

(* Items marked with an asterisk are scheduled for future translation.)

Chapter 4 Asia and the Establishment of a Modern State

Investigating Regional History: War as Engraved on Stone Monuments*

PHOTO: The trial of the king of Britain. In 1649 Charles I was put on trial by Parliament and condemned to death as an enemy of Britain.

PHOTO: The Boston Tea Party. In 1773 a group of people dressed as Native Americans raided a British ship and threw crates of tea into the sea in a show of opposition against the British government.

1. The Modernization of Europe and the World

GUIDE TEXT: How did the modernization of Europe progress?

POPULAR REVOLUTIONS FUEL MODERNIZATION

The development of the bourgeoisie

The power of the aristocracy declined in European nations from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Power came to be concentrated in the hands of monarchs. When the development of new shipping routes made it possible to expand overseas trade, monarchs accorded special rights and protection to wealthy merchants and used the resulting revenue to support their political structures and armies. This type of powerful monarchy is known as an **absolute monarchy**. Monarchs ignored parliamentary bodies, levied oppressive taxes, and repeatedly waged war against other countries while restricting people's activities.

As dissatisfaction with absolute monarchy increased, citizen-oriented parliamentary forces in Britain opposed the king and mounted two revolutions.¹ In 1689 a declaration of the freedoms and rights of the people (**Bill of Rights**) was issued, marking the end of autocratic rule in Britain and the beginning of modernization.

In 1775 British colonies in North America launched the **American War of**

¹ The Puritan Revolution (1642–49) and the Glorious Revolution (1688–89).

Independence against Britain, and in 1783 they secured independence.² The United States Constitution was enacted, and Washington was chosen as the first US president. The **United States of America** was thus established with citizens holding sovereign power under a republican government.

PHOTO: The Bastille. In 1789 citizens of Paris attacked this symbol of oppression.

BOX: Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (paraphrased extracts)

Article I Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.

Article II The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

Article III The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation.

GUIDE TEXT: Think about how this era differed from earlier periods.

The spread of the Philosophy of the Enlightenment

The monarchy became very powerful in France during the reign of Louis XIV in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Absolute monarchy continued thereafter, generating increasing discontent among farmers, who struggled under oppressive taxation, and people in commerce and industry, who were prevented from conducting business freely. **Philosophers of the Enlightenment** appeared in the eighteenth century, criticizing government by monarchy and espousing a new form of government based on democracy. In *The Spirit of Laws*, Montesquieu called for the **separation of the three branches of government**: the legislative, judicial, and executive branches. Rousseau articulated *The Social Contract* and asserted that laws must be made by the people. Opposition to autocratic rule increased in these ways.

The French Revolution

In 1789, for the first time in 175 years, King Louis XVI convened an **Estates-General**³ for the purpose of reorganizing the nation's finances, which were in crisis. The people's representatives opposed the holding of an archaic

² In 1776 delegates from 13 states issued the Declaration of Independence, which stated that all people are equal and that sovereignty belongs to the people. Black slaves and Native Americans, however, were not considered to possess rights as human beings.

³ An assembly consisting of representatives of the three estates – the clergy, the nobility, and the common people.

Estates-General, however, and established a new national assembly, demanding that a constitution be enacted. When the king attempted to suppress the new assembly by force, the people of Paris rose up in arms and stormed the Bastille, igniting riots by citizens and farmers in various parts of the country. **The French Revolution** thus began.

The national assembly abolished the special rights that the clergy and aristocracy had enjoyed and issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in August 1789, which stated that all people are free and equal and that sovereignty rests with the people.⁴ A constitution was enacted in 1791, and the following year the monarchy was abolished.⁵ In this way France became a republic.

This type of revolution, in which the people overthrew autocratic rule and established a modern state, is called a **popular revolution**.

GUIDE TEXT: What kinds of citizens' rights were asserted in the various revolutions?

PHOTO: The first railroad. In 1825 a steam locomotive built by Stephenson of Britain traveled 21 kilometers at a speed of 15 miles (about 24 kilometers) per hour. This was the first time people and freight were transported by a steam locomotive.

GUIDE TEXT: How did the development of industry change society?

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION CHANGES SOCIETY

The growth of capitalism

In Britain, where a popular revolution had liberalized industrial activity, factory-based manual industry led to further increases in the production of wool. Overseas trade flourished. British merchants made huge profits in the **slave trade**, selling weapons and sundries in Africa and buying black people, whom they transported to the American continent. The factory operators were **capitalists** who used the capital they earned in this manner to hire workers, purchase raw materials, set up factories, and produce many types of goods in an effort to secure profits. This new type of economic mechanism became known as **capitalism**.

⁴ Women were not considered to have the right to vote.

⁵ The national assembly executed Louis XVI in 1793.

GUIDE TEXT: What type of power was invented in the Industrial Revolution?

PHOTO: Spinning machines. A spinning machine driven by a steam engine. Almost all the workers in the spinning factory were women.

The Industrial Revolution in Britain

In the eighteenth century increasing demand for cotton supplanted the demand for wool. Capitalists in Britain eagerly awaited mechanical improvements and inventions that would enable mass production, allowing them to turn out products rapidly, cheaply, and in mass quantities. A number of people who invented or made improvements to spinning and weaving machines emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century. As a result, it became possible to manufacture cotton goods using raw cotton imported from the United States, rather than cotton fabric imported from India, as a raw material. The **steam engine** improved by Watt was used to power the machinery.

In this way, factory-based manual industry gave way to factories employing machines, enabling goods to be produced in mass quantities. The invention of the steam locomotive and steamship resulted in a notable increase in transport capacity; iron manufacturing and other heavy industries began to appear. At the same time, great changes were taking place in people's lives and in the complexion of society. This transformation is known as the **Industrial Revolution**.

The number of laborers working in factories increased, and new industrial cities proliferated. Life was difficult for workers, however, and they formed labor unions and began demanding better working conditions.⁶

FIGURE: British and Indian cotton textiles.

PHOTO: Child labor. Young children exploited by their supervisors at a spinning factory; they were sometimes forced to work 19 hours a day (*Igirisu no kôjô dorei* [Factory slaves in Britain]).

PHOTO: Black people welcome Lincoln (1809–65) on a visit to the South after the American Civil War.

⁶ In 1848 Marx and Engels published the *Communist Manifesto*, asserting that workers in every nation should organize, reject capitalist-controlled society, and establish a society based on equality and socialism.

Western nations in the nineteenth century

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the intensification of popular movements that pursued the spirit of popular revolutions and seeking to establish democracy, as well as movements seeking ethnic independence or unification.

In Britain a movement primarily mounted by workers and devoted to achieving universal suffrage (**Chartist movement**) became active, reaching its peak in 1848.⁷

In 1848 the **February Revolution**, carried out mainly by capitalists operating small and medium-size businesses and by workers, took place in France and led to the establishment of the world's first system of **universal male suffrage**.

In 1861 conflict over slavery led to the outbreak of the **American Civil War** in the United States. The North, which sought to abolish slavery, emerged victorious. During the war President Lincoln issued a proclamation emancipating all slaves.

GUIDE TEXT: How did the Western nations advance into Asia and Africa?

WESTERN NATIONS ADVANCE INTO ASIA

FIGURE: The number of deaths caused by famine in India (estimates).
(From *Indo shi* [History of India], edited by Yamamoto Tatsurô)

PHOTO: Sepoy Rebellion. Sepoys fighting against British cavalry.

GUIDE TEXT: What was Britain seeking when it advanced into India?

GUIDE TEXT: How did the European countries' rule of Asia change Asia?

PHOTO: Lakshmi Bai (1835–58). Queen of a northern Indian kingdom, she fought at the head of the Sepoy Rebellion.

British rule in India

The Industrial Revolution, which started in Britain, spread to France, Germany, and America during the nineteenth century. As these countries were looking for cheap raw materials and markets for their products, they started to make Asia and Africa into **colonies**.

⁷ Universal male suffrage was not achieved in Britain until 1918.

Britain became able to manufacture products in huge quantities as a result of the Industrial Revolution. It sold these products, mainly through the East India Company, to the **Mogul Empire**, which ruled India. The Indian handicraft industry suffered a great blow as a result. Cotton textiles were particularly important exports for India, but within a very short time India became an importer of cotton textiles. Because wheat was exported to Britain there were frequent famines in India, and so the anti-British sentiment of the Indian people gradually increased.

In 1857, the Indian people's dissatisfaction with British rule erupted, sparked off by the **Sepoy⁸ Rebellion**. The rebellion spread among the peasants and other common people, covering two thirds of India. Britain, however, sent its troops and with repeated, brutal repression quashed the rebellion in two years. Following this, the British government overthrew the Mogul Empire and took over direct rule of India in place of the East India Company. The struggle brought home to the Indian people the strong desire for national independence.

Resistance by China and the Unequal Treaties

In China, the Qing dynasty of the Manchu (Manchurians), which had been established as the successor state to the Ming dynasty in the mid-seventeenth century, wielded power across all of China together with a wide area surrounding it. The Qing adopted a policy of national seclusion, opening only the port of Guangzhou and prohibiting Christianity. Britain secretly sold the Qing opium that it made Indian people produce, thus making a large profit.

The Qing strictly prohibited the sale of opium, which it also confiscated. Using this as an excuse, Britain started a war against the Qing (**the Opium Wars**). The Qing were defeated by Britain and in 1842 concluded the **Treaty of Nanjing**.⁹ After the Opium Wars, the peasants had to endure heavy taxes due to war reparations, in addition to heavy land rents. In 1851, the peasant Hong Xiuquan rose up in rebellion in the south of China, calling for the landowners' land to be divided up for free among the peasants. The peasants and other people struggling to survive joined the rebellion, and created the **Taiping Heavenly Kingdom** with Nanjing as its capital (1851). The Qing government, obtaining the help of Britain and other countries, overthrew the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1864).

⁸ The Indian soldiers employed by the East India Company were called "sepoys."

⁹ Under this treaty, the Qing ceded the island of Hong Kong to Britain, and was made to open up five ports. In addition, unequal provisions were added, such as the provisions that foreigners who committed crimes in China would not be tried there (extraterritoriality), and that China would not have the right to set its own tariffs on imported articles (tariff autonomy).

PHOTO: The Opium Wars. The sailing vessels of the Qing dynasty were soon blown up in a bombardment by British warships. The two masts visible to the right belong to a British warship.

FIGURE: Outflow of silver from China and amount of opium smuggled in. As opium was smuggled in, large quantities of silver left the country and the currency system was destabilized. (From *Sekai rekishi 21* [World history 21], Iwanami Kôza)

MAP: The area covered by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.

