

History of Japan


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HISTORY OF JAPAN

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"Black Ships" (from the collection of the Historiographical Institute). The ship in the center is said to be Perry's flag ship, "Susquehanna." The smoke over the ship on the right indicates the firing of a salute. Ref. page 176.

HISTORY OF JAPAN

BY

SABURŌ IENAGA. D. Litt.



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EDITORIAL NOTE

The purpose of the Tourist Library Series is to give the foreigner interested in Japan a basic knowledge of various phases of Japanese culture. When completed, the Series is expected to include a hundred volumes or so, and will give a complete picture of Japanese culture, old and new.

Each volume in the Library is the work of a recognized authority on the subject, and it is hoped that by perusing these studies of Japanese life the reader will gain some insight into the unique culture that has developed in this country throughout the ages.

The present volume, "History of Japan," is the work of Dr. Saburō Ienaga, professor of Tōkyō University of Education and a lecturer at Tōkyō University. One of the leading historians of present-day Japan, Dr. Ienaga is the author of several books of no mean worth on such subjects as the history of Japanese thought and the cultural history of Japan.

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THE EDITOR

August, 1958

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NOTES

1. In the text (page 1 to page 248) all names of Japanese people are given in the Japanese manner, i.e., the surname before the given name.
2. The – sign used over o and u in Japanese words means that the vowel sound is lengthened.

ANCIENT TIMES

THE DAWN OF HISTORY

The stage upon which the drama of Japanese history has been unfolded is a group of islands stretching out not very far off the eastern coast of the continent of Asia. The Japanese archipelago, as this group of islands is often called, consists of Honshū, Kyūshū, Shikoku, Hokkaidō* and the lesser adjacent islets. Thus until the emergence of the American continent into world history the Japanese archipelago was at the eastern extremity of the civilized world; and in consequence this *Ultima Thule* of the East was the last to get the benefits of the progress of the world. This island country lacks those extensive plains and prairies, and long, wide rivers so commonly found in the other continents. Situated in the monsoon zone, however, it has ample rainfall and moisture, and consequently rich vegetation. Influenced by a warm current, the climate is generally mild; and the four seasons are distinct and clear-cut. Although devoid of continental, that is, large-scale, grand and sublime scenery, this island country is rich in landscapes so picturesque as to have a charm all their own.

* This northeastern island came to be inhabited by Japanese from the thirteenth century on.

Expert opinions are divided as to the origins of the Japanese race; the final conclusion still remains to be reached. Geological evidence shows that at some time or other the present Japanese archipelago was part of the continent of Asia, just as the British Isles were once a stretch of land adjoining the continent of Europe. All we can say is that, when this part of the continent became separated, and resolved itself into an archipelago, the men who first lived there were the natives, and possibly the forefathers of the present Japanese race.

Almost nothing is known, of course, about the people who lived in this archipelago in early times. But it seems that they had a culture corresponding to the initial stage of the later Stone Age, called the Neolithic Age. After several thousands of years of seclusion in this archipelago, this race developed a primeval culture of quite a high level. The everyday implements of these Stone Age men were of deer horn, fish bone, or of clay, as well as of stone, chipped, ground, or polished. Like their primitive cousins in other lands, these Stone Age men probably lived by hunting and fishing. The clay vessels which they made for themselves for everyday use are known archaeologically as earthenware of the *jōmon* (mat-markings) type, so called from the wavy mat-markings frequently found on them. The ornamentation, especially on *jōmon* vessels of the later Neolithic, was profusely variegated and elaborate even to the verge of becoming grotesque, a fact which speaks eloquently of the fairly high cultural level attained in those primitive days.

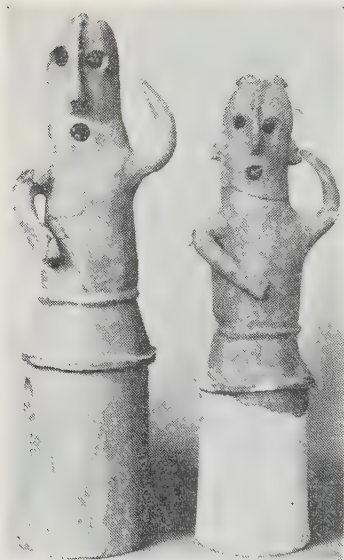
Excavations have proved that most of the ancestors of the Japanese race lived in houses, roughly roofed over but not floored, made in shallow cavities dug in the ground, square or rectangular in shape with the corners rounded off. Possibly such surface-dwellers were more numerous than pit-dwellers properly so called. It seems that these

people lived some sort of collective life with little distinction between rich and poor, or high and low rank; that they believed in a crude form of magic. This may be inferred from the unearthed clay images of goddesses, and large stone clubs believed to have had something to do with sorcery. For fear of rebirth the dead were buried, coffinless, with arms and legs bent, and sometimes with a big stone on their chest. There was yet no such thing as a tomb.

About 200 B.C. a stream of civilization began to flow into the western part of the archipelago from beyond the sea. It was the time of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. –24 A.D.) in China, and its high culture made itself felt far and wide. The foreign culture thus brought to



An example of the *jōmon*
type of earthenware



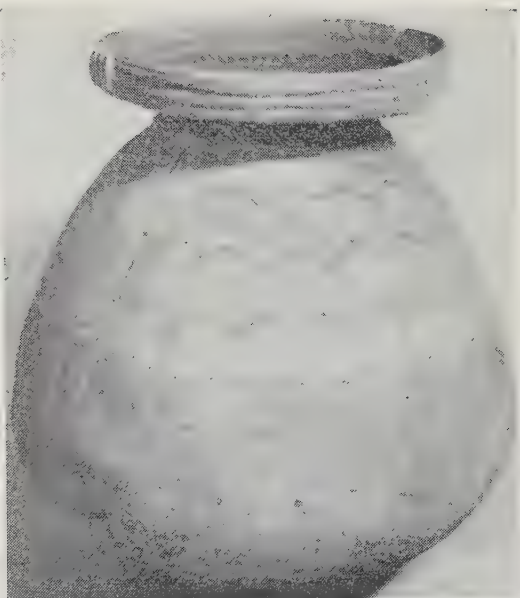
Two examples of the earliest type of *haniwa*

the archipelago from the continent caused great changes in the community.* Chief among the rudiments of culture introduced was the art of farming and of making bronze and iron implements, as well as a new type of earthenware. The introduction of husbandry led to a mode of living in which paddy-field rice constituted the staple food. Earthenware of this period is of the Yayoi type, so called from the name of the part of

Tōkyō where examples were first found in 1884 in a shell-mound. The characteristic design on *Yayoi* vessels consists of straight lines; it is simple and neat, in contrast to the somewhat grotesque ornamentation of *jōmon* vessels. Swords, spears and bells of bronze were among

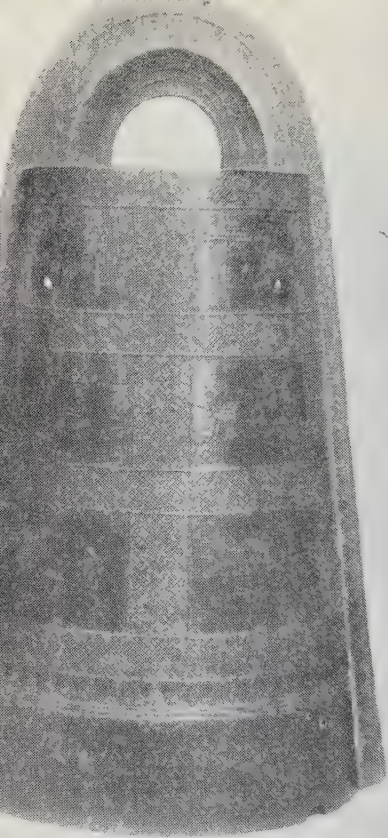
* As early as 108 B.C. the Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty established colonial provinces in north Korea. One of these, the province of Lakliang in the neighborhood of the present Pyongyang, had something to do with the introduction of this ancient Chinese culture into the archipelago, for the people inhabiting the northern part of Kyūshū had some intercourse not only with this province but also, subsequently, in the third century A.D., with the court of the Wei dynasty.

An example
of the Yayoi
type of
earthenware

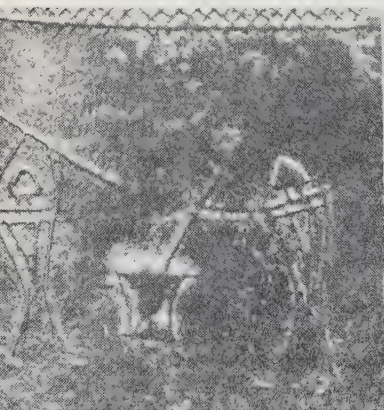


the metal articles that replaced stone, bone and horn implements. These metal implements were probably used in performing some kind of rites, and not as weapons or musical instruments.

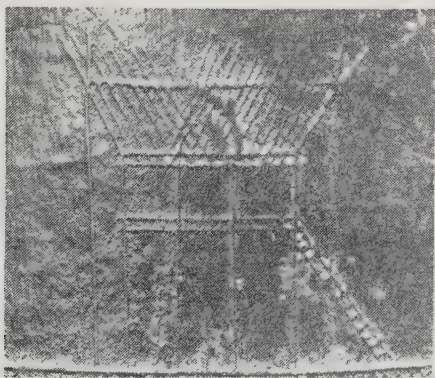
The inhabitants of the archipelago gradually became aware of the necessity for some sort of systematic collective life. The cultivation of rice-fields led to the practice of opening up land, and of irrigation, and this in turn gave birth to the need for leadership in collective life. Once the practice of storing agricultural produce became the rule, there arose a distinction be-



Dōtaku, bell-shaped bronze art objects of ancient Japan, are said by some scholars to have been a kind of religious utensil. The *dōtaku* vary in height from 7 inches to 5 feet. On their surface there are several raised figures representing insects, birds, fish, beasts, etc., or scenes illustrative of the mode of life of the people of some by-gone age. The picture showing the pounding of crops in a mortar on the *dōtaku* (below left) is an evidence that agricultural life had already started, while that showing the pursuit of a deer with bow and arrow (below right) testifies that the primitive nomadic life of the people had not yet been entirely abandoned.



tween the rich and the poor. This gradually gave rise to the growth of social and political distinctions between ruler and ruled. With the progress of the Iron Age, political leaders of sorts thus appeared in many parts of the archipelago. The more noted among them were those that made their appearance in Yamato (the present Nara district), north Kyūshū and the Izumo district (part of the present Shimane Prefecture). The Yamato group was headed by the ancestors of the subsequent Imperial House of Japan. It was this political power that succeeded in subjugating the lesser powers by the middle of the fourth century A.D., conquering the whole country, except the northeastern districts, and the southern part of Kyūshū.



Another picture on a *dōtaku* represents a high floored storehouse, against which a ladder leans.

EARLY SOCIETY AND CULTURE

The sway held by the Yamato court over the greater part of the archipelago meant the rise of the Imperial House to the position of supreme ruler. But the way the central power in Yamato brought the local leaders into subjection was a peaceful one on the whole: it was seldom that recourse was had to force of arms. The Yamato court, as a rule, saw to it that the local leaders swore allegiance without being deprived of their control over their own following. Even after the completion of the task of unification, hereditary grandees remained in a position to rule, as successors to local leaders throughout the land, over the people in their own districts. The central government, that is, the Yamato court, did not rule over the people, save over those inhabiting the domains under its direct control. It seems that there were slaves, though not numerous, in the Yamato court and the courts of the local chiefs.

The mode of dwelling, too, underwent a change. The well-to-do came to live in high-floored houses, while shrines and palaces were erected in a style simple but graceful. The existing structures of the shrines at Ise and Izumo illustrate the architectural style evolved in Japan more than a thousand years ago. The characteristic simplicity, as revealed in the timberwork and thatched roof, produces a most striking effect.

People in those primitive days believed that the



Main Hall of the Taisha Shrine at Izumo

universe was charged with eerie, mysterious powers, and performed rites in order to obviate calamities, and obtain happiness. This was especially the case in agriculture, where much depends on weather conditions over which man has no control. To pray for clement weather and for good crops, and express their gratitude for the bountiful harvests gathered in the autumn, there was established a custom of observing some sort of festival in spring and autumn. These festivals became most important annual events, developing into the subsequent national religion, Shintō. Where such village festivals were celebrated, shrines came to be set up, as a rule, as places of worship. But shrines were not always built at places of worship. Even today we



Aerial view of the mausoleum of the Emperor Nintoku as seen from an Asahi Newspaper plane

sometimes come across in the country the time-honored custom of revering a cluster of trees or a stone as a shrine. It also became customary to coffin the dead and bury them respectfully. Among the imperial family and other personages of importance it became the custom to build sepulchral mounds. The most typical of such tumuli, revealed by excavations, are in form rectangular in front and circular at the rear, the largest in scale dating from the fourth and the fifth centuries. The misasagi, or mausoleum,* set up in honor of the Emperor Nintoku is said to be the largest of its kind in the world; the mound is more than 100 ft. high, and 1,700 ft. long, and is surrounded by a treble concentric moat.

Copper mirrors, iron swords, pretty comma-shaped beads called magatama and other personal ornaments, armor and helmets, — these and other things were always buried with the coffins, whenever exalted persons were gathered to their fathers. Many a specimen of these antiquities unearthed from tumuli illustrates the extent of culture attained in Japan about the time of the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476. Particularly noteworthy are clay images called haniwa which it was a custom to arrange in a circle on the surface of a sepulchral mound. Representing, as they do, men, domestic animals, furniture, implements and the like, haniwa give us some idea of the manners and customs of the time. From these clay images of human

* The mausoleum is located in Sakai City near Ōsaka.

figures we may infer that men used to wear *bakama*, or loose baggy trousers, and women what was then called *mo*, a sort of skirt, as part of their full dress, and that people in general wore narrow-sleeved clothes. Garments were then, it seems, more like modern Western clothes than the Japanese *kimono* of later days—at least in being more suitable for active life than the inconvenient *kimono*.

The ancient Japanese had no ideographs of their own; like many other things, ideographs were introduced from China through Korea. At first this medium of expression was employed only by a few Koreans naturalized as Japanese subjects, who were in government service. Mythology, traditions, and songs which used to be sung at the performance of rites, all destined to develop into literature—these were all handed down from mouth to mouth. In the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters) and the *Nihonshoki* or *Nibongi* (Chronicles of Japan) which were compiled at the beginning of the eighth century, we meet with some of these orally-transmitted legends and songs woven into the literary fabric as warp and woof.

In the fourth century, when the greater part of Japan was under the sway of the Yamato court, there were established in the southern part of the Korean peninsula two states, both founded by Korean people—Paikche and Silla (or Kudara and Shiragi as the Japanese call them), rivals of another state, Kokuli (or Koma), which had early been set up by the Manchurian people in north Korea. Elated with its success at home, the



Haniwa representing a man (left) and a woman (right)



Hanaa representing a dog (above left), a horse (above right) and a double-roofed house evidently owned by a wealthy family.

central power of Japan sent an expedition to the peninsula and, making a tributary of the southern state of Mimana, joined in the struggle for political supremacy. In the fifth century Japan opened formal intercourse with Chinese under the so-called Southern Court that flourished in areas lying along the southern bank of the Yangtse; the object was to carry its



peninsula policy to a successful issue. As a result the culture of the Southern Court flowed into Japan either directly or through its ally Paikche. Among other things, literature, astrology, medicine, sericulture, and weaving were introduced. More important was the introduction in the sixth century of Confucianism and also Buddhism, which had risen in India and was thriving in China. This latter religion was destined to grow vigorously in Japan in the seventh and subsequent centuries. Thus in ancient Japan there was an international religion side by side with the native Shintō, an event comparable in importance to the introduction of Christianity among the Germanic races marking the beginning of the Christianization of the European nations.

CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED

In 581 the Sui dynasty was founded in China, only to be superseded by the more powerful Tang dynasty in 618. In Korea, Silla was fast gaining power by bringing pressure to bear on Paikche. Here in Japan the central government was not yet powerful enough to have control over some of the domineering local families who, with fairly large holdings, enjoyed political independence of a kind. A knowledge of the situation in the continent gradually awakened the central government to the need for the centralization of power. In the meantime the domains under the direct control of the Imperial House increased by degrees. The foundations of a centralized government were beginning to be laid in this land.

The year 593 saw an important event in Japanese history; the appointment of Shōtoku Taishi or Prince Shōtoku (573-621) to the Regency. By way of renovating the system under which the higher court ranks had hitherto been occupied by local chieftains,—and that hereditarily,—this sagacious statesman set up a new official organization in which anyone, without distinction of birth, could attain promotion according to his ability and merit. Under the new system there were twelve court ranks, all attainable on the principle of “a career open to ability.” Another notable achieve-

ment of Prince Shōtoku in the field of practical politics was the drawing up of the so-called Constitution of Seventeen Articles.* Article 1 points out the necessity for harmonious personal relations. Article 2 says that Buddhism should be embraced with respect, and Article 5 that complaints of the people must be given a fair hearing and obtain justice. The necessity of taking good care of the peasantry and of having the opinions of many persons instead of one before a decision on important matters concerning them is made is emphasized in Articles 16 and 17 respectively. Of special importance is Article 12 in which the prince admonished local chieftains of the vice of levying taxes without pity on the people at large; the object of the regent was to deny local leaders dominion over the people. In other words, like the philosopher-statesman that he was, Prince Shōtoku set up before the nation the ideal of centralizing power by bringing both land and people under the direct control of the emperor. But after all is said and done, he only clarified his ideals; his political precepts did not take concrete shape during his lifetime.

The political thought cherished by Shōtoku Taishi was translated into action in 645 by Prince Naka-no-Ōe (destined to ascend the throne and to be called posthumously the Emperor Tenji) with the assistance of

* Though dignified with the name of constitution, this should more properly be called injunctions; for in the Seventeen Articles is embodied his political thought, itemized by way of instructions to officials.

his right-hand man Fujiwara-no-Kamatari. In that year a *coup d' état* was effected and the reality of reform achieved. This reform is known as the Reform of Taika, so called from the era-name* proclaimed for the first time in Japanese history, after the Chinese model.

A code of laws and regulations which was called *ritsuryō* was compiled upon the models of the Chinese legislation of the T'ang dynasty. The *ritsu* was a criminal code, while the *ryō* were laws and regulations pertaining to official organization, in other words, a code of legal procedure and a civil code. Completed in 701, the newly codified legislation is known as the *Taihō Ritsuryō*, or Taihō Code. (In 718 this was partially amended and took the new name of the *Yōrō Ritsuryō*.) The Reform of Taika may be summarized in the following salient points. \The hereditary privileges heretofore granted to local chieftains were, in principle, revoked.\ All the land and people except the slaves were placed under the direct control of the central government, that is the imperial court, as public land and citizenry.¹ Every subject was granted a uniform lot of land fixed by law, which he had to cultivate all his life. \All people were registered for the purposes of land distribution and taxation. The chief units in local administration were *kuni* (province) and *kōri* or *gun* (county), placed in the charge of governors and headmen respectively, all appointed by the central government. In the realm of education there were

* The first year of Taika corresponds to the year 645 of the Christian era.

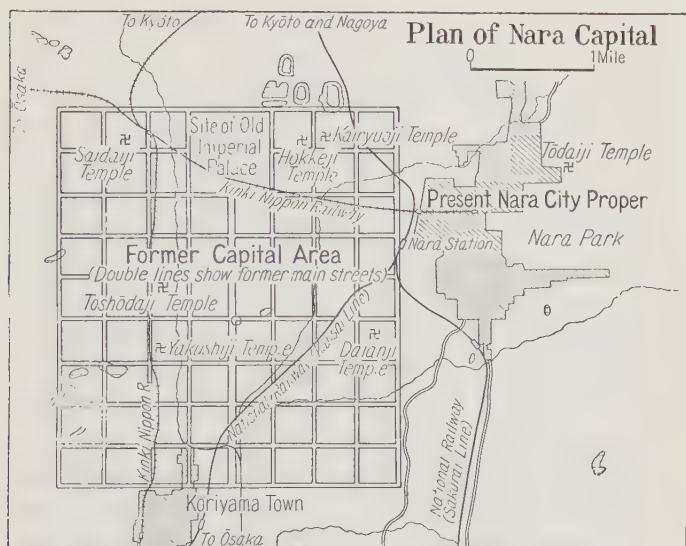


Portrait of Prince Shōtoku

established a *daigaku* (university) as the central institution and *kokugaku* as provincial colleges. These educational organs were all for training officials; any official who, after graduation from the university, passed an examination of a given standard, could enter the civil service.

The system thus inaugurated as a result of the reformation took, on the face of it, the form of bureaucracy, but the fact of the matter is that it paved the way for aristocracy. For, while the burden on the average citizen was exceedingly heavy, officials of the higher ranks were granted all sorts of favors, including the privilege of receiving land for a variety of reasons. The land given them they were at liberty either to possess as private holdings or regard it as such, and use it accordingly. The same can be said of Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples. Furthermore, sons of higher officials enjoyed the privilege of being appointed to a high office without completing the university course. In its last analysis, then, the new system, designed as it was to encourage men of talent, tended to keep alive the hereditary character of the privileges given to higher officials.

The reason why the Reform of Taika was achieved without much opposition or grumbling was that it was so very lukewarm that it did not achieve the eradication of the privileges conferred on the upper classes of the society. People of high rank were still in a position to enjoy privileges, though in a modified form, while the position of the people in general was not appreciably improved.



Another notable outcome of the reform was the establishment of a capital after the continental model. The custom had heretofore been for each reign to have its own seat of imperial government. Design after design was prepared for the proposed capital, until at last in 710 the famous Nara capital came into being, after the example of Changan under the T'ang dynasty, as a semi-permanent seat of government. The new capital was laid out neatly with streets in straight parallel lines as on a chess-board. The palace was erected in the middle of the northern border of the capital; adjacent to the palace were built several offices, in continental style, with roofs tiled and pillars painted red.

The houses of the more well-to-do in the capital were also roofed with tiles and painted red and white. The general view of the capital thus built must have been rather beautiful.

The period of some years during which the seat of imperial government was in Nara is known as the Nara period (710-793). From the days of Prince Shōtoku (573-621) down to the founding of the Nara capital, Asuka* in Yamato province was often the political and cultural center fostering an intellectual and spiritual climate congenial to the remarkable growth of Buddhism and of the fine arts. Hence, Asuka became the name of one of the important art periods of Japan.

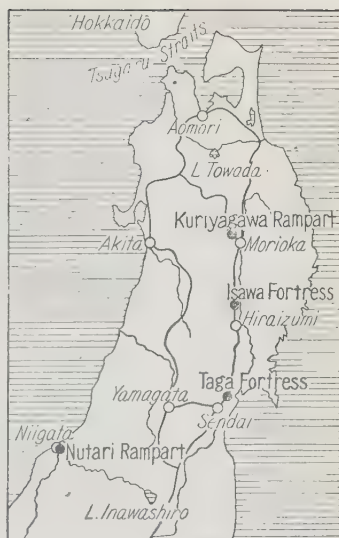
The founding of the Nara capital also changed the economic life of the people. Up to that time it had been the custom with villagers to barter surplus produce in markets set up temporarily as, for example, on the occasion of a festival. In the Nara capital, however, an official market was established, where barter was carried on from day to day. Those were still days of barter; yarn and rice plants were about the only things that did duty for money. Meanwhile the government set about minting coins after the example of China, and encouraged their circulation.

It was also about this time that a ferocious tribe called Hayato who lived in the southern part of Kyūshū and the inhabitants of the Ryūkyū Islands swore allegiance to the imperial regime. This also was the time

* The Asuka district is about fifteen miles due south of Nara City.

that the policy of assimilating the Ezo tribe, ancestors of the Ainus, began to be pushed vigorously. In the ninth century the Ezo living in regions south of the Tsugaru straits that separate Hokkaidō from Honshū were fully assimilated.

Sites of the important ramparts and fortresses in northeastern Japan in ancient times



Specimens of the Wadō-Kaihō, oldest existing Japanese copper coins. Minted in 708. Diameter: about 0.95 in. Weight: about 0.13 oz.

THE INFLUENCE OF T'ANG CULTURE

Reference has already been made to what the illustrious Shōtoku Taishi did in the sphere of politics. Prince Shōtoku also achieved much in the way of adopting and assimilating the culture brought from the continent. In 607 he sent a mission to open intercourse with China, then under the Sui dynasty. As already stated, Japan had opened intercourse with the Southern Court in the fifth century, but she had to pay tribute, for the Chinese emperor believed that he reigned supreme, and that his influence had made itself felt far and wide. Now the prince revised this old custom by extending courtesy on an equal footing. The object of his foreign intercourse was to import Chinese culture for the purpose of advancing the culture of his country. A number of Buddhist priests crossed the sea to study in China. Some of these students were destined to become active as political advisers to the authors of the Reform of Taika.

Shōtoku Taishi entertained a desire to bring about a spiritual as well as a political reformation, and encouraged the people to follow the Buddhist faith. He himself wrote commentaries on Buddhist sutras: one of these in his own handwriting has been preserved to this day to show that they were compositions of no small merit. A few Buddhist temples believed to have been

法華義疏第一

此是

大要上宮王祐
集非海彼本

夫妙法蓮華經者蓋是極摩多善會為同一豐田七百
壽轉成長遠之神藥若論迦釋迦來應現長久大恩者
時歎宣讀此經教隨同歸之妙因今得莫二之大果但欲
密領善微科圖報能五福軒然大機六弊獲具慈眼
而道同果大機而如來臨時而宜初就鹿苑并三乘
判疏使廣各趣近來從氏未離後平說无相勸司牒或
以中道而褒貶獨以三因判果之初者有物微於是眾生應
平果同蒙教隨行漸之益解至於王城始教大京微稱會如
未出世之大意是也如來即勸分海之嚴龍曲真金之妙口意明

founded by him still exist. Of these the most celebrated is perhaps Hōryūji, near the city of Nara. Chief among the representative architectures and objects of art of exquisite workmanship in this period are the structures of the Kondō* and the five-storied pagoda of the Hōryūji Temple, the images called the Shaka Trinity, and the Kudara Kannon, a portable shrine called Tamamushi-zushi (all housed in the Hōryūji Temple), the image of Miroku Bosatsu** (Maitreya Bodhisattva), and the *mandala**** descriptive of a scene of the "Land of Heavenly Longevity," both treasured in the Chūgūji Temple adjacent to the Hōryūji Temple. It was in this period that the Japanese came to have storied, tile-roofed buildings, fine sculptures in wood or metal, and articles of furniture of elaborate workmanship. The Buddhist culture transplanted onto Japanese soil thus took firm root, grew and blossomed, ushering in a new epoch in the cultural history of the country. It may

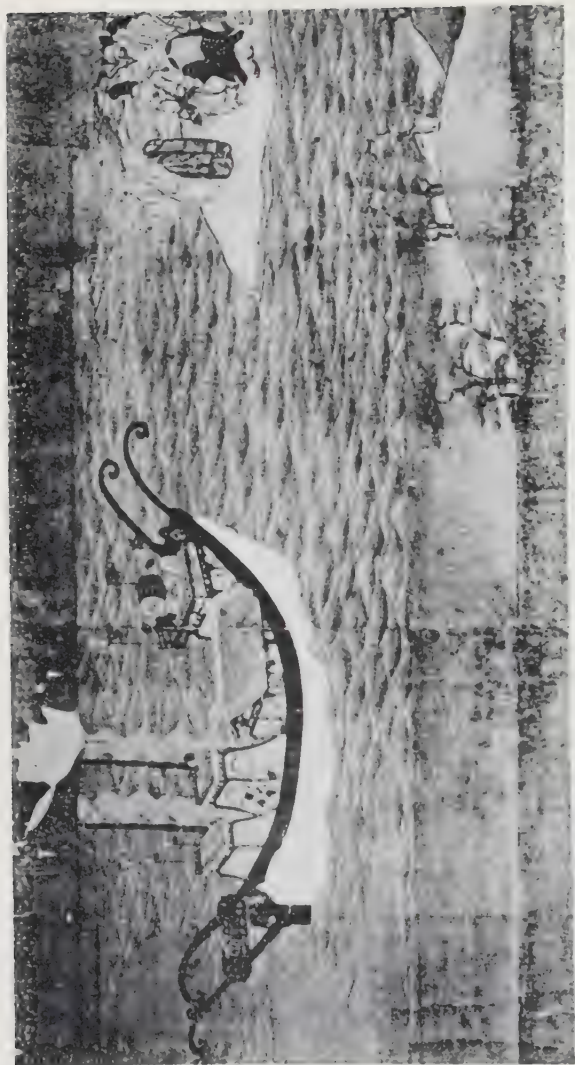
* The Hōryūji Temple consists of several buildings which are gracefully grouped to present a harmonious whole and which are the oldest wooden structures extant in the world. In these buildings are housed quite a number of wooden Buddhist images and objects of art of exquisite workmanship; most of these, prized as rare national treasures, tell the tale of the culture of the seventh century. Unfortunately a fire broke out in the Kondō on January 29, 1949, and the famous mural paintings of the Kondō bearing a close resemblance to the contemporary Ajanta frescos of India were damaged. Later the walls bearing what remained of them were removed for preservation. Most other legacies of the Asuka culture treasured in this temple still remain intact.

** This image has long been popularly believed to be that of Nyoirin Kannon (Cinta-mani Avolokitesvara).

*** "Japanese Fine Arts" by Prof. Sagara, Tourist Library No. 9. pp. 169-170.



Bird's-eye view of the Hōryūji Temple



Part of the picture-scroll depicting a Japanese mission being seen off as it leaves for the Tang Court in 783



ROUTES FOLLOWED BY THE JAPANESE ENVOYS TO CHINA IN THE 7-9TH CENTURIES

The solid lines show the Japanese envoys' routes.
The dotted line shows the Bokkai envoys' route to Japan.

be noted that the year in which Shōtoku Taishi passed away was about the time of the hegira, Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina.

Even after the Sui dynasty was replaced by the T'ang in 618, Japan continued to hold intercourse with China. Missions were often sent over to the continent, and often suffered shipwreck. So fervent was their desire to learn from their masters that they bravely ran this risk of shipwreck. Visitors came from China, too. Priest Ganjin (Chien Chen), for example, reached these shores, after several attempts, and taught Buddhism here. In this way Chinese culture streamed into this land in the seventh century. In 727 a mission came from a kingdom called Bokkai, which occupied part of

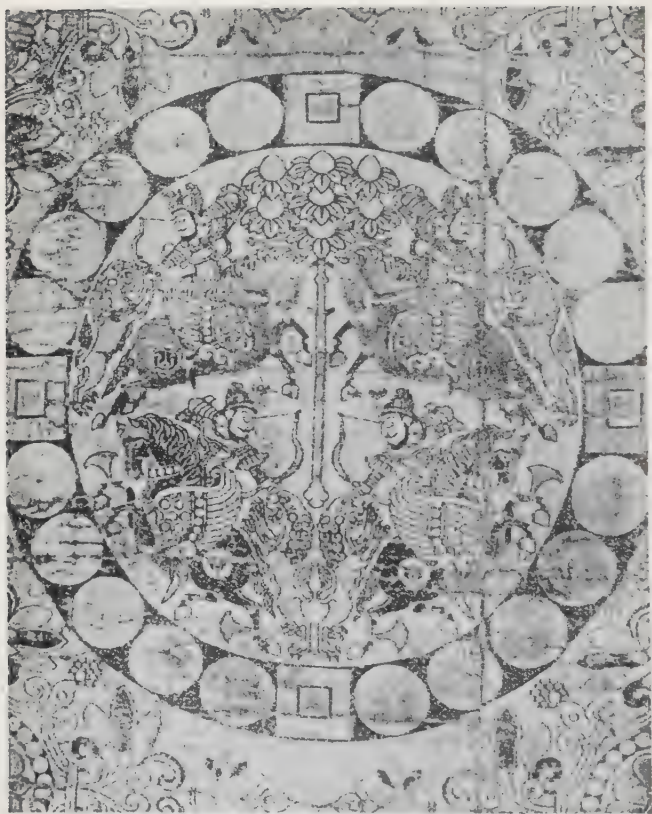
what subsequently became Manchuria, and intercourse with this kingdom lasted till the beginning of the tenth century.

The national enthusiasm for Buddhism did not cease with the death of Prince Shōtōku. The court in the succeeding period took the lead in embracing this exotic faith. Especially pious was the Emperor Shōmu (701-756) who in 741 saw to it that a temple was erected in each province, so that Buddhism might be diffused throughout the country. What remain of these temples, called Kokubunji, are to be found in various parts of the country. He it was also who had the famous Tōdaiji Temple built in Nara and had a great image of Vairocana, or *Daibutsu* as it is called, cast and housed in an equally colossal structure, specially erected for that purpose. It is said of this emperor that he knelt before the *Daibutsu*, styling himself "Servant of Buddha." Completed in 725, the *Daibutsu* was about 53 ft. high and the *Daibutsu-den* (structure in which it was placed) nearly three times as high. Neither the existing image nor the building that we see today is the one originally erected. The building is smaller than it was, but it still is the largest of any wooden structure extant in the world. In the art history of the country this period is called the Tempyō period from the era-name of the time.

The Buddhism of seventh- and eighth-century Japan was embraced not so much to deepen faith in Buddha as to further centralization of power. Its main feature was in the fact that it was attended with the vigorous



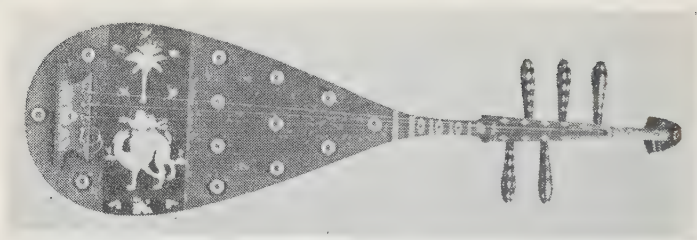
The three-storied Tōtō (Eastern Pagoda) of the Yakushiji Temple, Nara, appears to be a six-storied structure, because of the *mokoshi* (intermediate projections) protruding from each floor.



