

INDUSTRIALISM IN JAPAN.

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With a Preface by

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PREFACE.

The reading of these pages has been of keen interest, partly because I know a little of the subject matter, enough to enable me to recognize how true the picture and estimate given are to fact. But that is not all. Much of the preliminary information sketched can be found, less comprehensively and attractively set out, elsewhere; but the distinctive interest of this essay is that the interpretation of the phenomena offered is something deeper than the pious but unexplained conviction that the publication of the Christian gospel in Japan will somehow ameliorate industrial conditions.

Twenty years ago it fell to me to preside at a public debate between Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and the late Mr. St. Loe Strachey on the question of socialism versus individualism as the best basis of government. In summing up I expressed belief that whatever form of social organization we might adopt, we should only arrive at a different kind of hell, unless we could get a new sort of man to be organized. The outburst of applause which met that unsympathetic sentiment was surprising, and from both sides of the house. Deep in its heart the English West knows that man does not live by bread alone. The Japanese East is beginning to suspect the same, and that salvation is from within.

Mr. France demonstrates cogently that the tragedy of the industrial revolution in Japan is not only or mainly one of material conditions, possibly temporary, but of an internal chaos of mind and spirit which disqualifies men for battling with present experiences and still more for reforming them.

The main conclusion to which he leads up is, as I read it, that our duty is to make a new (i.e., a "free") kind of man to live in the environment and trials of the new industrial Japan. The leaven of such new manhood will, he implies (though he does not actually say), tend to transform and purge the social system in which it lives and works. In the last pages of Chapter I. he illustrates that truth, and indeed roundly asserts that "the amelioration of conditions in industrial life has been brought about solely by the efforts of Japanese Christians," and points out that hitherto the links between Labour Reform leaders and Christian faith are close and friendly in Japan. But it is not this change of the system or the environment with which the author is primarily concerned, or which he considers to be the direct business of the Christian gospel, but the change of the humanity that lives in it. That inner change he views under the name of "freedom"; and "freedom," as he intends it, is at once deliverance from that self-motive which is the root of sin and of all anti-social evils, and also the redeemed consciousness which can lift men's spirits above the tyranny of their immediate environment. Social welfare enthusiasts may read this attitude with some disappointment or impatience. But Mr. France declines to make that freedom of the sons of God, which is the immediately available prerogative of every child of man, including the slave, a means to social welfare or to anything else. It is the *end* for which man is created, and to be regarded as such, whatever social and material blessings it may further bring in its train.

The part of this little book which matters most,

the second part, is not the easiest reading, but it is worth taking pains to digest. It is not my business to review it, but I have indicated the conclusion to which it leads up. For the interpretation of the inner soul of social problems I do not attach first importance to the conclusions of the expert sociologist, Christian or otherwise, who in later life arrives from Europe or America, welcomed and facilitated by welfare agencies, and relying on interpreters gives six months' concentrated study to the problems of Japan. I would rather hear one who, like Mr. France, equipped with adequate general and theological education, has had the advantage of going to live in Japan in the still formative years of young manhood; of mastering the (most difficult) language, and being able to read what the people read and to overhear what is said in all classes and walks of life; of following his duties of continual intercourse, partly in the great towns and partly among the lonely roads and village inns of the great country-side; thus breathing the mental and moral air of the people's lives for fourteen years, besides mixing much with others similarly engaged whose experience covers the two generations of modern Japan. Information drawn from such sources is likely to be weighty on its own immediate topic. In so far as it is seen to confirm by illustration our Lord's teaching of the true needs of mankind, it will be good reading for us who desire, not to "use" Christianity even to the best of human ends, but to be fellow workers with God in the Divine purposes of his kingdom.

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CHAPTER I.

INDUSTRIAL life in Japan has come wholly from other lands. Until the sixth century the people, engaged in ceaseless warfare against the original inhabitants of the land, lived a primitive life without knowledge of any handicraft except such as were used in making weapons of war, in building the simplest of dwellings, and in the weaving of crude clothing.

The first invaders from without were Chinese and Corean missionaries bringing the teachings of Buddhism. They brought with them an admittedly higher standard of life, whose comparative splendour quickly won the attention of the court. As soon as the capital showed favour, large numbers of teachers poured over from the mainland and spread throughout the islands of Japan, taking with them not only a new religious teaching, but also new habits of life which the Japanese were not slow to adopt.