The major powers encroach on Asia

In addition to Britain, France and the Netherlands were also expanding their colonies. Russia expanded Siberia eastwards, reaching the shore of the Sea of Japan. America, which had reached the Pacific shore, was also waiting for an opportunity to advance into Asia.

GUIDE TEXT: How did the common people resist the advance of the Western nations?

MAP: The world in the latter half of the nineteenth century and Perry (1794–1858). At the time when the Western powers were competing over their advances into Asia, Perry led two steamships and two sailing vessels to Japan.

GUIDE TEXT: What did Perry come to Japan for?

2. The Opening of Japan

GUIDE TEXT: What developments were taking place in the world when Japan was opened?

JAPAN IS CAUGHT UP IN THE TIDE OF WORLD AFFAIRS

The black ships pressure Japan

In June 1853, four black ships appeared off the coast of Uraga, at the entrance to Edo Bay. These were American warships, led by **Commodore Perry**. He called first at the Ryûkyûs and the Ogasawara Islands, and after making preparations for occupation he came to Japan, which was still following a policy of national

isolation.

At that time America was trying to catch up with Britain, then the world's strongest country. America therefore wanted to step up its efforts for trade with China by making Japan a port of call and opening up a shipping route across the Pacific Ocean. Also, American whaling vessels were coming to the seas near Japan in search of whales.¹⁰ For this reason, America wanted Japan to give protection to the crews of American vessels in distress in the seas off Japan, and to provide fuel and provisions. Against this background, Perry handed a sovereign message from the president of the United States to the shogunate, calling for the opening of Japan.

The opening of the ports

The people were amazed to see the huge, black ships. Also, the shogunate was unsure how to answer to Perry's demands. So Perry once again sailed to Japan in January of the following year, and entering Edo Bay he pressed for an answer. The shogunate thus ultimately had no choice but to grant what America requested, and it concluded the **Treaty of Peace and Amity between the United States and the Empire of Japan** (the Kanagawa Treaty).

Under this treaty, American ships were allowed to call at the ports of Shimoda (Shizuoka Prefecture) and Hakodate (Hokkaidô), and Japan took its first step on the path to opening the country. The shogunate then signed the same sort of treaties with Britain, Russia, and the Netherlands.

PHOTO: Perry's procession lands at Yokohama to sign the treaty. Having sailed to Hong Kong, Perry set sail once again, leading seven warships back to Japan in January 1854 (two warships joined later), and threatened Japan with cannon fire. (Tokyo National Museum)

PHOTO: Perry's procession goes shopping. Picture drawn by a Hakodate merchant. After concluding the Treaty of Peace and Amity, Perry and his party visited Hakodate to inspect the opening of the port. (Hakodate City Library)

The Unequal Treaties

In 1856, American Consul General Harris, who came to Japan under the Treaty of Peace and Amity, persuaded the shogunate that it would be advantageous to conclude a commercial treaty with America before Britain and other countries

¹⁰ America took large numbers of whales in order to use the good quality oil from whales for lighting, so that production at spinning mills could continue throughout the night.

pressed for trade by force. The shogunate thus signed the **United States–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce** in 1858, taking a bold step toward fully opening the country.

Under the treaty, the five ports of Kanagawa (Yokohama), Hakodate, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyôgo (Kobe) were opened as trading ports. The shogunate continued by concluding similar treaties with the Netherlands, Russia, Britain, and France, and trade with foreign countries began. However, these treaties were the same sort of unequal treaties that China had concluded with the Western powers, in that they allowed consular jurisdiction¹¹ and gave no tariff autonomy.

Thus Japan cast off its national seclusion, which had lasted more than 200 years, and began to interact with the world over which the Western powers competed.

GUIDE TEXT: What sort of changes occurred within Japanese society as a result of the country's opening?

CRITICISM OF THE SHOGUNATE MOUNTS

PHOTO: The Sakuradamongai Incident. A picture drawn by a Mito warrior involved in the attack immediately after the incident. (Ibaraki Prefectural Library)

PHOTO: Foreigners walking through the town of Edo. The foreigners were accompanied by a large number of samurai, who guarded them. (Universiteit Leiden, Netherlands)

GUIDE TEXT: Why were the samurai guarding them?

GUIDE TEXT: How did the movement to expel the foreigners come about?

PHOTO: The remains of *odaiba*. After Perry left in 1853, the shogunate built square batteries, which were called “*odaiba*,” off the coast of Shinagawa to protect Edo Bay.

Domestic strife intensifies

Breaking all previous precedents, the shogunate reported Perry's visit to the

¹¹ The right for foreigners resident in Japan to be tried by the consul of their country under the laws of their country. Part of the right of extraterritoriality.

Imperial Court and solicited the opinions of the feudal lords and the shogun's retainers. This sparked off domestic strife, which spread throughout the country, over whether to open the country or to adopt the *jô-i* ("expel the barbarians") position of repelling foreign countries. In addition, there was also the problem of who was the heir to the shogun, and the conflict intensified.

In 1858 (Ansei 5), **Ii Naosuke**, who had become the Chief Councillor of the shogunate, signed a commercial treaty without obtaining the consent of the Imperial Court. He also unilaterally decided the shogun's successor and cracked down on the feudal lords, warriors, and court nobles in opposition (**the Ansei Purge**).¹² However, there was a strong backlash against this, and Ii was assassinated (the Sakuradamongai Incident), and the shogunate's monopoly over politics collapsed.

The "revere the emperor and expel the barbarians" movement

Joining the idea of repelling the foreigners with that of respect for the emperor, the *somnô jô-i* ("**revere the emperor, expel the barbarians**") movement spread among the lower-ranked samurai and patriotic citizens. There were many incidents in which foreigners were subjected to attack, and in 1862 there was an incident in the outskirts of Yokohama in which members of the Satsuma domain killed or injured members of a party of British people (the Richardson Affair). The following year, the Chôshû domain, attempting to repel foreigners, bombarded foreign ships passing through the Shimonoseki Strait with cannons.

PHOTO: The site of the Richardson Affair. Now Tsurumi Ward in Yokohama City. Members of the Satsuma domain assaulted with swords a party of British people who crossed in front of the feudal lord's procession, killing one person outright and injuring three others. (Yokohama Archives of History)

PHOTO: The Shimonoseki Batteries captured by a combined fleet of four nations. (Universiteit Leiden, Netherlands)

Battles with foreign nations

Britain bombarded Kagoshima in retaliation against the Satsuma domain. As a result of this war, the Satsuma domain realized it needed to modernize its forces, and made approaches to Britain. Meanwhile, a combined fleet of the four nations of Britain, France, America, and the Netherlands bombarded and captured the batteries at Shimonoseki in retaliation against the Chôshû domain, which made

¹² In 1859, eight people, including Yoshida Shôin from the Chôshû domain, were executed.

the Chôshû domain also aware of the might of the Western countries.

Around the same time, the shogunate sent its army to strike the Chôshû domain, which had adopted the *sonnô jôi* movement. The Chôshû domain obeyed the shogunate initially, but Takasugi Shinsaku, Kido Takayoshi, and others seized power within the domain and took the path of resisting the shogunate. Also, low-ranking samurai such as Saigô Takamori and Ôkubo Toshimichi took power within the Satsuma domain.

The Satsuma-Chôshû alliance

In 1866 the Satsuma and Chôshû domains formed the **Satsuma-Chôshû Alliance**, through the mediation of Sakamoto Ryôma¹³ from the Tosa domain and others, and the two domains pledged to join forces. Meanwhile, in order to force the Chôshû domain into obedience, the shogunate enlisted the help of the French and once again waged war on Chôshû. The various domains were strongly critical of this war, however, and dissatisfaction grew among the common people in different areas. The war thus ended in failure, and the weakness of the shogunate became clearer than ever.

PHOTO: Sakamoto Ryôma (1835–67).

GUIDE TEXT: During these times, what sort of life did the ordinary people lead?

PHOTO: The opening of the port of Yokohama draws crowds. This scene depicts conditions in 1860, the year after the port was opened (*Kanagawa Yokohama shinkaikô zu* [Newly opened port of Yokohama, Kanagawa], in the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History).

GUIDE TEXT: Why did prices jump?

FIGURE: Prices and wages at the end of the Edo period (*Nihon no rekishi 15: Kaikoku to tôbaku* [Japanese History 15: The Opening of Japan and the Fall of the Shogunate]).

GUIDE TEXT: How was the shogunate brought down?

¹³ He built an auxiliary naval force (Kaientai) and was engaged in marine transportation. He also gave thought to how the new country should be, but was assassinated in Kyoto by an opposing faction.

THE SHOGUNATE IS BROUGHT DOWN

The opening of Japan and the life of ordinary people

The year after the commercial treaties were concluded, trading began at Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate. Because the treaties prohibited foreigners from traveling inside Japan, Japanese merchants from various parts of the country gathered at the main port of Yokohama and transacted business with foreign merchants whose premises lined the **foreign settlement** there.¹⁴ Cotton, wool, weapons, and other manufactured products were imported; raw silk, tea, and other commodities were exported. The rate of exchange for gold and silver was advantageous to foreign countries, however, so a great deal of gold flowed out of Japan.

The opening of the ports caused prices to soar and threw the domestic economy into turmoil. As a result, life became very difficult for people in cities and for lower-class farmers and samurai. This intensified antagonism against the shogunate, which made the decision to end Japan's seclusion, and the merchants who were profiting from trade.

Social reform movements

Farmers in various parts of the country rose up in rebellion, and people in the cities rioted. More incidents of this sort occurred in 1866 (Keiô 2) than at any other time during the Edo period. In May of that year, as the shogunate prepared to wage war against the Chôshû domain for the second time, women demanding cheaper prices from rice sellers touched off riots in Osaka and surrounding areas.¹⁵ From the end of May through June people in Edo rioted as well, vandalizing rice shops, pawnshops, and other establishments.

Around the same time farmers staged violent riots in villages in the Kantô and Tôhoku regions. The people taking part in the riots demanded **social reforms (yonaoshi)**, claiming that their actions were devoted to help all suffering people.¹⁶ These actions by the people shook the foundations of the shogunate's rule.

¹⁴ The area where foreigners were permitted to reside and conduct business. The settlement was administered by the foreigners themselves. In addition to Yokohama, cities such as Nagasaki, Kobe, Osaka, and Edo (Tokyo) also had foreign settlements.

¹⁵ One person who was arrested reportedly claimed that the real culprit behind the disturbance was inside the castle (the shogun Iemochi was visiting Osaka Castle at the time).