Brocade adorned, in the Persian fashion, with a "lion-hunting" pattern. Treasured in the Hōryūji Temple.

development of the fine arts and music. The above-mentioned Tōdaiji, the Yakushiji in the western suburbs of Nara and several other temples dating from that time contain many well-known structures and Buddhist images, clearly showing the high level attained by the Buddhist culture of the period. Whereas the products of the Asuka culture, influenced by the patterns of the Northern and Southern Courts of China, lacked somewhat in elegance, those of the Tempyō period, modelled on the arts of the early days of the T'ang dynasty, were more realistic, refined and polished. But this does not alter the fact that the continental culture of both the seventh and eighth centuries had in it elements of the cultures of the Eastern Roman Empire, Persia, India and of central Asia; this may be inferred from the brocade adorned, in the Persian fashion, with a "lion-hunting" pattern, from the pictures showing the Pegasus of Greek mythology, from the Assyrian harp, and from the honeysuckle arabesque designs of Egyptian origin. In this connection we may recall the suggestive resemblance between the Hōryūji mural paintings and the Ajanta frescos. The high-grade art objects which were treasured by the Emperor Shōmu in his lifetime, and which have been carefully preserved to this day in the celebrated Shōsōin* art depository located in the precincts of the Tōdaiji Temple, are good

* This treasure house is unique in point of construction. The unusually high floor and the constructional device of the walls, designed to maintain ventilation and prevent dampness of the air, have been instrumental in preserving the treasures which are some 1,200 years old.



Lute with inlaid mother-of-pearl work representing a camel rider—a picture with an Arabian motif. Treasured in the Shōsōin.

examples of the products of the Tempyō culture.

The music of this period, too, was outlandish; for it came from Silla, Paikche, Kokuli, the T'ang court, Bokkai and also from India. In the following Heian period (794-1185) it was so Japanized as to form the origin of what we now call gagaku, ancient Japanese court music.

In the meantime the Japanese gradually became skilful in using Chinese ideographs; some of them even acquired the ability to compose verses in the Chinese fashion. It now became the order of the day to write one's own language in Chinese characters. Thus the songs, handed down verbally from of old, now came to be expressed either in the form of chōka (lit. long poem) consisting in an alternate repetition of five and seven syllables or in the form of tanka (lit. short poem) now popularly called *waka* made up of thirty-one syllables (5-7-5-7-7). During the Nara period an anthology of *chōka* and *tanka* was compiled, about 4,500 in number, all written in Chinese characters; this anthology is the famous Man-yōshū (Collection of

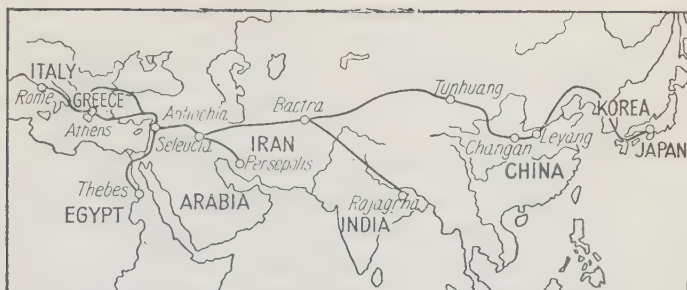


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE INTERFLOW OF CULTURE
BETWEEN CHINA AND OTHER COUNTRIES

Myriad Leaves). It contains poems by all classes of people, from emperors down to nameless peasants, poems judged superior because of powerful turns of expression or the candid utterance of sentiment. The chief authors of note were Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro, who was especially clever at grand *chōka*, Yamabe-no-Akahito, skilled in describing scenery, and Yamanoue-no-Okura, whose forte was the singing of the joys and sorrows of human life.

Brilliant though the culture of those days was, it was enjoyed and appreciated chiefly by government officials and temple priests; it benefited urban people rather than rural. In other words, it was a culture germane to none but the powerful and the elite of society. One example may suffice. While luxurious works of art were used as everyday utensils in the capital, there were people in the rural districts who had to content themselves with eating meals served on the leaves of the *shii* (*Shiia cuspidata*; *Shiia Sieboldii*) tree.

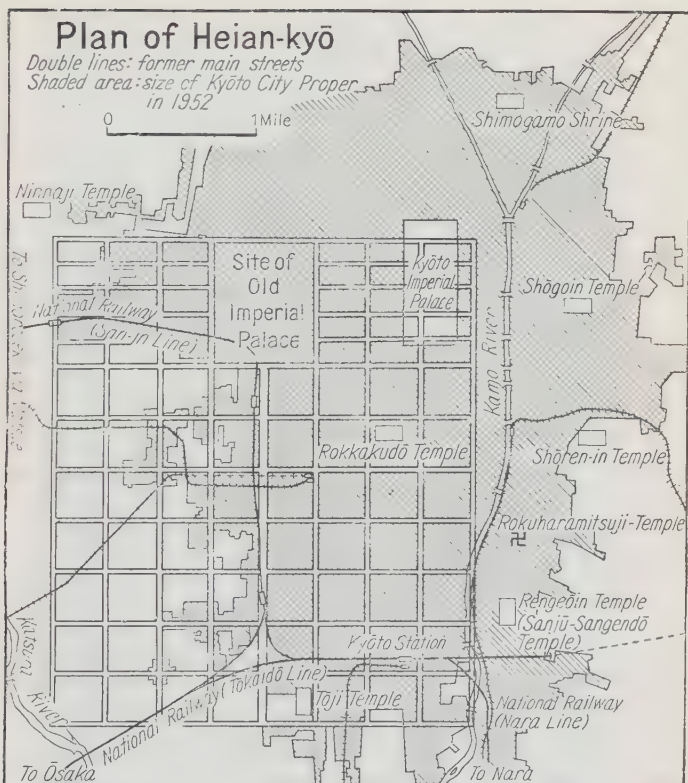
THE GROWTH OF ARISTOCRACY

As already stated, the Taika Reformation had the effect of giving too many privileges to the local chieftains of the country, thereby strengthening the hereditary power of the noble class. This was especially the case with the offspring of Fujiwara-no-Kamatari, who had played an important part in bringing about the reform. In Nara, the capital, one of the evils attendant on the court enthusiasm over Buddhism was beginning to show itself; the interference of the clergy in politics. But the Fujiwara house succeeded in gaining perfect control over them.

During the reign of the Emperor Kammu (737-806) the capital was removed from Nara to Heian in the province of Yamashiro (the present Kyōto). This was in 794. One of the objects of the transfer of the capital was to get away from the sphere of sacerdotal influence. The planning of this new capital was practically the same as that of the Nara capital, except that it was on a larger scale.

Heian-kyō, as the new capital was called, was destined to continue to be the seat of imperial government for nearly 1,100 years* until the capital was again removed to the present Tōkyō in 1869. From 794 till

* It will be remembered that the Holy Roman Empire was founded in 800 by Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, to last until 1806.



the beginning of military government at Kamakura in the twelfth century, the new capital was the political and cultural center of Japan. Hence, the term “Heian period” is applied to the 400 intervening years.

After the removal of the capital, the power of the Fujiwara family grew greater and greater; so much

so indeed that most of the empresses were of Fujiwara stock, and the Fujiwaras came to wield influence, as never before, because of their maternal relationship with the Imperial House. This was particularly in evidence from the ninth century on, when the Fujiwara house came to monopolize the position of kampaku, the chief minister of the state and the highest rank attainable. Nor was this all. All other important posts were occupied by members of the Fujiwara clan who thus found themselves in a position to conduct state affairs as they liked. The political machinery depending upon the laws and regulations laid down in the Reform of Taika gradually ceased to function as originally intended, and gave rise to hereditary, privately-managed government of the nobility headed by the Fujiwara family.

The system under which all the land and people of the country were to be turned into public land and citizenry became more nominal than real. As a matter of fact, this system was difficult of implementation in the society of the time in which the mass of people, overshadowed by the chieftains, had little or no foundation on which to build social influence. As mentioned before, this system was in itself so far from thoroughgoing that it gave the aristocracy and powerful temples a chance to own land extensively. Then again, from the eighth century on, the people were permitted to own privately fields under cultivation. The nobility and the clergy took to having large tracts of land opened up with a view to enlarging their private landed property.



"Genji Monogatari Picture-scroll" gives us a glimpse of the aristocratic life of the Heian period



Scene of a market place in the Heian period—a *genre* painting on a fan-shaped piece of paper over which a sutra is written by hand (early 12th century)

As to owners of small holdings, they found it expedient, if not necessary, to give the nominal right of ownership of property to any of the more noted noblemen and regard him as the master of their head house, while retaining the real title to the land. The taxation they were to pay into the national treasury went into the pockets of their protectors, the local chieftains. In this way the private landed property of the aristocratic classes of the society went on snowballing. This private land was called *shōen*, the manors of mediaeval Japan. In principle all manors were liable to taxation, but in next to no time, their exemption from taxation became the rule rather than the exception. As a result, the government revenue diminished, while the wealth of the aristocracy accumulated. With the increase of private land and the decrease of public land, the burdens of the people became heavier and heavier, and the number of people in general who, unable to bear these burdens any longer, were content to be asorbed by manorial lords increased greatly. Thus the economic foundation established by the Taika Reformation began to crumble. The manors had the privilege not only of exemption from taxation but also of non-interference by police power. Thus the position of tax-free *shōen* became extraterritorial in character; it was this manorial system that formed the background of rule by the nobles.

The *shōen* system was complicated. The manorial lord himself was what we might nowadays call an absentee landlord. Actually the business of managing

the manors and of collecting taxes was conducted by officials called *shōkan*, while the tenants of manors, tillers of the soil, were called *shōmin*. They all had their respective rights. The *bushi*, or the military class, of later days sprang mostly from the *shōkan*.

The court of Kyōto attempted in vain to deprive the manorial lords of their privileges: it could not stop the development of aristocracy. The Fujiwaras held the reins of government from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the eleventh century. Their prosperity attained its zenith at the time of Michinaga (966-1027); the wealth of the Fujiwara family was believed to exceed that of the Imperial House. The culture of the aristocracy reached mellow ripeness when the Fujiwaras were in the ascendant.



Part of the wooden statue of the Miroku Bosatsu treasured in the Chūgūji Temple (see page 26)



Shishinden, the main hall of the Old Imperial Palace in Kyōto. The present building, rebuilt in 1855, followed the exact style of the original one built in the 8th century.

CULTURE IN THE HEIAN PERIOD

Missions continued to be sent to the T'ang court after the establishment of the Heian capital. Many Buddhist priests went to school to China, including Saichō (767-822) and Kūkai (774-835), of whom more will be said presently. In 894 the custom of sending students to the continent died out, as the sun of the T'ang court was set: the T'ang dynasty was no more in 907, and some 20 years later the kingdom of Bokkai was also overthrown. This put a period to official intercourse between China and Japan. When the Sung dynasty came into existence in 960, after the five short dynasties that succeeded the T'ang dynasty, the Japanese court did not resume intercourse; only from time to

time merchants and priests crossed the sea to pay unofficial visits. As a result the stimulus of the continental culture was nothing to what it had been in pre-Heian days. In other words, from the middle of the Heian period a new coloring came to be given to culture in this island country. Japanese elements were brought into bold relief.

During the previous Nara period several sects of Chinese Buddhism including Kegon and Hossō were imported, unmodified, to these shores. The sects of Buddhism brought back by two saints, Saichō and Kūkai—posthumously known as Dengyō Daishi and Kōbō Daishi respectively—at the beginning of the ninth century marked a step toward the Japanization of Buddhism. Upon his return, Saichō propagated the Tendai sect, independently of the Buddhism of the Nara period, and founded the Enryakuji Temple on Mt. Hiei near Heian. Not to be behind, Kūkai brought back the Shingon sect and, after diffusing it with the Tōji Temple in Heian as his headquarters, founded the Kongōbuji Temple on Mt. Kōya in the evening of his life. The Shingon sect was the last to reach perfection among the various sects of Chinese Buddhism. During his stay at the Tang court Kūkai had helped to perfect it. This it was that he brought back with him. Prayers in the Shingon sect were intended to gratify human desires in this mundane world; for this reason it was hailed with delight by the noble who had a definite craving for the pomps and glories of this life. It spread far and wide with amazing rapidity. The teachings of

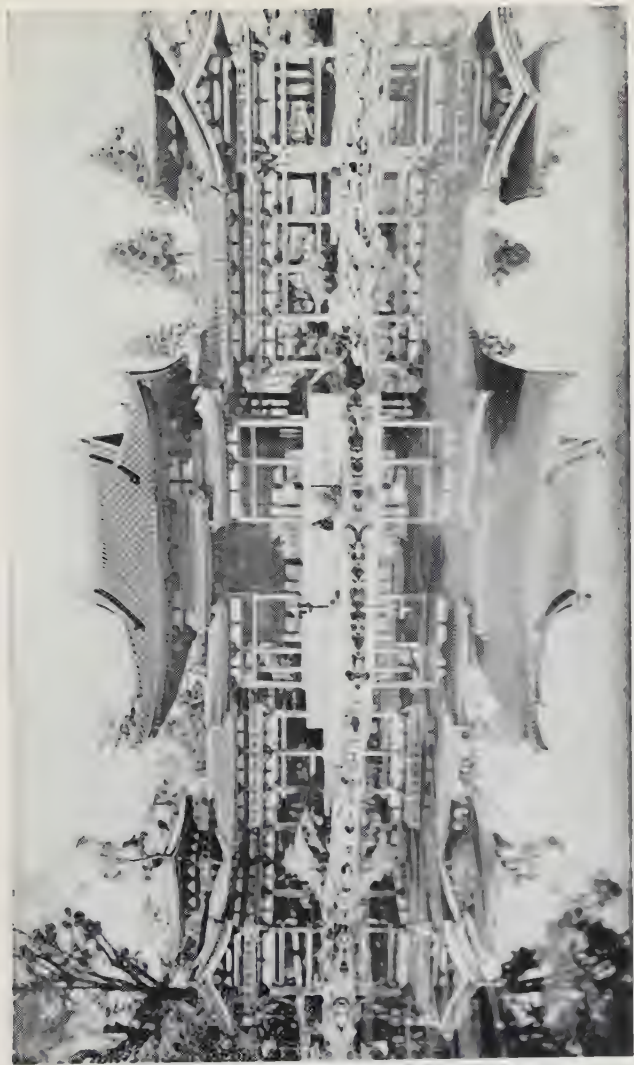


'Fudo Myō-ō' by Priest Enshin. Treasure
in the Myō-ōin Temple on Mt. Kōya.

the Tendai sect propounded by Saichō also tended to assume the character of Esoteric Buddhism,—teachings as interpreted by this Buddhist saint and other ministers of Buddha worship in Japan.

As might be expected, the ninth century saw the flourishing of art born of Esoteric Buddhism. Among the art products of this period were many powerful, fierce-looking images and pictures of Buddha, such as the image of Fudō Myō-ō (Acala or the God of Fire), typical of Esoteric Buddhism. Another characteristic art product of Esoteric Buddhism was the *mandala* representing, in chart style, the philosophic outlook on the world of Esoteric Buddhism.

From the latter years of the tenth century, however, a belief that one could pass away peacefully by offering prayers to Amida Buddha (*Amitābha*) began to take a strong hold on credulous people, high and low. This new faith gained considerable ground when the priest Genshin (942-1017), also known as Eshin Sōzu, of the Tendai sect brought out a book on it entitled “Ōjō-Yōshū,” setting forth how one could go to the Buddhist Paradise after death. Michinaga (966-1024), the most extravagant of all the Fujiwaras, who lived in the lap of luxury all his life, had a temple called Hōjōji built for this particular sect, and he himself breathed his last, chanting a prayer in the temple the while. The Amida-dō (Amida Hall), better known as Hōō-dō (Phoenix Hall) of the Byōdōin Temple at Uji (in the southern suburbs of Kyōto City), founded by Michinaga’s son, Yorimichi, should be mentioned in this connection.



Phoenix Hall of the Byōdōin Temple at Uji



"Arrival of Amida Buddha with twenty-five Bodhisattvas" by Priest Eshin (also called Genshin),
a painting on a scroll preserved in a monastery on Mt. Kōya

The center of this Amida hall is occupied by an image of Amida Buddha carved by the noted sculptor of the time, Jōchō (d. 1057). This image and the elaborate decorative work in the interior blend with the surrounding scenery to make so harmonious a whole that one is given the impression of an earthly paradise. Then there is, in a temple on Mt. Kōya, a painting representing the arrival* of Amida Buddha from on high, riding on a cloud together with a number of *Bodhisattvas*—a work of art which reveals the highest excellence attained in the Buddhistic art of the ninth century.

Mention has been made of the part which Chinese ideographs played in the writing of the Japanese language. What is most noteworthy was the device of using Chinese characters as a phonetic script consisting of 50 syllables; the utilization of ideographs not for their meaning, but for their phonetic value. The *Manyōshū* anthology of poetry, already referred to, was originally written by means of these phonetic signs. Then came the use of the *hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries, which the Japanese still use today together with *kanji*, or Chinese ideographs. The *kana* syllables were in reality derived from *kanji*, a *hiragana* syllable from a *kanji* written in cursive style, and a *katakana* syllable from either the radical or the component of a *kanji*. It seems that the *kana* syllabaries came into general use slowly but steadily, out of sheer necessity, as a process for simplification, rather than being in-

* "Japanese Fine Arts" by Prof. Sagara, Tourist Library No. 9, pp. 170-175.

vented by any particular individual. The creation of these two sets of phonetic scripts proved a valuable asset to the Japanese people; it opened up a new vista to literary activity. This was unique among the races that adopted Chinese culture. Thus the Japanese people found themselves in a position to write their language in a script of their own device. The phonetic scripts of 50 syllables saved them the immense trouble of committing thousands of *kanji* to memory, doing practically the same service as the Western alphabet.

With the adoption of *kana* syllables, it became easier for the Japanese to express their thoughts. Naturally enough, this gave a great impetus to the growth of native Japanese literature. The tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh witnessed the golden age, the so-called classical age, of Japanese literature.

In the domain of *waka*, or Japanese poetry, Ki-no-Tsurayuki compiled in 905, by order of the emperor, the anthology called the *Kokin Wakashū*. Several other anthologies of minor importance were brought out also by imperial command. Tsurayuki's new collection of poems was, in style, more elegant and graceful, but less masculine, than the *Manyōshū*. Another feature of this new anthology is the marked absence of *chōka* (long poems). In prose, literary talent found expression in the so-called *monogatari*, or tales, instead of in giving accounts of mythology and legends as before. Among the prose tales that led the van were the *Ise Monogatari* (Tales of Ise) and the *Taketori Monogatari* (Tale of the Bamboo-cutter). The former

Evolution of Hiragana and Katakana

Chinese character			Chinese character		
Printed form	Script form	Hiragana	Printed form	Script form	Hiragana
以	ゝ	い _i	知	ち	ち _{chi}
奴	ぬ	ぬ _{nu}	加	か	か _{ka}
也	や	や _{ya}	天	て	て _{te}
安	あ	あ _a	女	め	め _{me}

THE KATAKANA ARE FORMED AS SEEN IN THE DIAGRAM BELOW FROM WHOLE CHINESE CHARACTERS OR PARTS OF THEM

Chinese character	Katakana	Chinese character	Katakana	Chinese character	Katakana
須	ス _{su}	江	エ _e	阿	ア _a
加	カ _{ka}	奈	ナ _{na}	世	セ _{se}
毛	モ _{mo}	千	チ _{chi}	三	ミ _{mi}

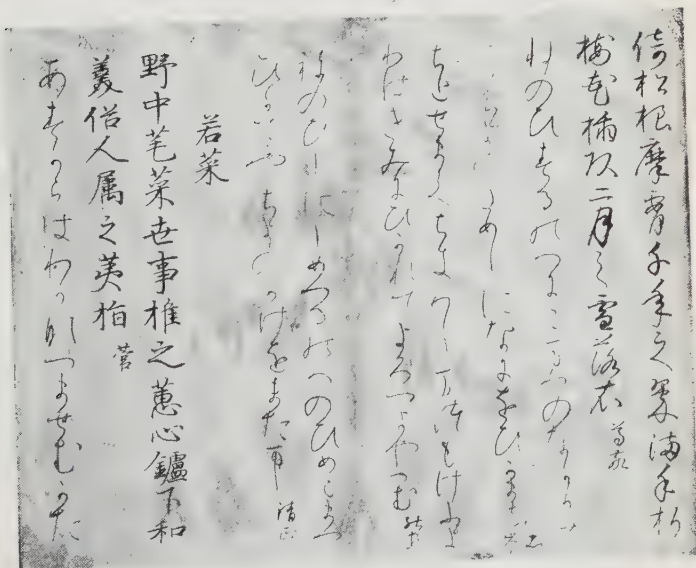
is a collection of anecdotes concerning *waka* composition; the latter is a tale of which the heroine is called Kaguya Hime, descended from the world of the moon. Then in the days of Fujiwara-no-Michinaga was written the more celebrated *Genji Monogatari* or the *Tale of Genji*. This is a realistic novel of great length penned by Murasaki Shikibu (975-1031), a woman writer; it describes aristocratic court life of the time with Don Juan-like Hikaru Genji as its hero. The vivid portrayal of characters woven into the gigantic fabric of the story gives this novel a rank comparable to that of, say, the *Decameron* which it anticipates by about 400 years and which is generally considered to be the earliest realistic novel of the West. Among the prose jottings of the time the most noted is the *Makura-no-Sōshi* by Sei Shōnagon (circa 1000 A.D.), also a woman writer. This book of stray notes is replete with keen and shrewd observations of nature and life.

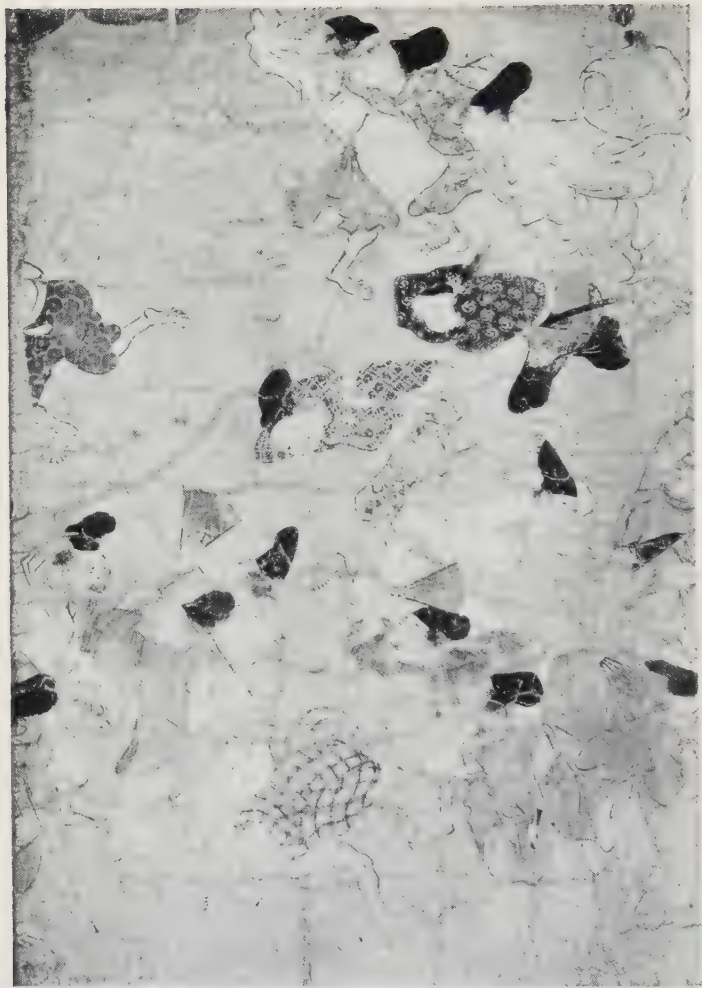
In the realms of formative arts, too, greater prominence came to be given to the exercise of Japanese taste than had hitherto been the case. In calligraphy, for example, a graceful style of writing was evolved in a variant form of *kana*. Fujiwara-no-Kōzei (972-1027) and Fujiwara-no-Sari (944-998) were among the best exponents of this school of calligraphy. In the field of pictorial art a new technique was developed in depicting Japanese fashion, scenery, and manners and customs. This school of painting, called *Yamato-e*,*

* "Japanese Fine Arts" by Prof. Sagara, Tourist Library No. 9, pp. 11 & 54.



Example of graceful styles of calligraphy
in the Heian Period





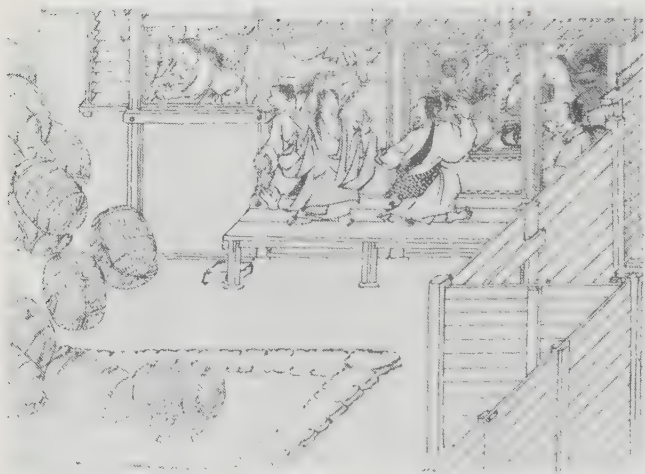
One scene from the picture-scroll depicting the life
of the court noble, Ban Dainagon

rapidly gained popularity, and *fusuma* (sliding doors) and *byōbu* (folding screens) in houses of the nobility came to be decorated with paintings done in *Yamato-e* style. A painting device peculiar to Japan was cultivated also during this period. As the name *e-makimono** (picture-scroll) suggests, this is an art of painting dynamically a series of pictures on a long, narrow strip in such a way that the scroll will reveal, as it is unrolled, scenes showing, say, the legend attaching to the origin of a temple or the main events of a well-known novel or in the life of an exalted personage. Among the most representative *e-makimono* produced toward the end of the Heian period are those relative to the *Genji Monogatari*, the Shigisan Temple (on a hill situated midway between Ōsaka and Nara cities), and to the court noble Ban Dainagon.

The Heian culture was in all its phases aristocratic and not plebeian in character, but the continental tone had receded into the background with the native elements coming prominently to the foreground. The whole coloring had undergone so complete a change that the Heian culture had no longer any semblance of the T'ang culture. Nor was that all. Japan who had heretofore sat at the feet of China now began to ship some of her cultural products to the continent. The *Ōjō-Yōshū*, a Buddhist treatise by the priest Genshin, *byōbu* or folding screens with *Yamato-e* paintings on them, and gold-lacquer ware were among the things

* "Japanese Fine Arts" by Prof. Sagara, Tourist Library No. 9, pp. 54-78.

that crossed the sea to the Sung court to win the admiration of Chinese people. Although this had no lasting influence, it is nevertheless worthy of note in the cultural history of this country.



"Rice Bales Flying Back!" From the "Shigisan Temple Picture-scrolls." This is a story of a wealthy miser living near the temple. To give him a chance to reform, the abbot of the temple concealed by miraculous power all the bales of rice the man had stored away. Sincerely repenting, the wealthy man turned over a new leaf, becoming a man of a generous nature, and, to his great joy, all the bales flew back to his home.

THE RISE OF THE MILITARY CLASS

The supremacy of the privileged order, the monopolization of government by the Fujiwaras, stood between talented men of ignoble birth and their rise to prominent positions; a career was no longer open to talent. Rule by the Imperial House lapsed into inactivity; the court merely kept alive the custom of observing annual events just for form's sake. Some of the nobility indulged in polite accomplishments, such as poetry and music; others lived an epicurean life. The task of governing the people was sadly neglected. The local governors, with an eye to the main chance, made no scruples about exploiting the people. Local administration was in bad shape, as never before. Failure to keep peace and order had its natural consequences. Both urban and rural areas became honey-combed with robbers, over whom the impotent government had no control. This was particularly the case with those manors which the police could not take care of properly. The manorial lords had therefore no choice but to take measures of self-defence; they realized the dire necessity of protecting themselves by force of arms.

As has been stated, manorial lords in Japan were nominal holders of land comparable to absentee landlords of modern times, while the *shōkan*, or managers of manors, were manor owners to all intents and purposes. The nominal owners of manors were members



Residence of a *bushi* in the early days of the feudal age. It is surrounded by a wall and a moat, and over the gate there is a lookout where shields stand in readiness. The bird in the yard is a hunting falcon.

of the aristocracy. It was only to be expected that the managers of manors and other local chiefs would become more powerful than the absentee landlords. The relationship they established with the peasantry who worked for them was one of lord and vassal. The master protected his servants, and the servants were devoted to the master. Together they established and consolidated a sphere of influence. They bore arms in self-defence. Devotion to the cultivation of military arts from necessity gradually led to the birth of the military class. The masters in turn found their overlords in powerful chieftains of high birth. Many of such chieftains were descended from nobles of the capital. These, then, became chieftains of the warrior class. In the tenth and subsequent centuries rebellion arose here and there, and the central government was too impotent to quell such rebellion, unless with the

help of *bushi*, or men of the military class. Two chief military families came into prominence—the Genji, or the Minamoto, and the Heike, or the Taira. The former appeared in the east and the latter in the west, to be more precise, in the areas facing the Inland Sea.

In the meanwhile the heyday of Fujiwara prosperity was past. Moreover, the system of imperial government inaugurated somewhere about 1086 under the name of *in-sei*,* or rule by cloistered emperors, did much to deprive the Fujiwaras of their arbitrary power. In the middle of the twelfth century the military class had a golden opportunity of making its influence felt in the capital when the Kyōto nobles appealed to it for help to settle their internal discord. In 1159 the Heike under the leadership of Taira-no-Kiyomori (1118-1181) got the whiphand of the Genji and swept into power as the Kyōto despots.

In connection with the rise of powerful families in various districts mention may be made of the transplantation of Kyōto culture to provincial soil. Perhaps the most famous of the products of this local culture is the Buddhist culture represented in the Chūsonji Temple which a powerful local family called Fujiwara founded at Hiraizumi (about 60 miles north of Sendai) in the province of Mutsu in the twelfth century. The Konjikidō Hall of the temple contains a number of legacies of this local culture.

* The idea was for the emperor to have a voice in matters of government even after his retirement from the throne, in order to eradicate the abuses born of the system of regency and advisership. But the *in-sei* system ultimately caused civil wars.



Konjikidō (Golden Hall) of the Chūsonji Temple was so named as its walls were originally coated with black lacquer plated with gold. The main pillars, rafters, and the three altars in the hall, besides the ornaments and religious articles to be found there, all elaborately decorated, are works of great artistic merit. The hall is protected as a national treasure. In the above picture are shown two of the main pillars and part of the central altar.

FEUDAL AGE (I)

THE BIRTH OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Once they took political power in their hands at Kyōto, the Tairas proved more domineering than the Fujiwaras whom they had superseded. Stepping into the shoes of the Fujiwaras, the Tairas took to an aristocratic mode of living; they lost the characteristics of the warrior class. As a result, within twenty years of their coming into power they were overthrown by the Minamotos who had taken up arms against them in eastern Japan under Yoritomo* (1147-1199).

Bearing in mind what had hastened the downfall of the Taira clan, Yoritomo wisely determined to consolidate his position by keeping alive among his followers the qualities of virile spirit and plain living, conspicuous traits of the *bushi*. He set up his head-

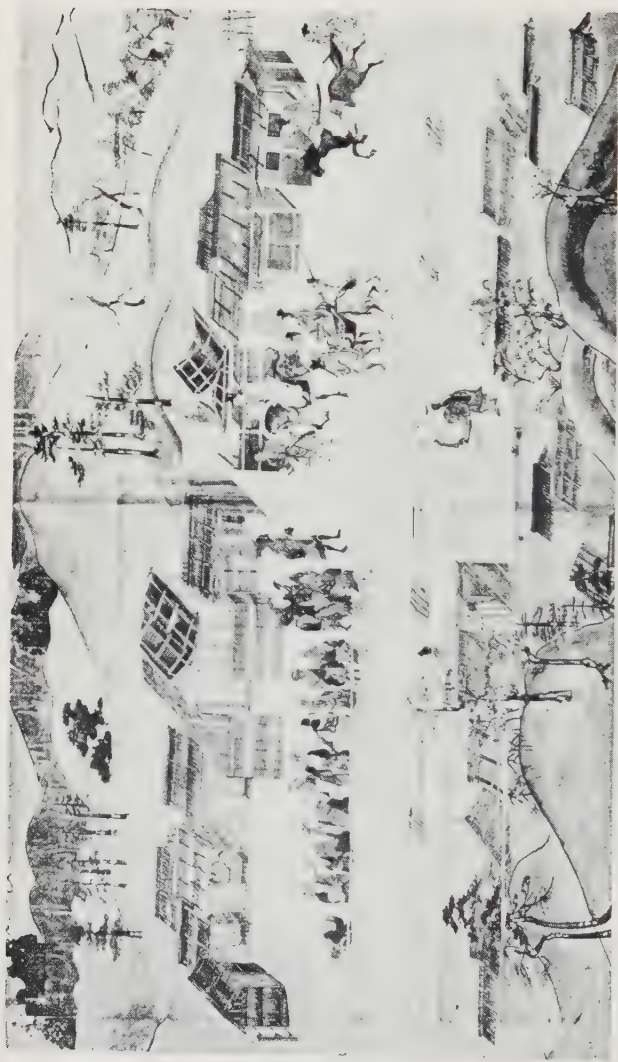
* In bringing down the Taira family the military genius of Yoshitsune, younger brother of Yoritomo, proved a most valuable asset. Like his English contemporary, King Richard the Lion-hearted, this Yoshitsune was a remarkably good fighter. The feats of derring-do he performed in many a battle are almost proverbial. Together the two Minamoto brothers did really fine work. But jealousy was one of the defects of Yoritomo's qualities, and some of the things his brilliant brother did rubbed him (Yoritomo) the wrong way. Yoritomo made up his mind to remove his brother, who, driven to northern Japan, finally killed himself.

quarters at Kamakura in the province of Sagami. The idea was gradually to extend his spheres of influence from there throughout the entire country. In 1185, when the Taira clan was virtually brought low, he established the posts of *shugo*, or high constables for the provinces, and of *jitō*, or land stewards for the public and private land, and was authorized by the court at Kyōto to assign members of his clan for the duties of these posts. He thus laid the foundations of actual rule over the entire country. In 1192 Yoritomo was appointed *sei-i-taishōgun*, or generalissimo, and he founded the Bakufu, or Shogunate Government, at Kamakura. The trail of military government he thus blazed was destined to last some seven hundred years, except for two brief interruptions, till the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The shogunate government at Kamakura became more and more influential as time went on, till at last it became more powerful than the court of Kyōto. The shogunate government was originally set up as an organ to keep the warriors under control; in other words, in its initial stage government by the warrior class meant that the shōgun merely adopted a system of command independently of the court at Kyōto, and not that the court transferred the reins of government completely to the *Bakufu*. Consequently the structure of the shogunate was extremely simple, consisting mainly of three offices—the *samurai-dokoro*, a sort of general staff meant to keep the vassals under control, the *mandokoro*, an office in charge of the conduct of adminis-



Portrait of Minamoto-no-Yoritomo attributed to Fujiwara Takanobu
Treasured in the Jingoji Temple, Kyōto



Approach to Kamakura in the early twelfth century

trative affairs, and the *monchūjo*, a supreme court where all civil cases were decided. Accordingly Kyōto legal experts were engaged as chiefs of the *mandokoro* and the *monchūjo*. These were, then, the key offices of the Kamakura government and were handed down as a model of military government to the following Muromachi period, although the shogunate structure became gradually more and more complicated. Generally speaking, simplified structure and high efficiency became characteristics of military government in Japan.

