

§ 1070

-proached that stage of individual  
development which, in the an-  
-cient European societies, natu-  
-ally brought about the first  
political struggles between rich  
and poor. Other social organi-  
-zation made individual oppress-  
-ion impossible: the commercial  
classes were kept at the bottom  
of society, — under the feet even  
of those who, in more highly  
evolved communities, are now  
at the mercy of money-power.  
But now those commercial  
classes, set free as highly priv-  
-ileged, are silently and swiftly  
ousting the aristocratic ruling-  
-class from power, — are becoming  
supremely important. And under

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new order of things, forms of social misery, never before known in the history of the race, are being developed. Some idea of this misery may be obtained from the fact that the number of poor people in Tokyo unable to pay their annual resident-tax is upwards of 50,000; - yet the amount of the tax is only 20 sen, or five pence English money. Prior to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a minority there was never any such want in any part of Japan, - except, of course, as a temporary consequence of war.

~~McGraw~~

The early history of European civilization supplies and

-logies. In the Greek and Latin communities, up to the time of the dissolution of the gens, there was no poverty in the modern meaning of that word. Slavery, with some few exceptions, existed only in the mild domestic form; there were yet no commercial oligarchies, and no industrial oppressions; and the various cities and states were ruled, after political power had been taken from the early kings, by military aristocracies which also exercised religious functions. There was yet little trade in the modern signification of the term; and money, as current coinage, came into circulation only in the seventh century.

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before Christ. Misery did not exist. Under any patriarchal system, based upon ancestor-worship, there is no misery, as a consequence of poverty, except such as may be temporarily created by devastation or famine. If want thus comes, it comes to all alike. In such a state of society everybody is in the service of somebody, and receives in exchange for service all the necessaries of life: there is no need for any one to trouble himself about the ~~new~~ question of living. Also, in such a patriarchal community, which is self-sufficing, there is

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little need of money: barter  
takes the place of trade...  
In all these respects the condi-  
-tion of Old Japan offered  
a close parallel to the conditions  
of patriarchal society in ancient  
Europe. While the uji or clan  
existed there was no misery,  
except as a result of war,  
famine, or pestilence. Throughout  
society, — excepting in the small  
commercial class, — the need  
of money was rare; and such  
coinage as existed was little  
suited to general circulation.  
Taxes were paid in rice and  
other produce. As the lord  
nourished his retainers, so the

samurai cared for his dependants, the farmer for his laborers, the artisan for his apprentices and journeymen, the merchant for his clerks. Every body was fed; and there was no need, in ordinary times at least, for any one to go hungry. It was only with the breaking-up of the clan-system in Japan that the possibilities of starvation for the worker first came into existence. And as, in antique Europe, the enfranchised client-class and plebeian-class developed, under like conditions, into a democracy clamouring for suffrage and all political rights, so in Japan have the

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common people developed the political instinct, in self-protection.

~~mind~~ It will be remembered how, in Greek and Roman society, the aristocracy founded upon religious tradition and military power had to give way to an oligarchy of wealth, and how there subsequently came into existence a democratic form of government — democratic, not in the modern, but in the old Greek meaning. At a yet later day the results of popular suffrage were the breaking-up of this democratic government, and the initiation of an atrocious struggle between rich and

poor. After that ship had begun there was no more security for life or property until the Roman conquest enforced order... Now it seems not unlikely that there will be witnessed in Japan, at no very distant day, a strong tendency to repeat the history of the old Greek anarchies. With the constant increase of poverty and pressure of population, and the concomitant accumulation of wealth in the hands of a new industrial class, the peril is obvious. Thus far the nation has patiently borne all changes, - relying upon the experience of its past; and trusting implicitly

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to its rulers. But should wickedness be so permitted to augment that the question of how to keep from starving becomes imperative for the millions, the long patience and the long trust may fail.