¹⁶ The leaders of the riots and rebellions issued orders forbidding the appropriation of money and goods and compelling the participants to act in a disciplined manner.

PHOTO: Rioting in Edo. People suffering due to rising prices for rice vandalized a rice shop in 1866 (*Bakumatsu Edo shichû sôdôki* [Chronicle of riots in the city of Edo at the end of the Edo period], in the Tokyo National Museum).

PHOTO: The Boshin Civil War. The army of the new government defeats samurai loyal to the former shogunate in the Ueno district of Edo (*Boshinsensô no zu* [Illustrations of the Boshin Civil War], in the collection of the temple Entsu-ji).

The shogunate collapses

After the shogunate lost its war against the Chôshû domain, its power collapsed. At that point, Saigô Takamori and Ôkubo Toshimichi of the Satsuma domain, Kido Takayoshi of the Chôshû domain, and the court nobleman Iwakura Tomomi devised a plan to bring down the shogunate by force. In response, the shogun **Yoshinobu** proposed the **Return of Political Rule to the Emperor** (*taisei hôkan*), with the intention of continuing his rule under the auspices of the emperor.

Saigô and Iwakura, who held sway over the imperial court, ordered the **Restoration of Imperial Rule** (*ôsei fukko*) and declared the formation of a new government centering on the emperor. To deprive the Tokugawa clan of power, they ordered Yoshinobu to return all territory belonging to the clan. The shogunate's forces fiercely opposed this, and war between the army of the new government and the forces of the former shogunate raged for more than a year (**Boshin Civil War**).

GUIDE TEXT: What kind of government was envisioned by the people who declared the formation of the new government?

3. The Meiji Restoration and the Freedom and People's Rights Movement

THE BIRTH OF A NEW GOVERNMENT

The policies of the new government

The military of the new government, while suppressing the resistance of the former shogunate military, quickly made its political plans clear. In March 1868 (Meiji 1) the emperor pledged the **Charter Oath** before the gods, articulating such government policies as adopting a wide range of opinions and pursuing relations with foreign nations. Concerning the people, however, the government indicated

that it would continue the shogunate's prohibition of uprisings and Christianity¹⁷. In addition, moves to destroy Buddhist temples and statutes arose across the country as a result of the effort to make **Shinto** a state religion. Edo was renamed **Tokyo** by the government, and the capital was eventually established there. In addition, the era name was changed to Meiji, and the system for naming eras was changed so that one era would correspond to the rule of one emperor, thereby creating an emperor-centered structure.

These great political and social changes in which the shogunate collapsed and a new state was created are referred to as the **Meiji Restoration**.

PHOTO: Iwakura Mission. The photograph was taken in San Francisco. Told in Washington that they needed a plenipotentiary commission, Ôkubo and Itô returned to Japan to obtain one. Iwakura cut off his topknot while in Chicago.

GUIDE TEXT: Why did the mission travel to the West?

MAP: Route of the Iwakura Mission.

GUIDE TEXT: What kind of nation did the new government seek to build?

Charter Oath. (Original text in katakana script)

- An assembly shall be widely convoked, and all measures shall be decided by open discussion.
- High and low shall be of one mind, and the national economy and finances shall be greatly strengthened.
- Civil and military officials together, and the common people as well, shall all achieve their aspirations, and thus the people's minds shall not be made weary.
- Evil practices of the past shall be abandoned, and actions shall be based on international usage.
- Knowledge shall be sought all over the world, and the foundations of imperial rule shall be strengthened.

Prefectures in place of domains

Even after the formation of the new government, people continued to demand

¹⁷ Directives to the people were written on public bills and posted across the country. As there were five kinds, it was called the Five Public Notices. The ban on Christianity was lifted in 1873 (Meiji 6).

yonaoshi (social reforms) across the country. In the midst of this situation, in 1869 (Meiji 2) the government obliged the domain heads to return their domains (*han*) and the registers of the people living there (*seki*) to the emperor (*hanseki hôkan* [formal return of domain registers to Emperor Meiji]) in order to strengthen its authority. Then in 1871 the government simultaneously abolished all the domains and established urban prefectures and prefectures directly linked to the central government (**establishment of the prefectural system**). The domains did not put up any resistance, as they were struggling under heavy debts and their rule was being undermined by riots. The central government created a system of sending officials to the urban prefectures and prefectures to ensure that they all adhered to its policy.

PHOTO: The Iwakura Mission. This photograph was taken in San Francisco. The mission was told in Washington, D.C., that it needed to present a general power of attorney, and Ôkubo and Itô returned to Japan to collect the necessary documents. Iwakura cut off his topknot in Chicago.

GUIDE TEXT: Why did the mission go to Europe and the United States?

PHOTO: Japanese soldiers attack the gun batteries in the area around Kanghai Island. (*Meiji Taiheiki* [Meiji Great Peace Chronicle], in the collection of the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library.)

Learning from the West

The new government adopted a policy of actively interacting with Western nations; it sent out students overseas and employed numerous foreigners, and sought to modernize by learning from the West. In 1871, it dispatched a **mission** led by Iwakura Tomomi in order to revise the unequal treaties. Numerous central figures in the government—such as Ôkubo Toshimichi, Kido Takayoshi, and Itô Hirobumi—participated in this mission. Although the party did not succeed in revising any treaties, it was able to directly witness the politics, law, economy, and society of the West and afterwards utilized this experience in carrying out government policies.

GUIDE TEXT: Why did the new government seek to learn from the West?

Relations with China and Korea

In 1871 the government concluded a treaty of equality with China, entitled the

Sino-Japanese Amity Treaty. However, conflict flared between the two nations over possession of the Ryūkyū islands, and in 1874 Japan dispatched troops to Taiwan.¹⁸ The government then sent a military force to the Ryūkyū islands and claimed the territory for Japan as Okinawa Prefecture. In 1873 some in Japan were advocating that Japan should send a military force to Korea and attack it. The argument in favor of this was known as *Seikanron*. Japan subsequently provoked the **Kanghwa Incident**¹⁹ and used this as a pretext to pressurize Korea into concluding an unequal treaty (**Japan-Korea Amity Treaty**) with Japan, just like those that various Western countries had imposed on Japan.

THE GOVERNMENT AIMS TO “ENRICH THE COUNTRY, STRENGTHEN THE MILITARY”

Reform of the class system

The government reformed the class system: court nobles and daimyō became the peerage, samurai became former samurai, and farmers, craftsmen, and merchants became commoners²⁰. Commoners were allowed to adopt surnames; the freedom to choose one's occupation was recognized; and marriage between members of the peerage, former samurai, and commoners was permitted. In addition, the establishment of the Emancipation Edict led to the abolition of the *eta* and *hinin* classes, and these people were made commoners. In this way, all citizens became equal from an institutional perspective (**equality of citizens**); however, in reality class consciousness remained strong. In particular, those who had been discriminated in the past continued to suffer from a variety of discrimination, such as in employment and marriage.

National conscription

In its desire to make Japan a strong nation, the government pursued policies aiming to “**enrich the country, strengthen the military.**” It established the **conscription ordinance of 1873** (Meiji 6), giving citizens the obligation to carry out military service. When young men reached 20 years of age they underwent a conscription examination and entered the army for a period of three years. The people tried many different ways to avoid being drafted, so the government

¹⁸ When some inhabitants of the Ryūkyūs who had been driven ashore in Taiwan were murdered, Japan used this as a pretext for dispatching troops to Taiwan. Japan's intention was to impress upon China that the Ryūkyū islands belonged to Japan.

¹⁹ An incident in the vicinity of Kanghwa Island in which Japanese battleships engaged in various actions, such as conducting surveys, that were designed to provoke the Koreans to attack. As a result, the Korean army bombarded the battleships and the Japanese retaliated.

²⁰ There were 30 million commoners, compared to 3,000 members of the imperial family and the peerage and 2 million former samurai.

revised the conscription ordinance several times, finally introducing **national conscription** in 1889.²¹

Education for the people

The government believed that the foundation of its goal to “Enrich the country, strengthen the military” was in education. It therefore established the **Education Order of 1872** and sought to ensure that all children over the age of six received a school education. Elementary schools were built across the country, and education modeled after the West began. As a result, the people acquired new knowledge. But the burden of tuition and other costs fell on parents, some of who were troubled by children—contributors to family income—going off to school. Due to dissatisfaction with the education system, the enrollment rate did not rise readily.

PHOTO: Conscription examination. A memorial photograph from a conscription examination in April 1874. The individuals all have name tags and some even have topknots. At the time, people disliked conscription and complained: “Conscription and imprisonment is only different in name. A saber on the hips is like the chains of imprisonment.”

PHOTO: A class using hanging maps and charts. The children were seated on chairs and jointly received instruction in the same classroom, which was split into different time slots for various grades. (National Institute for Educational Policy Research of Japan)

GUIDE TEXT: What kind of policies did the new government carry out, and for what purposes?

The promotion of industry and land tax reform

The government carried out a policy called “**Raise production, nurture industry**” in order to develop capitalism by adopting Western technology and machinery. The government sought to mechanize such industries as silk reeling and spinning by building model factories and managing them directly. In addition, it developed mines, laid railroads, spread postal and telegraph systems across the country, and created a new currency and banking system. A large amount of national expenditures was poured into these projects. The government offered special

²¹ At first, those exempt from conscription included the head of a household and his heir, public officials, and those who paid a certain sum of money. Under the revisions, the exemptions were no longer recognized.

protection to a handful of merchants such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi, and sold them mines and factories on favorable terms from the 1880s.

Spending to enrich the country and strengthen the military weighed heavily on the peasants' shoulders. The government carried out the **Land Tax Reform** throughout the country between 1873 and around 1880 to create a tax system to replace the annual tribute system of the Edo Period²². It adopted a system in which it surveyed the area and crop yields of lands to determine land values and collected three percent of this land value as a land tax. As a result, the government's revenues stabilized.

PHOTO: The Tomioka Silk Mill in Gunma Prefecture. A model factory directly managed by the government and put into operation in 1872. It introduced the use of French technology. This factory is still preserved today.

GUIDE TEXT: What sort of people were working in this factory?

FIGURE: One yen note (issued in 1872). One *ryô*, which had been used until then, was made into one yen. One-hundredth of one yen was made into one *sen*, and a tenth of one *sen* into one *rin*.

FIGURE: A land deed. These certificates, which recognized land ownership, were issued as part of the Land Tax Reform of 1873–1881. This particular one was issued in 1879. Take note that the land tax rate had become 2.5 percent.

GUIDE TEXT: How did the people react to these reforms?