This was the beginning of the first great revolution of life in Japan. Gradually the whole foundation and structure of the nation was altered and re-built on the Chinese model, and to supply the demands of new customs and habits, there sprang up new handicrafts, arts, and industries, all of which were learnt from China. The social fabric also was re-created after the pattern of the neighbouring empire. Tribal life became feudal; the emperor and his court more and more detached themselves from the life of the people. They occupied themselves with religious meditation and the study of the arts, and their example was

followed by the feudal barons and their lesser courts. Japanese arts and handicrafts, thus encouraged by noble patronage, remained rigidly true to Chinese canons, but slowly developed characteristics of their own, which were of such beauty that they are rightly famous throughout the world to-day.

Feudal life had sharply defined social grades in Japan. After the baron came the soldier; then the farmer. Next in the scale, and almost on an equal with the latter, was the craftsman; and lowest of all came the merchant. The structure of society is thus seen to be strangely parallel with that of feudal Europe, and indeed the likeness goes further; the handicrafts were wholly in the hands of guilds, and the secrets of their several arts, which were closely guarded, were only handed on from master to apprentice after the latter had served many years.

So far, then, the invasion of new crafts from China. Before going forward, however, to the story of the coming from the West of the great flood of highly organized industry in the nineteenth century, it is imperative to emphasize one feature of the earlier period. It is this: First there came a new religion; and as this created and nurtured a fuller and more abundant life, there followed quite naturally a demand for new ways and means of satisfaction; whereas with the industrial invasion from the West, not only of Japan, but of the whole East, the process is reversed.

Before ever the thought and ideals of Europe were known, much less understood and accepted, the trappings and furniture which are the expression of *our* life have been thrust upon the Oriental. The

old customs have been swept away, and the life which created them is withering; while the new order is as a body without soul.

And now the scene shifts from China to the West. The Europeanization of Japan has been a drama in three acts. First, the Hispano-Portuguese act, beginning with the coming of the apostolic St. Francis Xavier, with merchants and adventurers close on his heels, and ending with the great religious persecution of 1617-38, which nearly, but not quite, closed Japan to intercourse with the outside world. During this period a few of the arts and industries of Europe found their way in; most of them were connected with the waging of war—castle-building, ship-building, gun-casting, and the like. A few, though very few, of the comforts of life crept in and remained. Valuable among these was the mosquito-net, which soon displaced the old custom of burning green wood to stifle and discourage these persistent insects.

In the second act of the drama the scene is the little islet of Deshima in Nagasaki harbour, and the actors are Dutchmen. Fear of disruption following religious propaganda had prompted Japan to forbid any foreigner to live in the land, and any Japanese who went overseas and returned were put to death. The rulers were, however, by no means blind to the value and pleasure of European merchandise and novelties (glass, wool, clocks, &c.), and the Dutch, who were thought to be of a different religion from the Spanish and Portuguese, were allowed a factory and one ship a year to bring their goods.

Intercourse with any except licensed merchants was sternly forbidden, but the Japanese have always

been inquisitive and not averse to intrigue, and there is abundant evidence that considerable knowledge of the externals of Western life trickled in through this uncertain channel.

It was, however, the typhoons of the China seas and the many difficulties of navigation in those wild waters, as well as the marvels of the New World in the Americas, which protected Japan far more effectively than her rulers' edicts, which threatened death for all—even the God of the Christians himself—who dared to set foot in Japan; for seventeenth century Europe was more apt to be lured on than deterred by threats of that sort.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, and all unknown to Japan, preparations were going forward for the last, or Anglo-Saxon, act of the drama—for in it Anglo-Saxon influence has predominated—which is still being played before our eyes. The preparation was two-fold. First, with the discovery of steam power, the North of England had given birth to the giant of centralized and highly organized industrial life which we know to-day. Its very nature demands (and herein is both wonder and fear) that to live at all it must ceaselessly grow and expand. Its food is "new markets" and "exchange of produce," and its appetite is insatiable. When, therefore, sails gave place to steam, the search for new supplies of this "food" in the distant parts of the earth became both profitable and safe. And the second feature of the preparation was the achievements in America. The lure of the unknown will always keep the pioneer a little ahead of the herd. The "forty-niners" had blazed the trail across the Rockies; led on by the discovery of gold in California the herd had crossed

the desert and the mountains, and brought the beginnings of ordered life to the farthest West—which is also the edge of the East; and again the pioneers moved on.

These two forces—industrial expansion and the spirit of adventure—were united, and in July, 1853, Commodore Perry's fleet, backed with the power and authority of America, anchored off Japan. Treaties and trade facilities were demanded; and, while courtesy and patience were shown, guns and battleships made it abundantly clear to the bewildered Japanese that if the request were not granted force was to be used. The country resisted for a while, and then bowed before the inevitable. The doors were thrown open and the nations of the world scrambled through, seeking new trade and "most highly favoured nation" treaties.