The main reason why the military rule overshadowed the government by the aristocrats with the court as its center was that the foundations of feudalism were laid with the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate, and that the manors which had long been the spheres of influence of the *kuge* (noble class) became gradually encroached upon by the *buke* (warrior class).

Feudalism in Japan originated in the relation between lord and vassal, arising among the warriors who were once local chieftains and landlords. With the initiation of the Kamakura government, the feudal system developed into a polity in which the *shōgun* was the supreme chieftain. The Kamakura *shōgun* acknowledged the fiefs of the warriors who had become his vassals; sometimes he would give them new fiefs and sometimes he would appoint them high constables or land stewards. In return his vassals were obliged to stay at Kyōto as guards of the capital for a given period

of time, or to perform various kinds of non-military duties in times of peace, or to serve under the *shōgun*'s banner in times of emergency. In principle, the duties of a high constable were to command the army and maintain law and order, and those of a land steward to keep peace and order, and collect taxes, in their respective posts in the provinces. The right of administration was still in the hands of the *kokushi*, or court-appointed governors. But as time went on, both *shugo* and *jitō* became audacious enough to do what lay clearly outside their province — now interfering in administration, now usurping land-taxes in kind that were to be paid to the legal holders of manors, the nobles in the capital. In this way both public and private land gradually passed into the hands of the warriors. The influence of the *kuge* receded into the background, and the influence of the *buke* expanded correspondingly. This was particularly the case after a futile attempt was made in 1221 by the Ex-Emperor Gotoba (1180-1239) to overthrow the shogunate government with a view to restoring political power to the court and the nobles. The *Bakufu* confiscated the fiefs belonging to the nobles that had taken up arms against it, and conferred them on the warriors who had rendered meritorious services in the imbroglio. This accelerated the infiltration of the influences of high constables and land stewards into the public and private land in the provinces.

Yoritomo's son Sanetomo was murdered in 1201, twenty years after the death of Yoritomo, in the pre-

cincts of the Hachiman Shrine at Kamakura, and the Minamotos as a military family died out. Hōjō Yoshitoki (1162-1224) who served as *shikken*, or regent of the *shōgun*, brought a Kyōto noble to Kamakura and made him *shōgun*. But actually the *shōgun* was a mere figure-head; the regent was the *de facto Bakufu* chieftain.

As already pointed out, the structure of the Kamakura shogunate was simplicity itself. So was its legislation. In 1232 the third Regent Hōjō Yasutoki enacted a law called *Jōei Shikimoku* (Jōei Code), so called from the era-name of the time. This was some seventeen years after King John was forced to fix his seal to the Magna Carta, and some half a century before Edward I systematized the English laws. Now this law of the Kamakura government consisted of only fifty-one articles of practical value in striking contrast to the infinitely complicated laws and regulations of the seventh century, *Yōrō Ritsuryō*, which contained some 1,500 articles, mostly unrealistic and perfunctory. The *Jōei Shikimoku* provided that the property rights of the warriors should be protected, and clarified the duties of the *shugo* and the *jitō*. It was laid down merely as a *Bakufu* criterion by which to decide the cases of warriors; it was a law instinct with the ethos of the age and became the basis of all laws and regulations for rule by the military class of later years.

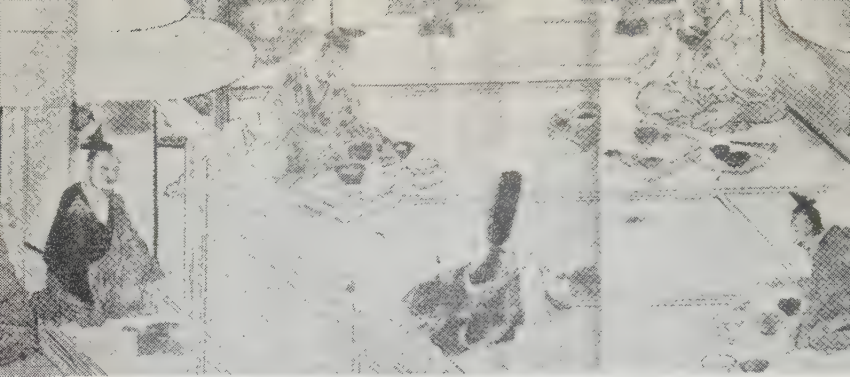
One of the notable features of this law was that women, too, were entitled to occupy the position of a vassal of the *Bakufu* and to succeed to a fief. Orig-

nally the custom of despising women was conspicuous by its absence in Japan. The idea of giving precedence to the sterner sex on all occasions came from China. Into the *Ritsuryō* crept the provision that a husband could divorce his wife for his own convenience. This, coupled with the Chinese idea of threefold obedience—that a woman should obey her parents before she was married, obey her husband after she was married, and obey her own son or sons when she was old—had all sorts of effects. The law of the Kamakura period was by no means a mere imitation of a Chinese law; it was a codification of time-honored customs transmitted among the people at large from generation to generation. With the change of times, however, the master of a family became very powerful, and the social position of woman was brought down accordingly. This was particularly the case in the Edo period when the diffusion of Confucian teachings among the people in general helped to intensify this tendency.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century Genghis Khan (1162-1294), founder of the Mongol Empire, conquered the greater part of Asia. His grandson Kublai Khan (1216-1294) brought pressure to bear on the Sung dynasty and, conquering Kokuli, changed the name of the dynasty to Yuan. His ambition did not stop there; he demanded submission from Japan. This excited the ire of both court and *Bakufu*. The then *Shikken* Hōjō Tokimune (1251-1284) was adamant and flatly rejected the request of Kublai Khan. Twice—in 1274 and 1281—Kublai invaded north Kyūshū.



Fully armored *husk* hastening to the battlefield



Sitting room of a *bushi's* residence in the sixteenth century. Note that it is matted and has a *tokonoma* adorned with hanging picture-scrolls and flowers arranged in vases.

And twice his project was defeated by the valor of the Japanese soldiers, who defended their country valiantly, and by the violence of the typhoon that visited that region at the time. But the Mongol invasions, though they ended in a failure, were one of the remote reasons for the subsequent financial difficulties of the shogunate, and its ultimate downfall.

The establishment of the Kamakura shogunate added, in more than one sense, a new page to the history of Japan. Yoritomo himself came of a family which, though originally Kyōto nobles, had settled down as a powerful family in a province. He had gradually become influential enough to profess himself a chieftain of warriors. But it was the warriors rising from manorial officials or from smaller landholders that helped Yoritomo to make himself master of the country. The initiation of military government meant the transfer of political power from the aristocrats to the lower classes—a definite step forward by the plebeian, as distinct from the patrician, class of the Japanese.

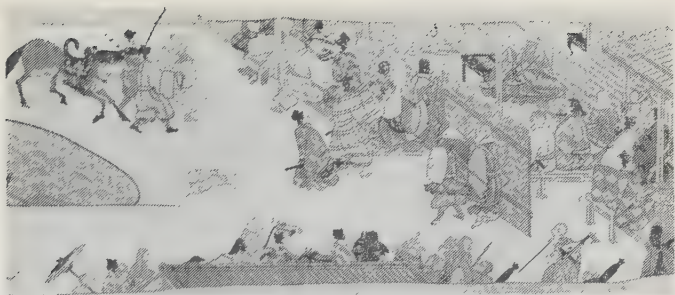
THE FIRST STEP TOWARD POPULARIZATION OF CULTURE

Even after the establishment of military government at Kamakura, the court nobles still held their ground at Kyōto. In the provinces, too, the manorial system that supported the nobility and the system of *shugo* and *jitō* which was the basis of military government existed side by side. It was the same story with the cultural developments under these two antipodal systems of government. While the traditions of the time-honored customs of the aristocracy were sedulously kept alive, new phases of culture were already in evidence among the warriors. This tendency was especially marked in the domains of art and literature. Enthusiasm for *waka* or Japanese poetry was as great as it had been in the Heian period. In 1205 an anthology of poems entitled *Shin Kokin Wakashū*, or *New Kokin Wakashū*, was compiled. This was the eighth imperial collection of poems. Of the poets whose works are collected in this anthology the best known is Fujiwara-no-Teika (1162-1241). One notable feature of this anthology is the highly developed technique which finds expression in elegant, symbolic poems of scenery—a feature which tended to end in subordination of matter to manner, of force to form. The priest Saigyō (1118-1190) was another poet who flourished about this time. Traveling widely through the provinces, he took delight in

writing nature poems. Another well-known poet of the time was the *Shōgun* Sanetomo, Yoritomo's son. He left many vigorous and forceful poems.

In contrast to the culture of the nobility a new type of culture arose from the advance of the warrior class and also from the development of a new religious influence. In the field of literature, for example, a new prose style was developed,—a style vigorous, forcible, poetical, as distinct from the elegant and ornate, but effeminate and prolix style of the Heian period. A number of books were written in this new style, mostly descriptive of battles and anecdotes about the warriors of the time. The most typical is perhaps the *Heike Monogatari* (1233), or the *Tale of the Heike Family*. It is the story of the rise and fall of the Taira clan, founded on facts to a certain degree,—from the glorious prosperity enjoyed by Kiyomori down to the tragic end of the Taira clan at the sea battle off Dannoura (a beach near Shimonoseki City). The style is such that players of the *biwa*, a sort of Japanese lute, could recite, or rather chant the story to the accompaniment of the instrument which they played. So this kind of story appealed in those days as much to the eye as to the ear.

Those were also days of intense religious belief. The fall of the Taira family, the consequent unrest and collapse of the nobility, the frequent visitations of natural calamities—all these combined to impress on the people the mutability of things and the uncertainty of life. Naturally enough, the people sought solace in religion



Priest Hōnen preaching his religion

more and more. It is true that the Tendai and Shingon sects of Buddhism had devotees among the nobles, but these sects proved too ritualistic and too perfunctory to be of practical help to the people of the Kamakura period when stern realities stared them in the face. New sects of Buddhism arose one after another. The priest Hōnen (1133-1212) founded in 1175 a sect called Jōdo and preached that any one, however poor or foolish, could go to paradise after death merely by invoking *Amitābha*, by chanting "Namu-Amida-Butsu (Save me, merciful Buddha!)." This was in reality a modification of the doctrine set forth by Genshin which was intended for the nobles; the faith of the earlier age was so modified and systematized as to suit the warriors and the common people. This new sect rapidly gained ground among a multitude of people without distinction of class.

One of Saint Hōnen's disciples, Shinran (1173-1262), went farther than his master. He preached that anybody could be saved if he cast to the winds the petty



Shariden Hall of the Engakuji Temple in Kamakura, a good example of the architectural style originating in the Kamakura period, gives a somber and sturdy impression.

schemes of man, resigning himself completely to the limitless powers of Buddha; that it was the long-cherished desire of Buddha, who pledged himself to be the saviour of the sinful, to let wicked men, not less than good men, go to paradise. Living in the Kantō region for a long time, Saint Shinran expounded his doctrine among the peasantry. Believing as he did that a man, whether he entered the priesthood or not, could go to paradise, he lived a married life like a layman. The group of believers living by the light of Buddhism as preached by Saint Shinran is known by the name of Jōdo Shinshū or Ikkōshū.

Then in 1253 another sect called Hokkeshū was

founded by Saint Nichiren (1222-1282). According to him the Hokke Scripture was the very Bible of Buddhism. He preached that the easiest way to enter Nirvana was by praying, mouthing "Namu-Myōhōren-gekyō (Save me, Hokke Scripture!)." He lived in the Kantō district* for the most part of his life and never set his foot in Kyōto. His preaching was manly, violent, and pugnacious; Nichiren himself was the spirit incarnate of the warrior. In consequence his doctrine found many devout believers among the Kantō warriors.

Enough has been said to show that Buddhism took on new aspects in the Kamakura period; that the saints of that age elevated their Buddhist doctrines almost to the dignity of a national religion. The doctrines preached were such that could not be seen in Chinese Buddhism. Nor was that all. Still another type of Buddhism was introduced from the continent.

Japan's intercourse with the Sung court had been kept up since the latter half of the Heian period. Perhaps the most important cultural item imported from the Sung court about this time was Buddhism of various Zen sects. These sects of Buddhism are characterized by religious meditation called Zen, or *Dhyana*. In 1191 the priest Eisai (1141-1215) brought one of the Zen sects, the Rinzai sect, and in 1227 Dōgen (1200-1253) introduced another, the Sōtō sect. It soon became a custom among Kamakura warriors to practise

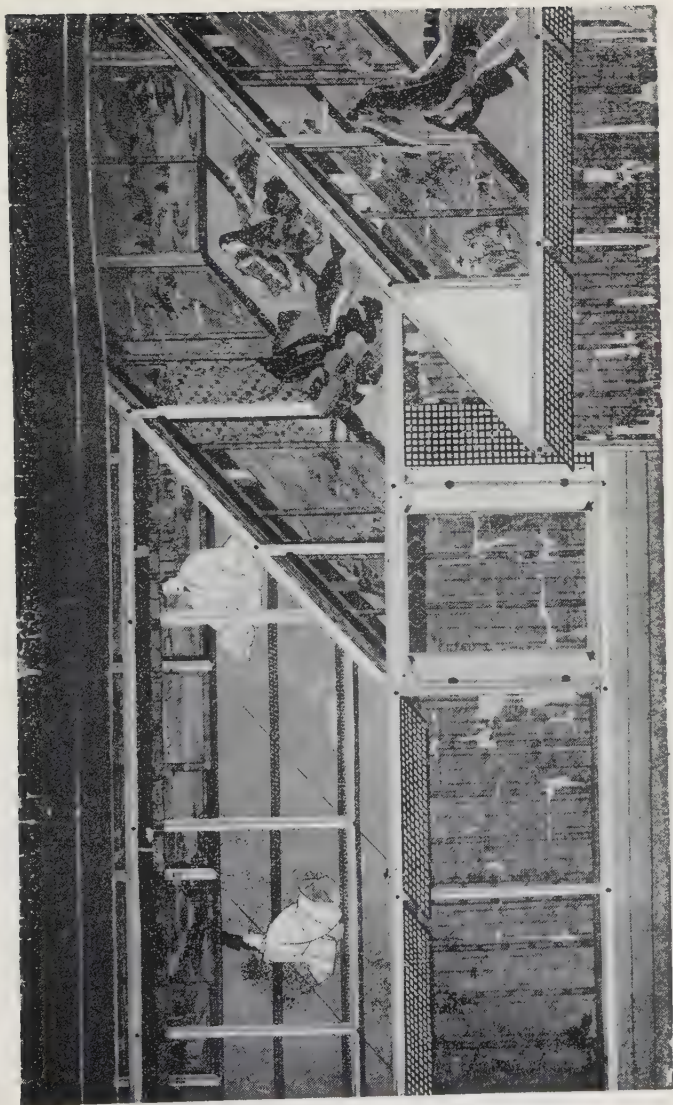
* The Kantō district is the area now covered by the Tōkyō Metropolis, and the five prefectures of Saitama, Tochigi, Gumma, Chiba, Ibaraki, and Kanagawa.

Zen, that is, to attain enlightenment by mental self-discipline, aloof from the pursuit of academic studies and the performance of ceremonies. The Regent Hōjō Tokiyori and Hōjō Tokimune, the latter of Mongol invasion fame, were among the devoted followers of Zen.* The existing Zen temples at Kamakura—the Kenchōji and the Engakuji—were founded in those days.

The characteristic spirit of the Kamakura age found expression also in the realms of formative art. Whereas the nobles of the previous age had loved only the elegant and the graceful where art was concerned, the people of the Kamakura period developed a liking also for the manly and the powerful. In sculpture, for instance, Unkei and Kaikei, two of the most representative sculptors of the age, carved the famous images of Kongō Rikishi or Deva Kings, which to this day have stood guard over the approach to the Tōdaiji Temple at Nara. The double figures of the Niō, as the Deva Kings are often called, are represented with a powerful physique suggestive of Herculean strength and mas-

* "The aim of Zen is to throw off all external paraphernalia which the intellect has woven around the soul and to see directly into the inmost nature of our being. Man is not a simply constructed creature, he requires many appendages, but when they grow too heavy he wants to unload himself, sometimes including his own existence.

The military class of Kamakura had a great liking for simplicity in every way: They were tired of and averse to ornate aristocracy and effeminate refinement. Zen supplied their wants to a nicety. If Shingon and Tendai were meant for the nobility and the Nembutsu for the commoner, Zen was assuredly for the soldier."—Daisetz T. Suzuki, *Zen And Japanese Buddhism*, p. 102. Tōkyō: Japan Travel Bureau, 1958.



Section of the picture-scroll, entitled "Kasuga Gongen Reigenki"



Wooden carvings of two lantern-holding ogres, Ryūtōki (left) and Tentōki (right), attributed to Kōben, third son of Unkei. Treasured in the Kōfukuji Temple, Kyōto.

culine beauty: the carved figures even show dilated blood-vessels on the strong muscles.

There are those remarkably realistic images at the Kōfukuji Temple at Nara, colored wooden statues of two Buddhist priests, Seshin and Mujaku, and of two ogres known respectively as Tentōki and Ryūtōki. All these statues date from this period. In pictorial art *e-makimono* (picture-scrolls) continued to enjoy as much popularity as they had in the previous age. As might be expected, the origins of temples and shrines, the lives of Buddhist saints, etc., provided favorite motifs for artists. Many fine specimens have come down to this day. Some illustrate graphically the active lives which Saints Hōnen, Shinran and Ippen (the last-named who lived from 1239 to 1289 was the founder of a subsect of the Jōdo sect) lived among the populace as they preached their doctrines; others represent battle scenes from the civil wars of the time, and from the Mongol invasions. Apart from these dynamic picture-scrolls, it became the fashion to paint portraits of the heroes of the time. Perhaps the best known is the portrait of Minamoto-no-Yoritomo by Fujiwara Takanobu (1142-1205).

THE SECOND MILITARY GOVERNMENT

From olden times it was only occasionally that the emperor himself ruled over the people directly, important affairs of state being usually conducted by persons close to the throne. The emperor was in such a position that he transcended all political responsibility. The establishment of military government caused the court gradually to lose its political power, but the non-responsible position of the emperor became all the clearer. There were, however, some emperors who, chagrined at the decline of the power of the court, attempted to eliminate military government. As already stated, the Ex-Emperor Gotoba made the first attempt of its kind in 1221, but in vain. Then in 1331 the Emperor Godaigo (1288-1339) made a similar attempt. At first he met with a setback and at one time he was driven to a very sad plight, but with the assistance of Prince Morinaga (1308-1335), Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336) and several other loyalists, such as Nitta Yoshisada (1301-1338) and Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358), who were discontented with the Hōjōs, he ultimately succeeded in overturning the Kamakura shogunate government in 1333. The reins of government were thus restored to the court. As the era-name was Kemmu, this political change is generally known as the Restoration of Kemmu. But it only meant the removal of the shogunate; it did not uproot military government by

putting out of existence the manorial system and the *shugo* and *jitō* system inaugurated by Yoritomo. The *kuge* (nobility) and the *buke* (warriors) still held office side by side in the new government. The restoration of imperial power failed to produce the desired effect as a political renovation. The nobles, regarding the restoration as a return of aristocratic government, belittled the warriors who had rendered meritorious services in achieving the restoration work; while the latter with an eye to their own interests, strove with one another for rewards. Moreover, the court erred in its management of state affairs. As a result the restored imperial government crumbled away after only two years of existence.

Ashikaga Takauji who had helped the Emperor Godaigo to restore imperial power was not slow to perceive the universal discontent with the new government. Ambitious to bring back a military regime by making political capital out of the growing disaffection of the warriors against the imperial government, he rose in revolt against the emperor in 1335. Luck was ultimately on the side of the rebel, who entered the capital and enthroned another emperor. Takauji was appointed *sei-i-taishōgun* (generalissimo) in 1338, just as Yoritomo had been nearly a century and a half before. He established a new *Bakufu** in Kyōto and founded

* We often call the Ashikaga shogunate the Muromachi *Bakufu*. This is due to the fact that in 1378 the third Ashikaga *Shōgun* Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) had a new mansion erected at Muromachi, Kyōto, whither he transferred the shogunate. Similarly



Silver Pavilion, Kyōto

the second military regime. This was the year before the Hundred Years' War broke out in Europe.

As the situation was thus decidedly unfavorable to them, the Emperor Godaigo and his following retreated to Yoshino in the province of Yamato and kept up their struggle against the new emperor at Kyōtō, a struggle which was destined to last more than fifty years. The court at Yoshino is called Nanchō or the Southern Court, and that of Kyōtō Hokuchō, or the Northern Court. The book called the *Taiheiki* describes the battles between the two courts, and the sad stories of the Nanchō princes and generals. Like the

the period during which the Ashikaga shogunate lasted is known as the Muromachi period.

Heike Monogatari, this history of the disturbed period of some fifty years remained for a long time a very favorite book among people of all classes.

In the days of the third *Shōgun* Yoshimitsu—in 1393 to be more precise—the emperor of the Southern Court made peace with the court of Kyōto, bringing thereby the long strife to an end. In the meantime the local warriors acquired power to so considerable an extent that the *Bakufu* was powerless to keep them under control.

The structure of the Muromachi shogunate was modelled on Yoritomo's machinery in every detail. But there were basical differences between the two. The former was made up of the warriors on whose discontent with the restored imperial regime Takauji had traded and whom he had enticed with the bait of benefits. Whereas Yoritomo kept his following under rigid discipline, Takauji, who was lukewarm in his attitude toward his subordinates, found it difficult to exercise control over them. The local semi-independent generals who had powerful spheres of influence were too ready to rise in revolt against the *Bakufu* on the slightest provocation, if not to fight among themselves.

Moreover, none of the Ashikaga *shōguns* had the caliber of Hōjō Yasutoki (1183-1242) and Tokiyori (1227-1263) who were able statesmen. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu had the famous Gold Pavilion* built at Kitano,

* The original building erected in 1397 was destroyed by fire in 1952, and in 1955 an exact replica of the original was built on the same site.

Kyōto, as his mansion and there he lived in grand style. Incited by emulation, the eighth *Shōgun* Yoshimasa (1435-1490) had the Silver Pavilion built at Higashiyama, Kyōto, where he passed his days also indulging in luxury, far from the din and dust of the battlefield. Naturally enough, this resulted in bad government and financial difficulties. In 1467 a terrible civil war broke out, the so-called War of Ōnin. It started from the enmity among the high officials of the *Bakufu*. This civil strife lasted for some 11 years in the Kyōto area, levelling the best part of the capital to the ground. The prestige of the shogunate was lost, and ambitious military chieftains rose here and there, all in readiness to hold their own against one another in the provinces.



Lady traveling on horseback—from a
mid-fifteenth century picture-scroll

RENEWAL OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE

It is true that the appointment by Yoritomo of his followers to the posts of land steward and high constable constituted bonds of feudalistic union, but his structure overlapped the manorial system that had existed from earlier times among the nobles. Society was not yet an organic whole brought about under the feudal system. As time went on, the warriors gradually encroached upon the spheres of influences of the nobility, the *jitō* (land stewards) on the manors, while the *shugo* (high constables) took into their hands the political power of the provinces they were in charge of, besides the right of military policing to which they were formally entitled, and gradually assumed the character of provincial chieftains, the so-called *daimyō* of later days. These chieftains, bringing under their banner the land stewards who had usurped the manors, held sway as if they were independent sovereigns. This tendency became particularly marked after the civil war of Ōnin, so much so that the fief held by each feudal lord was, to all intents and purposes, a small independent state. The *Bakufu* existed only in name as the central power. The entire country began to break up. There began a century of civil wars among feudal barons. The *daimyō* put an end to the manorial system and grasped the privileges in all matters including military, administrative, and tax affairs.

Heretofore the capital of Kyōto and adjacent provinces had been the center of culture, but the War of Ōnin changed the face of the country. The subsequent mushroom growth of *daimyō* naturally led to the creation of political and cultural centers here and there through the length and breadth of the country. Each *daimyō* developed industry and, gathering merchants around his castle, established a town. Of these castle-towns the more thriving were Odawara of the Hōjō clan and Yamaguchi of the Ōuchi. Many were the nobles and bonzes who, unable to live in the capital devastated by the War of Ōnin went down to Yamaguchi. Thus the castle-town of Yamaguchi became an important, if temporary, center of culture. Hitherto the seats of government—Nara, Kyōto and Kamakura—and their environs had played an important part in making Japanese history; from now on, however, various provincial castle-towns also appeared upon the historical scene.

In Japan of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the central government lost its power to control the lords in the provinces. The system that had long existed ceased to function properly; and a definite renewal of social influence took place. The nobles virtually lost all their power, giving up their political supremacy completely to the warriors. In all strata of society there grew a tendency toward the superseding of men of higher status by their subordinates. This soon became the order of the day. Here is a typical example. After the civil war of Ōnin (1467-77) the real

power of the *Bakufu* passed from the *shōgun* to a member of the Hosokawa family who held the office of *kanryō*, a sort of chief administrator, and the authority of the *kanryō* passed in turn into the hands of his vassal, one Miyoshi by name, who was in turn superseded by his retainer, a certain Matsunaga. Then again the *ashigaru*, or footmen, who had originally been little better than rabble temporarily gathered together from among the farmers, came to be raised to the dignity of *bushi*, though of the rank and file. In agricultural communities, too, each village made its own regulations pertaining to autonomy, the farmers themselves maintaining law and order themselves. More than once the peasantry rose in a large-scale revolt against the tyranny of their ruler. The most noteworthy of such agrarian riots was the one that broke out in the province of Yamashiro in 1489; that is, about a century after Wat Tyler's Revolt in England (1381) and the Jacquerie Rising in France (1358). The peasants who took part in this rising in Yamashiro even succeeded at one time in driving all the warriors from the province and, holding a mass meeting, conducted the affairs of the village along the lines of the resolution reached at the meeting.

But as the feudal system became firmly rooted in Japanese soil, the autonomy of the peasants was emasculated and the peasants were allowed to maintain their activity only as terminal agents within the framework of feudalism.

THE INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE OF THE ARTISANS AND MERCHANTS

Industry had already been developing gradually in the provinces since the Heian period when government by the aristocracy was at its zenith. But it was in the military age that various branches of industry began to take long strides. In the field of agriculture the practice of raising two crops a year was commenced; wheat or barley could now be grown immediately after a rice crop. The use of oxen and horses for the cultivation of fields, and water wheels for irrigation also became popularized. The cultivation of the tea plant, which had been introduced from the continent about a century before, was now in full swing. Originally imported from Korea, cotton came to be grown at home in the fifteenth century, effecting a big change in the clothing of the Japanese people. Another thing that came from China about this time was the ceramic art properly so called, the art of turning out elaborate pottery and porcelain. Pottery production in Owari province with Seto as its center acquired such fame that the name of "Seto" became the generic term for pottery in Japan just as the word "china" did in the West. *Daimyō*, bent on the development of natural resources in their respective fiefs, paid attention to the importance of mining. As a result the production of gold, silver and copper was greatly increased.

Self-supporting economy, chiefly agricultural, had continued from olden times, and as a rule surplus goods or special products had been bartered in some specified markets. Except for artisans working for the court or for monasteries, there had been practically nobody engaged in industrial art production; only the peasants made implements in their spare time for the court or for their lords, if not for their own use. Now with the advent of the military age, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the production of merchandise visibly increased. The division of labor gradually became a regular practice; and consequently artisans, traders and merchants increased in numbers. People of the profession or the trade organized a body called *za*, monopolizing the right to produce and sell any specified merchandise. This society has an analogy to the medieval guild. There had already been markets and stores in Kyōto before, but in the period under consideration the number of permanent shops increased considerably, while periodical fairs came to be held in various towns throughout the country. Most of such fairs were held three times a month, and more frequently as time went on. We still have such place names, or rather names of market towns, as Yokkaichi (lit. 4th day fair) and Yōkaichi (lit. 8th day fair), signifying that in those places the periodical fairs were held on the 4th, 14th and 24th and on the 8th, 18th and 28th of the month respectively. Then again the activities of *toimaru*, or what were originally manorial warehouses, gradually came to be greatly extended.

Besides being intended for storage, they came to do duty also as forwarding agencies and wholesale houses. They later developed into wholesale houses pure and simple. Another important sign of economic growth was the initiation of a mutual aid financial guild known as *tanomoshikō* or *mujinkō*. This association was formed with a shrine* or a monastery as its center, each member paying in instalments and the loan of the aggregate sum so deposited being then decided by lot among the members. There were yet other banking facilities that sprang into existence, such as the *sakaya* (lit. *sake-shop*) where money-lending was conducted, besides the regular business of dealing in rice beer, and the *tokura* (lit. "godown" or "storehouse"). Moreover, exchange transactions were also commenced as early as the thirteenth century.

With the advent of the Kamakura period, there was an increasing demand for some form of currency to replace the barter system to some extent. It was at this juncture that, consequent upon intercourse with the Sung court, copper coins came to these shores from the continent. In 1341 Ashikaga Takauji sent a trading vessel to China under the succeeding Yuan court and imported coins. Then the third Ashikaga *Shōgun* Yoshimitsu stooped to swear vassalage to the emperor of the succeeding Ming dynasty with a view to trading

* So considerable was the religious influence in Japan of the Middle Ages that it was only natural that Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines should form the economic center of the nation. It is a curious coincidence that the religious institutions of medieval Europe assumed similar activities.



Scene of a country fair. From a picture-scroll completed in 1299. Ref. pictures on pages 40 and 124.



"At a Dyer's Shop"—from a series of *genre* painting by Kanō Yoshinobu (d. 1460) depicting the life of artisans in the 16th and 17th centuries

with China. His real object seems to have been to import copper coins from China. Thus began in Japan the age of economic activity through the use of coins. This led to the breakdown of the economic system based on self-sufficiency in the manors. The tradal sphere became enlarged. The marking off of feudal lordships meant the establishment of new regional economic spheres.

It is noteworthy how rapidly towns grew with the increase of commerce and industry. Besides the castle-towns of which mention has already been made were communities gathered around monasteries and Shintō shrines, such as Nara and Uji-Yamada, and port-towns such as Kuwana in Ise province, Sakai in Izumi, Hyōgo (part of the present Kōbe) in Settsū and Hakata (part of the present Fukuoka) in Chikuzen. The port-town of Sakai is noted, among other things, for the circumstance that the more influential of its inhabitants exercised autonomy, and, refusing to pay the tax imposed by Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), one of the most celebrated feudal barons, resolved to offer him resistance. This reminds us of the activities of the medieval Italian cities and of the Hanseatic League, only the Japanese towns of those days were not so powerful as their European counterparts.

THE SECOND STEP TOWARD POPULARIZATION OF CULTURE

As already noted, the Zen sect of Buddhism was brought to Japan from China at the end of the twelfth century and after. Not a few Japanese priests went over to China to sit at the feet of Zen philosophers, while quite a number of Chinese Zen monks came over to preach and show the Kamakura warriors how to practise Zen. In the fourteenth century the Zen temples became more and more respected. Ashikaga Takauji, who had a great respect for the Zen monk Soseki (1275-1351), built the Tenryūji Temple in Kyōto for him. The third Ashikaga *Shōgun* Yoshimitsu, after the example of the Sung custom, dignified five temples of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism in Kyōto, including the Tenryūji, with the name of the *Gozan* of Kyōto, or the Five Monasteries of Kyōto. Similarly he gave the title of *Gozan* to five Zen temples at Kamakura including the Kenchōji and the Engakuji. The Zen priests of the "Big Five" became advisers to the *Bakufu*. Their business was to give advice on matters pertaining to diplomatic relations and trade with the Ming court, and they sometimes even mixed in politics. Some of them actually had a political acumen of a very high order. It was the custom with Zen priests to try to transplant to Japanese soil the mode of living at a Zen monastery in China. So the prosperity of the Zen sect

naturally brought with it a transplantation of Yuan and Ming cultures. In this way the monks of the Five Zen Monasteries played a valuable part as leading guides to continental culture rather than as teachers of Zen. The vogue for Chinese literature as elucidated by these monks, commonly called *Gozan* literature, was a manifestation of this cultural activity of Zen priests, and so was the fashion for painting in black and white,* which was characteristic of the pictorial art of the Sung and Yuan dynasties. Continental black and white landscapes and other things are marked by severe simplicity, and seemed somewhat futuresque to the eye inured to colorful pictures of the *Yamato-e* school. It was the painter-priest Sesshū (1420-1506) who excelled in this branch of painting. Returning in 1469 from the Ming court where he had studied painting, he opened up a new vista by throwing off the shackles of the imitation of Chinese art. The art of painting pictures, mostly landscape, in black and white, as introduced by Sesshū, was characterized by striking composition and vigorous strokes, and soon became almost as popular as the time-honored colorful *Yamato-e* school.