THE MOVEMENT TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The new government provokes discontent and opposition

The government pushed forward successive reforms with no thought for the situation of the people. The dissatisfaction of the people therefore mounted, and rioting on a large scale broke out across the country.²³ The former samurai, who had lost various special privileges, were also greatly dissatisfied with the

²² As a result of the abolition of domains and establishment of prefectures, all annual tributes came to the government, but over a third of this was paid out to the former samurai in the form of stipends consisting of rice and money. The government therefore hastened to abolish the stipends.

²³ Fierce rioting broke out in 1876 in opposition to the imposition of the land tax, and so in January the following year the government lowered the land tax rate from 3% to 2.5%.

government and broke out in rebellion.²⁴ However, the government defeated Saigô Takamori and others in the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877 (Meiji 10), and former samurai thus came to realize that it was not possible to resist the government by force.

MAP: The spread of a signature drive demanding the opening of a national assembly (Emura Êichi, *Jiyû minken kakumei no kenkyû* [Studies of the Freedom and People's Rights Revolution]).

Demands for a national assembly

Meanwhile, Itagaki Taisuke and his followers delivered a written statement to the government criticizing the way the government was monopolized by a few officials and demanding the opening of a national assembly. The **Freedom and People's Rights Movement**, which espoused the liberty and democracy of the West and aimed to reform Japan, developed over the ensuing 15 years.

After the Satsuma Rebellion, Itagaki Taisuke and his followers believed that the only way to attack the tyrannical government was through the power of the word, and they spread their ideas through speeches and newspaper articles. The idea that people naturally had the right to speak out about the government since they paid taxes caught on among the peasants. Across the country, members of the former samurai class and wealthy farmers joined the movement while forming associations to promote it and carrying out study meetings and other activities. Journalists writing in newspapers and magazines also spread the ideas of liberty and people's rights. The movement to open a national assembly was linked with the wish of the rural population for lighter land taxes and the wish of the people for revisions of the unequal treaties, and spread across the whole country.

PHOTO: Petition representing Nagano Prefecture for the opening of a national assembly. The petition represents 21,535 people. Altogether 140 petitions from around the country demanding the opening of a national assembly were submitted, with a total of 320,000 signatories. (Hotaka Town, Nagano Prefecture)

PHOTO: Itagaki Taisuke (1837–1919). Itagaki was from the Tosa domain and played a part in the Boshin Civil War. He came to play a leading role in the new

²⁴ Former samurai were forbidden to carry swords under the *haitôrei* [edict prohibiting the wearing of swords], and the payments in rice and money they had been receiving were terminated and changed into government deeds.

government, but left the government over *Seikanron* (debate over whether Japan should send a punitive expedition to Korea).

MAP: The spread of the movement for signatures demanding the opening of a national assembly. (Emura Eiichi, *Jiyûminken kakumei no kenkyû* [Studies of the freedom and people's rights revolution])

GUIDE TEXT: How did the Freedom and People's Rights Movement gain momentum?

PHOTO: The draft Itsukaichi Constitution. This was discovered in an earthen-walled storehouse in Nishitama, Tokyo (photo above). It was developed from study and discussions among young people.

The draft Itsukaichi Constitution (extract)

Every Japanese person shall have the right to liberty, and shall not have this liberty denied by any other, and the law of the nation shall guarantee this.

(People's rights)

There shall be freedom in the subjects and the classes taught in the education of children. However, parents shall not avoid their responsibility for the elementary education of children. (Freedom of education)

The main principles of prefectural ordinances shall be stipulated by special national laws. As the autonomy of the prefectures comes from the customs and manners of each region, these shall in no way be interfered with or inhibited. The national assembly shall not encroach upon the area of authority of the prefectural ordinances. (Local autonomy)

PHOTO: Kishida Toshiko (1863–1901) calls for freedom and people's rights. Kishida called for gender equality. Her surname changed to Nakajima after she married. She later became a teacher at Ferris Girls' School in Yokohama. (Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko, University of Tokyo)

GUIDE TEXT: What aspirations were contained in the draft constitutions?

The growth of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement

The movement finally gained momentum, and in 1880 it merged into a body (the **League for Establishing a National Assembly**) demanding that the government open a national assembly. Over 300,000 signatures were collected from across the

entire country, and representatives of each region pressed the government to open a national assembly. However, the government did not accept these demands, but instead strengthened its repression.²⁵ The people involved in the movement therefore tried to strengthen their hand by entering into preparations for the creation of political parties. They also started to draw up draft constitutions themselves, in an attempt to create a country in which freedom and rights were guaranteed.

Studying democracy

The Freedom and People's Rights Movement was supported by the ideas of democracy that were born of the people's revolutions in Britain and France. Nakae Chômin spread Rousseau's ideals of democracy, and became known as the "Rousseau of the East." Ueki Emori impressed on the people that freedom and people's rights were their greatest treasure, and he created a draft constitution that aimed to protect the people's rights and freedom. The idea of gender equality was also born of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, and women like Kageyama Hideko also joined the movement. In towns and villages across the country, people held speech and study meetings, read newspapers and books, and talked with each other about what they should do about the country.

GUIDE TEXT: What did the people who were working to further the Freedom and People's Rights Movement want to do with Japan?

THE GROWING CLAMOR FOR FREEDOM AND RIGHTS

The promise of a national assembly

In 1881 (Meiji 14) a split developed within the government over whether to adopt a parliamentary cabinet system like that of Britain, or a system like that of Prussia,²⁶ in which the monarch held powerful authority. Just at that time, the government decided to dispose of its factories and mines in Hokkaidô, into which it had poured vast sums of money, by selling them off cheaply to a big merchant from the Satsuma domain. The people were furious when they heard about this, and the demands for a national assembly grew greater than ever. In order to quell this movement, therefore, the government cancelled the sale and promised to

²⁵ The government clamped down by having speech meetings watched by the police, and the meetings were dispersed if they were judged unsuitable. Also, the only speech meetings allowed were those for which permission had been applied for and received in advance.

²⁶ The movement for German unity was advanced mainly by the northeastern kingdom of Prussia, and in 1871 the German Empire was formed with the king of Prussia as its emperor. The constitution of the kingdom gave great authority to the king.

open a national assembly in 1890, roughly 10 years later (**imperial rescript sanctioning the establishment of a national assembly**). However, this stated that the emperor would decide the form of the assembly and suppressed speech by the people regarding a constitution.

The birth of political parties

Around the time the government decided to open a national assembly, the people working to further the Freedom and People's Rights Movement created political parties. The first of these was the **Liberal Party**, which was influenced by France. It attracted many people who believed that the power to rule the country (sovereign power) lay with the people, and they chose Itagaki Taisuke as party president. Then the **Constitutional Reform Party** was created with Ôkuma Shigenobu as its president, and this party commenced activities aiming for a parliamentary government like Britain's. The parties criticized the government through newspapers and speech meetings and put forward their ideas to the people. They also questioned prefectural officials at prefectural assemblies²⁷ around the country.

PHOTO: Cartoon showing the formation of political parties gathering momentum (*Marumaru chinbun*, October 8, 1881).

The swordsmith Itaya Kakisuke (Itagaki Taisuke) hones a sword (political party) engraved with the word "solidarity." "I'll never make it in time with this blunt old sword with the steel all cut up," he is saying. Behind him hang swords engraved "Radical sword" and "Liberal sword."

GUIDE TEXT: Why did people try to form political parties?

GUIDE TEXT: What happened to the Freedom and People's Rights Movement after the pledge was made to open a national assembly?

Opposition and oppression

In response to these developments, the government strengthened its clampdown. In 1882, the prefectural authorities in Fukushima Prefecture tried to force farmers to carry out roadwork, but members of the Liberal Party and farmers formed a resistance movement. This was suppressed by the government and the prefectural

²⁷ The government decided to open assemblies in each prefecture in 1878. The freedom and people's rights force advanced by using these prefectural assemblies as a foothold.

authorities (the **Fukushima Incident**²⁸).

From around 1883 onwards, an economic depression spread across the whole country as a result of the government's fiscal policies, and the prices of silk cocoons and rice fell. The government also implemented a tax hike. As a result, an increasing number of farmers lost their land because they couldn't repay their debts. This gave rise to a movement among some sections of the Liberal Party to topple the government by force. The people at the heart of the Liberal Party lost control of the party members, and using government oppression and the party's economic difficulties as a pretext, they dissolved the party.

MAP: The distribution of the Liberal party, and major incidents around the country.

FIGURE: Total production and exports of raw silk. (From *Nihon no rekishi 17: Nihon kindai no shuppatsu* [Japanese history vol. 17: the departure toward modernization])

PHOTO: Tashiro Eisuke (1834–85). One of the leaders in the Chichibu Incident.

PHOTO: Memorial to the Chichibu Incident. This was erected to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Chichibu Incident. (Yoshida Town, Saitama Prefecture)

GUIDE TEXT: Into what type of country was the government, which oppressed the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, trying to turn Japan?

The Chichibu Incident

The farmers of the Chichibu district of Saitama Prefecture, who were beset by falling prices for silkworm cocoons and by debt, formed an organization called the Konmintô [Poor People's Party]. They pursued negotiations with usurers and the police, but were not paid any heed. In desperation, the farmers formed their own peasant army with former members of the Liberal Party immediately after the party broke up with the aim of bringing about freedom and autonomy themselves. The farmers took control of the entire Chichibu district for a time, but were overpowered by an army dispatched by the government²⁹ (1884).

²⁸ Several thousand farmers descended on the police station and clashed with the police. The police arrested many liberal party members and farmers, and nearly 60 people were sent to court in Tokyo charged with political offenses.

²⁹ Over 4,000 people were found guilty, and seven received the death sentence.

PHOTO: Tashiro Eisuke (1834–1885). One of the leaders of the Chichibu Incident.

FIGURE: Total production and exports of raw silk (*Nihon no rekishi 17: Nihon kindai no shuppatsu* [Japanese History 17: Japan's Departure as a Modern Nation]).

GUIDE TEXT: What sort of country was the government, which cracked down on the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, trying to turn Japan into?

THE GOVERNMENT ENACTS THE IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION

The drafting of the constitution

While the government was breaking up the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, it was also preparing to draft a constitution. In order to establish a system centered on the emperor, Itô Hirobumi went to Europe where he studied the constitutions of Prussia, where the monarchy exerted great authority, and other countries.

After Itô returned to Japan, the government created a succession of new systems in preparation for the establishment of a national assembly. First, a *kazoku* (nobility) system was put into place³⁰ in preparation for the creation of the House of Peers to counterbalance the House of Representatives. The **cabinet system** was established next, and Itô became Japan's first prime minister.