It is hard to resist the temptation to linger over the picture of the vivid and dramatic scenes that followed, and to examine in detail "economic laws" (of which more hereafter) at work. In order, however, to keep within the limits of the subject in hand, it is necessary to pass on at once to modern industrial life in Japan.

The first factories to appear were occupied with the spinning of silk; there was already well-established hand-craft silk manufacture; and to supply the eager demand of the early traders for this produce, work which had hitherto been done entirely in village homes began to be centralized in small factories. The next step was the growth of small factories in or near the treaty ports, where the European traders were settling in increasing numbers. Expansion was, however, slow at first,

and as late as 1880 there were only 200 factories, employing in all 1,500 workers, throughout all Japan.

Meanwhile, forces were at work which were preparing the way for very rapid expansion; by the third quarter of last century the re-organized Government was both powerful and highly centralized. Under Government supervision considerable numbers of notably capable men were sent to the West to study our ways. It may be doubted whether they learnt much of our mind, but they quickly perceived the wealth and latent power which are created by industries; on their return these men, who in their several spheres had mastered every detail of our many manufacturing processes, became the leaders of the people and the founders of modern Japan. Moreover, if need required, not only professors to teach, but also highly skilled artisans to demonstrate, were paid high salaries to go out and help with the establishment of industries.

Further, so eager was the Government not only to create new wealth, but also to make adequate provision for protection against invasion from without, which might threaten the independence of Japan, that they both granted considerable subsidies to favoured companies and also saw to it that political expansion on the mainland assured supplies of necessary raw materials. This direct interest in industry shown by the Government has had one beneficial effect: it has prevented a large inflow of foreign capital directly into the manufacturers' hands. Foreign capital and share-holding was not forbidden, but legislation required that if any company had Government subsidies, foreigners were

not to be allowed to be shareholders. If, therefore, a company showed sound management and prosperity, an offer of subsidy would be made and the foreigners were bought out; and financial rectitude has enabled the Japanese Government to borrow widely in order to be able to supply these grants-in-aid.

Details of the growth of industrial life would be tedious. Suffice it, therefore, to say that expansion was steady until about the middle of the Great War period; from then till the world-wide "slump" in 1921 the advance was indeed phenomenal. After the American entry into the War, Japan alone of all countries in the world was both free to manufacture and export, and provided with the necessary equipment. By 1921 there were 44,000 factories, employing over 3,500,000 workers—of whom more than half were women and children. The wealth of the country multiplied manifold. The rich spent their share with an incredible vulgarity, and the effect of sudden wealth on the mass of the people can be best shown by figures; during the four prosperous years the consumption of drink increased four-fold, and the number of prostitutes known to the Government was trebled. Japan is not to be condemned for this apparent moral collapse; the facts are simply stated in order to illustrate one of the possible evil effects of a sudden inrush of great wealth on a people whose religious and social background makes them quite incapable of withstanding it.

And now we pass on to see a little of the mind of the workers, and of the conditions under which they live and work. There are both dark and light

places in the picture, and it is therefore imperative to remind ourselves that comparisons between one land and another, or one set of people and another, are meaningless. The setting out of the facts which follow will have failed in its purpose if it does not at once suggest to the mind the thought of "tendency." Whither is it all leading? The parallel, too, with the history of industrialism in England will be noted.

Everything that the world needs, from battleships to cheap toys, is now manufactured in Japan; though the lighter industries, cotton, silk, textiles, paper, tobacco, glass, matches, &c., absorb the greater number of workers. The most modern machinery is used, and whenever improvements are invented old gear is replaced by new. The factory buildings vary from all that is good in the heavy industries, through a gradually descending standard to flimsy and unsafe sheds. Unhappily, the number which are even tolerably good is but a fraction of the whole. The average buildings are cramped and ill-ventilated; fast revolving belts are left unguarded, nor does the law require protection.

There is an almost general disregard for the health of the worker. Eye diseases are common, and little precaution is taken to prevent them spreading. In the cotton factories it is said that twenty per cent. of the girls contract consumption. Only the biggest and best factories have hospitals, and not all these have resident doctors, though accidents are common.

Hours of work vary so widely that it is impossible to generalize. There is indeed a Factory Act which has fixed a limit of twelve hours a day where more

than fifteen hands are employed, and where there is machinery. The Act, however, is hampered by exceptions to its rules, all of which favour the employer. A fortnightly half-holiday is ordered, as also is a break of half an hour in a twelve-hour day.