In the *Yamato-e* the most celebrated artist of this age was Tosa Mitsunobu (1430-1521) who left many fine picture-scrolls. A little later on another remarkable artist stepped into view. This was Kanō Motonobu (1496-1559), almost contemporary with the galaxy of artists that shone in the Italian Renaissance. To him

* "Japanese Fine Arts" by Prof. Sagara, Tourist Library No. 9, pp.14-36.

goes the credit of founding the so-called Kanō school of painting, a style in which the Tosa school and the Chinese school of painting in black and white blend, and the bright colors of *Yamato-e* pictures and the vigorous strokes so typical of the black-ink paintings make a harmonious whole—a school of painting which was to occupy the central position in Japanese painting in subsequent periods.

In the realms of religion the Muromachi period witnessed the wide spread of the influence of the various Buddhist sects that came into prominence in the Kamakura period, as well as of the Zen sect. Let us first survey the development of the Jōdo Shinshū. In the days of its founder Shinran (1173-1262) this sect had only a sprinkling of followers in an eastern province. But its doctrine became widely propagated in the days of his descendant Kakunyo (1270-1351). With the appearance of Rennyo (1415-1499) it acquired great influence. The peasants who became devotees of this sect caused a riot called *Ikkō ikki* (lit. Ikkō revolt, so named from the fact that the Shinshū sect is also called Ikkō sect.) As a result the province of Kaga was at one time under the sway of the peasant believers of this Buddhist sect. The great prosperity which its headquarters, the Honganji Temple, has enjoyed to this day is due largely to Rennyo's achievements. It is much the same story with the Nichiren sect. Though founded in the Kantō area, this sect came to find believers even in the Kyōto district as time went on.

The Kamakura and Muromachi periods being those



"Summer Landscape" by Sesshū



"Priest Ling-yun Viewing Peach-blossoms"
attributed to Kanō Motonobu

of religious faith, both Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples performed an important social function, sometimes giving primary education to boys and girls,* and sometimes even engaging in commerce. Here was then a gradual fusion of religious and secular life. Another instance of religion merging into the life of the laity is seen in the fusion of temple architecture and dwelling-house building. The style of architecture shown in the *shoin* (study),** a room in a temple, came to be adopted in the building of houses of warriors during the Muromachi period. This was, in substance, the beginning of the style of building we see today in an ordinary Japanese house, characterized, among other things, by the *tokonoma*, or alcove, the *chigaidana*, or alcove shelves, and the *genkan*, or the vestibule. The custom of putting flowers in a flower vase has something to do with the *shoin-zukuri* style of architecture. This led to the beginning of the art of flower arrangement.

As regards Buddhist painting and Buddhist sculpture, they reached their peak in the Kamakura period. Painting in black and white was closely related to the Zen sect of Buddhism, it is true, but its subjects were chiefly landscapes.

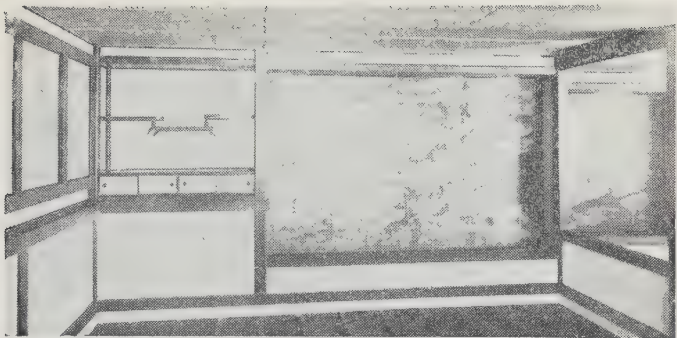
As has already been noted, the general tendency in the Muromachi period was for subordinates to supersede superiors in the political field. Much the same

* It was due to this fact that the organ for elementary education in urban areas came to be called *terakoya* (lit. temple children school.)

** "Japanese Architecture" by Prof. Kishida, Tourist Library No. 6, pp. 84-86.

may be said of the cultural sphere, that is, the tendency for the "low-brow" to develop and take the place of the "high-brow."

Up to the Heian period *gagaku*, classical court music and dancing adapted from the music first imported from China in the seventh century, formed the nucleus of Japanese music and dancing. Japanized though it was in large measure, it was an art peculiar to the court and the major temples; it was almost unknown to the common people. In striking contrast to *gagaku* were two forms of stage art—*sarugaku* and *dengaku*—which were popular among the masses. The former was a sort of primitive farce consisting mainly of comical mimicry; the latter was a form of music and dancing mixed with some elements of Chinese acrobatic stunts, originally performed at the time of rice-planting. With the approach of the military age, these came to be performed at shrine or temple festivals. From the thirteenth century on, even the nobles and upper-class warriors took kindly to these forms of plebeian stage art. This was especially the case with the *sarugaku*, which came to be called *sarugaku-nō*. Somewhere about 1400, in the days of the third Ashikaga *Shōgun* Yoshimitsu, two actors of great genius, Kan-ami and his son Zeami, elevated this *sarugaku-nō* to the dignity of a musical masque, thus perfecting the symbolic *nō* drama of today. Zeami went further. He composed more than a hundred pieces of *nō* scripts or texts, called *yōkyoku*. His works, elegant and florid in style and artistic in effect, are of high literary value. Thus



Guest Hall of the Kōjōin Temple was built in 1601, and is celebrated as a good example of the *shōin* type of building. The temple is a subsidiary of the Onjōji Temple, and stands in the precincts of the latter at Ōtsu on Lake Biwa.

the aristocratic *nō* drama, together with the bizarre, plebeian *kabuki* play of later development, became a representative classical form of the Japanese theater. *Kyōgen*, an interlude played between *nō* plays, differs materially from the symbolic *nō* in being a realistic skit on the life of the people in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Like *nō*, *kyōgen* has survived to this day. It is a burlesque on the impotence of the warriors and the priests of the time, and also on the inside affairs of the community. The lines put into the mouths of the characters represented in the *kyōgen* are all in plain, colloquial language. The themes are such as appeal to the masses. By and large, it is an art well worthy of being called plebeian.

In addition to composing the traditional *waka* or Japanese poetry, there grew up in this period a tre-

mendous vogue for that art of linking verse, which is called *renga*. This pastime, somewhat analogous to verse-capping, consists in composing at a gathering a series of *waka* of 31 syllables, each made up of two hemistiches — 5-7-5 and 7-7 syllables—linked one with another. Fifteenth century Japan found in Sōgi(1421-1502) a past master in this art of capping verse. In his hands the *renga* was raised to the same level of literary merit as the *waka*; so much so that eventually the first hemistich of 17 syllables became detached from the *waka* so as to become complete in itself. This was the beginning of the later forms of poetry—*haikai* and *haiku* (see pp. 154-155).

The cult of tea* was another pastime which, originating among the common people, became popular among the aristocracy. Tea was brought to these shores from the continent as a medicinal herb by the Zen priest Eisai (1141-1215). In the fourteenth century it became a custom among the poor to give a party to drink tea out of simple cups. This custom gradually found its way into the upper classes. This it was that eventually grew into the tea ceremony, the custom for a host to enjoy tea with his guests quietly in a small room specially arranged for the purpose. Not infrequently generals sought solace in a tea room taking rest from the hurly-burly of the battlefield.

* "Tea Cult of Japan" by Y. Fukukita, Tourist Library No. 4, pp. 15-20.

FEUDAL AGE (2)

RE-UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

The *Sengoku Jidai*, or the age of the country at war, is the name given to the period from the close of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, when the *daimyō* in various provinces struggled with one another for supremacy like so many independent princes. Politically, it was an age of state disintegration, of disunity rather than unity, to all seeming, but actually the fief of each *daimyō* was destined to constitute an integral part of an organic whole, ready for integration into a feudal system. Culturally and economically, however, the country was not necessarily separated into sections; for artists, religious believers and merchants traveled freely from one part of the country to another, and were not cooped up within the confines of their native provinces. It may have been that the Japanese people in general had not lost the consciousness that their country was one. The ultimate object of each and every *daimyō* was to go up to Kyōto, the seat of imperial government, to bring the entire country under his sway. Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) was the first to come very near realizing such an ambition.

Nobunaga, a small *daimyō* of Owari province (the western part of the Aichi Prefecture of today), steadily

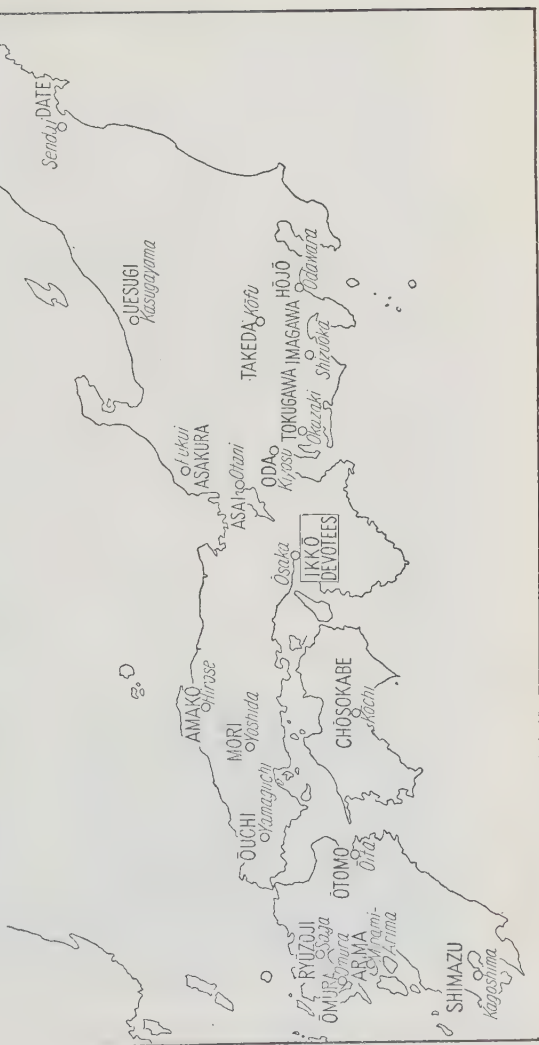
enlarged his fief. In 1560 his forces attacked and made away with Imagawa Yoshimoto (1519-1560), a powerful *daimyō* of Suruga (part of the present Shizuoka Prefecture), as the latter was on his way to Kyōto leading a large army. This deed of daring earned him military fame. Then in order to secure his rear and flank he made an ally of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), a *daimyō* of Mikawa (the eastern part of the Aichi Prefecture of today). In 1568 he made political capital out of the internal trouble of the Muromachi *Bakufu* and set out for Kyōto with Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-1597), a relative of the *shōgun*. Making a clean sweep of all who stood between him and his objective in and around the capital, Nobunaga set Yoshiaki up as *shōgun*, repaired the dilapidated palace and presented the emperor with land, thereby launching a large-scale unification movement. In 1573 he came to a frontal clash with the *shōgun* he had just set up, who was beginning to regard him with loathing. Promptly he did away with the *Bakufu*. He was now more capable of conquering all the other *daimyō* than anybody had been before. He stood a very good chance of achieving the great task of unifying the entire country, when he was assassinated by one of his generals, Akechi Mitsuhide, who had turned traitor. This was in 1582. It was Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Nobunaga's righthand man, who took up the task where Nobunaga left off.

Hideyoshi (1536-1598) was born in a poor peasant family. Availing himself of the troubled times, he earned the status of a *samurai* while in the service of

Powerful Daimyō in the 16th Century and Their Principal Castle Towns

Daimyō in capital letters

Castle towns (present-day names) in italics



Nobunaga. He rose to eminence with amazing rapidity. He adopted for himself the surname of Hashiba, and as one of Nobunaga's generals he was unbelievably resourceful. It was while he was in the western part of the country on an expedition against a *daimyō* that he got the sad news of his master's untimely end. No sooner had he successfully treated for peace with his enemy than he returned with lightning speed and, making short work of Mitsuhide who had slain his master, set about continuing the unification drive his master had started. In 1590 Hideyoshi's forces lay siege to Odawara Castle, the citadel of the Hōjōs, who were powerful enough to make their influence felt in the entire Kantō area. With the fall of the castle, Hideyoshi's task of making himself master of the whole country was practically concluded. The court conferred on Hideyoshi the surname of Toyotomi and also the most exalted position of *kampaku*, the chief minister of state, which had heretofore been granted to none but the Fujiwara family.

Hideyoshi enlarged the scale on which to examine for registration purposes landed property throughout the country, a system which Nobunaga had already initiated as his prestige rose with the increase of his domain. He authorized the *daimyō* to own fiefs on the basis of the land system he thus formulated anew. The land tax came to be levied and collected at uniform rates based on the land register. In this way a firm foundation was laid for feudal society. Since the middle of the Muromachi period not a few men of talent



Portrait of Toyotomi Hideyoshi



Egret Castle at Himeji

had climbed from peasant to *samurai*. Of this Hideyoshi furnishes the most remarkable example. But it was Hideyoshi himself who confiscated all the arms possessed by non-*samurai* class of people, on the ground that they would be appropriated for the construction of a great image of Buddha and a building to house it and, drawing a clear line of demarcation between the *bushi*, the peasants and the townspeople, forbade peasants and townsmen rigidly to attain the *samurai* statue.

Since the Heian period both monasteries and shrines had been definite social influences because of the hold which the Buddhist and Shintō faiths had on the people. Some of the monasteries even, like so many feudal barons, had powerful armed forces, each holding its own against another. Nobunaga burned down the monastery on Mt. Hiei, the headquarters of the Tendai sect of Buddhism, and conquered the stubborn resistance offered by the devotees of the Ikkō sect. Hideyoshi, too, razed the Negoroji Temple (a celebrated center of the Shingon sect, about ten miles east of the present Wakayama City), that had refused to swear obedience to him, and made the bonzes of Kōyasan, the headquarters of the Shingon sect, surrender, thus bringing the ecclesiastical completely under the sway of the secular.

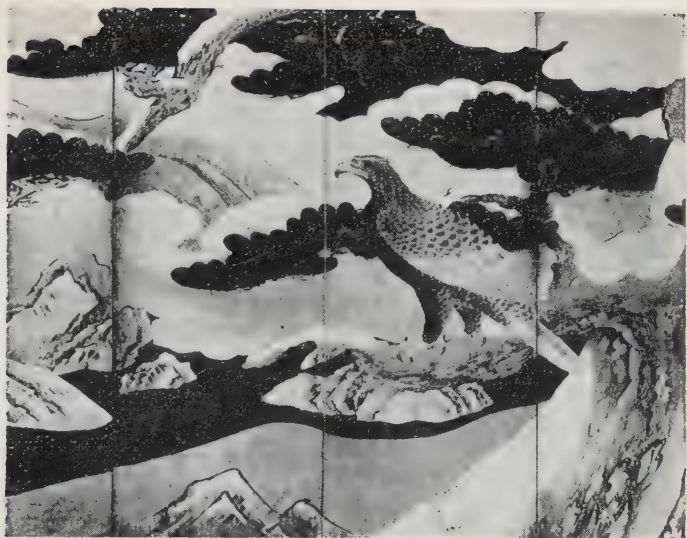
Not only did Nobunaga and Hideyoshi oust the religious influence from the mundane world, they also broke down the monopolistic organization of the commercial world; they opened up a new vista in industrial and economic activities. From 1568 onwards Nobu-

naga deprived the *za* (guild) of its privilege of monopoly and did away with the barrier-guards* to facilitate traffic and commerce between provinces. Hideyoshi took over Nobunaga's economic policy and went further. He had gold, silver and copper coins minted by increasing the output of mineral products.

Culturally, the age in which Nobunaga and Hideyoshi flourished is called the Momoyama period (1568-1615), from the circumstance that, besides the celebrated Ōsaka Castle Hideyoshi had Fushimi Castle built at the present Momoyama (in the southern part of Kyōto City) in the evening of his life. The temper and tastes of these heroes were reflected in the Momoyama culture. The custom was now for *daimyō* to select sites for their castles** so as to facilitate rule over their fiefs, instead of having their impregnable fortresses constructed in mountainous country. The castle thus became the center of local government, from which its lord could conveniently wield authority.

* The barrier-guards had existed from ancient times, from military and political necessity. From the latter part of the Kamakura period right through the Muromachi period they increased rapidly in numbers for economic reasons. The temples and shrines, the *kuge* (the nobility) and the *buke* (the military class) vied with one another in setting up barriers, like so many toll-gates, on the highway running through the land over which they had control. At these *sekisho*, as these barriers were called in Japanese, toll was levied on the traveler to increase the revenue of the landowner. In the Yodogawa valley in the Ōsaka area, for example, something like 380 *sekisho* were set up for a distance of no more than 40 miles. It was no wonder that not infrequently the people raised a riot and destroyed such barriers.

** "Japanese Architecture" by Prof. Kishida, Tourist Library No. 6, pp. 106-109.



Part of the "Pine-tree and a Hawk" by Kanō Eitoku (above) and "Cherry Blossoms"—a painting on one of the *fusuma* in the Chishakuin Temple, Kyōto.





Ohuroma (Grand Hall) of the Nishi Honganji Temple, Kyoto. This spacious, gorgeously decorated hall is said to have been originally Hideyoshi's audience room, transferred here from Fushimi Castle.

Some of these strongholds were triumphs of architecture, each with a stuccoed donjon, or keep, of from five to seven stories perched on an elevation enclosed by cyclopean stone walls. Perhaps the most representative of the castles extant is Himeji Castle, often called Hakurojō or Egret Castle, which dates from 1609. Up to that time most of the storied buildings in Japan had been modelled on those of China, but the structure of a donjon was born of Japanese ingenuity. In building dwelling houses, further development was made in the *shoin-zukuri* style, of which mention was made in the previous chapter. In the Nishi Honganji Temple in Kyōto we still find a structure which gives a good idea of how the interior of the Jurakudai, Hideyoshi's luxurious mansion, and his Fushimi Castle must have looked.

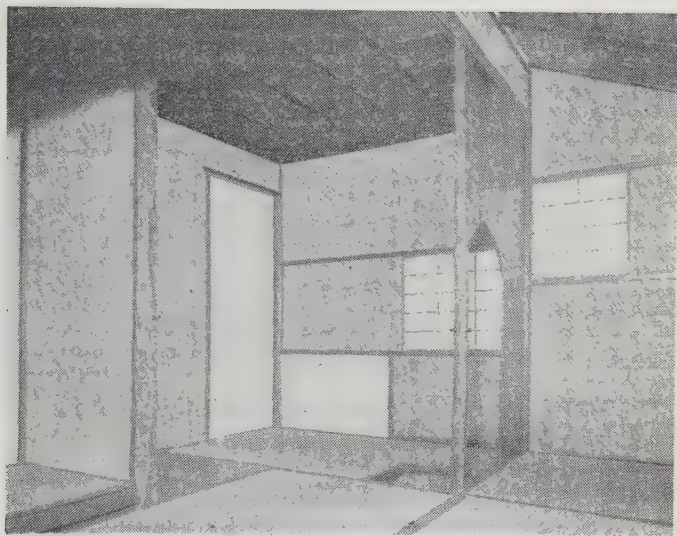
The interior of the magnificent edifices of the Momoyama period was ablaze with *fusuma* (sliding doors between rooms) adorned with pictures of the Kanō school, painted in rich colors and with powerful strokes. Chief among the noted artists of the time were Kanō Eitoku (1543-1590), Kanō Sanraku (1559-1635) and Kaihō Yūshō (1533-1615), who all flourished, it will be noted, in an age contemporaneous with the latter days of the Renaissance. These artists introduced a breadth of vision, a quality of grandeur and magnificence into Japanese painting, the keynote of which had hitherto been grace and elegance. Some of the works of these painters have been preserved to this day. One



This typical example of a tea ceremony house in the Momoyama period is called Joan.

of the *fusuma* paintings in the Chishakuin Temple in Kyōto represents cherry blossoms and maple leaves executed in a manner typical of this age. It is not known, however, who painted this large-scale picture. Another example of this style of painting is a picture showing the large limbs of a pine tree in a space covering several *fusuma*.

Another feature of the art of the Momoyama period is its complete freedom from the fetters of religion. As already noted, Japanese art had developed as a concomitant to religion since the Nara period. With the decline of Buddhist influence, both Buddhist painting



Interior of the Joan. This tea ceremony house now stands in the garden of the Mitsui villa at Ōiso near Tōkyō.

and Buddhist sculpture had gradually lapsed into insignificance; they were ultimately replaced by *fusuma* pictures and decorative sculptures. Thus ecclesiastical art came to yield to secular art. Not yet shackled by the Confucian thoughts of the succeeding Edo period, the spirit of the age was marked by freedom and abandon. A good illustration of this may be seen in the fact that Hideyoshi held a grand tea ceremony at Kitano, Kyōto, to which he welcomed everybody and anybody who loved tea drinking, from noble and *daimyō* down to peasant and townsman.

Both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi were enamored of



One of the celebrated *sukiya*-style buildings in the Katsura Detached Palace

the tea ceremonial. Naturally enough, *cha-no-yu*, as the tea cult is called, became a fashionable craze among the generals and rich merchants. It was in Hideyoshi's time that a great tea-master named Sen-no-Rikyū (1521-1591) flourished and systematized the art to perfection. The popularity of the tea cult and the importation of pottery technique combined to stimulate the progress of the ceramic art, especially the art of making cups and pots for the tea ceremony. Consequent upon the popularity of *cha-no-yu* was the development of a style of architecture known as *sukiya* style, of which the tea ceremony house or room is a typical example. Perhaps the most representative illustration of *sukiya*-style structure now extant, is the Katsura Detached Palace in Kyōto, dating from the early days of the Edo period.

THE FIRST CONTACT WITH WESTERN CULTURE

Japan remained unknown to Western people for a long time. It was through Marco Polo's great book of travel brought out on his return from the court of Kublai Khan in China toward the end of the thirteenth century that people in the West first became aware of the existence of Zipangu,* which, Marco believed, was a land full of gold. A series of geographical discoveries following the discovery of America by Columbus gradually led Western people to advance to East Asia. With Goa in India as their headquarters, the Portuguese made commercial penetration into Macao in China. In 1543 one of their junks came drifting to Tanegashima,** a small island off the coast of the present Kagoshima Prefecture. It was the first time that Europeans ever found their way to Japanese territory. From then on Portuguese carried on trade with Japan through

* *Zipangu* is a corrupted form of the Chinese pronunciation *Jihpen*, from which the present word, Japan, is derived.

** The Portuguese who landed at Tanegashima had arquebuses with them, which caused no small excitement among the Japanese, who had never seen firearms before. Soon this type of weapon became a valuable asset to the Japanese warriors, and "Tanegashima" became the name for a musket in Japan. Gunpowder completely changed the face of the art of war in Japan, as in other countries. One *daimyō* after another adopted this useful weapon with great effect. Firearms stood Nobunaga's troops in good stead, thereby helping to accelerate his work of unifying the country.

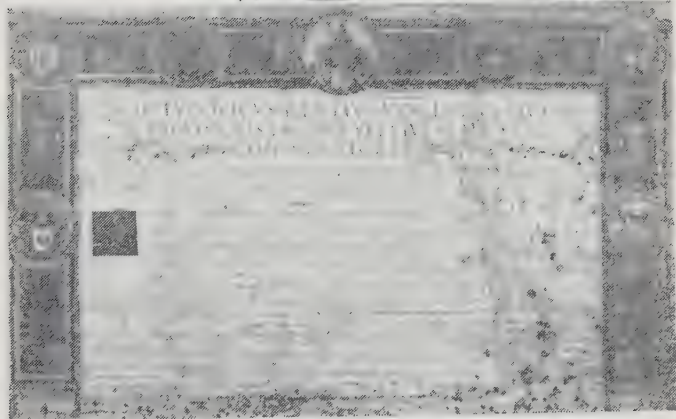
several ports in Kyūshū, followed by Spaniards who came over from Manila.

Meanwhile the Company of Jesus, which the Roman Catholic Church had organized after suffering a great blow from the Reformation, was planning to open up a new field in the East for mission work. Francis Xavier, a member of the Company of Jesus, was the first to preach the Gospel in Japan; he came to Kago-shima, the southernmost castle town in Kyūshū, in 1549. Other Jesuits followed suit. Mission work was carried on mostly in Kyōto and Yamaguchi, as well as in most parts of Kyūshū. Quite a number of Japanese, from *daimyō* down to peasants, became converted. That the Christian* faith could exert its influence so rapidly in Japan is ascribed to various factors. First, the introduction of Christianity was attended by several aspects of European culture. Second, the missionaries showed a greater earnestness in their work than most of the Buddhist priests, who had degenerated in moral qualities. Third, the missionaries appealed directly to the multitude with great effect. Yet another reason was that Nobunaga espoused Christianity as a means of checking the rampancy of the Buddhist devotees who were growing nearly as strong as any *daimyō*.

Three Kyūshū *daimyō* sent envoys all the way to Rome to pay respect to the Pope; they were the first Japanese to set foot on European soil and come in direct contact with European culture. The envoys

* The Japanese of those days called this faith *Kirishitan*, a corruption of the Portuguese word "Christão."

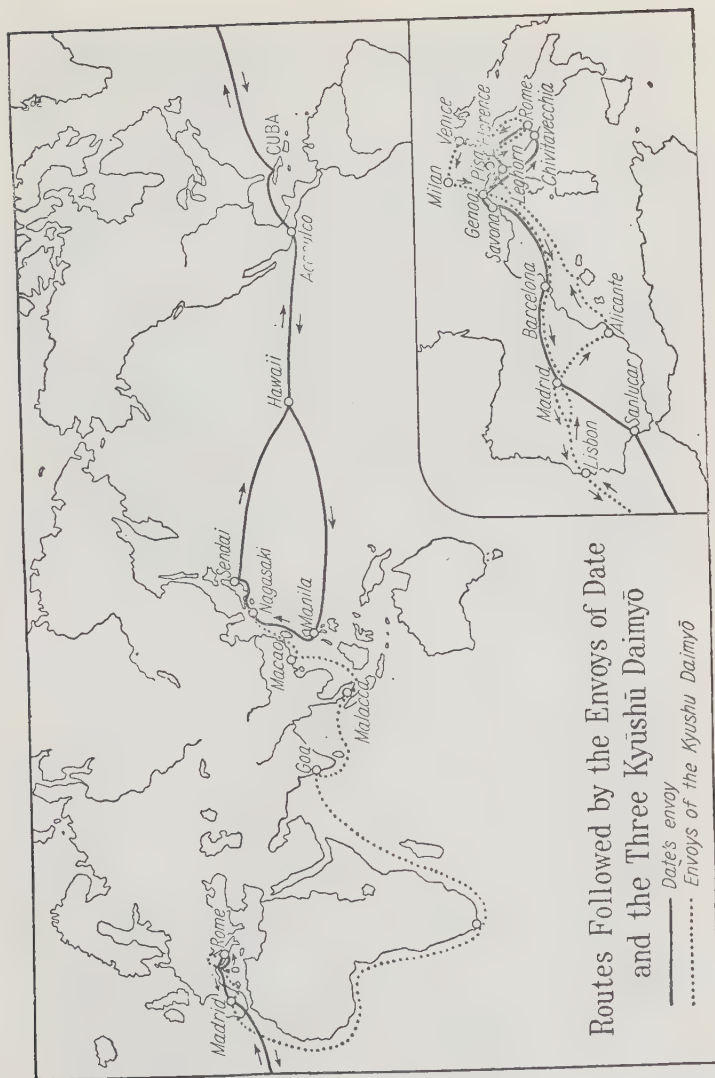
Portrait of Francis Xavier (above). Certificate of Roman citizenship granted to Date Masamune's envoy to the Pope by the Roman Senate at the time of his visit to Rome in 1613.



were all boys in their teens. They left Japan in 1582 and, after being received in audience by the Pope, returned after an absence of eight years. Then in 1600 was achieved the first trip by Japanese across the Pacific. Though the motive behind it was not religious, this voyage was made by Kyōto merchants, who were sent to Nova Espana (the present Mexico), then a Spanish possession, by Tokugawa Ieyasu after he became master of the country as successor to Hideyoshi. Then in the year 1613 Date Masamune, a powerful *daimyō* at Sendai, sent a mission, for the same purpose as Ieyasu, to the Roman Pope and the King of Spain, through Nova Espana. But in neither case did the plan for commercial enterprise materialize.

Following the examples of Portugal and Spain, Holland and England started trade with Japan in 1608 and 1613 respectively. But Holland had the better of England in this commercial rivalry, and the latter closed her factory in Japan after carrying on commerce for only ten years in this part of the world.

In the meantime Japanese vessels frequently went south for commercial purposes. Kyūshū *daimyō* and merchant princes in Sakai, near Ōsaka, sent trading boats to the South Seas, and not a few Japanese settled overseas. Even Japanese towns made their appearance in the Philippines, Annam, Siam, Malaya and Java. Perhaps the most noted of the Japanese who thus settled in the South was Yamada Nagamasa (d. 1633), who, while in the service of the Siamese Government, was appointed head of a province.

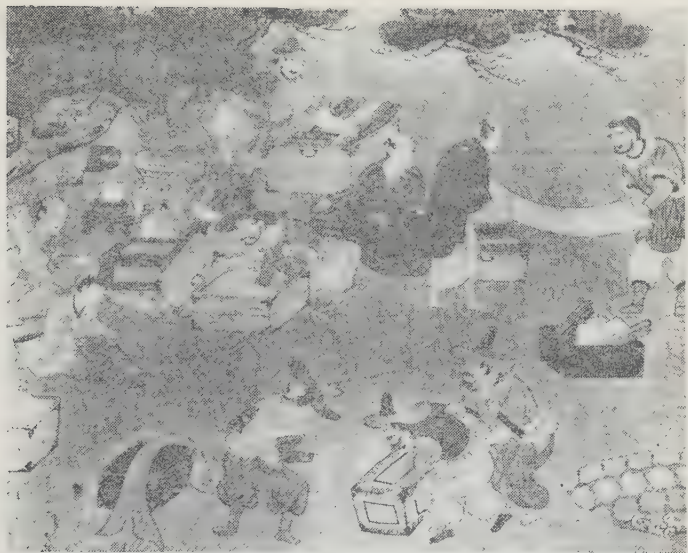


Besides normal traders, there existed from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, adventurers who, known as *wakō*,* were akin to corsairs. This predatory tribe of men not infrequently marauded along the coasts of Korea and China. Not only did they attack vessels, but they more frequently landed and plundered people of their property. It must, however, be admitted in fairness to them that their acts were not always of a piratical nature. "Both marauders and merchants," writes a Chinese, "are human beings. If and when admitted to a mart, marauders will become merchants; shut them out of a mart, and they are sure to turn marauders again." By and large, what *wakō*** did was a primitive manifestation of that necessity for trade with the continent, which was so keenly felt in promoting Japan's economic development; it was the rush of a flood bursting the dam of commercial restraint.

This spirit of overseas adventure was kept alive till the country came to be closed by the Tokugawa Government. One of the chief objects of the reckless war of 1592-98 which Hideyoshi waged against Korea was to carry on trade with China.

* According to a Chinese book, more than half the *wakō* were Chinese. Some of them were led by Japanese. In some cases Chinese marauders called themselves *wakō*.

** Almost contemporaneous with the *wakō* were, it will be remembered, the English traders, not always of a pacific kind, in the days of Queen Elizabeth. There was, however, a vast difference between *wakō* and English corsairs. Whereas the English piratical traders rendered a service to their country, playing an important part in the task of obtaining the hegemony over the rest of the world, the *wakō*, unprotected by the State, marauded clandestinely.



European trading with Japanese—an early seventeenth century Japanese *genre* painting

Intercourse with Europeans gave the Japanese a knowledge of Western culture. Nobunaga and Hideyoshi got to know, through a globe and a map of the world, the geographical position of their country in the world. The Jesuits established *seminarios* and *collegios* in various parts of Japan to facilitate the propagation of Christian teachings. The Gospels and evangelical pamphlets were printed in Roman letters for Japanese believers. Oil paintings and copperplate pictures were brought to these shores. Congregations were entertained with performances of European music and reli-

gious drama. The Japanese followers of the Christian faith counted years, months and days the same way as their European brethren.* A number of the missionaries had some knowledge of medicine, and naturally Western medicine was applied to Japanese patients. At first the Jesuits were the only missionaries in Japan, but later Franciscans and Dominicans also came to preach the Gospel. The missionaries carried on charitable work. They also taught the rigid moral significance of marriage and of nursing babies. Faithful to the spirit of equality preached by the missionaries, even a *daimyō* sat together with the commoners at church.

All sorts of things Western were introduced by Portuguese merchants. Tobacco, clocks, spectacles, hats, trousers, and chairs were among the things that came to be used by a section of the Japanese. This may be inferred from the Portuguese words that crept into the language and are still in use in their corrupted forms. They are, to mention only a few, *botān* (*botan*, button), *capa* (*kappa*, waterproof coat), *gibão* (*jiban*, underwear), *sarsa* (*sarasa*, printed cotton), *raxa* (*rasha*, woolen cloth), *canequin* (*kyarako*, calico), *velludo* (*birōdo*, velvet), *pão* (*pan*, bread), *confeitos* (*kompeitō*, confetto), *alfeloa* (*aruhei*, toffee) and *castella* (*kasutera*, sponge cake). Some Spanish words also have entered into Japanese vocabulary, such as *jabon* (*shabon*, soap),

* At that time the people as a whole used the Lunar Calendar, dividing the year into months and days, not weeks. By the imperial edict issued on November 9 (Lunar Calendar), 1872, it was decided to fix December 3 (Lunar Calendar) of that year as the January 1 of 1873 according to the Solar Calendar.

medias (*meriyasu*, hosiery), and *beniesta* (*enishida*, broom). Similarly, we have such Dutch words as *doek* (*zukku*, duck), *flanel* (*furanneru*, flannel), *merinos* (*mosurin*, muslin), *letter* (*retteru*, label) and *saffraan* (*safuran*, saffron crocus). In this connection it may be mentioned that a few Japanese words, such as *katana* (sword) and *naginata* (halberd) found their way into Portuguese dictionaries.