And then, I repeat a figure effectively used by Professor Huxley, the primitive man, finding that the moral man has landed him in the valley of the shadow of death, may rise up to take the management of affairs into his own hands, and fight savagely for the right of existence. His popular instinct is not too

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due to divine the first cause of  
this misery in the introduction of  
Western industrial methods, it is  
unpleasant to reflect what such  
an upheaval might signify.  
But nothing of moment has yet  
been done to ameliorate the  
condition of the wretched class  
of operatives, now estimated to  
exceed half-a-million.

# 1/2 line

Maple

M. de Coulanges has  
pointed out \* that the absence  
of individual liberty was the  
real cause of the disorders and  
the final ruin of the Greek  
societies. Rome suffered less,

\* La Cité Antiqué, pp. 400-401

and survived, and dominated, — because within her boundaries the rights of the individual had been more respected... Now the absence of individual freedom in modern Japan would certainly appear to be nothing less than a national danger. For those very habits of unquestioning obedience, and loyalty, and respect for authority, which made feudal society possible, are likely to render a true democratic régime impossible, and would tend to bring about a state of anarchy. Only races long accustomed to personal liberty, — liberty to think about matters of ethics apart from

matters of government, — liberty & consider  
 questions of right and wrong, justice  
 and injustice, independently of  
 political authority, — are able to  
 face without risk the peril  
 now menacing Japan. For should  
 social disintegration take in  
 Japan the same course which  
 it followed in the old European  
 societies, — uncheck'd by any  
 precautionary legislation, — and so  
 bring about another social revo-  
 lution, the consequence could  
 scarcely be less than utter  
 ruin. In the antique world  
 of Europe, the slow disinte-  
 -gration of the patriarchal  
 system occupied centuries: it  
 was slow, and it was normal

- not having been brought about by external forces. In Japan, on the contrary, this disintegration is taking place under enormous outside pressure, operating with the rapidity of electricity and steam. In Greek societies the changes were effected in about three hundred years; - in Japan it is hardly more than thirty years since the patriarchal system was legally dissolved and the industrial system reshaped; yet already the danger of anarchy is in sight, and the population - astonishingly aug-

- mented by more than ten millions -  
already begins to experience all  
the forms of misery developed  
by war under industrial  
conditions.

~~Chubb~~ It was perhaps inevitable  
that the greatest freedom accorded  
under the new order of things  
should have been given in the  
direction of greatest danger.  
Though the government cannot  
be said to have done much  
for any form of competition  
within the sphere of its own  
direct control, it has done  
even more than could have  
been reasonably expected on

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behalf of national industrial com-  
-petition. Loans have been  
lavishly advanced, subsidies  
generously allowed; and, in  
spite of various panics and  
failures, the results have been  
prodigious. Within thirty  
years the value of articles  
manufactured for export has  
risen from half-a-million  
to five hundred million yen.  
But this immense develop-  
-ment has been effected at  
serious cost in other direc-  
-tions. The old methods  
of family-production, - and  
therefore most of the beautiful

industries and arts, for which Japan  
 has been so long famed, now seem doomed  
 beyond hope; and instead of  
 the ancient kindly relations be-  
 -tween master and workers there  
 have been brought into existence, —  
 with no legislation to restrain  
 inhumanity, — all the horrors of  
 factory-life at its worst. The  
 new combinations of capital have  
 actually re-established serfdom,  
 under harsher forms than ever  
 were imagined under the feudal  
 era; — the misery of the women  
 and children subjected to that  
 serfdom is a public scandal,  
 and proves strange possibilities of  
 cruelty on the part of a people once

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renowned for kindness, — kindness  
even to animals.

" ~~but~~

There is not a humane  
outcry, for reform; and  
earnest efforts have been made,  
and will be made, to secure  
legislation for the protection  
of operatives. But, as  
might be expected, these  
efforts have been hitherto  
strongly opposed by manu-  
-facturing companies and  
syndicates with the declara-  
-tion that any government  
interference with factory man-  
-agement will greatly hamper  
, if not cripple, enterprise, and

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hinder competition with foreign industry. Less than twenty years ago the very same arguments were used in England to oppose the efforts then being made to improve the condition of the industrial classes; and that opposition was challenged by Professor Huxley in a noble address, which every Japanese legislator would do well to read today. Speaking of the reforms in progress during 1888, the professor said:—

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"If it is said that the carrying out of such arrangements as those indicated must enhance the cost of production, and thus handicap the producer in the race of competition, I venture, in the first place, to doubt the fact; but, if it be so, it results that industrial society has to face a dilemma, either alternative of which threatens destruction.