In the busy season girls in the silk factories will often sit—without back support—for fourteen to sixteen hours a day over steaming kettles of putrid-smelling cocoons. In the weaving factories eleven to twelve hours is the average; and this is true also of the cotton mills, though in these latter as much as eighteen hours a day is not unknown. The worst conditions, both as regards hours and conditions of work, are found in the match factories.

Let it be repeated that these conditions are not to be considered in comparison with our own. For not only is the work carried out in a more leisurely way, but also, whereas we in England look with horror on such sweated labour now, we have only achieved this mind as a result of the experience of the benefit of good conditions both to the worker and to industry itself. Japan, at present, knows no such experience, and her workers, who are drawn from the fields, are only used to long and arduous work.

Moreover, conditions do improve, even though progress is slow. The Government are continuously sending out men to study labour conditions in other lands; they are fully aware of the mind of the West, and are by no means without interest in the welfare of employees. Until 1926, night work for women and girls was normal, and as factories are small and have generally been built with the intention of using machinery night and day, a cessation of night

work must either mean a halving of output or a large expenditure of capital in increasing plant. Nevertheless, legislation forbidding night work for women has now been passed in spite of determined opposition, though the coming into force of the new Acts is deferred.

Furthermore, Japan is peculiarly sensitive to the opinion of the rest of the world, and the pressure of the weight of criticism is undoubtedly effective for progress towards steady improvement. The country was represented at the Geneva Conference, and associates herself with the work of the International Labour Bureau. The Government reserve the right of postponing or modifying the application of any resolutions passed at these gatherings; but, even so, not only is their cumulative effect considerable, but also, as their mind and doings are fully set out in the daily press, public opinion in Japan is notably arrested; even though "leading articles" may hasten to point out that this or that proposal is not adaptable to Japanese life.

Nearly all women workers are housed in dormitories; in the best factories these are now excellent, being well lighted, airy, and scrupulously clean. Attractive play-rooms are provided, and a little privacy is secured by giving every girl her own locker in the common bedrooms. The dormitories are under the care of matrons, and these, by the choice of the management, are often Christians.

In the average factories dormitory conditions are not good. The buildings are insanitary; six girls are allowed 9-ft. by 9-ft. floor space for sleeping, and the day and night shifts use the same

quilts alternately. No one cares for their welfare, and except in extreme illness the sick lie untended in the common room.

In the bad factories the housing is truly appalling. There are no dormitories, the workers merely lie where they can within the factory. They are put in charge of a man—usually a former policeman or soldier—who treats them harshly and without sympathy.

The food, except in the best factories, is coarse and generally inadequate, and the girls are compelled to spend part of their poor earnings on additional nourishment.

Is it necessary to add yet more? Manhood in Japan is taught neither self-restraint nor chivalry; feudal and Buddhist Japan sternly repressed all individuality and self-confidence in women. They were at the service of their men-folk. If, then, a girl is taken from the country and from a feudal and Buddhist life and flung into the drudgery of a factory and the glitter of town life, without knowledge, and without power of self-defence, who shall apportion the blame for the degradation that may follow, and into which so many fall?

I have read little songs that the girls croon to the hum of the machinery; they breathe both fear and loathing of the men, and particularly of the foremen, who surround them. It all burrows deeply into the mind and memory, and there is no escape from the thought that it is we, who gave birth to industrial life, who are charged with the task of giving all that Christian life and love can give for the building up of a manhood and womanhood capable of both

finding what is good in industrial life, and also of withstanding its dangers and evils.

For the new workers conditions are largely parallel. In the better factories, railway works, ship-yards, steel, iron, &c., the standard of life is tolerably good. Though housing is poor when compared with the homes in the country from which the workers are still drawn, yet pay is adequate, and the man and his family can live in simple comfort. These good factories are either directly owned by the Government, or, being subsidized, are under strict Government supervision.

From this one extreme there is steady deterioration to the other, namely, the slums; and it is here, where all the wreckage and ruins of industrial life collect, that the unrelieved horror of some of the evil effects which follow the impact of West upon East is to be seen. The lowest slums are incomparably more vile and degraded than the worst of those that still disgrace our own land; they are veritable stews of humanity where vice and debauchery reign blatant and triumphant, and almost—but not quite—unchallenged.

Child labour is common, and of the children employed eighty in a hundred are girls. There is, however, an amendment to the Factory Act—which finally became law in 1926, though its coming into force is deferred—which will raise the minimum age from twelve to fourteen years. One can tell truly heart-wringing tales of the sufferings of these little ones, of their craving for mothering, of their eager response to the smallest show of affection, and, perhaps most pathetic of all, their anxiety about their work. Those who are widely read in the

history of child labour in the north of England will recognize sorrowfully how any one of these things might be descriptive of our own past.