Part of a picture showing the "Christian Church"
painted in the early seventeenth century

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEUDAL ORDER

Hideyoshi died in 1598 when the Korean War was still in full swing. Of all the *daimyō* that assisted him the most powerful was Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616).

Ieyasu was a small feudal baron in Mikawa province. Sandwiched in between two powerful lords, Imagawa and Oda, he had to undergo many trials. But gradually he distinguished himself. After Imagawa Yoshimoto was slain, Ieyasu made common cause with Nobunaga, helping him to conquer many a rival *daimyō*. Nobunaga was greatly indebted to Ieyasu for the rapidity with which he achieved his success. Hideyoshi, too, found it expedient, if not necessary, to make an ally of Ieyasu who, blessed with a number of wise and able vassals, had no small influence. It was not Ieyasu's way to push things more than was necessary: he made it a rule to proceed with steady steps. After the death of Hideyoshi, he and his allies inflicted a crushing defeat upon the allied forces of the opposing *daimyō* at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600. After Sekigahara he practically reigned supreme. Uniting the entire country under his sway, he was appointed *sei-i-taishōgun* (generalissimo) in 1603 and then set up a shogunate government at Edo (the present Tōkyō), thus laying the foundation for the Tokugawa *Bakufu* destined to last for some 260 years. Edo had been a village full of



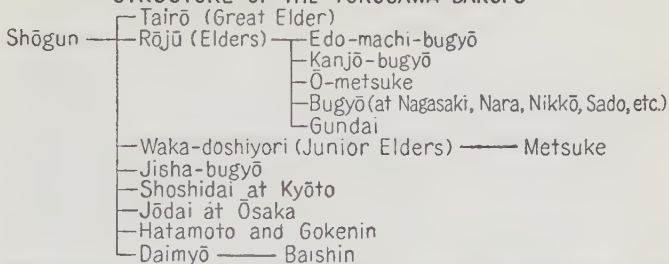
Inner part of the Edo Castle in the early seventeenth century. Note the moat, stone walls, and the zigzag passage commanded at several spots by lookouts built over the gale all planned for defence in time of war.

marshes. Here in 1457 Ōta Dōkan (1432-1486), a warrior who had the reputation of being a man of refined taste, had a stronghold built. Though on a small scale, this fortress was the beginning of Edo castle. After the downfall of the Hōjō house of Odawara, Ieyasu became lord of the entire Kantō area and transferred his headquarters to Edo. Having the castle repaired and enlarged, he set up a castle-town and then a *Bakufu*. Thus Edo* became the *de facto* capital of the country, as distinct from the thriving economic city of Ōsaka in the west. In this way was the foundation laid of the present prosperity of Tōkyō.

With the initiation of the Tokugawa *Bakufu* the work of unifying the country, which had been under way since Nobunaga's time and the task of bringing about a new feudal order, were brought to completion. But it was not until the days of the third *Shōgun* Iemitsu that the foundation of the *Bakufu* was firmly and solidly laid. The structure of the Tokugawa *Bakufu* was a magnified form of the administrative machinery the Tokugawas had already maintained as *daimyō* of Mikawa. The *Bakufu* structure became more complicated than before, it is true, but it still had much in

* In the political history of Japan the years from the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), which divided the country virtually into two camps and decided who was to make himself master of the country, down to the fall of the Tokugawa *Bakufu* in 1867, are called the Edo period or the Tokugawa period. In the history of art, however, the days of the third Tokugawa *Shōgun* Iemitsu, whose tenure of office lasted from 1623 to 1651, are usually included in the previous Momoyama period, for the reason that up to that time the cultural heritage of Hideyoshi's days remained clearly in evidence.

STRUCTURE OF THE TOKUGAWA BAKUFU



common—in principle at least—with the erstwhile military government, in that it was simple and practical.

There was a sort of council of state consisting of four or five *rōjū* or *toshiyori* (elders) who were in charge of the conduct of state affairs. This was presided over by one *tairō* or *ō-doshiyori* (great elder), who was not kept on a permanent basis. Under the *rōjū* or *toshiyori* were four or five *waka-doshiyori* (junior elders). One of the main functions of the junior elders was to supervise the *hatamoto** or the direct vassals of the *shōgun*. Subordinate to the Board of Elders were officers called respectively *ō-metsuke*, *metsuke* and several kinds of *bugyō*, according to their functions. The *ō-metsuke* supervised the *daimyō*, and the *metsuke* kept an eye on the *hatamoto*; while the *jisha-bugyō* had supervision over the temples and shrines, the *Edo-machi-bugyō* were magistrates and police au-

* As direct vassals *hatamoto* were privileged to have the audience of the *shōgun*. There were other direct vassals of the *shōgun*, but receiving smaller stipends than *hatamoto*, who were not entitled to have the audience of the *shōgun*. These were called *gokenin*.

thorities in Edo, and the *kanjō-bugyō* took care of the finances of the domains under the direct control* of the *shōgun*. Below all these were officers bearing such titles as *shoshidai* at Kyōto, *jōban*, *jōdai*, *bugyō*, *gundai*, and *daikan*. The functions of the *shoshidai* at Kyōto had to do with the policing of the imperial palace, the administration of Kyōto, and also with supervision of the *daimyō* in the Kyōto area and west of it. The *jōban* took care of Nijō Castle of Kyōto, and the *jōdai* guarded of Ōsaka and Sumpu (the present Shizuoka City) Castles. Apart from the *Edo-machi-bugyō*, *jisha-bugyō*, and *kanjō-bugyō* mentioned above, there were many *bugyō* or commissioners at religious or economic centers, such as Nara, Ise-Yamada (the present Uji-Yamada), Nikkō, Sado (noted for its gold mine), and Nagasaki (port-town). The *gundai* and *daikan* were subordinate to the *kanjō-bugyō* who looked after the finances of the domains under the direct control of the *shōgun*. Such was, then, the administrative setup of the Tokugawa *Bakufu*.

The object of the *Bakufu* was, of course, to consolidate and secure its position by keeping under perfect control all the *daimyō*** who were possessed of a fief each, called *han*. In the days of the second *Shōgun*

* Such domains occupied about a quarter of the entire land of the country, the remainder being possessed by something like 260 *daimyō*, the court, the *kuge* or court nobles, and the temples and shrines.

** The *daimyō* were of three kinds—*shimpan* or *daimyō* of the Tokugawa family, *fudai-daimyō* or vassals who had remained faithful to the Tokugawas since the days when Ieyasu was a *daimyō* of Mikawa, and *tozama-daimyō* or those who were



Lavishly decorated chamber of the *Kuroshoin*, a building in the Nijō Castle grounds, Kyōto.

formerly Ieyasu's colleagues and their scions. After the battle of Sekigahara (in 1600) the Tokugawas confiscated the fiefs of those *daimyō* who had taken up arms against them, and granted more land to those who had rendered distinguished service for the Tokugawa cause. Then again they saw to it that the *tozama-daimyō* were given fiefs lying as far away as possible from Edo and that the key points were occupied by either *shimpan* or *fudai*, so that they might be able to exercise vigilance over the *tozama*.

東海道

名所



Daimyō-gyōretsu (the procession of a feudal lord and his retainers) wending its way slowly along the Tōkaidō Highway

Īidetada (who remained in office from 1605 to 1622)—to be more precise, in 1615—the *Bakufu* issued a thirteen-article Law of the Military Houses called *Buke Shohatto*. This was a sort of decree prohibiting or restricting any activities of a *daimyō* calculated to endanger the *Bakufu*, such as combinations between *daimyō* by means of intermarriage, and construction or repair of castles. Another ingenious and effective measure the *Bakufu* took to prevent the *daimyō* from rising in revolt against it was the establishment in 1635 of a system called *sankin-kōtai*. Under this system every *daimyō* was compelled to reside for one year at Edo and at his own domain alternately, leaving his wife and children at Edo all the time as if they were hostages. The system of *sankin-kōtai* stood the *Bakufu* in very good stead, because it served not only to ensure the *daimyō*'s allegiance to the *Bakufu*, but also to sap his financial resources through the enormous expenditure on his repeated trips to Edo and back. All these control measures of the *Bakufu* bore fruit; not one *daimyō* dared to revolt against the *Bakufu* till its end. Thus the *Bakufu*, though founded on feudalism, was able to achieve the reality of centralization of power.

In striking contrast to the *Bakufu* were the court nobles. Deprived completely of their political power, they were now merely of nominal rank, though of high lineage. Economically, too, the average court noble had to be content with a stipend lower than that of an average *daimyō*; even the Imperial House itself was no better off than a minor *daimyō*. But this did

not alter the fact that the seat of imperial government was still in Kyōto; that even the *shōgun* who had made himself master of the country by military power had to be appointed, though as a matter of form, by the emperor,—a quaint relationship, the like of which is seldom found elsewhere. As already stated, the *Bakufu* promulgated the *Buke Shohatto* in 1615 as a counter-measure against the *daimyō*. Now in the same year the *Bakufu* laid down similar rules for the court nobles. This law known as *Kuge Shohatto* imposed rigid restrictions on the activities of the emperor and courtiers. One of the functions of the *shoshidai* at Kyōto was, as already mentioned, to police the imperial capital. In reality, however, he was expected to exercise vigilance over the doing of the court and the nobility in general.

The prestige and authority of the Tokugawa *Bakufu* were far greater than those of the Kamakura and the Ashikaga *Bakufu*. The Tokugawa *Bakufu* resorted to most rigid class distinctions. Apart from the emperor, court nobles and the lowliest of lowly people, the people of the Edo period were divided into four classes—*samurai* or warriors, farmers, artisans and merchants. Free intermingling between these strata was strictly prohibited. As previously pointed out, it was Hideyoshi who, after having risen to eminence, resorted to this measure in order to maintain his control over the entire population. The Tokugawa *Bakufu* gave teeth to this policy with a view to maintaining the ruling position of the warrior class. The warrior class was composed of *daimyō*, the direct vassals of the *shōgun*,

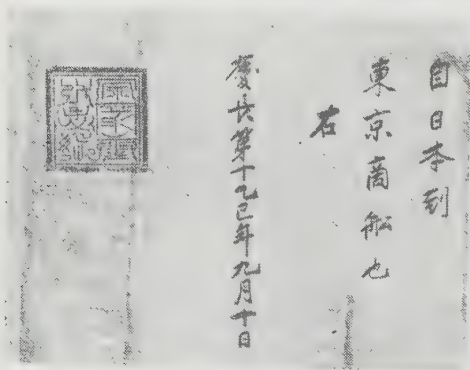
vassals* who served them, and *rōnin* who had no master to serve. Since the source of the income of the *bushi* or warriors was the tax which the farmers** paid in kind, that is, in rice, the tillers of the soil were ostensibly respected; they were placed pretty high up in the social scale, next to the *samurai*. But what was actually respected was not so much the farmer himself as his produce. As the warriors wanted to exact as much rice as possible from the farmers, the peasants, especially tenants who occupied a large proportion of the farming population, had a very hard time of it. The villages were consequently impoverished; so much so indeed that the inhabitants could hardly afford to enjoy even a moderate degree of culture. As a tax every farmer had to deliver an average of 50% of his harvest. In addition, he had to do manual labor as a form of surtax. Poverty-stricken farmers sought to lighten their economic burdens—now checking further increase in the family by illegal abortion, and now causing riots. The artisans and traders who constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the urban areas were known as *chōnin* or townsfolk. Though ostensibly in

* As was stated in the footnote on page 129, the direct vassals of the *shōgun* were either *hatamoto* or *gokenin*. Those *samurai* who served a *daimyō* or a *hatamoto* or a *gokenin* were collectively called *baishin*. The *rōnin* was a *samurai* out of employment, so to speak; the famous forty-seven *rōnin* of Akō are so called because they had remained "lordless" till they avenged the death of their erstwhile master.

** The farmers of the Edo period were divided into landowners, independent farmers, tenant-farmers and dependent farmers. Most of the village officials whose function it was to supervise farmers by order of warriors were landowners.

the lower strata of society, they were in a position, as we shall see presently, to improve their standing.

Such was the authority which the warrior class and its government exercised over the masses in the Edo period that a *samurai* could and did put to the sword in cold blood and with impunity any *chōnin* or farmer who might be rude to him. The punishments meted out to the multitude were severe in the extreme, including, as they did, crucifixion, burning at the stake and the public exposure of decapitated heads. All these manifestations of the domination of the warrior class over the lower strata of society were, no doubt, a legacy of the *Sengoku Jidai* (Age of the Country at War), but are nevertheless conclusive evidence of the severity with which the common people were kept under control by the *Bakufu*. This nipped in the bud the spirit of independence and freedom which was beginning to assert itself already in the Momoyama period or even before, and ultimately gave rise to a tendency toward the predominance of officials over people.



Goshuin (Vermilion Seal of Hideyoshi)

SAKOKU OR CLOSED COUNTRY

What was most instrumental in stabilizing the *Bakufu*, along with the rigid internal control, was the policy of seclusion.

As already noted, Oda Nobunaga embraced the Catholic faith in order to contain the Buddhist influence which was fast constituting an obstacle to his task of unifying the country. The circumstance that the Company of Jesus, under the patronage of the King of Portugal, had set about preaching the Gospel by utilizing Portuguese traders had made it necessary for Nobunaga to acquire wealth and military power, like some of the *daimyō* in southwestern Japan, through Portuguese merchants. Nobunaga's policy toward Christianity was kept up for a while by Hideyoshi.

Hideyoshi showed as much goodwill toward Christianity as Nobunaga, or even more. He went further; in his heart of hearts he even conceived the idea of making capital out of missionaries for his overseas adventure. He had a deeper interest in trade, too, than Nobunaga; he adopted and pursued a policy of furthering commerce* with Portuguese traders, thereby pro-

* In addition to commerce by foreign traders there was trade advance by Japanese adventurers toward the South Seas, an adventure which had been kept up since the Muromachi period. It is true that Hideyoshi encouraged trade positively, but he did not authorize uncontrolled freedom of commerce. He put a strict ban on the activities of *wakō* or traders of a piratical

moting foreign trade. The propagation of Christianity was thus going apace in Japan, when Hideyoshi all of a sudden about-faced and issued an edict against Christianity. The missionaries were ordered to be expelled from the country. This sudden change of attitude on the part of Hideyoshi was due to several reasons. The most cogent was that Hideyoshi, who had succeeded in having all powers in Japan at his beck and call, could not put up with the Catholic Church which was beyond his control. He had come to the conclusion that a united front, if presented by the devotees of Christianity, would prove as much an impediment to public peace and order as followers of Buddhism had been to Nobunaga. At the same time he brought under his direct control the port of Nagasaki which was then the most thriving trade port of the country and which the Christian *daimyō* had turned into a church domain through their donations. But the way he brought pressure to bear on Christianity was anything but thoroughgoing; his fundamental idea was apparently to weaken the Company of Jesus and bring the believers in the Christian faith under his political domination. So he connived at the activities of such missionaries as would remain in hiding and preach the Gospel on the quiet. It was therefore only natural that he should allow Portuguese merchants to carry on trade as before,

nature, permitting trade only on a license system. Only those vessels which had a permit under *goshuin* (the vermilion seal) of Hideyoshi were authorized to engage in foreign trade. Such trading vessels were called *goshuin-sen* (lit. vermilion seal vessels). This system was taken over by the Tokugawa *Bakufu*.

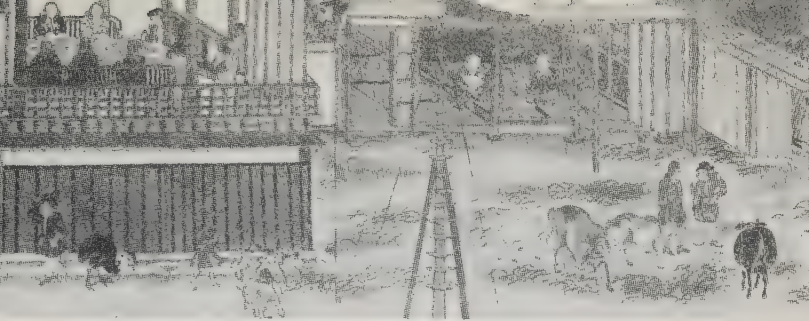
although they were closely interrelated with the Company of Jesus.

Ieyasu assumed pretty much the same attitude toward Christianity and foreign trade. As a matter of fact, for overseas trade he showed even greater enthusiasm than Hideyoshi—within the framework of *Bakufu* control. To the *Bakufu* which was sedulously bent on the task of completing the feudal system based on centralized authority, both the activities of the Company of Jesus and the existence of Christian adherents seemed to constitute some sort of danger all the same. Naturally enough, Buddhists and Confucianists who acted as the *Bakufu's* advisers vehemently denounced the Christian faith. The Hollanders who were beginning to overwhelm the Portuguese influence exaggerated the possible danger of cooperation between the Company of Jesus and the aggressive forces at work, in spite of the fact that Portugal had already seen better days. In 1612 the *Bakufu* at last issued an edict against the propagation of Christianity and razed the churches. Two years later it ousted both missionaries and Japanese devotees of Christianity from the country. This notwithstanding, some missionaries were still to be found in hiding, while others smuggled themselves into the country. Japanese Christians were adamant against becoming reconverted. It was not until 1616, when Ieyasu died and was succeeded by the second *Shōgun* Hidetada, that the *Bakufu* brought pressure to bear on Christianity as it had never done before. Such missionaries as were found in hiding were executed, while capital



Artist's view of life on Dejima in the days when foreign exclusion was enforced in Japan. The buildings had a few of the Western-style conveniences to which the Dutch factors were accustomed. This may be seen in this drawing of a frame house which combines both Western features with the native. On the second floor in the room

punishment was meted out to those Japanese who refused to renounce the Christian faith. One Christian after another died a martyr. But neither missionary nor believer yielded easily to the *Bakufu*. As a result the *Bakufu* had to take every possible means, for many years in succession, to suppress all Christian propaganda. Then in 1637 there occurred in Shimabara and Amakusa in Kyūshū a tremendous agrarian riot, of which the nucleus was a group of believers and which was caused by bad government on the part of the lord of the domain. The resistance which the rioters offered was extremely stubborn. Essentially, however, it was not a religious rioting, since no missionary had anything to do with it. But the *Bakufu* was not slow to seize the opportunity of intensifying suppression of Christianity. In 1639 the *Bakufu* with the intention of cutting off communication between Japan and Catholic countries interdicted Japanese from going abroad and those resident overseas from coming home. Finally, a ban was put on the coming of Portuguese vessels to these



on the right Dutch traders are seen sitting at dinner. In the center room which is probably a reception room a Japanese is conversing with a Dutch trader while being entertained by a small orchestra. Note the lantern under the eaves and the standard at the door, which are quite foreign to Japanese architecture.

shores. Thereafter only Protestant Hollanders and non-Christian Chinese were permitted to carry on trade through the port of Nagasaki under the supervision of *Bakufu* officials. Even Dutch traders were confined to Dejima at Nagasaki, not being permitted to get in touch with the Japanese, except when the Director of the Dutch Factory paid his annual visit to Edo Castle to show respect to the *shōgun*. Thus the Christian faith in Japan was doomed to gradual decline, and intercourse between Japan and foreign countries was cut off, except on a small scale through Nagasaki. Portuguese culture in Japan became a thing of the past and vanished from the country. Overseas penetration by Japanese in competition with Portuguese, Spanish, and Hollanders also met with a setback. The door of Japan was thus closed to foreign intercourse for a period of more than two centuries, and the *Bakufu's* avowed object of setting up a feudal order based on centralized power and of maintaining the Tokugawa regime was attained.

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE RISE OF *CHŌNIN*

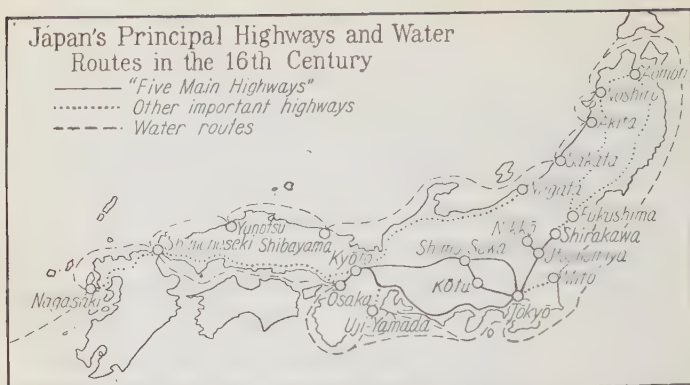
As already stated, in feudal society it was the yield of the farm that constituted the source of stipend for the ruling class—warriors, to wit. So the ruler took care that agricultural production was augmented. The discovery or improvement of implements for harvesting rice and other crops, improvement in water wheels used for irrigation, the use of new fertilizers, such as dried sardines and oil cake—all these combined to improve and increase, slowly but surely, agricultural technique and produce. Chief among the new kinds of vegetables and plants introduced to Japanese soil were sweet potatoes, white potatoes, carrots, pumpkins, water melons, kidney beans, spinach, sugar cane, and tobacco. Reclaimed fields were brought under rice cultivation here and there. Sericulture, too, became widely popularized. At first silk yarn* was imported from China. But gradually products made it unnecessary to import silk, and a foundation was thus laid for Japan as a raw silk exporting country.

Japan's industry at this time was still at the stage of handicraft. Needless to say, there was as yet no such thing as large-scale factory industry or metal industry; what was produced in the way of textiles and pottery

* The so-called Chinese "white yarn" was the most important item of import brought to Japan by Portuguese and Dutch vessels.

and porcelain was more craft work than industrial manufacture in the modern sense of the term. The various courses of action taken by the *Bakufu* served to bring about a time of peace. As a result the standard of living even of the people in general was raised, and the demand for every sort of article was increased. Each *daimyō* patronized the industries of his own domain, and all kinds of industries made their appearance throughout the country. Silk textile production kept pace with the development of silk-raising. Among the places that acquired a reputation for silk products were Kyōto, noted for its Nishijin brocade, Kiryū, Ashikaga, Isezaki, Yonezawa, Sendai and Fukuoka. The production of cotton textiles was almost ubiquitous, the most representative centers being Kurume in Kyūshū, famous for its fabric of splashed pattern known as *Kurume-gasuri*, and Kokura, also in Kyūshū. Kyōto also earned fame for its production of a printed silk called *yūzen*. As regards the ceramic art,* considerable progress was made in various provinces. Particularly noted were the Arita and the Kutani wares. The production center of the former was Arita in the present Saga Prefecture, and that of the latter was Kutani in the present Ishikawa Prefecture. In the field of lacquer the most typical were the Wajima ware of Wajima on the Noto Peninsula and *Shunkei-nuri* of Noshiro in the present Akita Prefecture. Among other branches of industry which thrived at the time were

* "Ceramic Art of Japan" by T. Mitsuoka, Tourist Library No. 8, pp. 41-144.

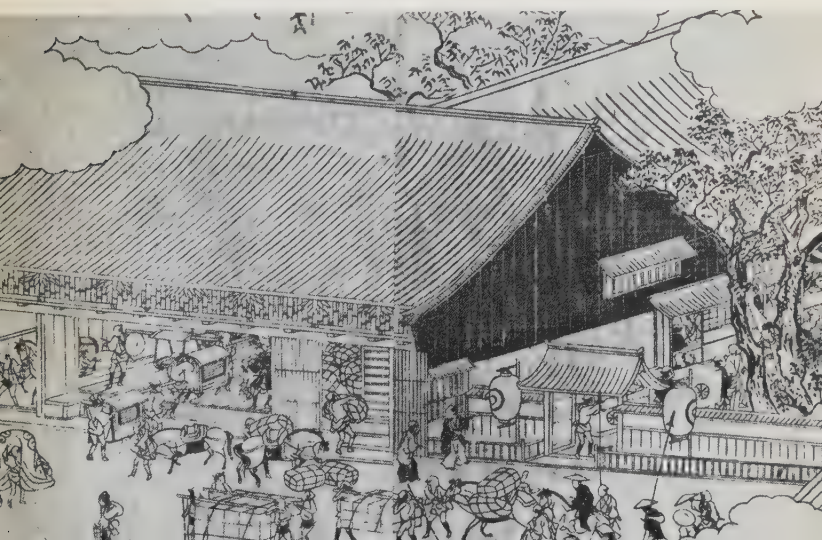


paper manufacture and brewage. Itami near Ōsaka and Nada (part of the present Kōbe City) became famous as *sake* (rice wine) brewing centers.

If foreign intercourse waned as a result of the *Bakufu's* adoption of a seclusion policy, internal traffic made remarkable developments. The circumstance that the *daimyō* had to make a periodical journey between their respective domains and Edo under the system of *sankin-kōtai* did much to develop traffic. Radiating from Edo were the "Five Main Highways" of Tōkaidō, Nakasendō, Kōshūkaidō, Nikkōkaidō, and Ōshūkaidō. As those were the days of travel by easy stages on horseback or in a palanquin, if not on shanks' mare, the stages on these principal routes had places where travelers could change horses and also places where a *daimyō* and his suite, merchants and other wayfarers could be accommodated. Over these routes couriers carried messages. Apart from these overland arteries of traffic were coastal boat services which, together with the highways, led to an easy flow of goods and helped to open up nation-



Travel in the days of the Edo period—on a highway (above)
and at an inn (below)





Warehousing the bales of rice. Many of the *daimyō* shipped the greater part of the products of their domains—mostly rice—to Osaka to store in their warehouses there, and later disposed of them through specially appointed merchants, thus giving an impetus to the development of commerce in the city.



wide markets for merchandise, thereby furthering the commercial and industrial development of the country.

This gave rise to a clear division of labor between makers and tradesmen. A line of demarcation came to be drawn just as clearly between wholesale and retail dealers and brokers. Both in Edo and Ōsaka there was a guild of wholesale dealers which wielded a great monopolistic influence. These wholesale dealers were, so to speak, great commercial capitalists of the time. Retailers setting up shops grew in numbers. Added to shop-keepers were itinerant vendors of all kinds; especially noted among them were drug vendors from Toyama,* a city on the northern seaboard, traveling from province to province. With the expansion of markets and the enlargement of transactions, there grew up a craze for speculation. Exchanges were established here and there, of which the most influential was the rice exchange at Dōjima in Ōsaka.

* Patent medicines in Toyama: This industry originated in the Tenwa era (1681-1684), when a physician in Okayama, knowing that the ruling *daimyō* was favorably inclined towards patent medicines, came to Toyama and presented him with a medicine made from a family recipe, which the *daimyō* praised highly for its efficacy. Subsequently, Yaezakiya Genroku was ordered by Lord Masatoshi to peddle the medicine manufactured under his auspices in different provinces. This was the real origin of the propagation system of Toyama patent medicine makers. The fame of Toyama Medicines is universal throughout Japan, especially in country districts, and formerly itinerant vendors of the medicines went to Korea, Manchuria, China, Siberia, and Hawaii, where Japanese residents were their main customers. Although somewhat declining in influence before the strong rivalry of modern pharmaceutic medicines, they still have a large following. —*Japan: The Official Guide* published by the Japan Travel Bureau, 1953 edition, p. 513.

Money gradually came to play a valuable part in Japan's economic world. The *Bakufu* minted gold, silver and copper coins in large amounts, while some of the *daimyō* issued paper money. Money-changers came to perform functions akin to those of a modern banking institution, the functions of lending money, receiving deposits, issuing checks, etc., as well as of exchange of money. Money-changers in Ōsaka as capitalists who were out for the business of lending money at high interest had an influence comparable to that of wholesale merchants. The forefathers of such financial magnates of modern Japan as Mitsui and Kōnoike were money-changers of the Edo period.

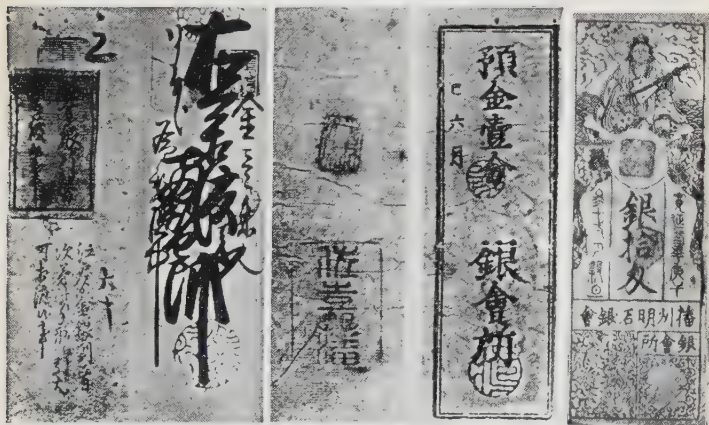
The commercial and industrial development of the Edo period gave impetus to the movement of population to urban areas, which had been in progress since the Muromachi period. In addition to the three big cities* of Edo, Ōsaka and Kyōto, there were many thriving castle-towns, such as Nagoya, Kanazawa and Hiroshima, and such emporiums as Nagasaki, Fushimi, and Sakata (in the present Yamagata Prefecture).

One outcome of all this was that the money capital gradually passed into the hands of townspeople. Merchant princes who had amassed an enormous fortune

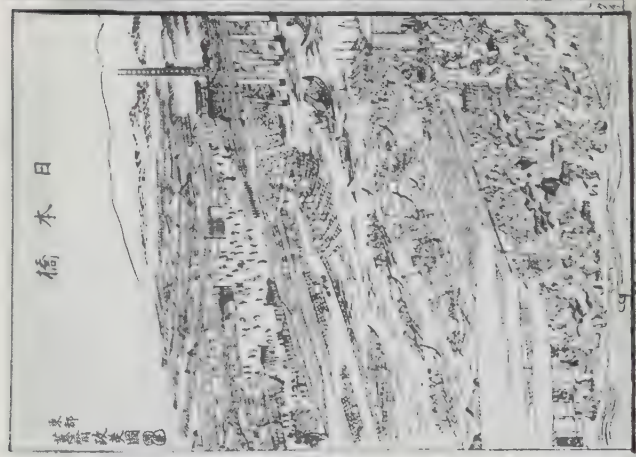
* The largest of these cities was Edo, the present Tōkyō. Although no accurate figures are available, it is certain that the population of Edo at the beginning of the eighteenth century was more than 600,000. Contemporary London is said to have had a population of from 500,000 to 700,000. The population of Ōsaka, too, exceeded 400,000 in 1779. The other cities were far below Tōkyō or Ōsaka in point of population, each ranging from 20,000 to 70,000.



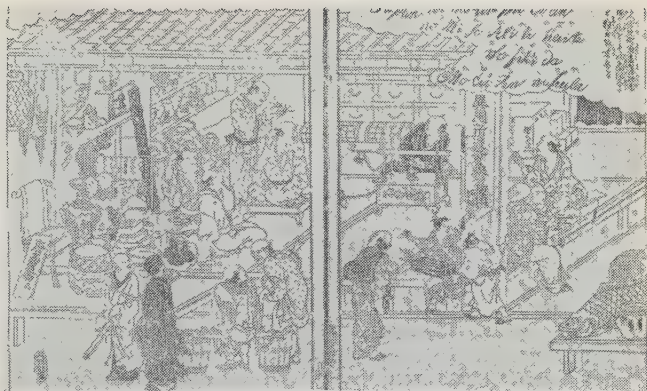
Specimens of the coins minted by the Tokugawa Bakufu: (Right) *Genroku-Oban* (gold, 10 ryō), minted in 1695, about 6 in. x 3.7 in., weighing about 5.8 oz. (Middle) *Genroku-Koban* (gold, 1 ryō), minted in 1695, about 2.8 in. x 1.5 in., weighing about 0.64 oz. (Left above) *Kan-ei-Tsūhō* (copper, iron, or brass), first minted in 1626, diameter: about 1 in. (Left below) *Tempō-Tsūhō* (mostly copper), first minted in 1835, about 2 in. x 1.3 in.



Specimens of the paper money issued by *daimyō* in the Edo period



Nihombashi, business center of Edo, in the palmy days of the Tokugawa Bakufu



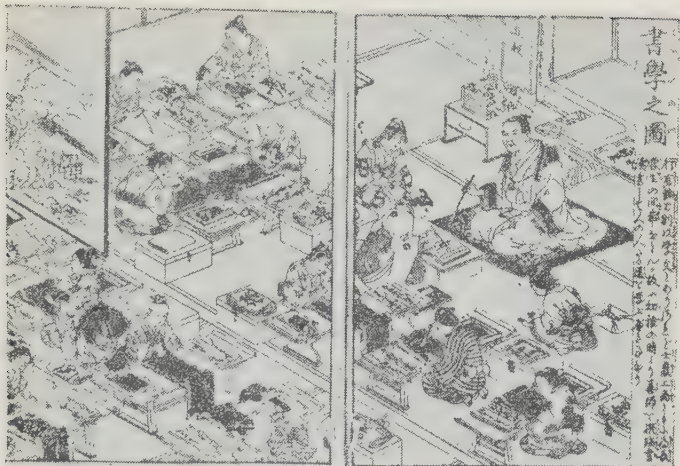
Shop in Ōsaka selling foreign goods. From a guide book published in the late eighteenth century.

lent money to *daimyō* and warriors in straitened circumstances and invested capital in subsidiary industries of farmers. The position of merchants who had hitherto been regarded with contempt improved substantially; the real economic power was now, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of the *chōnin*, as townspeople were then called. Financially powerful though they became, however, the *chōnin* would not dare to attempt to supersede the warrior class. If any *samurai* on the strength to his privileged position was so outrageous as to refuse to pay off his debt, the *chōnin*, creditor, had no choice but to let the matter rest there, even if it spelled bankruptcy to him. He was coward enough to shrink from taking a strong line, no matter how chagrined he might be. Such was, then, the hard lot the *chōnin* had to endure in the grim realities of feudal society.