"On the one hand, a population, the labour of which is sufficiently remunerated, may be physically and morally healthy, and socially stable, but may fail in industrial competition by reason of the dearth of its produce. On the other hand, a population the labour of which is insufficiently remunerated, must become physically and morally,

Quarter 1912  
Lamb

unhealthy, and socially unstable; and though it may succeed for a while in competition, by reason of the cheapness of its produce, it must in the end fall, through hideous misery and degradation, to utter ruin.

"Well, if these be the only alternatives, let us for ourselves and our children choose the former, and, if need be, starve like men. But I do not believe that a stable society, made up of healthy, vigorous, instructed, and self-ruling, people would ever incur serious risk of that fall. They are not likely to be troubled with many competitors of the same character, just yet; and they may be safely trusted to find ways of holding their own."

Quoted by  
— Leach.

\* The Struggle for Existence in Human Society. ("Collected Essays," Vol. IX., pp. 218-19.)

Murray # line

If the future of Japan  
 could depend upon her army and  
 her navy, — upon the high courage  
 of her people and their readiness  
 to die by the hundred thousand  
 for ideals of honour and of  
 duty, — there would be small  
 cause for alarm in the present  
 state of affairs. Unfortunately,  
 her future must depend upon  
 other qualities than courage, other  
 abilities than those of sacrifice;  
 and her struggle hereafter must  
 be one in which her social  
 organization will place her at  
 an immense disadvantage.

The capacity for industrial competition cannot be made to depend upon the misery of women and children; — it must depend upon the intelligent freedom of the individual; and the society which suppresses this freedom, or suffers it to be suppressed, must remain too rigid for competition with societies in which the liberties of the individual are strictly maintained. While Japan continues to think and to act by groups, — even by groups of industrial companies, — so long she must always continue incapable of her best. Her ancient social experience is not sufficient to avail her for the

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future international struggle, — rather it  
must sometimes impede her as so  
much dead weight. Dead, in the  
ghostliest sense of the word, — the  
viewless pressure upon her life  
of numberless vanished generations.  
She will have not only to strive  
against colossal odds in her  
rivalry with more plastic and  
more forceful societies; — she will  
have to strive much more against  
the power of her phantom past.

# 2 lds >

Dakota

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Yet it were a grievous error  
to imagine that she has nothing  
further to gain from her ancestral  
faith. All her modern successes,  
have been aided by it; and all  
her modern failures have been  
marked by needless breaking  
with its ethical custom. She  
could compel her people, by a  
simple fiat, to adopt the  
civilization of the West, with  
all its pain and struggle, only  
because that people had been  
trained for ages in submission  
and loyalty and sacrifice;  
and the time has not yet  
come in which she can afford  
to cast away the whole of her

moral part. More freedom indeed  
 she requires — but freedom res-  
 -trained by wisdom; freedom to  
 think and act and strive for  
 self as well as for others, — not  
 freedom to oppress the weak, or  
 to exploit the simple. And  
 the new enemies of her industrial  
 life can find no justification  
 in the traditions of her ancient  
 faith, which exacted absolute  
 obedience from the dependant,  
 but equally required the duty  
 of kindness from the master.  
 In so far as she has permitted  
 her people to depart from the  
 way of kindness, she herself  
 has surely departed from the  
 Way of the Gods...