It only remains to write of the coal mines before passing on to consider the mind of the worker.

There are two principal coal-field areas, the one in Hokkaido, and the other in Kyūshū. The former was almost uninhabited, except by the aboriginal Ainu, until the coming of modern transport, and therefore the labour is entirely imported from the main and southern island; while the latter, which was the earliest inhabited part of the empire, is still dominated by the clan spirit. The people live in self-supporting communities, which hold aloof from each other and are suspicious of all strangers, even their fellow countrymen; they work, too, in groups and families.

Two hundred and fifty thousand men and eighty thousand women are employed; of the latter, at least half work below ground. The mines are ill-equipped and, worse still, ill-ventilated. In the hot foul-smelling air work is carried on for the whole of the working day. The men often work stark naked, and the women with the scantiest of clothing.

As in India, the Government are eager to ameliorate these deplorable conditions, but find it difficult to move as, on the one hand, the men prefer, on moral grounds, to have their women folk below ground with them; and, on the other hand, the managers urge that, though long hours are the main cause of poor output, if the men have leisure they become drunken and idle, and so lower their own standards of life.

Here two comments may be made from which the reader can draw his own conclusions. First, there was no coal-mining in Japan until the country was forcibly opened by the West; and, secondly, the arguments used, both by management and men, in defence of the present conditions, are precisely those used in England in the early 'forties when the questions of hours of work and women below ground were debated.

It will be at once apparent that the conditions of work, described in the preceding pages, must inevitably change and re-mould the mind of the people. There are, too, many other influences, which are so diverse and varied in source and in effect that at present all that is to be seen is the seething of the mixture as new chemicals are poured in, and it is impossible to forecast the nature of the crystal that must finally be precipitated. Still, even though the Japanese are indeed a bewildered people, certain tendencies of mind and thought are already becoming clear, and though at first sight these are disquieting and even humiliating, they give some hope for the future.

Foremost among them is the collapse of religious belief. It is strange that, throughout the whole world, the first and almost immediate effect of the impact of industrial life is the collapse of former religious creed and habits.

Christianity has withstood the attack in England, and is slowly but surely permeating industrial life; but few will deny that in our great manufacturing centres there is still a long road to be travelled before religion reigns again. The jejune creeds of

the East, which at best assume the fundamental evil of creation and teach men to give up the fight and to retreat from the world to master self, and at worst are a tyranny of superstition built on a foundation of fear, have crumpled up without even show of resistance.

It is, of course, obvious that the leisurely splendours of Buddhism can find no foothold in the factory, and can arrest little attention in the whirl and noise of a great city. Even though the old temple festivals remain, they are but centres for fairs and amusement, and have as little religious significance and influence as has Good Friday for an English football crowd.

It is less generally realized how quickly the repercussion of the thought and life of the towns, which industries create, will be felt in the country. Two hundred and fifty years ago Richard Cox, an Englishman, on a long journey from the south to Tokyo, passed the shores of a beautiful lake "wherein lyveth a greate monster," as he recorded in his diary. Eighteen years ago an Englishman was drowned while swimming in the same lake. The villagers were unanimous that he had been devoured by the dragon, who was angry that his waters had been polluted by a foreigner. Four years ago the writer talked to a little group on the shores of the lake, and asked their mind about the dragon. An old woman *proved* that he lived in the waters: "For," said she, "a few years ago the priest used to feed him once a year with a pot of rice; he never saw the dragon, for he knew that he must turn his back and row away without looking. When he went back next day the pot was gone—

no doubt it sank, being iron; but the rice also was gone, and that would not sink. He searched the shores, too, and found no leavings of it. Assuredly the dragon had eaten it." Thus the old woman. Her son, too, was present. He was manager of a motor-boat company that owned all the launches on the lake, and had bought up many of the fishermen's sampans. Dragons and motor-boats cannot live in the same waters. The son not only laughed at the dragon, but despised all the religious superstitions of the past. He was entirely without religious convictions; though, in common with thousands of non-Christian Japanese, he regularly read the Bible.

The tale is trivial enough, but it will serve as a simple illustration, as it is typical of the change throughout the country. The past is going, and the present is empty, though not without signs of a craving for new satisfaction.