PROSPERITY OF THE PLEBEIAN CULTURE

The *chōnin* who played an important part in the economic life of Tokugawa Japan were now in a position to take the initiative in the realm of culture. Cut off from the outside world, Edo culture was destined to develop along lines essentially its own. The soil on which Edo culture grew, flourished and blossomed was fertilized not so much by the empty life of degraded Buddhists* or by the life of the *samurai* under Con-

* As a means of suppressing all Christian propaganda the *Bakufu* called upon the Buddhist temples to see that the nation as a whole espoused the Buddhist faith. As a natural consequence, the common people also became regular donors to temples; in other words, they became *danna* or *danka* (from the Sanscrit "dana-pati"), corresponding to parishioners. Up to that time the Buddhist temples of the country had been patronized mainly by the upper classes of society. Now the register kept at each temple was utilized as a sort of tax list for administrative purposes. Deeming it expedient to place the multitude under the supervision of the temples, the *Bakufu* maintained the *danka* system and protected the temples. It is true that the influence of Buddhist temples was no longer what it had been before, but the *Bakufu* patronage and the donations from the parishioners afforded more than a substantial living to the bonzes; so much so that many of them did not scruple to eat the bread of idleness and lost all religious conscience. But nevertheless the *Bakufu* looked to it that Buddhism just maintained the status quo and that no new sect grew up; it adopted at the same time Confucianism as a spiritual guiding principle. All these *Bakufu* measures worked, and kept Buddhists out of mischief. The priests rapidly lapsed into impotence and degeneration. It must be noted, however, that the influence of Buddhism upon the everyday life of the people at large was by no means negligible, since the temples performed all the funeral and other rites for parishioners.



Terakoya, a private school for primary pupils in the Edo period

fucian influence, as by the realistic life of the *chōnin*. That the *chōnin* came to represent the culture of the time, getting the better of the warrior class, is epochal in the history of the country and is therefore pregnant with significance.

The immediate cause of the popularization of culture was the spread of education among the common people. As has been pointed out, popular education was started by Zen monks in the Muromachi period. Now in the Tokugawa period *terakoya* or temple schools were no longer confined to the monasteries of Kyōto or Kamakura; they became ubiquitous and the number of children learning the three R's* at *terakoya* in the town

* Children in those days learnt how to do their sums on the abacus.

rapidly increased. Girls took lessons in needlework, and in the tea ceremony. With the development of the art of printing, a large proportion of literary products came to be printed from wood blocks and were thus brought within easy reach of the people in general. This gave further stimulus to the development of literature. As a result literature became rich in variety and writing established itself as a profession.

The literature of the Genroku era (1688-1704) is represented by three great men:—Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694), the father of *haikai* poetry, Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724), of *jōruri* (metrical romance) fame, and Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693), the novelist.

The time-honored art of composing *waka* poetry was still practised in the Edo period, but there were few, if any, eminent *waka* poets. What characterized the verse of this period was not the *waka*, but the *haikai*. The *haikai* is a modified form of the *renga* which acquired a great popularity in the Muromachi period. It consisted of two parts—the first part of seventeen (5-7-5) syllables, and the latter part of fourteen (7-7) syllables.* The first seventeen syllables were made by one of the company present at a poetry gathering and the remaining fourteen syllables were added by another of the company. This new form of poetry made it unnecessary to follow the strict canons of classical poetry, so that the man in the street could easily dash off a

* The *haikai* was similar to the *waka* in the fact that it consisted of thirty-one syllables. But, while the *waka* was (and still is), as a rule, composed by one person, the *haikai* always required two persons to compose it.



Example of a *Kusazōshi*—the front cover (right) and two profusely illustrated pages

piece or two. At first the *haikai* afforded a good pastime. It was, however, in the hands of Bashō that this form of poetry was elevated to the dignity of literature. It was also about this time that the first seventeen syllables (5-7-5) of *haikai* became detached and came to be called the *hokku* or *haiku*. In Bashō was realized the ideal of a poet, a consummate master of the art of expressing much in little, of setting down his observations of life and nature in the shortest of all poetic forms. Bashō's teachings were followed by a number of masters, such as Yosa Buson (1716-1783) and Kobayashi Issa (1763-1827). *Haiku* thus became a popular

form of literary art which appealed forcibly to both high and low.

The *jōruri*,* a sort of metrical romance chanted to the accompaniment of the *samisen* (also called *shamisen*), a three-stringed instrument remodelled on one from the Loochoo Islands in the middle of the sixteenth century, constituted scripts for the puppet show. It was Chikamatsu Monzaemon who raised the puppet show, which had been no better than a mere entertainment of doubtful value, to the dignity of a dramatic art through his masterly *jōruri* texts. Chikamatsu's dramatic works may be roughly divided into two categories—historical plays and tragedies. The latter are more highly appreciated than the former, because they delineate more realistically the inner working of human nature. With much exaggeration the Japanese call Chikamatsu the Shakespeare of their country.

Ihara Saikaku started his literary life as a *haikai* poet. It was during the last ten years of his life that he wrote many short stories descriptive of various aspects of *chōnin* society. His stories, based on keen observations made with coldly critical eyes and written with a facile and poignant pen, are often compared with those of Maupassant.

Prominent men of letters, mostly story writers, of the Bunka and Bunsei eras, that is, of the beginning of the nineteenth century, were, to mention only a few, Takizawa Bakin (1767-1848), Jippensha Ikku (1766-1831), Shikitei Samba (1775-1822), Ryūtei Tanehiko

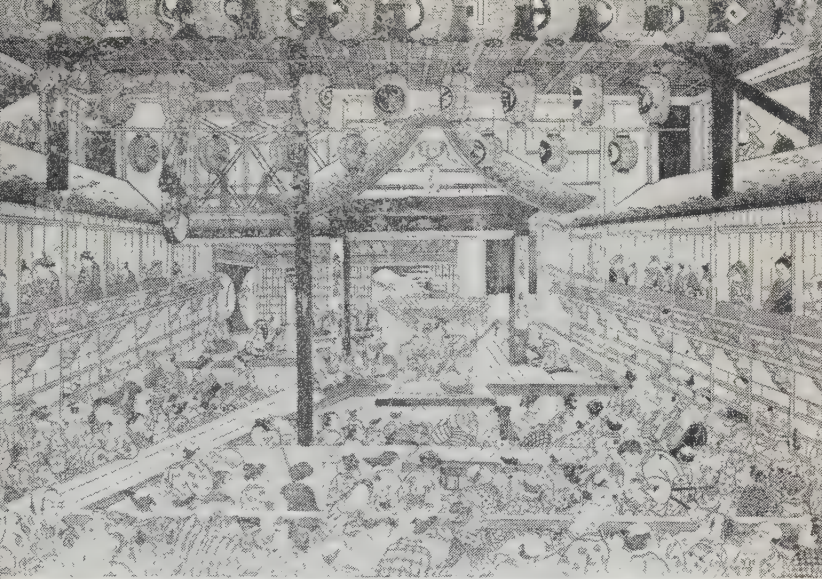
* "Kabuki Drama" by S. Miyake, Tourist Library No. 7, pp. 26-27.

(1783-1842), and Tamenaga Shunsui (1790-1843). Bakin acquired fame for his historical romances; perhaps the best known of his works is the *Hakkenden* (a story of eight heroes whose surnames all have the word, *inu*, or dog), a novel of colossal length. If, in point of length, the *haiku* is Lilliputian, the *Hakkenden* is surely Brobdingnagian. Ikku's *Tōkaidō Hizakurige* (*The Tōkaidō Highway on Shanks' Mare*) usually known as *Hizakurige* for short, is a book replete with rollicking humor, if somewhat Rabelaisian in its coarseness. Samba's title to fame rests mainly on his two humorous books that challenge comparison with the *Hizakurige*—the *Ukiyoburo* (*The World's Bath-house*) and the *Ukiyodoko* (*The World's Barber's Shop*). Tanehiko is best known for his *Inaka Genji* or *A Rustic Genji*, an imitation of the more famous *Genji Monogatari* or the *Tale of Genji*. The *Inaka Genji* is most representative of the type of book called *kusazōshi* marked by a beautiful frontispiece and unusually profuse illustrations. The last-mentioned novelist, Tamenaga Shunsui, brought out a number of love stories, of which the most celebrated is the *Shunshoku Umegoyomi*.

Besides the *waka* and the *haiku*, two other forms of verse composition were in vogue about this time,—the *kyōka* and the *senryū*. The *kyōka* consists of 31 syllables like the *waka*, and the *senryū*, of 17 syllables like the *haiku*, but they both differ materially from their dignified prototypes, in that they are mostly topical allusions thrown off with humor and satire.

In the realms of stage art the *kabuki* play came to

command as much popularity as the puppet *jōruri*, already in the Genroku era. The *kabuki* had developed from the dancing drama evolved by an actress named Okuni, of Izumo province (part of the present Shimane Prefecture). *Kabuki* theaters were erected in big cities like Edo and Ōsaka to provide amusement for the citizens. One of the most notable features of the *kabuki* is that, as on the Elizabethan stage, no actress takes part, all female characters being impersonated by male actors specially trained for that purpose; while the theater itself is characterized by the presence of a passage called *hanamichi* (lit. flowery passage) for the use of actors, leading from behind the seats to the main stage. Chief among the *kabuki* script writers of the time were Tsuruya Namboku (1755-1829) and Kawatake Mokuami (1816-1893). Added to the *jōruri* which formed a sort of chorus to the plebeian drama were other forms of *samisen* (or *shamisen*) music, such as *kiyomoto*, *shimmai*, etc., which were appreciated by the masses for their melodies. The amusement trinity of the Edo period—*samisen*, puppet show and *kabuki*—thus struck the fancy of the common people. The *samurai* who had at first regarded these entertainments with contempt could not help ultimately taking an interest in them. These forms of amusement thus came to find a place among the national arts. But that does not alter the fact that they developed as a diversion of the mind from the constant chagrin the plebeians felt as members of the lower strata of feudal society; in consequence these popular forms of entertainment had many unwhole-



Interior of a theater in the Edo period

some results, such as causing the people to suppress their natural human feelings and to yield to decadent emotions, seeking sensational thrills.

In the field of pictorial art there flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century an artist named Tawaraya Sōtatsu who created a school by giving a decorative effect to his elegant *Yamato-e* style pictures by means of bold composition and coloring. Then in the Genroku era Ogata Kōrin* (1658-1716) perfected the Sōtatsu method. His contemporary Hishikawa Moronobu** (died circum 1694) was most representative of

* "Japanese Fine Arts" by Prof. Sagara, Tourist Library No. 9, pp. 47-53.

** "Japanese Wood-block Prints" by Prof. Fujikake, Tourist Library No. 10, pp. 30-38.

artists who evolved the *ukiyo-e* style. His *genre*-paintings enjoyed as much popularity as woodblock prints. At its initial stage the *ukiyo-e*, properly so called, represented mostly beautiful women and *kabuki* actors. Tōshūsai Sharaku (1762-1835) acquired unrivalled fame for his *ukiyo-e* of actors' portraits, while Kitagawa Utamaro (1743-1806) painted many pictures of beautiful women for woodblock printing. It was toward the end of the *Bakufu* that landscapes came into fashion. The most famous among *ukiyo-e* artists of this type were Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) who painted among others the *Fuji Sanjūrokkei* or *Thirty-six Views of Fuji*, and Andō Hiroshige (1797-1858) who executed such series of pictures as *Tōkaidō Gojūsan Tsugi* or *Fifty-three Stages of Tōkaidō*, and *Edo Meisho Hyakkei* or *Hundred Views of Noted Places in Edo*. It may be added here that the *ukiyo-e* began to find its way to Europe and America in the middle of the nineteenth century and greatly influenced Western painters of the impressionist school. Besides these color print artists were masters of realistic painting, such as Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795) and Matsumura Goshun (1752-1811). They were particularly dexterous in painting landscapes and animals. There was yet another school of painting, of Chinese origin, known as *nanga** or sometimes as the *bunjinga* or "Literary Men's Pictures," which, as its name suggests, gained popularity among men of intellect, men of Chinese taste and culture.

* "Japanese Fine Arts" by Prof. Sagara, Tourist Library No. 9, pp. 106-121.



"Boating on the Sumida River" by Hishikawa Moronobu shows the leisurely life of the people in the Genroku era (1688-1703).



"Mushroom Hunting on Arashiyama Hill in Kyōto" by Yokoyama Kazan from Mr. Muro Seijirō's collection portrays the peaceful and happy life of the people in the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804-1830) when plebeian culture was once again in its heyday.

Pictures of this school have a streak of poetic quality, and sometimes of humor. Chief among the followers of this school were Ike-no-Taiga (1723-1776), Tano-mura Chikuden (1777-1835), and the *haiku* poet Yosa Buson (1716-1783).

The architecture of the early days of the Edo period, as represented by the Nikkō shrines, is marked by the extravagance of Momoyama architecture; it is too excessively decorative to give full scope to architectural beauty in the high sense of the term. No progress was made any longer in the architecture of temples and castles. It was in the building of shops for *chōnin* and of mansions for warriors that progress was made.

With the improvement of the living of the plebeians in the halcyon days of the Edo period, remarkable progress was made in industrial arts, in such a way that the common people benefited by the labors of artisans. Among the masters who turned out works of art of a very high merit were Hon-ami Kōetsu (1545-1624) and Ogata Kōrin, of whom mention has already been made as a painter, and Nonomura Ninsei. Both Kōetsu and Kōrin produced gold lacquer, while Ninsei was a distinguished potter.

Taking stock of the art and literature of the Edo period, we may safely assert that the morale of the coming *chōnin* as a whole was reflected in the arts of the Genroku era, noted for their vigor and grandeur, whereas the productions of later period, if more delicate in workmanship, bear the stamp of weakness and degeneration, suggesting the approaching doom of feudal society.

THE RISE OF LEARNING

One of the courses of action the *Bakufu* took was to encourage learning with a view to maintaining the ruling position it had attained by force of arms. Already in the days of the first *shōgun*, Ieyasu, an erudite Confucianist, Fujiwara Seika (1561-1619), was invited to the *Bakufu* to give lectures. Then one of Seika's pupils, Hayashi Razan (1583-1659) was appointed educational adviser to the *Bakufu* and was called upon to take care of the work of collecting, preserving and printing old books. But Ieyasu who, like Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, had distinguished himself by dint of excellent military command and political acumen, eschewed the unwisdom of adopting any specific "ism" as a criterion to go by. But as all became quiet with no visible vestige of unrest, the *Bakufu* gradually came to consider it expedient to correlate Confucianism with political thought. This was particularly the case in the days of the fifth *shōgun*, Tsunayoshi, who respected Confucianism more than any other *shōgun*. Not only did he call upon scholars to give lectures on Chinese philosophy, but he himself took the trouble to elucidate the Chinese classics. He set up at Yushima in Edo an institute dedicated to Confucius and had the Hayashis take charge of this school. The ethical philosophy as expounded by Chu Hsi, great Confucian commentator of the Sung dynasty, became adopted by the *Bakufu*

as orthodox Confucian teaching, because the Hayashis were conversant with Chu Hsi's interpretations of Confucian philosophy. The *Bakufu* deemed it convenient to adopt Confucianism, which respects order and propriety as social virtues, to be observed in the maintenance of feudalism. The *Bakufu* was not alone in patronizing and encouraging Chinese learning: all the *daimyō* followed the example of the *Bakufu* and saw that their fief education was based mainly on Confucian teaching.

Thus in the Edo period Confucian learning and morality were ostensibly respected as most authoritative. But this school of philosophy, conservative and unscientific, could not possibly keep a lasting hold on thinking men. It was next to impossible to keep a new attitude of mind from asserting itself. Discontent with Confucianism among Confucian scholars themselves found expression in the views advanced in opposition to Chu Hsi's exposition. Such learned men as Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685), Itō Jinsai (1627-1705) and Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728) insisted that the real meaning of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius should be grasped by delving directly into the texts of the Chinese classics, instead of relying on the commentaries of Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming. Theirs was the so-called *kogaku-ha* or "ancient school of philosophy." Moreover, even Kaibara Ekken (1631-1715), an upholder of Chu Hsi, and Kumazawa Banzan (1617-1691), an advocate of Wang Yang-ming's philosophy, were of the opinion that, owing to the difference of social environments

between China and Japan, it would be futile to apply the yardstick of practical Chinese philosophy to Japanese society. A *chōnin* scholar of Ōsaka, Tominaga Nakamoto (d. c. 1746) by name, had this to say: "Confucianism is the moral of China, Buddhism is the moral of India, and Shintō the moral of ancient Japan. So none of these can be the moral of Japan today."

It is only to be expected that a stronger opposition should come from the *kokugakusha*, or Japanese classical scholars. As a reaction against the fetish made of Confucianism there arose a section of thinking men who maintained that more attention should be paid to the study of things Japanese, especially classical literature. One of the pioneers in this branch of learning was the priest Keichū (1640-1701) who launched a free study of classics including the *Man-yōshū* without being enslaved to time-honored commentaries. Advocates of the revival of native classical learning held that no teaching should be accepted without question or suspicion, and emphasized the necessity of seeking the truth. They went further than that: their idea was to systematize thought liberated from bondage to Confucianism and Buddhism. Chief among such scholars of classical literature were Kamo-no-Mabuchi (1697-1769) and Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801). The former's studies in the *Man-yōshū* and the latter's researches on the *Kojiki* were of scientific, as well as of literary, value. Norinaga's views that literature is an expression of real feeling and is never a means for a moral end and that literature has a stand all its own remind us of the

modern way of thinking. In his views we find the initiation of a humanistic movement in Japan. But as the phrase "classical scholar" suggests, the *kokugakusha* confined themselves to the study of ancient Japan, especially classical literature, entirely disregarding the study of medieval and contemporary Japan. Worse than that, in their eagerness to cry shame upon China-worship on the part of Confucian scholars, they ran into the opposite extreme and espoused narrow-minded nationalism, a fact which detracts much from their otherwise scientific researches. This tendency was particularly marked among post-Norinaga *kokugakusha*, with whom narrowness of vision degenerated into utter bigotry and obstinacy.

Still more noteworthy was the development of Western or rather Dutch learning during the Edo period. As a result of the seclusion policy pursued by the *Bakufu*, trade with Holland formed the only connecting link between Japan and the West. People who had a longing for Western culture eagerly sought it through this narrow, restricted channel. By their strenuous efforts there trickled into these shores Western culture, mainly of Germanic origin, based on science, as distinct from Latin culture founded on religion,—a culture destined to form an important basis for the modernization of Japan.

At Nagasaki there thrived a tribe of men whose business it was to act as interpreters between Dutch traders and *Bakufu* officials or Japanese merchants. As might be expected, they had a smattering of knowledge about

things European, as well as of the Dutch language. Some of them went so far as to make a positive study of things Western. Then again Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), a Confucianist and a high official of the *Bakufu*, obtained information on the conditions of the outside world from the Italian missionary Giovanni B. Sidotti, who was arrested in 1708 in his attempt to smuggle himself into these shores; Hakuseki brought out a book based on the knowledge thus acquired. But the immediate cause of the growth of Western learning was the necessity of deriving practical knowledge from the Dutchmen at Nagasaki. The eighth *shōgun*, Yoshimune, (whose tenure of office was from 1716 to 1744) had no small interest in astronomy and greatly encouraged Dutch learning. Still more enthusiastic about Dutch learning were followers of the medical profession, of whom the best known were Maeno Ryōtaku (1723-1803) and Sugita Gempaku (1733-1817). Holding an autopsy, these physicians were so astonished at the accuracy of the Dutch book on anatomy they had come by, that they set to work to translate it into Japanese with the assistance of their colleagues. But this was a stupendous task; they had to make heavy weather of it right through, for they had no such thing as a Dutch-Japanese dictionary* to consult. But they certainly

* Students of the Dutch language in those days learnt the elements of the language from Nagasaki interpreters. Meanwhile, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1756-1827), who was a pupil of the aforementioned Maeno and Sugita, wrote a short guide to Dutch grammar. Then in 1800 his pupil Inamura Sampaku brought out a Dutch-Japanese dictionary, much to the convenience of students in general.

had the capacity for taking pains, and succeeded in completing their work in 1774. In 1823 Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) came to these shores to take up his post at the Dutch Factory at Nagasaki and gave instruction in Western science to the students who had gathered from all parts of the country to sit at his feet. All this gave stimulus to the study of the Dutch language. As time rolled on, Dutch learning gradually gave place to Western learning. There grew up a tendency among men of intellect to learn the art and science of the West, and the spirit of modern science based on experiment began to be understood in this country. A few examples may suffice to show the scientific progress of the time, such as it was. A dynamo of sorts was invented by Hiraga Gennai (1726-1779), the Copernican theory was introduced by Shizuki Tadao (1758-1806), and a fairly detailed map of Japan was drawn by Inō Tadataka (1745-1821). In the field of painting, too, Western influence came to make itself felt among the artists; some artists adopted perspective, while others took to oil-painting.

In this society enslaved to convention the tendency was for the people in general to conceive a hatred for Western learning which they regarded as heretical. But they could not possibly negate the very value of such learning. This was particularly the case toward the end of the *Bakufu*, after foreign relations had come to command such attention as to make it absolutely necessary to adopt and assimilate Western science and technique for national defence. The *Bakufu* established



Ōsaka and its environs—an example of the type of maps
drawn by Inō Tadataka

a school for Western learning, while some of the *daimyō* set up a modern arsenal and a spinning mill.

Equally noteworthy is the progress made in economics and mathematics during the Edo period. As interest in realities of life deepened, a number of scholars came to consider scientifically such subjects as political economy and agriculture. Andō Shōeki, for example, who flourished in the eighteenth century maintained that all men should labor to earn their living and denied such a thing as class distinction. Another prominent man in this field was Honda Toshiaki (1744-1821) who pointed out a lack of knowledge as to Western affairs on the part of the Japanese, emphasized the importance of coast defence, as well as of foreign trade, and went so far as to advocate a colonial policy. Besides this Honda, there were quite a number of pioneers who denounced the folly of keeping the door of their country closed to foreign intercourse. About 1780 a physician in the Sendai clan, Kudō Heisuke by name, advanced the opinion that Japan should trade with Russia. Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841), a scholar-politician and distinguished painter, and the physician Takano Chōei (1804-1850), a pupil of Siebold, were also of the opinion that it would not do to cling to the seclusion policy. Another pioneer was Satō Nobuhiro (1768-1850), a man of erudition and an expert in the science of agriculture, pointed out the importance of commerce with foreign countries and of acquiring national wealth and military power through navigation and commerce. All these men were unanimous in laying emphasis on the necessity

of national defence, as well as of opening the country to foreign intercourse. The most vigorous advocate of national defence was perhaps Hayashi Shihei (1738-1793) who had drawn inspiration from the above-mentioned Kudō Heisuke; so much so indeed that the *Bakufu* had to put pressure on him, lest his argument might excite the public. The *Bakufu* itself was by no means blind to the importance of coast defence, since the Russian eagle threatened to put its claws on the north-eastern coast of Japan in the eighteenth century, only the *Bakufu* authorities, in their eagerness to maintain the Tokugawa position internally, had to go slow about taking measures for national defence, keeping an eye on the internal situation the while. In the field of mathematics *wasan*, or calculation on an abacus, made phenomenal progress. The best known Edo expert in this branch of knowledge was Seki Takakazu (1623-1708). Roughly contemporary with Newton and Leibnitz, but independent of them both, he discovered methods of calculation in higher mathematics, such as differential calculus and integral calculus,—on the abacus; only his calculation was not linked to practical purposes with physics and industrial technique, and was doomed to degenerate into a mathematical pastime suitable for competitions in solving difficult problems.

END OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT

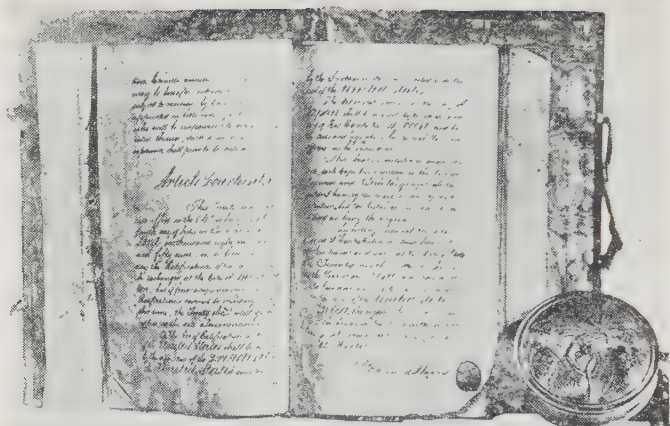
For 260 long years the Tokugawa *Bakufu* enjoyed a peaceful time, troubled neither by internal strife nor by foreign invasion. But there were, especially toward the close of the *Bakufu*, forces at work bringing about social changes at home, while abroad big changes in the world situation were taking place.

The Japanese economy based upon the use of currency made, in the meantime, such a development that it penetrated into the self-sufficient economy of rural areas and shook the very foundations of feudal society. The *chōnin* class that had amassed enormous fortunes got into the habit of living in grand style, whereas the ruling class, the warriors, steadily bled white by the peasants, became more and more impoverished, barely managing to eke out a precarious life. Especially hard put to it were warriors in the lower stipend group, some of whom began to show a leaning toward revolutionary ideas. More violent still was the change in the world situation. Spain and Portugal had had their day. Holland, too, was already at a low ebb. They had given place to new rising powers, such as England, France and Russia. The United States of America, too, had gained independence and was fast growing powerful. It was in the middle of the eighteenth century that the Industrial Revolution of England took place. In 1776 the United States declared her independence

and twelve years later the French Revolution broke out, marking the beginning of a democratic movement in the world. Then the year 1830 witnessed the run of the first steam train in the world, between Liverpool and Manchester. Eight years later a steamer succeeded for the first time in traversing the Atlantic Ocean. All these memorable events took place while Japan was still keeping her seclusion.

As early as the middle of the seventeenth century Russia made an eastward advance, reaching the Sea of Okhotsk in 1639 and occupying in 1699 Kamchatka, a peninsula lying not very far from the northeastern coast of Japan. Having no little interest in Japan, Russia sent the envoy Laxman to Hokkaidō in 1792 to demand Japan's consent for commerce with her. Then in 1804 another envoy Rezanov came to Nagasaki for the same purpose. But the *Bakufu* turned down Russia's proposal. In 1844 the King of Holland, explaining the state of affairs in the world, pointed out the inexpediency of Japan's policy of seclusion. But the *Bakufu* remained adamant in its attitude, until at last the United States sent a fleet of frigates to Japan and successfully persuaded the *Bakufu* to discontinue its policy.

In 1848 America obtained a territory on the West coast and advanced to the Pacific. Badly in need of a stepping stone to her trade with China and of a port at which to fuel and water her whaling ships, the United States wanted Japan to open her country to foreign intercourse. In 1853 the American Government called upon Commodore Perry to command the Far Eastern



Part of the text of the treaty of amity and commerce concluded in 1854 between Japan and the United States of America

squadron in order to make a proposal to Japan. The "Black Ships," as Perry's frigates equipped with modern armaments were called by Edo people, made a very deep impression on the Japanese, when they came to Uraga. In the following year the *Bakufu*, having realized the folly of offering resistance to the modern armaments of a Western power, acceded to the American demand. In 1856 Consul-General Townsend Harris was sent to Japan to negotiate a treaty of commerce, which was signed two years later. In 1860 a *Bakufu* envoy was despatched to America to exchange ratifications of the treaty. It was the first time that a Japanese vessel crossed the Pacific. Simultaneously with the conclusion of a treaty with the United States,

Japan signed treaties of commerce with Holland, Russia, England and France. Japan's trade with the West was thus formally started.

That the *Bakufu* was forced to open, or rather reopen, the country to foreign intercourse signified, in the eyes of the Japanese in general, a lowering of its prestige. As a result anti-foreign movements* were launched here and there, movements which eventually came to be capitalized on as a means of attacking the *Bakufu*. The *Bakufu* was no longer powerful enough to lift the nation out of the morass of confusion into which it had fallen; all it could do was to make the best of the bad bargain by taking makeshift measures. This helped to hasten the downfall of the *Bakufu*.

Not a few noblemen close to the emperor who had long remained silent in Kyōto also became aware of the seriousness of the situation. Kyōto came to have a say

* Prior to the adoption of the seclusion policy by the Tokugawa *Bakufu*, there had hardly been any tendency among the Japanese at large to show hostility to or contempt for foreigners. As a natural consequence of a long seclusion the Japanese people ceased to feel friendly toward foreigners. And this, coupled with the appearance of warships off the Japanese coasts and the spread of the Confucian ideas which regarded foreigners as barbarians, not to say the study of the native classical literature which had lapsed into a bigoted nationalism, went far toward fermenting anti-foreignism. The rise in commodity prices due to the commencement of foreign trade threw oil on the flames of anti-foreign feelings. The advocates of the views that foreigners and all that was foreign should be boycotted espoused the cause of the court and urged the *Bakufu* to expel the foreigners. When the *Bakufu* were in this dilemma, it no longer made any difference to these advocates whether anti-foreignism was further pushed or not: they came to trumpet the necessity of keeping foreigners out of the country, put foreigners to the sword and bombarded warships of foreign countries, merely as a means of harassing the *Bakufu*.

in matters concerning foreign relations, and the *Bakufu* no longer could afford to disregard the opinion of the court. Patriots began to be active and the emperor came once more to form a bond of national unity. Kyōto became a political center again in rivalry with Edo. It was those who were in the lower layer of the *samurai* class who availed themselves of this unstable situation more than any other group of men. Though of substantial ability and broad vision, most of these *samurai* had been compelled to remain in the background, since they were not in a position to give full play to their ability. Moreover, they were in great financial difficulties. It was to be expected that they should begin to feel like changing the status quo, that is, to entertain reactionary feelings. It was also to be expected that leaders among such lower-class *samurai* should come to have a say, as never before, in fief affairs, because both their lords and vassals close to them, long inured to a bed of roses under a hereditary system, had sunk into impotence and languor. By and by the Chōshū and Satsuma* fiefs where *samurai* of the lower class had already begun to assume leadership, got started and, making common cause with interested parties among the nobility, compassed the downfall of the *Bakufu*. The central figures of this plot were Kido Kōin (1834-1877) and Takasugi Shinsaku (1839-1867), both of Chōshū, and Ōkubo Toshimichi (1832-1878)

* Chōshū province covers the western half of Yamaguchi Prefecture, and Satsuma province the western half of Kagoshima Prefecture.

and Saigō Takamori (1827-1877), both of Satsuma province. These men were joined by Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883) who came of a low-class noble family. As the influence of these men and their faction, who championed the imperial cause with the shibboleth of "Down with the *Bakufu*!," became overwhelming, the *Bakufu* realized that the situation was definitely against it, but at the same time felt loath to throw the country into chaos. In 1867 the moribund *Bakufu* returned the reins of government to the emperor, and with it ended the military regime which had lasted almost uninterruptedly for nearly 700 years since the establishment of the Kamakura *Bakufu* by Yoritomo. Some of the remnants of the Tokugawas offered a stubborn resistance at Wakamatsu (in Fukushima Prefecture) and Hakodate (in Hokkaidō), but were subdued by 1869: what had remained of the Tokugawa *Bakufu* was thus given its quietus.

MODERN TIMES

TRANSITION FROM FEUDAL TO MODERN SOCIETY

It was in the year in which the Emperor Meiji ascended the throne that the Tokugawa *Bakufu* returned the reins of government to the court. During his reign (1867-1912) Japan was transformed from a feudal society into a modern one with a rapidity almost unparalleled in world history. It was the most tremendous reformation in the history of Japan.

In 1868 the Emperor Meiji made a five-point oath, laying emphasis, among other things, on the importance of respecting public opinion, holding intercourse with foreign countries, and of seeking knowledge far and wide. It now became a national policy to renounce the long existing abuses and overtake the lag attributable to the long period of seclusion, by reorganizing society on the basis of the modern civilization of the West. It was in that same year that the era-name of Meiji was adopted; hence, the term "Meiji Restoration." Then the emperor moved his residence to Edo, and Edo came to be called Tōkyō: thus Tōkyō became the capital of Japan.

The new regime that followed in the wake of the crumbling of the military government was not a mere

return to aristocratic government; it was an attempt to reconstruct a new Japan with the emperor as its center. In this respect at least the Meiji Restoration differs materially from the Kemmu Restoration, already mentioned on page 80. In order to attain the ideal of the new regime it was absolutely necessary to do away with the feudal system upon which the *Bakufu* was based. But most of the *samurai* of such influential fief as Satsuma and Chōshū, which were most instrumental in overthrowing the *Bakufu*, gave little thought at first to this point. Even after the formation of the new government the *daimyō* still owned land and people and kept up their fief administration. As a result the government was weak financially, nor did it have real military power. Fully alive to the crux of the situation, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Kido Kōin and other protagonists of the Meiji Restoration put their heads together and saw to it that all the *daimyō** in the country returned to the court their fiefs and people in 1869. The *daimyō* were appointed local governors of the districts which hitherto were their respective fiefs. But as this state of affairs—the fact that the governors were the former *daimyō* of the respective districts—was considered hardly sufficient to preclude personal considerations born of feudalism, steps were taken in 1871 to abolish the old administrative districts which were formerly the *han* or the fiefs of the *daimyō*, and divide the entire country into prefectures (*fu* and *ken*), each under the jurisdiction

* Of the *daimyō*, those of the major fiefs became great landlords or financial magnates to form the nucleus of the aristocratic class.

of a governor appointed by the central government. The *daimyō* system was thus completely liquidated.