GUIDE TEXT: Was the Constitution of the Empire of Japan what the people had been hoping for?

The Constitution of the Empire of Japan

The government began drafting a constitution in secret, with Itô playing a leading role. In 1889 (Meiji 22) the **Constitution of the Empire of Japan** was promulgated and formally presented by the emperor to his subjects. Japan thus took shape as a modern nation. However, the constitution vested supreme authority in the emperor, and it regarded the **Imperial Diet** (national assembly), the cabinet, and the courts of law as subservient to the emperor. It also made the emperor the leader and commander of the army. The constitution put the emperor at the center of everything and recognized only limited freedom and rights for the people. According to the constitution, when the government decided a budget or laws it would normally have to obtain the consent of the national assembly. Although

³⁰ In addition to court nobles and former domain lords, *kazoku* included powerful politicians and military personnel. *Kazoku* members were responsible for protecting the imperial system.

there were various restrictions, through the national assembly the people had a means of participating in national government.

The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (the original is in katakana script)

Article 1: The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

Article 3: The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article 4: The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

Article 8: The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial Ordinances in the place of law. [...]

Article 13: The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

PHOTO: Picture of the ceremony for the promulgation of the constitution. The constitution was promulgated in the form of being passed down from the emperor to the prime minister. The promulgation was celebrated without the people being aware of the contents of the constitution. (Meiji Memorial Picture Gallery, Tokyo)

GUIDE TEXT: What did the constitution stipulate regarding the emperor?

GUIDE TEXT: Was the Constitution of the Empire of Japan what the people had been hoping for?

PHOTO: Itô Hirobumi (1841–1909).

The Diet convenes

The first House of Representatives election was held in 1890.³¹ The right to vote was limited to males aged of 25 or over who paid 15 yen³² or more in direct taxes (land or income tax).³³ For this reason, those eligible to vote were mostly landowners or powerful farmers, accounting for no more than 1.1% of the population. Nonetheless, many people who originated from the freedom and

³¹ Elections were not held in Hokkaidô until 1904, and Okinawa until 1912.

³² At the time, one yen could purchase 15–20 kilograms of white rice or 20 loaves of bread. The starting salary for an elementary school teacher was about five yen a month.

³³ Not only was women's right to vote or to stand for election not recognized, women were prohibited from attending political assemblies.

people's rights factions won seats, and in the Diet were referred to as the **people's parties**.

The people's parties called for reductions in land taxes and opposed the budget of the government, which was trying to prepare for war. In response, the government used various methods to attempt to split the people's parties.

BOX: *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor*, Erwin Bälz

February 9 (Tokyo)

There is indescribable excitement across the whole city of Tokyo because of the preparations for the promulgation of the constitution on February 11. Everywhere there are plans for celebratory arches, illuminations, and processions. However, the ridiculous thing is that no one knows what is in the constitution.

February 11 (Tokyo)

The constitution was promulgated today. [...] I have never seen so many beautiful maidens in Tokyo as today. They are so fresh and healthful, their kimonos so elegant, their bearing so gentle and modest. Everywhere the *dashi*—carts pulled through the streets by people or by oxen during religious festivals—are out on the streets.

The German doctor Erwin Bälz came to Japan in 1876, at the age of 27, as a professor of internal medicine at Tokyo Medical School (the present-day Faculty of Medicine at the University of Tokyo), and he worked to improve medicine in Japan.

GUIDE TEXT: How did the government, which consolidated Japan's internal structure, interact with other countries?

The Imperial Rescript on Education

Through the constitution, the government created a system centered on the emperor. In 1890 it promulgated the **Imperial Rescript on Education**, stipulating the basis for moral conduct. The government distributed this rescript to schools across the country, and by having it read out at ceremonies tried to instill in people the ideas of **loyalty and patriotism**.³⁴

The imperial estate

In order to ensure the stability of the emperor's position, the government

³⁴ This meant loyalty to the emperor.

incorporated national forests and other assets into the imperial estate and allowed the emperor to use them without being constrained by the Diet. After this, mountain forests and uncultivated land were successively added to the imperial estate so that the imperial family became the biggest landowner in Japan, as well as being a major holder of bank and corporate shares.

PHOTO: Reading the Imperial Rescript on Education. Teachers and students gathered at school on designated holidays, and ceremonies were held in front of the pictures of the emperor and empress. Teachers and students listened to the reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education and were required to sing the *Kimigayo* and other songs. (*Fûzoku gahô*, January 20, 1901, issue, in the collection of the University of Tokyo Faculty of Law, Meiji Shimbun Zasshi Bunko)

GUIDE TEXT: Having consolidated domestic institutions, how did the government relate to other countries of the world?

Going Deeper with Your Studies: Cries of Freedom

Learn more here about the “Demands for a national assembly.”

PHOTO: Freedom flag. Approximately 2.2 meters high by 2.9 meters across, made of silk cotton. Flown at gatherings during the Meiji 20s. The characters on the left, which read *Nakasuji Kujû*, refer to a place name (Nakamura City, Kôchi Prefecture).

PHOTO: “Freedom” marbles. (Library of Kôchi City)

PHOTO: *Kuruma ningyô* (cart puppet) costume preserved in Hachiôji City. Made by Akiyama Kunisaburô, an activist in the people’s rights movement. The characters for “freedom” are embroidered in gold thread into the hem, and the idea of people’s rights was spread using the puppet theater.

PHOTO: Wood carrying box from the *Jiyûtei* (Freedom Tavern). This box is said to have been used to deliver lunchboxes for people’s rights gatherings at the Tatsumi-ya Inn in Shimo-ogino Village (present-day Atsugi City), Kanagawa Prefecture.

A folksong about freedom, which was popular during the time of the Freedom

and People's Rights Movement, went like this:

Freedom, freedom, humans are free
Free to go, free to stop,
Free to eat, free to live.
The mind thinks, the mouth speaks,
The body moves, the legs run,
Seeing, hearing, everyone free,
It is our right to make these free.
Everyone has the right to freedom.
Be proud of your rights, people of the nation,
For freedom is the gift of heaven.

The *Jiyûtô-shi* (History of the Liberal Party) records that at this time the whole of Japan competed to use the two characters for *freedom*, a word that people loved as much as any treasure. The word was used not just in the political arena but also in a variety of settings: bathhouses were called "freedom baths" (pronounced *jiyûtô*, the same pronunciation as the *Jiyûtô* [Liberal Party]), candies became "freedom sugar" (also pronounced *jiyûtô*), medicines came in "freedom pills," and eating places were named "freedom taverns."

The newspapers of the time reported that in Kôchi Prefecture, recently-born boys were often given names like Jiyûtârô, Jiyûkichi, or Jichinosuke, while many girls received names such as O-Jiyû or O-Jichi (*Chôya Shimbun*, July 22, 1882), while in Takaoka, Toyama Prefecture, a cake shop started selling "freedom steamed bean-jam buns" (*Chôya Shimbun*, April 28, 1882).

The word "freedom" was very popular at the time.

GUIDE TEXT: Think about these events. Find out more about them.

1. Think about what sort of meaning this word had for the people.
2. Find out about the activities of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement in your region.

Going Deeper with Your Studies: The North and South of Japan: The Ainu and the Ryûkyûs

Learn more here about "Prefectures in place of domains."

During the Edo period, modern-day Hokkaidô was known as Ezochi and was

home to the Ainu people. However, in 1869 (Meiji 2) the Meiji government changed the name of Ezochi to Hokkaidô and sent unemployed former samurai and others there and encouraged them to settle in the region. The Ainu were integrated into the registers of Japanese people, and made to change their names and language to fit Japanese norms. They were referred to as *kyûdojin* (former aborigines) and prohibited from practicing their previous customs. The Ainu lived by fishing and hunting, and as their lands were lost to development they no longer had the places they needed for their way of life. Ainu culture was destroyed, and discrimination against the Ainu developed among the people who had migrated from mainland Japan.

Meanwhile, until the start of the Meiji period there had been an independent kingdom called Ryûkyû to the south of Japan, but in 1872 the new government established Ryûkyû as a domain and turned it into part of Japan. In 1879 it became Okinawa Prefecture and was fully incorporated into Japan. As a result, the culture and language that had been passed down in Okinawa were suppressed, and discrimination against the Okinawan people emerged among people from mainland Japan.

As a response to this, from the end of the Russo-Japanese War through the Taishô era a movement to reevaluate Ainu and Okinawan culture began to sprout. Studies of Ainu *yûkara* epic poems and the Ainu language were encouraged, while in Okinawa Iha Fuyû studied Okinawa's culture and language, coming to be known as the father of Okinawan studies.

In the 1920s, Ainu poet Iboshi Hokuto expressed his feelings in the following way.

Have you seen the people who have walked in grief since the opening of the treasure trove of Hokkai, and are now perishing? The open fields have become a *kotan* (where the Ainu live), the *kotan* have become villages for the *Shamo* (Japanese people), and villages have become towns. The Ainu can no longer live there, being imprisoned under the veil of protection, having lost their free lands, and having become obedient slaves through necessity. (From *Kotan*)

PHOTO: Picture scroll of Ainu customs. It depicts the way of life of the Ainu, who lived at one with nature. (Hakodate City Central Library)

PHOTO: Iboshi Hokuto (1902–1929). Iboshi devoted himself to the study of Ainu culture and to the ethnic movement.

GUIDE TEXT: Think about these events. Find out more about them.

Find out how the position of the Ainu and of Okinawa changed with the coming of the modern era.

PHOTO: Okinawan dance. Efforts to reevaluate Okinawan culture have grown very active in recent years.

PHOTO: Iha Fuyû (1876–1947). Scholar of Okinawan linguistics, history, folklore, and literature.

4. The Invasion of Korea and the Industrial Revolution

JAPAN AND CHINA GO TO WAR

MAP: Routes of the Japanese forces. A military force set sail from Ujina harbor in Hiroshima, the Imperial General Headquarters (where the emperor issued his orders) was moved to Hiroshima, and the Imperial Diet convened in Hiroshima.

GUIDE TEXT: Why did Japan fight against the Qing?

The problem of Unequal Treaty revision

The Japanese government had repeatedly negotiated unsuccessfully with the Western nations for a revision of the Unequal Treaties ever since it had sent a mission to the West. The people who were supporters of freedom and civil rights criticized the government's secret diplomacy and harshly attacked the government for being spineless. In these circumstances, the government enacted various laws and renewed negotiations with Britain.