In the towns the pace is much faster. Here is a quotation from a Japanese writer which is both temperate and thoughtful, and not a little wistful. "Fifty years ago the word civilization was a fascination to all Japanese, and it was considered an urgent duty to usher this splendid stranger into the midst of society. But after she had entered, she proved to be a harsh and cold miser, always thinking of money and labour, at least to the great mass of the people, to whom she brought only toil and poverty. The fact that the so-called civilization has provided the means whereby a few may grow powerful by draining away the strength of the many, has aroused widespread suspicion and fear that this gift of the West cannot give to life the peace and

security it desires. . . . Venerable ideals that seemed as stable as the hills are passing away like the mist before the morning sun, and conceptions that had almost the sacredness of altars are crumbling to dust in the crucible of modern life and thought. Even patriotism and national glory are becoming a memory. In the face of these profound changes it is no wonder that the orthodox standards of morality are uprooted, and many young people are at a loss to know what guide to follow in the ordering of their lives; while, in the meantime, the ubiquitous demands of the instincts of sex and of ego find freer expression because of the breakdown of the old sanctions and restraints."

Behind these quiet words the thoughtful will see a sorrowful picture of the mind of young Japan—without a god, without a leader, and without moral restraint. For the weak and aimless there is all the glamour and temptation of great cities, where all the worst in man is catered for and evil is unashamed; while amongst the more noble-minded, in whom there still lingers the old tradition of master and disciple, are to be found men studying Cæsar, Napoleon, Karl Marx, Tagore, and a host of other past and present minds, in a vain search for a master. Often the search ends in despair, and "the difficulty of life" is one of the commonest causes given in the steadily increasing number of suicides.

In social life, too, the coming of industrialism has brought far-reaching changes. The life of old Japan was feudal, family, and agricultural. The individual counted for nothing; he was like a strand in a rope; for while he was useless and helpless by himself, yet he not only played his part in

co-operation with the team—whether family or clan—but unconsciously depended on their partnership with himself. If the individual was ill, or for any reason helpless, he at once returned to the land of his family, and however poor they might be, they would never question his right to share their rice; nor would the family think for a moment that injustice was done if the whole wealth of one individual was impounded to retrieve the misfortunes or pay for the faults of another.

Industrial life is little more than a generation old in Japan. Even to-day the vast majority of workers can count on going "home" if need arises, and it is for this reason only that there have been no large numbers of unemployed. This, too, explains the absence of prolonged chaos after the great earthquake, for all who survived quite naturally went "home" until the factories were ready to re-absorb them again. (Where would the masses go if an area of one hundred and fifty miles in diameter was destroyed by earthquake in the north of England?) And herein is the gravest of social problems. Increased population always follows industrialism. Already the second generation of workers has appeared in the cities; and while they may still count on their grandparents or their parents' brothers and sisters in the country, yet when the third and fourth generations arise, then they can only look to the industries which hitherto have supported them, for the land will receive them no more.

Again, in a feudal life men look to the chief whom they serve for protection, and in Japan the bond of mutual loyalty which bound lord and

peasant together was so strong as to have produced many acts of heroism and sacrifice on both sides. In industrial life, however, there is no such bond between master and man, and therefore the workers have done precisely as they did in England: they have united with one another for mutual help and protection. Clan consciousness has re-appeared as "class consciousness," and out of the latter is born class hatred, with all its blind unreasonableness and folly; and this, too, in a land where only a few years ago loyalty was almost a religion.

Small local trade unions sprang up a few years ago, and though at first they were little more than clubs or benefit societies, after a little while they attempted to use the "strike" weapon. The Government promptly replied with regulations empowering the police to fine and imprison any strike leader. The men, however, persisted; strikes became more common and quickly turned to violence and sabotage, and in a few instances the strikers were so determined that even vigorous police interference could not break them.

The first union wider than a local factory group was founded by a man called Suzuki—a Christian, and a wise leader—in 1912. Some of their earlier resolutions are interesting in that they are exactly parallel with those of the first English unions; they are concerned with hours, minimum wages, police regulations, dismissals, and suffrage. This union finally achieved a membership of 130,000; it was, however, seriously weakened by the great "slump" in 1921, when so many of the workers returned to the land, and it was further crippled by the great earthquake.

Meanwhile the mind of the worker has moved rapidly to the left. In 1921 a meeting of the Japan Federation of Labour emphasized the importance of "class consciousness." A still bigger union was attempted in 1922, but this broke down because of the opposition of a big minority who wished the whole movement to declare itself anarchist. It is, moreover, significant that the unions no longer take an interest in the suffrage question, though in 1925 a Manhood Suffrage Bill passed the Diet. The men say expressly that this means of obtaining their demands is futile, and that the only effective weapon is the creation of chaos through direct action by a general strike.