During a period extending roughly from 1869 to 1876, the manners and customs concomitant to feudalism were cast to the winds one after another. The nobles and the *daimyō* came to be titled *kazoku* (peers), the *samurai* to be called *shizoku*, and the people in general *heimin* (commoners). Men of the *heimin* class were entitled to be government officials like those of the *shizoku*. Since the old custom among the nobility and the *samurai* of monopolizing state affairs was discarded, the distinction between *kazoku*,* *shizoku* and *heimin* came to signify nothing but a difference in lineage. Thus the class distinction ceased to exist—for some time at least. In 1872 a decree was issued concerning military conscription; the responsibility for national defence which had hitherto been shouldered by the *samurai* class now came to devolve upon the people at large. The common people who had not, on principle, been permitted to use their family names could now do so. Moreover, peers, *shizoku* and commoners were allowed to intermarry. Up to that time it had been the custom with a man to wear a topknot on his head, and with the *samurai*, to gird on two swords. Men could now have their hair cut, if they so willed; the

* In 1884, however, five ranks of peerage were created after the Western pattern—prince, marquis, count, viscount and baron—and were conferred on the people of the *kazoku* class. The created peerage was made hereditary. Five years later a constitution was established and the peers came to form the principal elements of the House of Peers, affording a chance for class privileges to stage a comeback.



Nihombashi, Tōkyō, in 1876 (above) and in 1953 (below).
Compare with the picture on page 150.



Ginza, the Broadway of Tōkyō, in the 1890's (above) and in the early 1950's

samurai could go about without swords, if they liked. Later, this choice became compulsory and it was taboo to wear swords. Torture was no longer allowed to be used on a suspected criminal in an attempt to exact a confession from him; nor was the *samurai* permitted any longer to put a commoner to the sword. It was no longer necessary for the common people to kneel when an exalted personage passed by; they could now salute him in a standing posture. The lunar calendar to which the people had so long been accustomed was now discarded, and was replaced by the solar one. Sunday came to be observed as a regular holiday after the Western custom. Thus international manners and customs obtaining abroad came to be adopted by the Japanese.

In Europe it was the awakening of the citizenry that crushed feudalism, but here in Japan it was the activities of *samurai* of the lower rank that played a valuable rôle in putting an end to the feudal system, and thereby effecting the Meiji Restoration. Most of the leaders of the new government of the Meiji era were, therefore, *samurai* coming of the clans that had rendered meritorious services in achieving the great political reform. This was particularly the case with the veteran statesmen who played prominent parts in the Meiji Restoration; all of them, except Sanjō Sanetomi (1837-1891) and Iwakura Tomomi who were of noble families, were clansmen of Satsuma and Chōshū. Some of them were active in official circles; others were prominent as businessmen. They were full of enterprise and acumen.

Chief among those who achieved a great success were Iwasaki Yatarō (1834-1885), who laid the foundations of the Mitsubishi *zaibatsu** in after years, Godai Tomoatsu (1836-1885) and Shibusawa Eiichi (1840-1931). They were not few in numbers, whereas Mitsui and Kōnoike were about the only successful men of business who had risen from the *chōnin* class.

Although some of the *shizoku* class thus succeeded in winning distinction, yet the *shizoku* people as a whole were doomed to be reduced to want. In 1876 the government abolished the time-honored system of making a hereditary grant of rice as stipend, and gave public loans instead to the *shizoku* who were deprived of the privileges they formerly enjoyed, and they were relieved of their erstwhile duties as a result of the Restoration. Those who had been receiving enormous stipends could live fairly comfortably on the interest from the loans, but as might be expected, to the majority of loan recipients this source of income was negligible. As a result, some of them took to farming, while others became either merchants or officials. But most of those who turned tradesmen went bankrupt through lack of experience and talent; so much so that business by men of the *shizoku* class came to signify proverbially an amateurish venture doomed to failure.

As already pointed out, most of the key posts of the government were occupied by men from the Satsu-

* This word "*zaibatsu*" has crept into the English language in recent years. It means "oligarchy of the plutocrats." In contrast to *zaibatsu* there is the word *hambatsu* which means "oligarchy of the dominant fiefs."

ma and Chōshū clans. The occupants of these positions were open to the charge of being dictatorial, and theirs was definitely a policy of renouncing feudalistic conventionalism and of adopting and assimilating Western civilization as quickly as practicable. There was a growing feeling of disaffection among the *shizoku* people in general who, reduced to adverse circumstances, were nostalgic of the good old feudal days, and naturally enough, a state of disquiet came to prevail here and there. The last and the most serious of these disaffections took the form of a rebellion led by Saigō Takamori, and generally known as the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, because it broke out in Kagoshima in the province of Satsuma. Saigō was one of the leading figures who brought about the Meiji Restoration. He vigorously advocated an expedition against Korea, but his argument was refuted by Ōkubo Toshimichi and others who maintained that it was more urgent to put domestic affairs in order. Saigō resigned his post and, returning to his native province, set up a private school at Kagoshima to educate young men. It was just about that time that disaffected elements rose in revolt in various parts of the country. The Kagoshima *shizoku* who were discontented with the policies of the new government set up Saigō as their leader and took up arms against the government. Their forces proved quite formidable, but only for a short space of time. Gradually they met with reverses and in half a year or so Saigō, facing defeat, killed himself and the rebellion was completely put down. In his lifetime Saigō's pres-

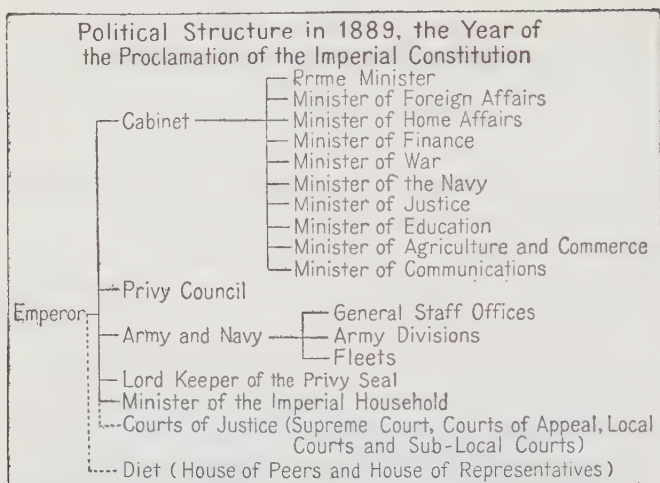
tige was very great, and yet even he and his following had to swallow the bitter pill of defeat. For this reason, nobody followed Saigō's example in offering armed resistance against the new government.



First five Japanese girls to study in the United States. The youngest of them, Tsuda Umeke (third from the left), who subsequently founded the Tsudajuku Women's University in Tōkyō, was only seven years old when the group went to America in 1871.

THE BEGINNING OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The ship of state in the early years of Meiji was steered first by the veterans of Restoration fame, such as Iwakura, Ōkubo and Kido, and then by men like Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909), Inoue Kaoru (1835-1945) and Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922). It was an oligarchic autocracy for which Satsuma and Chōshū men were mostly responsible. Dissatisfied with this form of government were men of the rising middle class, as well as those tinged with the modern political thoughts of the West. These people felt a considerable craving for constitutional government,—a desire which took practical shape when a memorial was addressed to the government pertaining to the establishment of a parliamentary system. This led to a vehement movement to uphold the people's rights. The government realized the expediency of checking the movement by setting up a constitution instead of by repeating measures for suppression. In 1881 it made a public promise to establish representative government. In 1885 the government set up a cabinet system and ordered Itō Hirobumi and others to Europe to make a study of constitutional government in foreign countries. Full preparations thus made, the first constitution of the country was promulgated in 1889 and the first session of the Imperial Diet as laid down therein was convened the following



year. In this way Japan found herself in a position to enter the family of nations as a constitutional monarchy. Established as it was by the fief regime, the constitution gave overmuch authority to the executive organs and placed the House of Peers, composed of peers and men nominated by the government, on the same level as the House of Representative in the enjoyment of legislative rights. The constitution thus clearly had much to be desired.

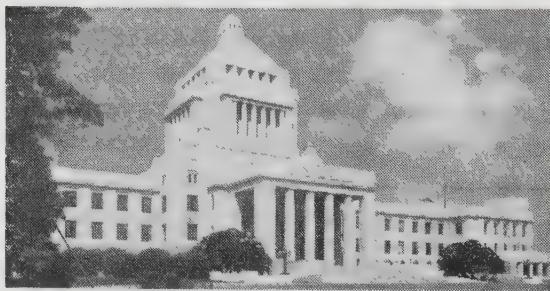
Prior to the establishment of the diet, two political parties were brought into being—the Liberal Party in 1890 headed by Itagaki Taisuke (1836-1918) who was one of the Restoration veterans and the Kaishintō (Progressive Party) in 1891 led by Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922). (The Liberal Party was destined to be

the Seiyūkai Party, while the Kaishintō Party, after many vicissitudes, became first the Kenseikai Party and then the Minseitō Party. The foundations of the two major parties of the country in later years were thus laid toward the end of the nineteenth century.) Itō and Yamagata clung to their firm belief that the reins of government should be assumed by a group consisting mainly of senior statesmen from Satsuma and Chōshū; they were convinced that it was the best way for Japan to adopt. Consequently, even after the parliamentary system was adopted and political parties were set up, they did not have the slightest intention of organizing a party cabinet, and so the non-party government continued to go strong. But as the political parties made a vigorous attack on the *hambatsu* government they were determined to overthrow, the government leaders could not but realize that it would not do to disregard the parties*. The year 1898 witnessed the formation of the Ōkuma-Itagaki coalition cabinet, but it was not till 1918 that a political party formed a cabinet independently of other parties. That was the first Seiyūkai cabinet headed by Hara Kei (1856-1921, also called Hara Takashi). At first the right to vote was conditioned on the amount of property possessed, and so the number of voters was too small to represent the will

* The government was not slow to take counter-measures—now forming a government party, and now compromising with the oppositions. To compromise with the opposition party was, after all, to win over members of that party with an attractive bait. Here we see in embryo the corruption and degradation of political parties of later years.

of the people. It was not till 1925 that a law governing universal suffrage was enacted by which all men 25 years old or more were enabled to vote without any property restriction.

Besides the constitution, all sorts of modern codes of laws were established. From of old Japan had a fairly well-established penal code, but as regards civil procedure, the people were on the whole accustomed to an unwritten code of practice and custom. In order to establish a modern constitutional state it was imperative that Japan should have definite written codes. The government therefore devoted itself to the task of compiling, after the Western pattern, a series of laws, such as the civil code, the commercial code, the penal code, the code of civil procedure and the code of criminal procedure. This task was completed and the laws were established in 1900 or thereabouts.

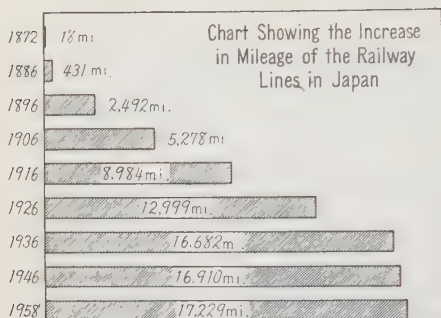


National Diet Building, Tōkyō

ADVANCE IN MODERN INDUSTRY AND A CHANGE IN SOCIAL CONDITIONS

As already repeatedly pointed out, the main problem of post-Restoration Japan was how to make up the leeway and lift the nation to the level of the Western nations. What was needed for this purpose before anything else was to achieve the reality of national prosperity by developing industry along modern lines. There being no sufficient accumulation of private capital, the government had to take the initiative in fostering modern industry to push the policy of attaining national prosperity. In other words, Japan had to switch to capitalistic economy. That capitalistic economy was rapidly developed under government patronage and guidance without waiting for the full growth of private industrial capital was unavoidable, in that the quick tempo of conversion was a consideration of primary importance at the time. It left the stamp of peculiarity on the Japanese economy. For example, it created among commercial and industrial captains in this country the evil practice of relying on State subsidies, of having an eye to their own interests in league with government leaders and bureaucrats.

First and foremost among the new government policies that had a direct influence on the national life was one of modernizing traffic and communications facilities. In 1869 telegraphic communication was opened



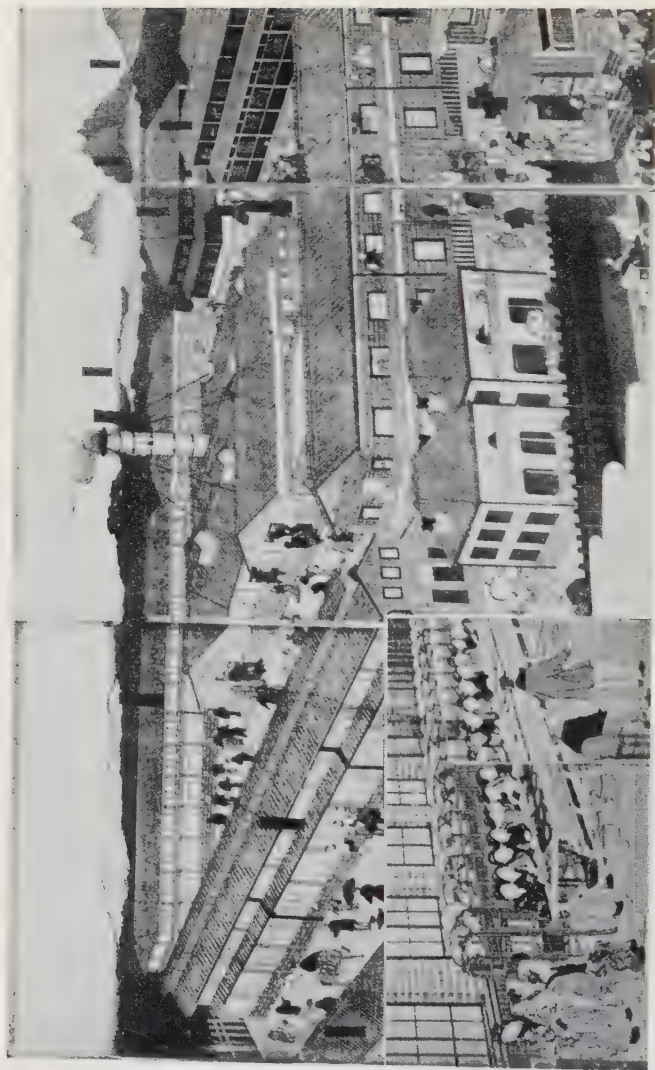
for the first time in Japan — between Tōkyō and Yokohama. Then in 1871 the postal system was set up to replace the time-honored courier service.

The following year, 1872, saw the establishment of the first shipping company and the opening to traffic of the first railway—also between Tōkyō and Yokohama. The traffic and communications network gradually spread throughout the country. In 1889 the Tōkaidō Main Line, about 366 miles, one of Japan's railway trunks, was opened to traffic. In 1906 the total railway mileage was approximately 5,280 miles. (As of February, 1958, the aggregate mileage had reached 17,229 miles consisting of 12,590 miles of the National Railways lines and 4,639 miles of private lines.) As regards marine transportation, Japanese shipping companies extended their services to the coasts of Korea and China and, finally emerging victorious in competition with foreign companies, came to monopolize the Far Eastern lines. In 1896 they inaugurated an ocean-going service. Before World War II Japan came to own an aggregate of 6,000,000 tons of shipping, ranking third in the world.

In 1895 electric streetcars made their debut as additional means of “man-power” *jinrikisha* and horse-drawn



Color print showing the early stages of railway transportation in Tōkyō



Tomioka Silk Mill (color prints made at the end of the nineteenth century)

carts. From about 1920 motor vehicles began to be utilized, destined to prove useful to passenger and freight transportation. In

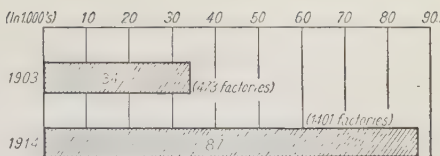


CHART SHOWING THE INCREASE
IN THE NUMBER OF FACTORY
WORKERS IN THE DECADE AFTER
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR
(1904-1905)

1910 the first airplane flew across the Japanese sky, and in 1928 the first air line company was established in the country. Telephone service was instituted for the first time in 1890. It was in the twentieth century that the wireless telegraph and telephone were put to practical use. Progress in traffic and communications facilities not only formed an important basis for the economic development of the country, but it also contributed toward the furthering of cultural development.

In the field of industry, the Yokosuka Dockyard which the Tokugawa *Bakufu* had built in 1864 was taken over and run by the government. In 1873 the Tomioka Silk Mill, the first of its kind in Japan, started operation. Besides these, the government operated several other dockyards, spinning mills, woollen mills and breweries. From 1880 on such government-managed factories were released to private enterprises one after another. The government further encouraged private enterprise sedulously by leasing equipment or granting subsidies. With a view to acquiring fresh

knowledge and new techniques the government also sent abroad officials, technicians and mechanics. As a result of these measures of the government, the textile industry and other branches of light industry made rapid progress in the nineties. Then the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the growth of heavy industries such as shipbuilding and the manufacture of rolling

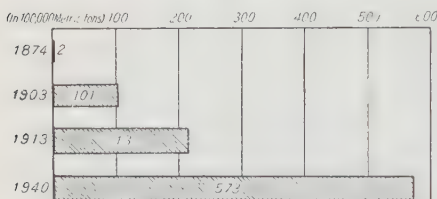


CHART SHOWING THE INCREASE
IN THE PRODUCTION OF COAL
IN JAPAN FROM 1874 TO 1940

stock and machine tools. The industrial revolution was well-nigh completed. About the time of the outbreak of World War I the chemical industry, too,

became independent of the West. Japan, where the main activities had long been agricultural, was now turned into an industrial country, characterized to some extent by steel, smoke and speed. Throughout the country there sprang up cities bristling with chimneys. Iron, coal and other mineral products which are essential to modern industry came to be mined abundantly by methods heretofore unknown to the country.

Needless to say, business came to be transacted by companies in a way unknown in the feudal days and banking institutions were operated along modern lines. Foreign trade, too, expanded from year to year as a determining factor in domestic industrial progress. Most

remarkable was the increase in the import of raw cotton and the export of raw silk. This led to the boom of the textile industry. Natu-

rally enough, cotton fields decreased and mulberry fields increased. Japan was now in the forefront of silk-growing countries in the world. Silk was shipped to the United States in such quantities that at one time it occupied more than half the total amount of the exports from the country. China and various countries in Southern Asia also became important markets for Japanese products. Poor in natural resources, Japan made

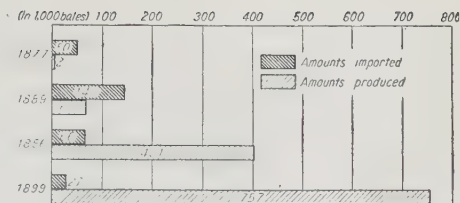


CHART SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COTTON YARN SPINNING INDUSTRY IN JAPAN FROM 1877 TO 1899

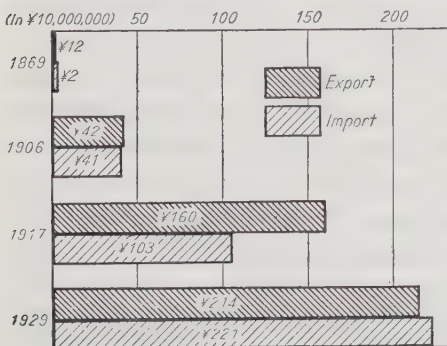


CHART SHOWING THE INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF FOREIGN TRADE IN JAPAN FROM 1869 TO 1929

all-out efforts to occupy a distinguished position as the factory of the East. Japan's trade, exports and imports put together, reached ¥760 million in 1911 and ¥7,000 million in 1937. This was defi-

nately a jump, compared with the trade immediately after the Restoration of 1868, which amounted to no more than ¥40 million.

If modern industry made rapid progress in Japan in a short space of time, little improvement was effected in agriculture. It is true that all the restrictive pressure which feudalism had brought to bear on the farming population of the country was removed soon after the Restoration, and in 1873 the farmers were given a right to own land and permitted to pay land-tax in money, instead of in kind as had been the case before, but the land-tax was very high because the Meiji Government had no choice but to look to the rural population for the sinews of war required for the building up of a modern nation. The land-tax levied was indeed so high that it was out of the question for the farmers to improve their methods of production in a manner suitable to a modern state. Nor was that all. Unable to bear the heavy burden, many farmers had to part with their land: some became tenants, while others went to cities or mines to earn a crust as wageworkers.* Plants in the manufacturing centers sought labor from the rural districts. Thus a relationship became established between landlord and tenant in the rural areas and between capital and labor in the urban areas, a relationship which about the time of

* This tendency toward centralization of population in urban areas was already in evidence more or less in the Tokugawa age, but it became marked with the progress of industry in post-Restoration days. The total population of the six major cities of Tōkyō, Ōsaka, Kyōto, Kōbe, Nagoya and Yokohama in 1888 was less than 2,425,000, but in 1920 it jumped to 5,479,000.



Port of Yokosuka in 1879 when the government operated
a dockyard there

the financial panic of 1920 grew into a momentous social problem.

Capitalism in Japan, where the industrial revolution had already reached near-completion, found in World War I a rare opportunity to attain prosperity. Right through the war and the period of depression that set in as its aftermath Mitsui, Mitsubishi and other *zaibatsu* seized the golden opportunity of monopolizing financial capital, thereby controlling the economic life of the country.

Capitalistic monopoly presupposes the existence of many medium and small enterprises. The process of modernizing the urban areas went on rapidly in Japan, but on the other hand a primitive style of living was kept up in the agricultural regions. This unbalance in the Japanese economy showed that the nation, though sound in outward appearance, had really feet of clay.

IMPROVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF JAPAN

The treaties which the Tokugawa *Bakufu* entered into with foreign countries were treaties concluded on an unequal footing, in that Japan thereby enjoyed no tariff autonomy and had to bestow extraterritorial privileges on all aliens. This naturally gave rise to a nation-wide craving for a revision of treaties in post-Restoration Japan, and the new government made every effort in this direction. As a means of attaining this avowed object of the nation the government cudgeled its brains to demonstrate to the Western powers that Japan was a highly civilized and unified country in the Asia of the time, by bringing about economic development, political renovation and social amelioration. But it was no easy task. After many vicissitudes, however, extraterritoriality was at last done away with in 1894. It was seven years later that autonomy was gained in tariff. That Japan found herself at long last in a position to revise her treaties was due to the fact that foreign nations had gradually come to recognize her growing power.

In 1876 Japan and Korea established amity, but over the question of who should take the leadership in Korea, there was a clash of interests between Japan and China, for the latter was adamant against renouncing suzerainty on Korea. This ultimately led to the Sino-

Japanese War of 1894-95. Japan emerged victorious, contrary to the expectations of the outside world, and ten years later waged a war for two years with Russia which had clear designs upon Manchuria and Korea. With the diplomatic and moral support of Great Britain which had been feeling uneasy about the gradual spread of the Russian Empire, Japan succeeded in frustrating the ambition of the nation that then boasted the mightiest army in the world. Japan thus earned a place among the leading powers of the world, having obtained Formosa as a result of the Sino-Japanese War and a lease of the Kwantung Province, including Port Arthur and Dairen, and possession of the South Manchurian Railway and of South Sakhalin as a result of the war with Russia. The annexation of Korea in 1910 led to a further increase in Japan's sphere of influence. The expansion of territory and sphere of influence enlarged the markets for Japanese products, giving capitalism a good chance to achieve the result stated above.

PROMOTION OF THE MODERN SPIRIT

The abolition of feudalism and of some of the traditional customs brought with it early in the Meiji era the adoption of all sorts of Western manners and customs, introduced as adjuncts to *bunmeikaika* (civilization). Many of the Western customs thus brought into fashion, such as Western-style clothes, having one's hair cut, and eating meat, revealed no better than a slavish, if sincere, form of flattery shown to the West, a shallow imitation of things foreign. The so-called *bunmeikaika* soon came to be regarded as synonymous with levity, a mere reaction from the old system. Naturally enough, the wave of modernization has its repercussions. Disgusted at the fashionable craze for frivolities, some of the thinking men of the time endeavored to educate people whose mental attitude was definitely feudalistic and inspire them with a spirit fit for a modern nation. They started a campaign for orientation.

It was Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) who played the most prominent role in such a movement. Fully aware of the disservice done to the Japanese people by the feudal system, he infused a spirit of independence into the people who had become servile and slavish under the weight of feudalism. He urged them to break away from the idealistic education divorced from reality and take up practical learning based on experience; to overcome superstitions and adopt a scientific way of

thinking. He taught that man should enjoy liberty and equality, and negated the traditional idea of men taking precedence over women. He also started a newspaper and set up Keiōgijuku University (popularly known as Keiō University). He carried out his campaign of education with a religious zeal. Fukuzawa was a great pioneer who devoted his life to the task of planting a modern consciousness on Japanese soil.

While the public absorbed Fukuzawa's knowledge and wisdom in the field of social education, a section of men were advocating liberty and equality in the field of politics.* Chief among the exponents of this theory were Nakae Chōmin (1847-1901), Ueki Emori (1854-1892) and Baba Tatsui (1850-1888). It was thanks to the movement for liberty and civil rights, started by these men at a time when anything like a mass movement was unthinkable, that the *hambatsu* government (government run by a dictatorial oligarchy of men from the former dominant feudal fiefs such as Chōshū and Satsuma) was compelled to establish a constitution containing provisions for a guarantee of liberty and people's rights. The idea of liberty and civil rights had to recede into the background for a time, it is true, after the initiation of the Diet, owing to the circum-

* It was in 1872 that the first Japanese translation of Mill's *On Liberty* made its appearance. The following year saw the publication of a partial translation of Tocqueville's *De la Démocratie en Amérique*. Then in 1877 Rousseau's *Contrat social* was done into Japanese for the first time. In 1883 Nakae Chōmin made another translation of the *Contrat social*, which was widely read. Needless to say, the works of such European thinkers as Rousseau, Mill and Spencer had a considerable influence on the Japanese intellectuals of the time.

stance that the political parties became conservative as a result of the compromise made with the *hambatsu* influence. But with the gradual increase of popular influence it reasserted itself in the name of democracy in 1914 or thereabouts and, guiding public opinion, led to party politics and universal suffrage.

The development of capitalistic economy brought about a change in Japanese industry and contributed to augmenting national power. But at the same time it widened the gulf between rich and poor, between capital and labor, which in turn gave rise to a movement to organize labor unions intended to raise the living standard of workers. Already in 1888 or thereabouts some thinking men paid attention to the sorry plight of the workers, for in those days the government and the capitalists, in their eagerness to accumulate capital, did not scruple to sweat the workers. Such men of light and leading laid great emphasis on the necessity of promoting and protecting the interests of the working class. Despite their enthusiasm, however, no practical shape was given to their advocacy owing to a lack of awakening on the part of the workers themselves. It was about 1897, shortly after the Sino-Japanese War, when Japan's capitalism reached the first stage of its growth, that a movement for trade unionism was initiated, though on a small scale, by the workers themselves. About this time several Japanese returned from the United States of America after observing there the life of workers and the labor movement. These men, with the support of kindred spirits,

Fukuzawa Yukichi, founder of Keiōgijuku University and pioneer of the modernization movement in Japan in the early Meiji days



accelerated the movement to form an association of workers. But it was not till after the end of World War I that this movement made a real development founded upon the activities of the masses. In its initial stage the labor movement in Japan was a movement which, while recognizing the capitalistic machinery as it was, aimed at improving the economic life of workers. But the ideology that played a most important part in guiding the labor movement in Japan was socialism, which was out to set up a socialistic structure by gaining a political victory for the proletarians.

Some of the socialists in Japan were sprung from radical advocates of liberty and people's rights; others from Christian humanitarians. The "isms" they em-

braced were as varied: some upheld communism, others Kropotkin's anarchism and yet others Christian socialism. Socialism was introduced into this country about 1880, but it was after the end of World War I that it came to have an increasingly telling influence, though under government oppression. In 1917 the Communist Party espousing Marxism succeeded in achieving a revolution and then the Comintern with the Soviet Union as its citadel launched a vigorous world-wide propaganda, after which, the social movement in Japan came to be influenced mainly by communism. For two years from 1927 communism had a tremendous vogue in Japan so much so that the government, fearful of the radical assertions of communism, did everything it could to put pressure on the followers of this doctrine. But the government itself had no adequate social policy. And also reaction to the communist and the socialist movements set in. An ultranationalistic ideology came to be nourished and propagandized, with the result that the growth of the labor and social movements in Japan was stunted.

THE GROWTH OF MODERN CULTURE

The progress Japan made in the Meiji era and after was remarkable in the cultural, as well as in the economic, field. In 1872 a long-range program was mapped out to initiate an educational system that should give a school education to all Japanese of both sexes. Primary schools were established even in out-of-the-way corners of the country to do duty for the *terakoya* of the Tokugawa days. As elementary education was made compulsory, the number of illiterates gradually decreased. To promote secondary and higher education, middle schools, higher technical colleges, and universities were brought into existence gradually one after another. Higher educational institutions for women also sprang up. The Imperial Universities in Tōkyō, Kyōto and other big cities, Keiōgijuku University (founded by Fukuzawa Yukichi), Dōshisha University (in Kyōto founded in 1875 by Niiijima Yuzuru, a noted Christian), and Waseda University (founded in 1882 by Ōkuma Shigenobu) were among the highest seats of learning established early in this period. Apart from school education, knowledge was widely imparted and diffused, and the intellectual level of the people at large thereby raised by many newspapers and magazines that made their appearance one after another, as well as by books.

Modern science was transplanted in Japan as already

stated, at first through Dutch learning in the days of the Tokugawa *Bakufu*. In post-Restoration Japan it made a more systematic development. At first the study of science was pursued under the guidance of foreign professors. By and by Japanese scholars found themselves in a position to stand on their feet and make research of considerable value, in such a way as to make a marked contribution toward the progress of the world. Chief among the scientists whose fame was carried around the world may be mentioned Kitazato Shibasaburō (1852-1931) and Shiga Kiyoshi (b. 1870) who discovered in 1897 dysentery bacilli, Takamine Jōkichi (1854-1922) of adrenaline fame, Kimura Hisashi (1867-1943) who discovered in 1902 "Z tern", Nagaoka Hantarō (1865-1950) who made research on the structure of atoms, Suzuki Umetarō (b. 1874) who discovered orizantin in 1910, Honda Kōtarō (b. 1870) who published his research on special steel in 1916, and Yukawa Hideki, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics for the year, 1949, for his research on meson. Much progress was made also in the fields of philosophy and social science. Perhaps Nishida Kitarō (1870-1945) will go down in history as one of the most original thinkers in modern Japan. The scientific methods of the West came to be applied even to such studies as Japanese history, Japanese literature, Oriental history and Indian philosophy. Phenomenal progress was thus made in all branches of science, it is true, but a scientific spirit can hardly be said to have permeated the general public. While brilliant achievements were born in

Eldrige Fowler
Chapel of Dōshi-
sha University,
Kyōto, and part
of the campus of
Waseda University
showing the statue
of Ōkuma Shige-
nobu, founder of
the school, in the
center.



laboratories one after another, an unscientific, superstitious way of thinking was the rule outside among the people in general. Even today modern science has not yet taken its place in the everyday life of the masses.

In the realms of literature, too, a marked advance was shown in the Meiji and succeeding eras. In 1885 Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935), noted among other things for his translation of the complete works of Shakespeare, advocated the necessity of writing realistic novels after the Western style. This theory was put into practice by Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909) who was the first to introduce Russian literature into Japan by rendering some of the works of Turgenev and Gogol. He was one of the pioneers who thus blazed the trail to be followed by men of letters in this country from that time on. Whereas in the Edo period literary pursuits were taken up mainly by way of diversion, Meiji literature came to be characterized by an effort to consider life in earnest and state the unvarnished truth. A tendency grew up in the world of letters to write in spoken, instead of in hackneyed written, language. Chief among the novelists that flourished from the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century may be mentioned Ozaki Kōyō (1867-1903), Kōda Rohan (1867-1950), Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943), Tayama Katai (1871-1930), Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) and Mori Ōgai (1862-1922). In poetry, as in prose, a movement was started for renovation. The *waka*, or 31-syllable ode, was composed in a style thoroughly unconventional by such poets as Masaoka Shiki (1867-



"Merciful Mother"
—a painting on
silk of Kannon,
the Goddess of
Mercy, by Kanō
Hōgai



"On the Lakeshore" by Kuroda Seiki (popularly known as Kiyotaru)

1902), Yosano Akiko (poetess, 1878-1942) and Ishikawa Takuboku (1886-1912). The first-named was also among the enthusiasts who started a new style in the *haiku*, or 17-syllable poem, while the afore-mentioned Shimazaki Tōson and others initiated a new form of poetry modelled on Western poetry, popularizing it under the name of *shintai-shi** (lit. new-style poetry). In these forms of poetry a fresh and vigorous passion expressed itself, one emancipated from the bonds of feudalism—utterances which had no small influence upon the youth of the country. Then again literary giants such as Mori Ōgai and Ueda Bin (1874-1916) who were familiar with the arts and literatures of the West rendered meritorious services to Japanese literature by imparting to their compatriots the profound knowledge they had of things Western. The seeds planted in the literary field by these Meiji pioneers sprouted, grew and blossomed in the twentieth century. Besides the numerous poems, novels and other literary products thus created at home, both classics and contemporary masterpieces of France, Russia, Germany, England and America became as available through Japanese translations as the native classics. The introduction of Western literary masterpieces has been and still is wielding a considerable influence on the rising generation of this

* The Japanese call the longer poetry *shi*, as distinct from the traditional *waka* and the *haiku*. Cf. *eishi*, English poetry; *kan-shi*, Chinese poetry; *shijin*, a poet. But an expression like *Nippon no shi*, Japanese poetry, is rather vague in its connotation, for it could mean poetry in general as composed in Japanese, as well as the *shi* pure and simple.

country in cultivating of sentiment, a fact which speaks eloquently of the constant flow of the tide of international sympathy in the world of letters, as well as of art.