And the domestic future appears  
 dark. Born of that darkness, an  
 evil dream comes often times to  
 those who love Japan: the fear  
 that all her efforts are being  
 directed, with desperate heroism,  
 only to prepare the land for  
 the sojourn of peoples older  
 by centuries in commercial ex-  
 -perience; — that her thousands  
 of miles of railroads and  
 telegraphs, her mines and  
 forges, her arsenals and fac-  
 -tories, her docks and fleets,  
 are being put in order for  
 the use of foreign capital; —  
 that her admirable army and  
 her heroic navy may be  
 doomed to make their last

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sacrifices in hopeless contest against  
some combination of greedy states,  
provoked or encouraged to aggression  
by circumstances beyond the  
power of government to control.  
... Will the statesmanship that  
has already guided Japan through  
so many storms prove able  
to cope with this gathering  
peril?

Ellis

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Competition and Peril.

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Everywhere the course  
of human civilization has been  
shaped by the same evolutionary  
law ; and as the earlier  
history of the ancient European  
communities can help us to  
understand the social conditions  
of Old Japan, so a later  
period of the same history  
can help us to divine some-  
thing of the probable future  
of the New Japan. It  
has been shown by the author

of La Cité Antique that the history of all the ancient Greek and Latin communities included four revolutionary periods. \* The first revolution had everywhere for its issue the withdrawal of political power from the priest-king, who was nevertheless allowed to retain the religious authority. The second revolutionary period witnessed the breaking up of the gens or YEVS, the enfranchisement of the client from the authority of the patron, and several important changes in the legal constitution of the family. The third revolutionary period saw

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\* Not excepting Sparta. The Spartan society was evolutionally much in advance of the Ionian societies; the <sup>Dorian</sup> patriarchal class having been dissolved at some very early period. Sparta kept its kings; but affairs of civil justice were regulated by the Senate, and affairs of criminal justice by the Ephors, who also had the power to declare war and to make treaties of peace. After the first great revolution of Spartan history the king was deprived of power in civil matters, in criminal matters, and in military matters; he retained only his sacerdotal office. — (See, for details, La Cité Antique pp. 285-287.)

the weakening of the religious and military aristocracy, the entrance of the common people into the rights of citizenship, and the rise of a democracy of wealth, - presently to be opposed by a democracy of poverty. The fourth revolutionary period witnesses the first bitter struggles between rich and poor, the final triumph of anarchy, and the consequent establishment of a new and horrible form of despotism, - the despotism of the popular Tyrant.

~~Wagner~~ To these four revolutionary periods, the social history of Old Japan presents but two

correspondences. The first Japanese revolutionary period was represented by the Fujiwara usurpation of the imperial civil and military authority, - after which event the aristocracy, religious and military, really governed Japan down to our own time. All the events of the rise of the military power, and the concentration of authority under the Tokugawa Shōgunate properly belong to the first revolutionary period. At the time of the opening of Japan, society had not evolutionally advanced beyond a stage corresponding to that the antique western societies in the seventh or eighth century before Christ. The

second revolutionary period really began only with the reconstruction of society in 1871. But within the space of a single generation thereafter, Japan entered upon her third revolutionary period. Already the influence of the elder aristocracy is threatened by the sudden rise of a new aristocracy of wealth, — a new industrial power probably destined to become omnipotent in politics. The disintegration (now proceeding) of the clan, the changes in the legal constitution of the family, the entrance of the people into the enjoyment of political rights, must all tend to hasten the coming

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Transfer of power. There is every indication that, in the present order of things, the third revolutionary period will run its course rapidly; and then a fourth revolutionary period, fraught with serious danger, would be in immediate prospect.

~~Davis~~

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Consider the bewildering rapidity of recent changes, — from the reconstruction of society in 1871 to the opening of the first national parliament in 1891. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century the nation had remained in the condition common to European patriarchal communities twenty-six hundred years ago: society had indeed entered upon a second

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period of degradation, but had traversed only one great revolution. And then the country was suddenly hurried through two more social revolutions of the most extraordinary kind, — signalized by the abolition of the daimiat, the suppression of the military class, the substitution of a plebeian for an aristocratic army, popular enfranchisement, the rapid evolution of a real democracy, industrial expansion, the rise of a new aristocracy of wealth, and popular representation in government! Old Japan had never developed a wealthy and powerful middle class: she had not even ap-