The first "general election," however, in 1928, under the enlarged franchise, has again keenly stirred the industrial world to interest in direct politics. There were no less than three parties which were avowedly "labour." They did not co-operate, and they did not win many seats. This, no doubt, was on account of lack of experience and wisdom. Their "platforms" were too definitely of local or guild interest. For example, a party that claimed to represent the interest of farm labourers had "the nationalization of fertilizers" as one "plank." After the election was completed, critics suggested that, taught by experience, these separate groups may unite and form a really comprehensive Labour Party. It is, however, extremely misleading to attempt to interpret oriental politics in terms of English political names and theories, because the origins of each are so different. And whenever Japanese politics attempt to express themselves in terms of our political thought, it is but evidence of

the impact of (and indeed unsuitability of) our political life. It is seldom the expression of a natural growth.

Until a few years ago socialist writings were sternly repressed, and indeed the very use in speech of the Japanese equivalent of the word was likely to bring down trouble. After the War the word "democracy" began to be whispered; and now there are at least forty socialist papers, and such words as "direct action," "class consciousness," "capitalist," "proletariat," and the like, are in common daily use. Nor is their use merely academic. Rich men have been murdered in cold blood merely because they were rich, and for no personal reason. During the wild terror that reigned for the first day or two after the horrors of the great earthquake, one well-known socialist was arrested, with his wife, and both were strangled by an over-zealous officer of the *gendarmerie*. Nine men, who had been seized for singing revolutionary songs, were massacred in cold blood within the prison by the police; and the latter, putting aside specific regulations, refused to hand over the bodies to the relatives, as they feared that the funeral might be used as an occasion for dangerous demonstrations.

A spirit of fear and mistrust is abroad in the land, and pessimism and doubt have displaced the eagerness and hopeful wonder with which Japan turned to our civilization.

The picture is not, however, unrelieved darkness, for though industrial life has introduced far-reaching social and intellectual changes, there are also many and obvious benefits. Transport and communica-

tions have put education within the reach of all. Medical service is everywhere; the daily newspaper, though it is always vulgar and often scurrilous, does include other and good reading matter, which all helps in moulding the new mind of the people, and, of course, innumerable comforts of life are at the service of the masses which were previously quite unknown.

Probably the most notable of the newest ideals in the land is that of "social service." Its origin is, of course, Christian, and most of the leaders are Christian; but its foremost patron is the Government, for it must not be supposed that Government in Japan is a malevolent tyranny. There is now a Government Department of Social Service which does excellent work. This department has built up a very elaborate system of welfare work which covers every phase of the life of the worker, and is a genuine attempt to provide care and protection.

And criticism of them, therefore, shall come from themselves. Here is one: "We have built up a great system of welfare work; but it has no soul and is as useless as a dynamo turned by hand." Here is another: "Our agents compile elaborate statistics showing the incidence of greatest need, and their reports are left to gather dust on the shelves." These criticisms are, however, too impatient and hasty; they do not allow for the vastness of the task in hand, and indeed the difficulties are so great as to daunt even the bravest. The great cities of Japan show the highest infant mortality in the world among countries which keep records—25 per cent. in Osaka. The number of suicides is greater than in any other land. Insanity

in the towns increases so fast that asylums can only house about 2 per cent. of the sufferers. Appalling and widespread juvenile crime defeats the combined efforts of police and welfare worker. Nevertheless, these evils are not unattacked, and those who combat them do so in a genuine spirit of service and sympathy.

Lest it should be thought that this chapter is no more than a glossary of facts without comment and without local colour, may I here say, before going forward to tell of what the missions of the Churches in Japan do, that local colour is quite deliberately avoided in order that the reader may think in terms of his own experience in his own land? This is essential. The industrial movement in the East is to be considered as part of a whole with a common origin and a parallel tendency. If it is approached by any other road it will only be seen as an interesting and perhaps depressing study of social and economic problems.

And it is here that the East and West separate, for in the handling of the industrial problem in England, either by the expert or the street-corner orator, there is the whole background—often quite unrecognized—of Christian experience. The Western conception of "justice," "right," "truth," "compassion," "love," and the like, is not only, as is often reiterated, "saturated with Christianity," it is Christian in origin, and Christian only. This is often overlooked and ignored. Justice and truth, *as we know these graces*, have little foothold in uninfluenced oriental life. Compassion and love, *as we know them*, have none.

If therefore, as has been shown, these and other

graces are already making themselves felt in the world-wide fight as portrayed in Japan against whatever is evil in industrial life, their origin can safely be said to be Christian, and that only.

And so we turn to more facts; this time of direct and indirect Christian work in Japan in relation to industrial life.