The moral and intellectual climate of Japan immediately after the Restoration was such that the people were too coldly utilitarian and too eager to do away with the time-honored culture to give need to formative art. In 1878 an American came to these shores to give lectures on art at the Imperial University of Tōkyō and directed the attention of the Japanese to the superior intrinsic value of the fine arts of their country. This art critic was Ernest Fenollosa. Okakura Tenshin (1862-1913) and others who drew inspiration from this benefactor cooperated with him in restoring or rather reviewing the traditional art of their country. In 1887 the present Fine Arts Faculty of the Tōkyō University of Arts came into being. Among the giants who stepped one after another into the arena of Japanese-style painting were Kanō Hōgai (1828-1888), Hashimoto Gahō (1835-1908), Shimomura Kanzan (1873-1916) and Yokoyama Taikan (b. 1868). In the field of oil painting we had already in the Tokugawa days an artist like Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), and immediately after the Restoration there flourished a number of artists who painted in oil. They were Kawakami Tōgai (1827-1881), Takahashi Yuichi (1828-1894), Yamamoto Hōsui (1850-1906), Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915), Asai Chū (1856-1907), etc. It was after 1894, however, when Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) returned from France where he

had studied painting, that the world of oil painting in Japan came to be greatly influenced by the style of French impressionists. Nowadays there is hardly any artist in Japanese-style painting who is not more or less influenced by Western-style painting. At the same time many oil pictures have come to show that touch of delicacy which is lent by Japanese painting. A great change took place also in the domain of sculpture. With the exception of miniature carvings, most Japanese sculptures had heretofore been Buddhist images. But once the glyptic art came under Western influence, all sorts of sculptures gradually made their appearance.

With the introduction of Western music, both vocal and instrumental, a taste for music spread throughout the country, due partly to the inclusion of singing in the primary school curriculum.



“Okakura Tenshin”
by Shimomura Kanzan

In the histrionic art a reform was effected in the *kabuki*, one of the legacies of feudalism; new ideas and devices were adopted in play writing and theater structure. Two new schools of the drama were founded: the *shimpa-geki* based on the manners and customs of the new age, and the *shin-geki* illustrative of the spirit of modern dramas of the West. The traditional *kabuki* and these two newly born dramatic schools thus competed in the sphere of stage art.

One of the most notable features in the religious field was the removal of the ban on Christianity soon after the Restoration. In addition to Catholicism, the principles and beliefs of Protestants came to have a hold on Japanese Christians. Christianity assumed activity in social work and female education. The philanthropic principles of humanism with which the Christian faith is instinct instilled new, healthy elements into the morality and art of the Japanese people. Even the socialistic movement in this country was, in its initial stage, as often as not closely related to the humanism of Christianity. As regards Buddhism, it degenerated in the Edo period, as already noted, into irreligion in spite of, or rather because of, the special patronage given it by the Tokugawa *Bakufu* as a means of effectuating the policy of interdicting Christianity. Moreover it could not remain unaffected by the general confusion arising from the social change, brought about at the time of the Restoration; it barely managed to weather the "Down with Buddhism!" storm instigated by bigoted scholars of classical Japanese literature and by the



A picture of three young girls of a well-to-do family of the early days of the Meiji era dressed in their Sunday best. The picture is by Uemura Shōen (1875-1950), the most prominent lady artist of her time.



The modern miss it at home both in her *kimono* and her Western-style clothes.

trend towards the destroying of old things. That Buddhism was so imperiled was, in fact, a blessing in disguise. Buddhist priests awoke to the folly of their continued idleness and indolence. Today the influence of Buddhism is making itself felt throughout the country.

Western culture was adopted and assimilated in post-Meiji Japan to an extent unparalleled before. The introduction of Chinese culture in ancient Japan did much, it is true, to develop the native culture, but it did not bring about a complete change in the social fabric, economic structure and everyday manners and customs. The Meiji Restoration completely changed the life of the Japanese; improvement was made along the lines of the active and efficient mode of living of the modern West. Not only did foreign clothes and chairs and tables and things of that kind become the rule among the intellectuals, but as time went on, various conveniences and facilities of life, such as gas, electricity, city water, means of traffic and communications, the motion pictures and radio, came to enrich the life of the Japanese. It must be admitted, however, in the interests of truth, that the traditional mode of living and ways of thinking, both good and bad, are deeply rooted in the life of the Japanese people of today. Thus modern Japan, like Janus, has two faces in its social and cultural aspects.

CATAclysm

Japan was modernized at a terrific speed. The policies of achieving national prosperity and military strength, as framed by the leaders of the Meiji Restoration, were followed and carried out vigorously in rapid succession. The people of the Meiji era pursued their way to their avowed goal, steadily translating their ideal into concrete form. The Meiji era (1868-1912) was succeeded by the Taishō era (1912-1926). World War I broke out in the beginning of this latter era, namely, in 1914. The work started and pushed on during the Meiji era was brought into completion in the Taishō era. The present Emperor Hirohito was enthroned in 1926 and Japan as a modern State reached the zenith of its power about that time. Japan was now acknowledged as one of the "Big Five," though still a good way behind Great Britain and the United States, boasting, as she did, an economic structure based on capitalism, a thousand and one adjuncts of modern civilization and cultural activities of all sorts. Long and rapid were the strides made since the days of feudalism when Japan was many degrees removed from a modern nation.

The rapidity of Japan's progress may be inferred from the growth of population in just a little over half a century. Right through the Edo period of some 260 years, Japan's population hovered around the 20 million

mark, a fact which shows that the multitude of the people were not so well off and the nation could not very well afford a further increase in population. After the Restoration, however, there was a steady increase; in 70 years or so the population jumped to 60 million from the 30 million mark of the early year of Meiji. Including the population of both Formosa and Korea, Japan in 1930 had a total population of well over 90 million.

As already touched on, there was something unnatural about the rapid progress Japan achieved in a comparatively short space of time; so much so indeed that all sorts of contradictions and defects lurked ominously beneath the outward progress and prosperity of the nation. Though visibly sturdy, Japan had feet of clay after all. Despite the phenomenal industrial development, the standard of living* of the bulk of the people was kept at a low level. The practical application of the principles of democracy and autonomy was fairly in order, to all appearance. But the appearance was

* As was previously noted, Meiji Japan with a meager accumulation of commercial capital had to look to the rural population for the greater part of the fund required for its conversion to a modern state. The consequent rise in the land-tax and tenant rents impoverished the life of the peasants of the country, the majority of whom were not in comfortable circumstances. Moreover, in stepping into the arena of international economy as a capitalistic nation Japan found it essential to arm herself with a most suitable weapon—cheap labor. The standard of living of Japan's laborers and other tribes of wage-earners was thus kept low. This in turn limited the scope of the domestic markets to an extreme and caused capitalism to depend on foreign markets.

only an appearance. The bureaucrats* who had grown indisputably influential since the Meiji days imbued all systems and structures with a tendency to self-righteousness. This, coupled with the low standard of living, retarded the process of democratization to a degree: even the strenuous efforts put forth by learned men, thinkers, artists and journalists to modernize their country on a democratic basis could not produce the desired effect. Members of political parties, whose *raison d'être* was, and should always be, the reflecting of the will of the people in the Diet, were so greedy for power right from the beginning, that they not only forgot their duty to represent the people, but they made no bones about aligning themselves with this party to-day and with that tomorrow, like the men of no principle that they were. Many were not ashamed of making any compromise whatsoever, if for gain. There were quite a few, it is true, who were statesmen enough to consider the welfare of the people in dead earnest, but they could not make their influence felt on the political stage where boss politics was in evidence. Nor was that all. A worse state of affairs came to the fore. It was interference in politics by the military, who acted under the authority of the emperor, the object of popular respect and adoration. In the growing corruption of the

* In 1899 the Civil Service Appointment Ordinance was amended with the object of precluding office hunting on the part of political party men. But this had the drawback of preventing non-governmental people from being installed in government offices. As a result, the bureaucrats became still more self-righteous than ever.

political parties the military saw their chance of expanding their influence. The people in general, or rather the nation as a whole, still under the influence of feudalism to some extent, failed to digest the principles underlying the material civilization of the modern West which they had adopted. In consequence they lacked in many respects the capacity for passing judgment or comment on their own responsibility. What was more, they were liable to lapse into the "it-can't-be-helped" sort of resignation to circumstances, a resignation born of the servility and impotence which had resulted from the feudal custom of exalting official above private life.

Over and above these were political and economic factors that went to the making of a perilous situation. Japan, frenzied like one possessed by a devil, made a glaring mistake in tackling the difficulties her capitalism had faced from 1930 on, and pushed forward blindly to her undoing.

In 1931 the militaristic forces at work, with the army as the nucleus, began an aggressive China policy and, creating a puppet independent state in Manchuria, brought it entirely within Japan's sphere of influence. Enmeshed in a complicated world situation, Japan would not, and could not, get back to the normal relations of friendship with China. Moreover, the unjust superiority complex which the Japanese in general had come to entertain as a result of the victory over China led their leaders to the indiscretion of insisting on claiming a share in the profits accruing from China, now reduced to a semi-colonial position. In 1931 Japan

quitted the League of Nations which had denounced her for occupying Manchuria. Five years later she came to a frontal clash with the Nationalist Government of China and war spread over a vast area. Japan thus sank into a deep pit of desperation from which it was difficult to emerge. At home the military clique, cashing in on the degradation of the political parties and the corruption of the Diet, interfered in politics as never before. A dictatorial form of administration was set up by the militarists, the bureaucrats and the nationalists. Aligned with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, militarist Japan squared off against the democratic nations of the world. Meanwhile, the armed conflict with China became long drawn out and the denunciation of Japan's action by the United States and Great Britain waxed fierce. The danger was evident, but the dictatorial elements recklessly increased the tempo. Stifling the freedom, and paralyzing the will of the people, and abusing the name of the emperor, they eventually declared war upon the United States and Great Britain in December, 1941. The story of the Pacific War and of its aftermath needs little mention.

REBIRTH

Immediately after the start of World War II Japan occupied a fairly extensive area in the southwestern Pacific, only to be counterattacked before long by the Allied forces after which she lost her war potential almost entirely. Her proud navy, which was the third biggest in the world at the time was wiped out. Not a few of the major cities were bombed and burned one after another. The supply of essential materials ran short and the nation that had been driven to war now lost the will to fight.

In July 1945 the top leaders of the United States, Britain, China and Soviet Russia assembled in Potsdam and issued a joint declaration, giving Japan a surrender ultimatum. Chief among the terms of the Allies laid down in the declaration were: the wiping out of Japan's militarism; the revival and strengthening of democracy in Japan; the meting out of stern justice to the war criminals; the limitation of Japanese sovereignty to the islands of Honshū, Hokkaidō, Kyūshū, Shikoku and a few minor adjoining islands; the occupation of Japanese territory by the Allies to assume the attainment of the basic objectives set forth in the declaration; and the withdrawal of the occupying forces from Japanese territory when these objectives were attained and a peaceful government established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people. Then in

the August of the same year the two cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were atom-bombed. Soviet Russia declared war upon Japan almost simultaneously. Japan had no choice but to surrender under the terms set forth in the Potsdam Declaration. This was followed by the occupation of Japanese territory by the Allies under the supreme command of General Douglas MacArthur. Then began a large-scale reform of Japan with a view to turning it into a peaceful, democratic state.

The military forces of Japan were completely disarmed. To most of the prominent Japanese in the political, military, press and other circles, who had taken a leading part in carrying on the war, purge directives were issued. Hideki Tōjō, who was prime minister at the time of the commencement of the Pacific War, and many others were arrested as war criminals, tried at the Far East International Military Tribunal and punished. Members of the Communist Party who had been kept in detention for political offenses were set free. All the laws and ordinances, such as the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace, the Publication Law, the Press Law and laws against lèse-majesty, that had suppressed thought and the freedom of speech were abrogated. The Japanese nation thus began to enjoy freedom and liberty, as never before, so far as thought and its expression were concerned.

In the fields of religion and education, Shinto was ordered to be divorced from the State. The Shintō shrines which had been under State patronage now were to be treated in the same way as other places of religious

worship in Japan, such as Buddhist temples and Christian churches. In this way freedom in religious worship was guaranteed to the Japanese people. School textbooks on Japanese history beginning with a narrative of the so-called Age of the Gods were done away with, and the schools began to use new textbooks in history, which started with the Stone Age.

In the economic domain the *zaibatsu*, powerful industrial families of Japan, which had been regarded as the grass roots of militarism were disbanded. Then came the emancipation of the tenant farmers. Something like 5,901,000 acres, out of a total of about 7,372,000 acres of cultivated land passed into the possession of the tillers of the soil. A system whereby tenant fees could be paid in money at lower rates was adopted. Labor unions came to be protected by law for the first time in the history of the country. To guarantee the rights of workers a new law was enacted under the name of the Labor Standards Law.

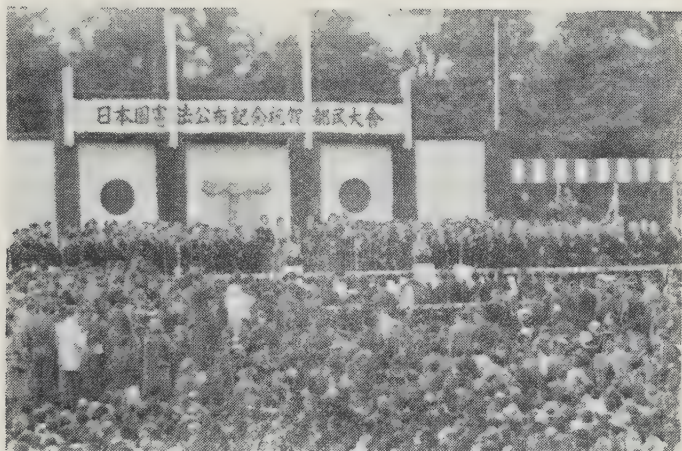
In the province of politics Japanese women were given the elective franchise for the first time. The political parties that had been disbanded during the war staged a comeback, and the Communist Party came to secure seats in the National Diet as a recognized political party.

The highlight of the great reform was the proclamation of a new constitution in 1946. The new Constitution stipulates, among other things, that the Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people; that he shall not have powers relating to

government; that the Japanese people shall forever renounce war and shall not maintain war potential; that the people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights; that the right of workers to organize and to strike shall be guaranteed; that laws shall be enacted on the basis not only of the equal rights of husband and wife, but also of the essential equality of the sexes; that the Diet shall be the highest organ of State power; and that the prime minister shall be designated from among the members of the Diet by a resolution of the Diet.

The new Constitution may thus be justly considered epochal, as compared with the Meiji Constitution which was characterized by a powerful sovereignty, the absence of guarantee of the fundamental human rights and by the greatly restricted authority of the Diet. In conformity with the spirit of this new Constitution the Civil Code was amended, and the Law of Relatives and the Law of Succession were established on the basis of the equal rights of husband and wife and the equal sharing of property among the sons and daughters succeeding thereto. Over and above these a thorough-going renovation was effected in respect to procedure for criminal action, local autonomy and educational administration and other systems.

With the destruction of militarism by "the might of the aroused free peoples of the world," a new Japan was born into the world. After existing so long and so patiently under protracted pressure, the people were now brought back to vitality in many spheres of human



The national celebration held in Tōkyō in May, 1946, in honor of the promulgation of the new Constitution

endeavor. Take the labor situation for example. In 1948 the labor unions numbered 33,926 and their membership totalled 6,677,427, showing about a tenfold increase over the 1936 level which represents the highest pre-war strength of the labor organization. Labor was not alone in a revival activity. The world of learning and the world of art, too, became full of life and activity, particularly in the field of social science which had long been subjected to considerable restrictions. Rapid progress was made, for instance, in historical research in the short space of ten years or so. All sorts of valuable studies were published concerning the origin of the Japanese people, the history of the Tennō system, the structure of feudal Japan, and the circumstances lead-

ing to democracy and to the socialist movement in this country. In the realms of natural science, research in theoretical physics, in which efforts had been made since before the war, bore fruit. In 1949 Yukawa Hideki's honor of being the first Japanese scholar to win a Nobel prize proved a great inspiration to the post-war Japanese. The war-devastated economy of Japan, too, gradually revived; taking 1935 as the basic year in production, the index for 1950 in mining and manufacturing advanced to 73% from the 1946 low of 24%.

While Japan was thus advancing apace on the road to rehabilitation, the world situation changed drastically. Even among the Allies, who had united their efforts in overthrowing Fascism there was so much diversity of opinion that "two opposing worlds" eventually sprang into existence. The year 1950 saw the outbreak of the Korean war. As a result the anticipated peace treaty between the Allied Powers and Japan had to be postponed till 1951, when it was at last signed at San Francisco by the representatives of 49 nations including the United States and Japan. A security Treaty was entered upon at the same time between the United States and Japan, and pursuant to this pact, the United States forces continued to be stationed in Japanese territory with several military bases maintained there.

With these changes in the world situation, the United States became alive to the necessity of altering her Japan policy. Soon after the beginning of the Korean war a police reserve force was set up in Japan. Furnished with weapons by the American forces and guided by

American military advisors, this police reserve force gradually strengthened its equipment and training. After repeated changes, it finally became the present Self-Defence Forces. Meanwhile, Japan's rearmament became a matter of deep concern in Japan and out of it. Whether Japan should or should not be rearmed led to heated controversy among the political circles in Japan. On one hand emphasis was laid on the clause in the new Constitution which prohibited the nation from keeping war potential, while on the other the fear was entertained that the new Constitution might serve to carry democratization too far. Hence, the argument in favor of a revision of the Constitution. Equally strong, however, is the argument that the Constitution should remain unamended.



Dr. Yukawa Hideki

Another thing that merits attention is the phenomenal development of nuclear weapons in the world. There is no comparison between the destructive power of the type of atomic bomb which devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, dreadful though it was, and that of the atomic and hydrogen bombs that have been evolved

since then. Today one shudders to think of the horrors likely to result from the use of such deadly weapons. Especially sensitive on this matter are the Japanese people who were the first to receive the terrific impact of a nuclear weapon. Little wonder, then, that they nurse a vehement desire to avert nuclear warfare and maintain peace in the world. The Japanese took the leadership in launching a drive to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons; they secured as many as 33,000,000 signatures at home from persons in support of this movement and, pushing the drive abroad, succeeded in obtaining the support of a total of 700 million persons.

The ardent desire of the Japanese for peace was and still is a desire common to all the rising nations of Asia and Africa, where nation after nation has attained its independence since the World War II. Among these nations are India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and the Philippines. In 1955 an Asian-African Conference was held at Bandung, represented by 29 countries, including Japan. The maintenance of world peace was an important item on the agenda of the conference. The communiqué given out at the conference contained a significant passage. A quotation from it runs as follows:

“The Asian-African Conference having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of global war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments, including nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, would be employed, invited the



A bird's-eye view of Marunouchi, the business center of Tōkyō, in 1958, showing the procession of large modern buildings which are changing the skyline of the huge metropolis

attention of all nations to the terrible consequences that would follow if such a war were to break out.

The Conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction."

The peace treaty at San Francisco lifted Japan from the frustration of the occupation and restored her to the family of nations. In 1956 Japan was admitted into the United Nations and was then appointed non-permanent member of the Security Council. She thus found herself in a position to share the responsibility

of making contributions to world peace and the welfare of mankind. It may be safely averred that the efforts that the Japanese nation had been putting forth to wipe out the unfortunate past born of her mistaken policies now became recognized by the other nations.

As has been set forth in the foregoing pages, Japan evolved several modes of culture having distinctive features in her history of nearly two thousand years. It is the cherished hope and aspiration of the Japanese people that they may contribute their share, in promoting the welfare of mankind by furthering social and economic development. They crave for and aspire toward a peaceful existence in a peaceful universe.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
476		Western Roman Empire comes to an end.
538	Buddhism introduced. (Kudara, a Korean kingdom, presents the emperor of Japan with Buddhist images, sutras and commentaries.)	
581		Sui dynasty founded.
593	Prince Shōtoku appointed regency.	
604	Constitution of Seventeen Articles promulgated.	
607	Hōryūji Temple erected. Mission sent to China.	
618		T'ang dynasty founded.
622		Hegira (Mohammedan Era) begins.
630	First Mission sent to T'ang court.	
645	Reform of Taika achieved. 'Taika,' the first era-name, announced.	
687-707	About this time Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro was at the zenith of his power as a poet.	
701	Taihō Ritsuryō completed.	
708	Wadō-Kaihō, oldest Japanese coins now existing, minted.	
710	Capital removed to Nara, and called Heijōkyō.	
712	Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) compiled.	

Christian era	Japan	Foreign countries
713	<i>Fudoki</i> (Geographical Records) compiled.	
718	Yōrō Ritsuryō completed. <i>Nihonshoki</i> (Chronicles of Japan) compiled.	
727	Mission comes from Bokkai. About this time Yamabe-no-Akahito flourishes.	
730	Three-storied pagoda of the Yakushiji Temple built.	
733	Death of Yamanoue-no-Okura (poet).	
741	Kokubunji and Kokubun-niji Temples erected in many provinces.	
729-760	About this time Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi (poet) flourishes.	
752	<i>Daibutsu</i> (Great image of Vairocana) in the Tōdaiji Temple cast.	
754	Priest Ganjin (Chien Chen) comes over from the T'ang court.	
794	Capital removed to Heian.	
800		Coronation of Charlemagne.
805	Priest Saichō (Dengyō Daishi) returns from China, and introduces the Tendai sect of Buddhism.	
806	Priest Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) returns from China, and introduces the Shingon sect of Buddhism.	
816	Kongōbuji Temple on Mt. Kōya erected.	
827		Unification of England under King Egbert.
847	Priest Ennin returns from China.	
858	Priest Enchin returns from China.	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
894	The custom of sending students to China abolished.	
905	<i>Kokin-wakashū</i> (an anthology) compiled.	
907		T'ang dynasty ends.
926		Kingdom of Bokkai is overthrown.
927	<i>Engishiki</i> (a collection in 50 volumes of the regulations concerning the ceremonies of the court, audiences of the officials, customs of the provinces, etc.) compiled.	
960		Sung dynasty founded.
962		Holy Roman Empire founded.
995	Fujiwara Michinaga holds the reins of government.	
1004-1011	About this time, Murasaki Shikibu writes the <i>Genji Monogatari</i> (Tale of Genji).	
1053	Hōō-dō (Phoenix Hall) of the Byōdō-in Temple at Uji erected.	
1086	<i>In-sei</i> (rule by cloistered emperors) inaugurated.	
1096		First Crusade.
1124	"Konjiki-dō" of the Chūsonji Temple erected.	
1167	Taira-no-Kiyomori appointed <i>daijō-daijin</i> (Prime Minister).	
1175	Jōdo sect of Buddhism founded by Priest Hōnen.	
1192	Minamoto-no-Yoritomo establishes the Kamakura Shogunate Government.	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1205	Hōjō Yoshitoki appointed <i>shikken</i> (regent of the shōgun).	Magna Carta promulgated.
1215		
1224	Priest Shinran founds the Jōdo-Shinshū sect of Buddhism.	
1227	Priest Dōgen introduces from China the Sōtō sect of Zen Buddhism. Katō Kagemasa returns from studying the art of pottery in China.	
1246	Hōjō Tokiyori appointed <i>shikken</i> .	
1253	Priest Nichiren founds the Hokke sect of Buddhism. Kenchōji Temple erected.	
1271		Kublai Khan changes the name of his dynasty to Yuan.
1274	First Mongolian invasion repulsed.	Marco Polo goes to China.
1275		
1281	Second Mongolian invasion repulsed.	
1282	Engakuji Temple erected at Kamakura.	Marco Polo returns to Italy. Death of Alighieri Dante.
1295		
1321		
1333	Kamakura Shogunate Government overthrown.	
1334	Restoration of Kemmu completed.	
1336	Emperor Godaigo retreats to Yoshino.	
1338	Ashikaga Shogunate Government founded.	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1368		Ming destroys Yuan.
1397	Kinkaku (Gold Pavilion) erected at Kyōto.	
1400		Death of Geoffrey Chaucer.
1457	Ōta Dōkan builds the Edo Castle.	
1469	Sesshū returns from China.	
1483	Ginkaku (Silver Pavilion) erected at Kyōto.	
1488	Ikkō Ikki (Revolt of Ikkō Believers) breaks out in Kaga.	
1492		Columbus discovers the West Indies.
1537		Portuguese settle at Macao Islet.
1540		Societas Jesu founded.
1543	A group of Portuguese adventurers comes to Tanegashima Island.	
1549	Francis Xavier introduces Christianity to Japan.	
1558		Coronation of Queen Elizabeth I.
1568	Oda Nobunaga goes up to the capital.	
1573	Ashikaga Shogunate Government overthrown.	
1579		Dutch Republic established.
1582	Messengers from three <i>daimyō</i> in Kyūshū visit Rome. Oda Nobunaga assassinated.	
1583	Toyotomi Hideyoshi builds the Ōsaka Castle.	Spanish Armada destroyed.

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1587	Hideyoshi appointed <i>kampaku</i> . Christianity put under ban.	
1590	Death of Kanō Eitoku.	
1594	Hideyoshi builds the Fushimi Castle.	
1598	Death of Hideyoshi.	
1600	William Adams comes to Japan. The Battle of Sekigahara fought.	British East India company founded.
1602		Dutch East India Company founded.
1603	Tokugawa Shogunate Government founded. About this year <i>kabuki</i> performance by Okuni rises in popularity.	
1605	Tokugawa Hidetada succeeds Ieyasu as <i>shōgun</i> .	
1609	Dutch merchants given permission to trade in Japan.	
1611	Chinese traders receive similar permission.	
1613	English traders receive similar permission. Date Masamune sends Hasekura Tsunenaga to Rome.	
1616	Death of Tokugawa Ieyasu	Death of William Shakespeare.
1620		"Mayflower" reaches America.
1623	English factories at Hirado closed.	
1634	Death of Kanō Sanraku.	
1635	The system of <i>sankin-kōtai</i> established.	
1636	Tōshōgū Shrine at Nikkō completed.	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1637	Shimabara Riot breaks out.	
1661		Ching dynasty founded.
1681	About this year Matsuo Bashō helps to elevate <i>haiku</i> to the dignity of literature.	
1682	Ihara Saikaku begins his stories describing various aspects of <i>chōnin</i> society.	
1684		Leibnitz invents the method of fluxions.
1707		Union of England, Wales and Scotland under the title of Great Britain.
1708	Death of Seki Takakazu.	
1716	Death of Ogata Kōrin.	
1727		Death of Isaac Newton.
1738	Kamo-no-Mabuchi urges the necessity of the study of Japanese classical literature.	
1769		Richard Arkwright invents the water frame spinning machine.
1774	Sugita Gempaku and Maeno Ryōtaku, with the assistance of their fellow physicians, complete the translation of a Dutch book on anatomy after four years' painstaking labor. The book represents the first achievement in the study of Western medical science in Japan.	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1776	Death of Ike-no-Taiga.	American Declaration of Independence.
1785		Steam-engines first used in industry.
1789		French Revolution breaks out. George Washington elected first president of the U.S.A.
1796	<i>Haruma Wage</i> (<i>Halma Wage</i>), a Dutch-Japanese dictionary, compiled.	
1798	Motoori Norinaga writes the <i>Kojiki-den</i> (a commentary on the <i>Kojiki</i>). Shizuki Tadao introduces the Copernican theory.	
1802	Jippensha Ikku writes the <i>Tōkaidō Hizakurige</i> .	
1804	Hirata Atsutane, a prominent scholar belonging to the <i>kokugaku-ha</i> school of philosophy, advocates his philosophy.	
1805	Death of Kitagawa Utamaro.	
1809	Shikitei Samba writes the <i>Ukiyoburo</i> .	
1814	Inō Tadataka completes the drawing of the map of Japan, after spending eighteen years in surveying the land. Takizawa Bakin begins to write the <i>Hakkenden</i> .	
1823	Dr. Philipp Franz von Siebold comes to Japan. Katsushika Hokusai paints the "Thirty-six Views of Fuji."	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1829	Ryūtei Tanehiko begins to write the <i>Inaka Genji</i> (and completes it in 1842.)	
1830		A railroad is completed between Liverpool and Manchester.
1832		Death of Johann Wolfgang Goethe.
1833	Andō Hiroshige paints the "Fifty-three Stages of Tōkaidō."	
1838		The <i>Great Western</i> , a ship of 1378 tons, startles the world by steaming from Bristol to New York in fifteen days.
1853	Commodore Perry comes to Japan.	
1854	Treaty of Amity concluded between Japan and U.S.A.	
1856	Townsend Harris opens the first American Consulate in Japan.	
1858	Treaty of Commerce concluded between Japan and U.S.A.	
1860	An envoy sent to U.S.A. by the Tokugawa Shogunate Government.	
1863		American Civil War ends.
1867	Emperor Meiji ascends the throne. Tokugawa Shogunate Government comes to an end.	The first volume of <i>Das Kapital</i> by Karl Marx published.
1868	Five-point Oath by Emperor Meiji proclaimed.	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1868	Edo renamed Tōkyō. Name of the era changed from Keiō to Meiji.	
1869	Tōkyō made the capital of Japan. Court nobles and the <i>daimyō</i> named <i>kazoku</i> (peers), and the warriors <i>shizoku</i> . Telegraphic communication opened for the first time in Japan—between Tōkyō and Yokohama. All the <i>daimyō</i> return their fiefs and vassals to the emperor.	
1871	Postal system initiated in Japan. The entire country divided into prefectures.	
1872	New educational system introduced. Railway service started between Tōkyō and Yokohama. First shipping company in Japan established. Solar Calendar officially adopted. First volume of the <i>Gakumon no Susume</i> by Fukuzawa Yukichi published.	
1873	Four National Banks founded.	
1875	Kurile Islands confirmed internationally as a Japanese possession.	
1877	Saigō Takamori takes up arms against the government. Dr. Erwin Bälz, a German physician, comes to Japan to teach in Tōkyō University. Rousseau's <i>Contrat social</i> translated.	
1882	Bank of Japan founded.	
1885	Cabinet System set up.	
1887	Electric lights installed for the first time in Japan—in Tōkyō. Water-works installed in Yokohama.	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1887	Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō, predecessor of the present Fine Arts Faculty of Tōkyō University of Arts, founded.	
1889	Imperial Constitution promulgated. Tōkaidō Railway Line opened to through traffic.	
1890	First session of the Imperial Diet convened.	
1894	Kuroda Seiki returns from France. Sino-Japanese War breaks out.	
1897	About this time the trade-union movement originates. Kitazato Shibasaburō and Shiga Kiyoshi discover the dysentery bacillus.	
1898	First party cabinet in Japan organized.	
1901	Takamine Jōkichi discovers adrenaline.	
1902	Anglo-Japanese Alliance formed. Kimura Hisashi discovers "Z term."	
1903	Tramway service started in Tōkyō.	
1904	Russo-Japanese War breaks out.	
1912	Death of Emperor Meiji.	Ching dynasty comes to an end.
1914	As an ally of Great Britain, Japan sided with the Allied Powers in World War I.	World War I breaks out.
1919	Japan represented at the Versailles Peace Conference.	World War I ended.
1925	Radio-broadcasting started. Universal Suffrage Law comes into force.	
1926	Nishida Kitarō develops his system of philosophy.	

<i>Christian era</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Foreign countries</i>
1933	Japan leaves the League of Nations.	World War II break out.
1937	Armed conflict begins between Japan and China.	
1939		
1940	Military alliance concluded by Japan, Germany and Italy.	
1941	Japan declares war upon Great Britain and the United States.	
1945	Many important cities air-raided. The Cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atom-bombed. Japan surrenders unconditionally to the Allied Powers.	
1946	Woman suffrage comes into existence. New Constitution promulgated.	
1947	Civil Code amended.	
1949	Yukawa Hideki receives a Nobel prize.	
1950	Police reserve force set up.	
1951	San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Security Treaty between Japan and the United States signed.	
1952	Occupation comes to an end.	
1955	Japan participates in the Asian-African Conference.	
1956	Diplomatic relations with Soviet Union restored. Japan admitted into the United Nations.	

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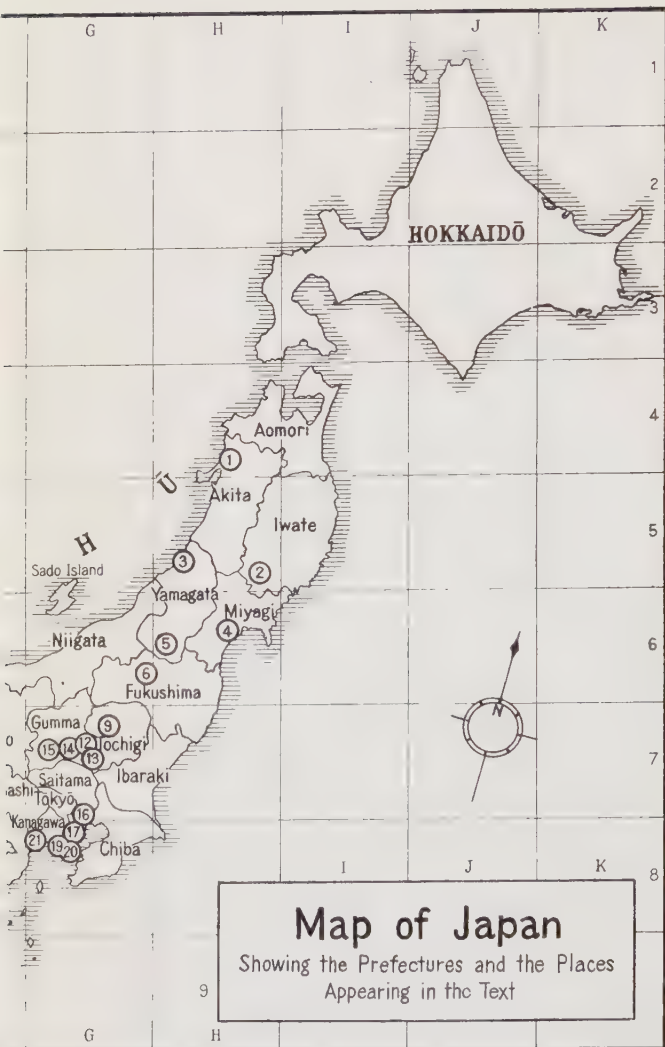
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