Britain considered using Japan to counter Russia's advance into East Asia, and hence signed the Anglo-Japan Trade and Naval Treaty in 1894 (Meiji 27).³⁵ This treaty abolished extraterritoriality, among other things. Japan later succeeded in revising its Unequal Treaties with the other Western countries, but fully equal treaties, which included Japan's autonomy over its customs, were only realized in 1911.

Hostility involving Korea

³⁵ After signing the treaty, the British Foreign Minister said that "this treaty has far more value for Japan than its victory over the great armies of the Qing nation."

After forcing an unequal treaty on Korea, Japan made use of the favorable terms of the treaty to gradually extend its influence in Korea. Opposition to Japan's ambitions mounted in Korea. Taking advantage of divisions within the Korean court, Japan formed an alliance with those forces that were looking to Japan for support. However, Japan failed in its attempt to eliminate Chinese influence, and hostility between Japan and China intensified.

In 1894 Korean discontent with the government and with the incursions by Japan and the Western powers boiled over, and a revolt took place, led by peasants who were adherents of Tonghak³⁶ (the **Kôgo Peasant War**). Demanding political reform and the expulsion of foreign influence, the peasant army defeated the government army in all parts of Korea. The Korean government appealed to China for help in suppressing this rebellion, and Japan, which had been preparing for war with China, immediately dispatched troops to Korea.

The Sino-Japanese War

By the time that Japan and China sent their troops, the peasant army and the Korean government had already reached a ceasefire. However, Japan presented the Korean government with a reform proposal that would enable Japanese military forces to remain in Korea. Displeased with the negative response that it received, Japan occupied Korea's royal palace. After attacking the Chinese navy, Japan then issued a declaration of war and started the **Sino-Japanese War**.

The war lasted for eight months and ended in victory for Japan. In 1895 a peace treaty was concluded in Shimonoseki. Under the **Treaty of Shimonoseki**, China recognized Korea's independence, ceded Taiwan and the Liaodong Peninsula to Japan, and was forced to pay an enormous sum in war reparations. However, Russia, which had its own ambitions in Manchuria (northeastern China), joined with France and Germany to demand that Japan return the Liaodong Peninsula to China, and Japan acceded to this demand (the **Tripartite Intervention**).

After the Sino-Japanese War, an independence movement sprang up in Taiwan, which was now a Japanese territory. However, Japan dispatched troops, suppressed the movement, and ruled Taiwan as a colony. In Korea Japanese envoys assassinated the Korean queen but failed to establish a Japan-friendly government.

³⁶ A religion that sprang up in the 1860s, which opposed Christianity (Western learning) and advocated human equality. Despite the Korean government's efforts to suppress it, it became popular among peasants.

PHOTO: The Battle of Pyongyang. The Japanese army engaged in an all-out offensive against the Chinese army. (*Graphic*)

PHOTO: Playing at war. The war also influenced children's games. Japan would always be victorious and China would always be defeated. (*Fûzoku Gahô*)

FIGURE: How the war reparations were used. (*Kindai Nihon keizaishi yoran* [Guide to modern Japanese economic history])

PHOTO: Queen Min (1851–95). The consort of Korea's king. For a time she held political power.

GUIDE TEXT: How did Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War influence world developments?

JAPAN AND RUSSIA GO TO WAR

PHOTO: Officers and men of the eight-nation coalition army. Japan sent 22,000 troops, who played a leading role in the coalition force.

GUIDE TEXT: Why did Japan send such a large force?

GUIDE TEXT: What kind of war was the Russo-Japanese War?

The imperialist world

The rapid rise of capitalism at the end of the nineteenth century prompted Western countries to strengthen their military power, in order to protect the activities and interests of large companies. These nations encroached on Asia and Africa and expanded their colonies, coming into conflict with one another in the process. These moves are referred to **imperialism**.

In East Asia the major powers began to make incursions into China as a result of China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. In response to this, in 1899 a popular uprising led by the Boxers³⁷ broke out in Shandong province. The following year the Boxers' struggle spread throughout northern China and the foreign legations in Beijing were surrounded (the **Boxer Rebellion**). In response

³⁷ Peasants in all regions formed defense organizations to oppose incursions by the major powers and the spread of the influence of Christianity. Their preference for the study of various martial arts caused them to be known as the "Boxers."

to this, eight countries assembled a military force, consisting principally of Japanese and Russian troops, which attacked and occupied Beijing.³⁸ As a consequence, China (which had already paid an enormous sum in war reparations) was obliged to allow foreign military forces to be garrisoned in Beijing. Japan too sought to increase its influence in China once more.

PHOTO: The Boxers. ("The Boxers' victory in the great people's war at Shichikurin, Tianjin," in the collection of Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library)

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance

Even after the Boxer Rebellion, Russia maintained its troops in Manchuria and sought to increase its sway over Korea. Since Japan was aiming to control Korea, the antagonism between Japan and Russia intensified. Negotiations were conducted between Japan and Russia with a view to placing Manchuria under Russian rule and Korea under Japanese rule; however, agreement could not be reached. At the same time, Great Britain was seeking to form an alliance of nations to resist Russia's expansion into East Asia. Thus, in 1902 the **Anglo-Japanese Alliance** was concluded, under which Great Britain recognized Japan's right to protect its interests in China and Korea, and Japan recognized Great Britain's right to protect its interests in China. The signing of this agreement only served to heighten the antagonism between Japan and Russia.

The Russo-Japanese War

As war loomed, Japan intensified its military preparations and many newspapers and magazines advocated declaring war on Russia. In the other corner, people such as the Christian Uchimura Kanzô and the socialists Sakai Toshihiko and Kôtoku Shûsui spoke out in opposition to war. Finally, in 1904 (Meiji 37) Japan declared war on Russia and the **Russo-Japanese War** began. Intense fighting spread throughout Manchuria, with combat lasting until the following year. The Japanese army occupied Port Arthur and was victorious in a battle on the outskirts of Mukden. In a naval encounter in the Japan Sea, the Japanese navy annihilated the Russian fleet.

MAP: Routes of the Japanese forces in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05).

PHOTO: War-torn Manchuria (present-day northeastern China). Although the war was fought between Japan and Russia, it was the populace of Manchuria,

³⁸ The Chinese government supported the Boxers and fought against the coalition army.

where the fighting took place, who were reduced to abject misery. (*Illustrated London News*)

FIGURE: National finances and expenditures for military operations. (Yamada Akira, *Gunbi kakuchô no kindaishi* [Modern history of arms expansion]).

PHOTO: Bloody Sunday.

GUIDE TEXT: Why did Japan go to war with Russia?

War and the people

Many Japanese people gave their support for the war, but everyday life became tough due to tax and price hikes. Japan eventually ran short of weapons and ammunition, and with military and economic power growing weaker it became hard to continue the war. Japan therefore requested America to act as an intermediary in making peace. It was also difficult for Russia to continue the war, because a revolutionary movement³⁹ opposing the tyrannical government had emerged there. This war cost Japan nine times as much as the Sino-Japanese War, and there were approximately 460,000 people killed or wounded.

JAPAN INVADES CONTINENTAL ASIA

PHOTO: The Russia-Japan peace conference. To the right is the Japanese delegation; the Russian delegation is on the left. The Russians took the position that they would not pay war reparations, even if their refusal led to the breakdown of the negotiations.

GUIDE TEXT: What did Japan lay claim to at this conference?

PHOTO: Arson incidents in Tokyo. The night of September 5, 1905. (*Sôjô gahô* [Illustrated news of the riots])

GUIDE TEXT: How did Japan extend its influence in Korea and Manchuria?

The Treaty of Portsmouth

³⁹ On January 22, 1905, the workers in the Russian capital of Petersburg (now St. Petersburg) marched on the Palace with a petition complaining of the hardship of everyday life. The army suddenly fired on them, and the snow of the square was stained red with blood. This incident, Bloody Sunday, sparked the first Russian Revolution.

In 1905 (Meiji 38) a peace conference between Japan and Russia was held in Portsmouth, in the United States, and the **Treaty of Portsmouth** was concluded. Under this treaty Russia acknowledged Japan's sovereignty over Korea⁴⁰ and ceded the southern half of Sakhalin to Japan. Russia also handed over to Japan Port Arthur and Dalian, which it had leased from China, and part of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which it had constructed in Manchuria.

The Japanese people had endured severe privations during the war, however, and they were dissatisfied with the terms of the treaty, as Japan was to receive no war reparations. Demonstrations against the peace settlement were held throughout the country. In Tokyo police and citizens clashed, and police stations and other buildings were set on fire.

The Annexation of Korea

After the Russo-Japanese war, Japan pressured Korea and took over its foreign policy. Japan also established a government office, known as **the Office of the Resident General in Korea**, and took over control of the internal government of Korea as well. After Japan disbanded the Korean army, citizens throughout the country formed armed resistance movements such as the righteous army and vigorously resisted the Japanese invasion. In 1909 Itô Hirobumi, the first Resident General of Korea, was assassinated in Harbin, Manchuria, by An Chung-gun, a member of the Korean independence movement. Japan used military force to suppress the resistance movement, and in 1910, under the watchful eye of the Japanese armed forces, the Korean emperor was forced to sign a treaty ceding administrative control to Japan. In this way, Japan annexed Korea and made it a territory of Japan. This is known as the **annexation of Korea**.

FIGURE: Japan's expansion of its territories.

Korea is colonized

After annexing Korea, Japan established the **Government-General of Korea**. A Japanese military governor-general—reporting directly to the emperor—was appointed, who stationed Japanese troops throughout Korea and took command. A survey conducted by the Government-General to determine land ownership resulted in much of the land falling into the hands of newly arrived Japanese and influential Koreans. As a consequence, many peasants lost their land and were forced through hardship to emigrate to Japan or Manchuria. In Japan, social and economic discrimination against Koreans reared its ugly head, and Koreans were

⁴⁰ In 1897 Korea had changed its name to the Great Han Empire.

viewed with growing disdain. For their part, Koreans who objected to the annexation continued to harbor deep-seated opposition.

Japan's increasing influence in Manchuria

In 1906 Japan founded the **South Manchuria Railway Company** to administer the railway and the mines that Russia had ceded to it, and increased its influence in Manchuria. In response to this, the United States also attempted to establish a presence in the region, bringing it into conflict with Japan and prompting Japan to conclude a secret agreement with Russia. This agreement designated Japan's and Russia's respective spheres of influence in the area encompassing Manchuria and Mongolia, and obliged them to recognize each other's interests within the region.

PHOTO: Koreans rising up in resistance to the Japanese and their suppression at the hands of the Japanese army. (*Le Petit Journal*)

MAP: The railway in China, built using foreign capital.

