under this appellation were included professional mendicants, wandering minstrels, 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 might 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 hinin 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 hinin was not con-
sidered murder, and was pun-
ished only by a fine.

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The reader should now be able to form an approximately correct idea of the character of the old Japanese society. But the organization 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 evolved, what we may still call Feudal Japan, for want of a better name, presented most of the features of a doubly-compound society of the military type, with certain marked approaches toward the triply-compound type. A striking peculiarity, of course, is the absence of a true ecclesiastical hierarchy,—due to the fact that Government never

became dissociated from religion.
 There was at one time 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 bitterly 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, such less 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 regimentation of society resembled that of all antique civilizations of the militant type, — all action being both positively and negatively regulated. The household ruled the person; the five-family group, the household; the community, the group; the lord of the soil, the community; the Shōgun, 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. Nominally the Shōgun was subject to the Emperor, but not in fact: military usurpation disturbed and shifted the natural order of the highest responsibility. However, from the nobility downwards, the regulative 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 enterprise, whether commercial or industrial, being impossible outside of some cor-

- position... We have already seen that the individual was bound to the community — 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 exclusiveness, therefore, the social conditions were like those of the early Aryan societies; but the militant conditions resembled rather those of the great Asiatic empires.

~~Urban~~

3 ed

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

while the military head was omnipotent,
 and the religious head only 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 Peruvian
 society, - minus the priestly hierarchy.
 The supreme figure is not an Emperor
 in our meaning of the word, - not a
 King of Kings and vicegerent of
 heaven, - but a God incarnate,
 a race-divinity, an Inca descen-
 -ded from the Sun. About
 his 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

cults; — 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

derivable 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 ruthlessly exacted.

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 Iyégasu): the incessant and multifarious constraint upon mental and moral life would of itself be enough to kill... Those who will brag 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 in the Western sense, mistake appearances for realities.

The truth is that the extraordinary capacity of the Japanese for communal organization, is the strongest 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 ad

free coöperation, — the difference between the most 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 right of competition.

Rebels

There exists a popular error to the effect that what we call communism and socialism in Western civilization are modern growths, representing 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 manifested by the old Egyptians and Peruvians as well as by the early Greeks and Romans; it is exhibited today by Hindus and

Chinese communities: it may be said in
in Chinese or Annamese villages quite
as well as in Japan. It means a
religious communistic despotism, — a
supreme social tyranny suppressing
personality, forbidding enterprise, and
making competition a public offense.
Such self-government also has its
advantages: it was perfectly
adapted 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 disad-
-vantage 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 enterprise.

#1/2 line

We might suppose that perpetual and universal coercion, moral and physical, would have brought about a state of universal sameness, — a dismal uniformity and monotony in all life's manifestations. But such monotony existed only as to the life of the commune, not as to that of the race. The most wonderful

variety characterized this 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 despotisms 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 differentiation and specialization was thus maintained, that you will hardly find in the whole country even two villages where the customs, industries, and methods of production are exactly

the same ... 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 con-
 -structing nets and boats, and their
 own particular methods of hand-
 -ling them. Now, in the time
 of the great tidal-wave of 1896,
 when thirty thousand people per-
 -ished, 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-
 -implements by purchasing
 quantities of locally-made nets and
 boats, and sending them to the
 affected districts. But it was

found that these presents were of no use to the men of the northern provinces, who had been accustomed to boats as nets of a totally different kind; and it was further discovered that every fishing-boat had special requirements of its own in this regard . . .

Now the differences of habit and custom, thus exhibited in the life of the fishing-communities, is paralleled in many crafts and callings.

The way of building houses, and of roofing them, differs in almost every province; also the methods of agriculture and of horticulture, the manner of making wells, the methods of weaving and lacquering, and pottery-making and tile-

-baking. Nearly every town and village
of importance boasts of some special
production, bearing the name of the place,
and unlike anything made elsewhere.
... No doubt the ancestral cults
helped to conserve and to develop
such local specialization of industry
: the craft-ancestors, the patron-
-gods of the guild, were supposed
to 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 im-
-provements or modifications sug-
-gested by local experience, but
would be wary, perhaps superstitious

likewise, about accepting the results
of strange experience.

~~O Leary~~ Dice, 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 finding the novel, the unex-
-pected, the unimagined. Even
those arts or industries of Uda
Japan, primarily borrowed from
Korea or from China, appear
to have developed and conserved
innumerable peculiar forms under
the influence of the numberless
local cults.