PHOTO: Bank note depicting Itô Hirobumi. (Used from 1963 until 1984)

PHOTO: Stamp depicting An Chung-gun (1879–1910). Issued by the Korean government in 1982.

BOX: "On the map / I paint ink / Blackly over Korea / And listen to the autumn winds." A poem by Ishikawa Takuboku. After the annexation the poet composed a poem expressing his sympathy for the Korean people (September 9, 1910).

GUIDE TEXT: What kinds of change were the Japanese economy and Japanese industry undergoing during the period of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars?

THE ADVANCE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

GUIDE TEXT: In what industries were the first mechanized factories?

The growth of light industry

From around 1880 onward, companies were founded in the private sector, and people began engaging in modern industry. A number of large cotton-spinning companies were built, and they used foreign-made machinery powered by steam

to produce huge quantities of cotton yarn. As a result, Japan began importing raw cotton from China and India and exporting cotton yarn to China and other countries.⁴¹ Exports of cotton yarn to China and Korea increased further after the Sino-Japanese War, leading to the development of the spinning industry.

Exports of silk bound for the United States grew, and the silk industry developed in farming villages and provincial cities. Silk became one of Japan's major exports, on a par with cotton yarn. The textile industry had a great many small and medium-sized factories, and with increasing installation of electrically powered machinery, exports of cotton textiles began. The foreign currency earned with such exports was used to pay for imports of naval vessels and steel.

There was thus an **Industrial Revolution** in the production of manufactured goods by mechanized factories, developing principally around light industry, at the time of the Sino-Japanese War.

PHOTO: The Sangen'ya Factory of Osaka Spinning Company. The company brought in the latest spinning machines from Britain and was the first to use steam power.

FIGURE: Trends and changes in Japan's main exports and imports (from *Nihon no rekishi 17: Nihon kindai no shuppatsu* [Japanese History 17: Japan's Departure as a Modern Nation]).

GUIDE TEXT: Where was Japan exporting to and importing from?

PHOTO: Export label for raw silk (Yokohama Archives of History).

Capitalism and the armament industry

After the Sino-Japanese War, the government used much of the reparations it had received from Qing for armaments. For this reason, heavy industries such as iron, shipbuilding, automobiles, and weapons developed, mainly in government-run munitions factories. The **Yawata Iron and Steel Works**, which was constructed in 1901, commenced the manufacture of iron and steel using iron ore from Daye in China. Industrial belts developed in Northern Kyûshû, Hanshin, and Keihin. As heavy industry advanced, Japan became able to produce the warships and locomotives for which it had previously relied on imports. An industrial revolution thus also took place in heavy industry.

⁴¹ Taxes on cotton yarn exports and raw cotton imports were successively abolished after the Sino-Japanese War.

The development of transport and communications

In the mining industry, the development of coal and copper mines flourished, and hydroelectric power generation advanced rapidly. There were also impressive advances in transport and communications. The construction of railways began around the country during the 1890s. The government worked to nationalize the railways in order to unify the transport network and for military reasons, so that after the Russo-Japanese War the main railways in the country were state-owned. The use of telephones also began in the 1890s.

FIGURE: The development of railways (through 1906). Private lines were more common at the time, but most of the private lines were bought up in 1907 and became state-owned.

The zaibatsu that control industry

In industry, the great power was in the hands of a few big capitalists, such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda. They expanded their interests into various different businesses by obtaining mines and shipyards from the sale of government-run businesses. Major banks and trading companies formed the core of their businesses, and they also owned mines and big factories. They formed companies run by single families to consolidate these enterprises. These **zaibatsu**, which emerged after the Sino-Japanese War, eventually came to control Japan's industry and economy.

PHOTO: A blast furnace at Yawata Iron and Steel Works. The No. 1 Blast Furnace under construction. This photograph was taken to commemorate the visit of Itô Hirobumi.

PHOTO: Kure Naval Arsenal. Initially established as a weapons factory, it later came to be used for building warships. This huge factory, which was directly controlled by the navy, employed 20,000 workers.

GUIDE TEXT: How did the industrial revolution change people's lives?

CHANGES TO LIFE IN SOCIETY

GUIDE TEXT: How did life in agricultural communities and cities change as a result of rapid industrialization?

Changes in agricultural communities

As the industrial revolution progressed, major changes occurred in agricultural communities. Cotton cultivation declined because the spinning industry started to import raw cotton, and cultivation of oilseed rape also diminished due to the spread of petroleum and kerosene lamps. Meanwhile, sericulture flourished as exports of raw silk increased, and the number of mulberry orchards grew.⁴² Silkworms were mainly raised by women, and farming families obtained cash through the sale of cocoons. Farming families had previously produced many of the things they needed on their own, but it became increasingly common for them to buy manufactured articles, such as clothing or fertilizer, with cash.

The number of tenant farmers in agricultural communities increased. These tenant farmers had to pay heavy farm rents to the landowners.⁴³ Life was very hard, and sometimes they needed to borrow from their meager wages in advance, forcing them to send their daughters to work in silk factories and spinning mills. Meanwhile, the landowners grew powerful within their villages, and some of them became members of prefectural assemblies or of the Diet. Together with the capitalists, they held great sway in national politics.

PHOTO: Farmers return home from the field (circa 1900). Even children were precious workers.

FIGURE: Comparison of men and women workers by industry (1909) (from *Nihon no rekishi 18: Nis-Shin, Nichi-Ro Sensô* [Japanese History 18: The Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars]).

GUIDE TEXT: What sort of life did the people working in factories lead?

FIGURE: Examples of working hours (from *Nihon no rekishi 18: Nis-Shin Nichi-Ro Sensô* [Japanese History 18: The Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars]).

Labor problems and socialism

The female workers in the silk-reeling and spinning industries were lodged in

⁴² Farming families raised silkworms by feeding them the leaves of mulberry trees they planted in the field. The silkworms produced cocoons, which were sold to silk producers. The silk industry extracted thread from the cocoons and produced raw silk.

⁴³ Land farmed by tenant farmers accounted for over 40% of all the agricultural land in the country. Nearly half the rice harvested by tenant farmers was paid to landowners as rent.

boarding houses and were not able to go outside freely. Wages were low, and in some cases a day's work was more than 10 hours. The people who were unable to make a living in farming communities left for the cities, becoming laborers. The number of male workers in heavy industry grew, and strikes and other labor disputes demanding better treatment started. There was also a movement for the formation of labor unions.

Interest in socialism increased with the spread of labor, urban, and other social problems⁴⁴ after the Sino-Japanese War. Among the socialists appeared people who guided and supported the labor movement. The government clamped down harshly on these developments, and when the Social Democratic Party, Japan's first **socialist** political party, was established in 1901 (Meiji 34), the government immediately banned it. In 1910, 26 people were arrested for plotting to assassinate the emperor, and the following year Kôtoku Shûsui and 11 others were executed (**High Treason Incident**).⁴⁵

The Ashio Copper Mine pollution case

At the start of the Meiji period, production at the Ashio Copper Mine in Tochigi Prefecture increased rapidly. However, poisonous substances discharged during ore refining flowed into the Watarase River, eventually killing all the fish in the lower reaches and laying waste to the fields in the river basin. The damage was particularly great when the river flooded. From the 1890s onward, local Diet member Tanaka Shôzô pressed the government over the issue and continued to appeal to public opinion even after resigning from the Diet. The farmers who had been adversely affected rose up numerous times to demand that the copper mine be shut down, and many people gave their support to the farmers. The movement was unsuccessful, though, and the government forcibly evicted the residents of Yanaka Village, which was greatly damaged by flooding, razed the village, and built a flood control basin there.

FIGURE: The number of cases of labor disputes and the number of people involved (from *Nihon kindaiishi jiten* [Dictionary of Modern Japanese History]).

PHOTO: Headquarters of a steelworkers' union. The union was formed in December 1897 in answer to a call from the *Rodo kumiai kiseikai* [Association for the Encouragement of Trade Unions] to set up trade unions. There were 1,184

⁴⁴ Areas developed within cities where poor workers lived, and their everyday life, environment, and sanitary conditions became serious problems.

⁴⁵ Today, the research of many people suggests that Kôtoku and the 21 others were innocent.

members.

PHOTO: Tanaka Shôzô (1841–1913). Writing a bill of complaint.

GUIDE TEXT: How did people's ideas and ways of looking at things change as modernization and industrialization advanced?

THE SPREAD OF MODERN CULTURE

Civilization and enlightenment

Following the Meiji Restoration, successive waves of Western culture and ideas flowed into Japan. Fukuzawa Yukichi and other intellectuals spread new knowledge and ways of thinking through written works and lecture meetings. In writing *Gakumon no susume* [An Encouragement of Learning] and calling for equality of all people and a spirit of independence, Fukuzawa in particular had a great influence on the people. Various newspapers were also published, so that information and knowledge came to be communicated to the people.

There was also an increasing movement to improve everyday living, culture, and customs by learning from the West. The government took the lead in this movement, which was referred to as “**civilization and enlightenment.**” The lunar calendar was replaced by the **solar calendar**, and one day was divided into 24 hours, one week into seven days, and Sunday became a holiday. The influence of the West was felt in everyday living, as people cut off their topknots, wore Western clothes, and ate beef. This Westernization was limited at first to Tokyo and the areas around the opened ports, such as Yokohama and Kobe, but little by little it spread to the rural villages of the provinces, gradually undermining the way of life that had continued for so long.

PHOTO: Five young women who studied in America. They went to America with the Iwakura Mission. The youngest was seven-year-old Tsuda Umeko (second from right).

PHOTO: A child maid's class in Hokkaidô. Special classes were set up around the country for children unable to receive compulsory education because they were in domestic service as child maids.

GUIDE TEXT: Why was the school attendance rate of boys higher than that of girls?

FIGURE: School attendance rates (*Gakusei hyakunen shi* [100 years of the school system], Ministry of Education). Because there were children enrolled who did not actually attend school, around 1900 the school attendance rate was about 70%. Absence was particularly noticeable during periods of busy agricultural activity, when children helped their families with farm work.

GUIDE TEXT: How did education, learning, and the arts develop as a result of the formation of a modern society?

PHOTO: Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901).

PHOTO: *Gakumon no susume* [An Encouragement of Learning].

Science and education

The attendance rate in elementary schools gradually increased after the Sino-Japanese War, and many people became literate. Junior high schools and vocational schools were built around the country, and girls' schools started to be established for the education of girls. In 1908, the length of compulsory education was extended to six years.

In the schools, utmost importance was placed on teaching a spirit of loyalty and patriotism based on the Imperial Rescript on Education, and women were expected to become good wives and wise mothers. The use of government-designated textbooks began in 1904, and the history of Japan originating in legends was taught as historical fact.

Meanwhile, around the time of the Sino-Japanese War Japanese researchers made outstanding discoveries and breakthroughs in the field of natural sciences.

PHOTO: *Shôgaku shûshinkyô* [Moral training chants for grade school] from 1894.

FIGURE: Main breakthroughs and discoveries in the natural sciences.

Modern literature

Tsubouchi Shôyô, who had studied Western literature, published *Shôsetsu shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel) in which he stressed that human nature and the state of the world should be depicted just as they are. Based on Tsubouchi's ideas, Futabatei Shimei wrote the novel *Ukigumo* (Drifting Clouds) in colloquial style, marking the starting point of **modern literature**.

In time, Shimazaki Tôson produced anthologies of poetry like *Wakanashû* (Collection of Young Herbs) in which he expressed a youthful spirit through a new style. Yosano Akiko wrote poems of the ardor of adolescence in such works as *Midaregami* (Tangled Hair). Ishikawa Takuboku expressed the hardship of living and his honest feelings as poems and *tanka* verse. Natsume Sôseki looked uncompromisingly at society from an individualistic perspective, writing outstanding novels such as *Wagahai wa neko de aru* (I Am a Cat).

PHOTO: *Shôgaku shûshinkyô* (moral training chants for elementary school) from 1894.

PHOTO: Natsume Sôseki (1867–1916).

PHOTO: Ishikawa Takuboku (1886–1912) and the manuscript of *Hikôki* (The Airplane).

PHOTO: Shimazaki Tôson's anthology of poems, *Wakanashû* (Collection of Young Herbs).

PHOTO: Yosano Akiko's collection of songs, *Midaregami* (Tangled Hair).

Fine art and the performing arts

Around the time of “civilization and enlightenment” it was thought that everything from Japan's ancient culture, such as paintings in the Japanese style or Buddhist sculptures, had no value. However, Ernest Fenollosa, an American hired to instruct Japan in the ways of the West, worked with Okakura Tenshin and others to revive Japan's traditional art. Eventually, outstanding artists appeared, such as Yokoyama Taikan in the field of Japanese-style painting, Kuroda Seiki in Western-style painting, and Takamura Kôun in sculpture.

Western music was first introduced into elementary school songs and war songs and was gradually embraced by the public. Taki Rentarô produced many beautiful songs, such as *Kôjô no tsuki* (Moon over the Castle Ruins) and *Hana* (Flower), opening up the way toward modern music.

In drama, kabuki remained popular but *shinpa*, a new school of theater that sought its subject matter in the society of the time, was also born. The “new theater” movement began after the Russo-Japanese War, incorporating theatrical trends in Europe.

PHOTO: *Dokusho* (Reading). Kuroda Seiki studied in France, and he used soft hues to depict his human subjects naturally (Tokyo National Museum).

PHOTO: *Kutsugen* (Qu Yuan), by Yokoyama Taikan (1898). A new movement emerged in Japanese-style painting to rival Western-style painting (Itsukushima Shrine).

PHOTO: Yûrakuza. Opened in 1908. Performances were given by Jiyû Gekijô (Free Theater) and Bungei Kyôkai (Literary Arts Society) (Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum, Waseda University).

PHOTO: The first performance of *Hamlet* by the Bungei Kyôkai (Literary Arts Society) in 1911 at the Imperial Theater (Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum, Waseda University).

PHOTO: Taki Rentarô (1879–1903). He studied at the royal music academy in Leipzig, but died of tuberculosis at the age of 24.

GUIDE TEXT: Compile the ways the new culture spread.

Going Deeper with Your Studies: A Variety of Opinions on the Russo-Japanese War

Learn more here about “The Russo-Japanese War.”

Opinions advocating war

1. A group of seven university professors, including Tomizu Hirono of Tokyo Imperial University, published their opinions, such as those in the following, in newspapers and magazines:

“It is clear that if Russia were to secure a foothold in Manchuria, it would next set its sights on Korea; were Russia to conquer Korea, it scarcely needs to be said where it would then aim for. For this reason, Korea is in danger if the problem of Manchuria is not resolved. If Korea is in danger, Japan cannot defend itself.”

2. Businessman and historian Taguchi Ukichi said the following:

“There is a depression in the mercantile community. The way to end the depression is for Japan to seize Manchuria.”

3. Russian Minister of the Interior Plehve said the following after observing the situation within Russia before the Russo-Japanese War:

“In order to quell the revolutionary feeling in the hearts of the people, we need to win a war to show the authority of the policymaker (the czar)” (from *The Memoirs of Count Witte*).

Opinions opposed to war

1. Uchimura Kanzô said, “The result of the Sino-Japanese War has really shown me that war is a business of loss, with no gain to be had. The independence of Korea is none the closer as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, and the morals of Japan, the victorious country, have seriously deteriorated. Even though Japan can overcome enemy nations, it is incapable of cracking down on those that perpetrate violations within the country such as the Ashio Copper Mine pollution case.”

2. Kôtoku Shûsui and others appealed to the Russian socialist party on March 13, 1904: “Russia and Japan have both gone to war in order to achieve their imperialist aspirations, yet in the eyes of socialists there is no discrimination between races, no distinction between nationalities. Your enemy is not the Japanese people. Our enemy is not the Russian people. Our enemy is the nationalists and the militarists of today. Let us make our common enemy cease this war forthwith, and bring back peace.”

GUIDE TEXT: Think about these events. Find out more about them.

Discuss the opinions on the Russo-Japanese War among yourselves, and compare the different points of view.

PHOTO: The statement of opinion by the seven university professors (from the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* of June 24, 1903).

PHOTO: The war as seen by socialists. Satirical picture from the *Heimin Shimbun* of March 20, 1904.

PHOTO: Uchimura Kanzô (1861–1930).

Going Deeper with Your Studies: “Beloved, You Must Not Die!”

Learn more here about “The Russo-Japanese War.”

“Beloved, You Must Not Die!”

(Lament for my brother, in the army laying siege to Port Arthur)

Ah, my brother, I weep for you.
Beloved, you must not die.
You, the last born,
and so most cherished –
did our parents teach you to grasp a sword,
to kill another man?
Did they bring you up to twenty-four
to murder, and then die?

You, proud master of an old store
in the merchant city of Sakai,
heir to your father’s name –
beloved, you must not die.
What is it to you whether
the walls of Port Arthur tumble or they stand?
Why should you care? Such things are not in
the laws of a merchant’s family.

Beloved, you must not die.
How could our great emperor,
whose wondrous heart is so deep,
not do battle himself
but still ask others to spill their blood,
to die like beasts,
and think those deaths a glory?

Ah, my brother, you must not
die in war.
Father dead last fall,
Mother in her grief had to face
the pain of your being drafted,
of being left alone to watch our home.
In this great and peaceful reign
her white hairs have increased.

Your new wife, young and lovely, lies
and weeps behind the shop curtains.
Have you forgotten her? Do you think of her?
Left alone after being wed less than ten months.
Think of her maiden heart!
Besides you, who, ah who, in all the world
can she rely on?
Beloved, you must not die!

(Translation by Janine Beichman, from *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Japanese Literature*, Vol. 1, edited by J. Thomas Rimer and Van C. Gessel)

PHOTO: *Myôjô* (cover of the September 1904 edition).

PHOTO: Yosano Akiko (1878–1942). The photo was taken around 1901, when she was perhaps 23.

At the start of the Russo-Japanese War, the Third Army, led by General Nogi Maresuke, commenced an attack on Port Arthur in August 1904. However, the fortress was impregnable, and with every Japanese charge, many fell dead or wounded to Russian machine guns. When the fortress was finally captured in January of the following year, some 60,000 people were killed or wounded (there were 15,400 fatalities).

Yosano Akiko was born in Sakai, Osaka Prefecture, into a confectioner's shop with a long tradition. She aspired to become a poet and published this poem in the September 1904 edition of *Myôjô* (Bright Star).

GUIDE TEXT: Think about these events. Find out more about them.

Find out why Yosano Akiko published a poem like this, and what sort of response there was to it at the time.

Going Deeper with Your Studies: Children in History (The Modern Era: Children at Work in Factories)

Learn more here about "Labor problems and socialism."

PHOTO: Workers at a tobacco factory. Children who were still very young worked together with adults (Tokyo).

The photo above was taken at a tobacco factory in Tokyo. You can see that there are many children who are still very young. Factories making tobacco or matches were built in the districts of cities where many poor people lived. The people who often did not have enough money to pay their rent of three or five *sen* a day made a good source of labor that could be hired cheaply. Children who did not go to school and instead became shop assistants for merchant families or rag pickers were hired for low wages and worked packing matches in boxes or putting labels on them.

Children worked in silk-reeling factories, match factories, printing works, and paper factories. Most were aged 15–20, but there were also children aged 12–14, and even children of just 7 or 8. A fifth of the workers in an Osaka match factory were children of 14 or under. They worked together with adults for 12 or more hours until late every day. There were many children who bedded down in lodging houses while working in silk-reeling and other factories, and there were children who became sick with tuberculosis and died because of unsanitary conditions, overwork, and malnutrition.

In the spinning mills, women made up the bulk of the workforce. They endured miserable conditions, which is set out in detail in books such as *Jokô aishi* (Tragic History of Women Workers). “In the case of a silk-reeling factory, the women’s working hours were 13–14 hours a day or 15–16 hours a day. In the spinning mills there were two shifts, daytime and nighttime, of 12 hours each. Half of the year was spent working in the middle of the night, and on changeover days the workers worked 18 hours. Moreover, the managers had various systems of reward and punishment that made the women workers compete with each other, and so women gradually became physically and mentally exhausted.”

One woman recalled the time when her younger sister fell ill and was sent from the yarn-making factory where they worked in Okaya, Nagano Prefecture, back to the care of their parents in Hida, Gifu Prefecture (1907).

“Immediately after I started work in the yarn-making factory, my 12-year-old younger sister came to work in the same factory. She worked there for two years but succumbed to peritonitis and became bedridden at the factory. There were about 30 sick people there at the time. After a while my sister was sent back home, and died shortly afterwards. She was 13. Although she had been eager to please our mother by becoming a splendid factory woman, she left the factory with a deathly pale complexion. I will never forget the mournful look in her eyes for as long as I live.” (Yamamoto Shigemi, *Aa Nomugi Toge* [Ah, Nomugi Pass].)

We must never forget that in the shadows of the development of modern Japan were the sufferings of such children.