The manager of a great cotton mill was one day in the hospital where accident cases were treated. He was impressed and puzzled by the devoted care of a nurse at work, and he asked the reason of her unnecessarily sympathetic tenderness, for he would naturally expect a nurse (which means a woman of some education in Japan) to be little more than professional in her dealings with factory girls. She answered that it was because she was Christian. This puzzled him still more, and being a sensible man he naturally sought a solution of his puzzle in a study of Christianity. He, too, became Christian. He is now foremost among the leaders of factory reform in Japan. This little tale is typical. There are now very considerable numbers of faithful Christians in high places—there are over forty in Parliament, and several holding important Government offices, who exert an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. Probably all of them approached Christianity by different roads, and possibly most of them have had no personal contact with a missionary. It is of the utmost importance to realize that these men and women, and their types in every class of life, are now the leaders of Christian thought and action; under their influence there have already sprung up Christian factories where the terms of service, of pay, and

conditions of living are all good, and it is the pressure which they bring to bear that effects wider reforms.

Moreover, Christianity is now recognized throughout all Japan as being a teaching not only of lofty ideals, and of the highest moral integrity, but also as being the truest source of all that is best in social service and reform work. In old Japan, prisons were often torture houses and imprisonment was always punishment. To-day—though the prison administration is far from ideal—the governors are never brutal tyrants; they are generally men with a vision of service, and very often they are Christians. Such warfare as is carried on against the horror-filled and merciless cruelty of the licensed prostitution is all led by Japanese Christians. Examples of this kind, showing the influence of Christians and of how public opinion expects this of them, might be multiplied many times. Two little pictures—this time all local colour—will make it even clearer. A popular quack medicine sold throughout the country is called, quite literally, "the gospel." And the name would be meaningless if the word were not recognized at once as being synonymous with "good and beneficial." Or again: the writer once saw an advertisement in a Tokyo train urging the merits of Jintan—a cure-every-ill medicine which is immensely popular; translated it read: "The learning of Confucius, the pity of Kwannon, the love of Christ—are all summed up in Jintan." The flippancy, which may distress an Englishman, would merely amuse the oriental; and again the point is the same. If Christianity were not generally known to be a teaching of love, the advertisement would have been meaningless.

Christian influence and leadership in Japan therefore is no longer in the hands of the missionaries. The latter are sorely needed, in increasing numbers; but their work will be as teachers and guides only. The Faith is now a living Japanese force.

As has already been said, the amelioration of conditions in industrial life has been brought about solely by the efforts of Japanese Christians. There is, moreover, yet another feature of the problem, and in this the West and East differ. In the West—not only in England—the Church has too often in the past been regarded as the enemy of the working man, and it must be sadly allowed when one remembers, for example, the part it played in the Chartist riots, not always without reason. In Japan many of the ablest labour leaders have been Christian, and labour leaders because they were Christian; the earliest of the poor man's hospitals, and all similar works of compassion, were always Christian, and indeed all *love* of suffering humanity has first been shown by Christian organization; and as a consequence corporate labour life knows no hostility to Christianity.

Lastly, the work of the missionary societies in connexion with the workers.

The American Protestant bodies have many and excellent institutions which include all kinds of welfare work. The Roman Catholic missions devote some of their staff to works of compassion. Our own Church—always shackled with the bonds of insufficient funds, though we are perhaps the wealthiest Church in the world—does woefully little. One or two hospitals for the poor; a slum dispensary; one or two orphanages; and possibly other small

works of which I am ignorant—that is the sum of our offering. And all are ill-equipped.

We may indeed give thanks for the devoted and saintly lives of two Japanese priests of our communion who, living in the heart of the worst slums, have brought comfort and new life to many an outcast and criminal. Perhaps we may take a little comfort in the thought that many of the noblest among Japanese Christians are of our communion, and that, at least in its roots, the work they do comes from us. That is all.

We who have done more than all others to spread industrial life throughout the land, have done least to stay the evils of it and to show forth ideals by which it may be a quarry of good for all and not merely the enrichment of the few; though, taught by our own experience, we might indeed have dipped deeply into the well of knowledge.

Many thoughts crowd into the mind as one ponders over these *facts* of the industrialization of the East in relation to ourselves. They will be examined in the concluding chapter. It will readily be agreed by the honest that much of what we think is biased by eagerness—unconscious perhaps—to defend ourselves from being charged by conscience with indifference and shirking of responsibility.

We do well to remind ourselves, therefore, that towering above all our Lord's teaching about neighbours, and talents; and riches, and above the many things he said that bear on the problem of industrial life, is that supreme warning, "Unto whom much is given, from him will much be required."

CHAPTER II.

Todai no moto kurashi, "The base of a lighthouse is in darkness," says a popular Japanese proverb. And it is abundantly true of the industrial problem in the East; for the facts are obvious and clamorous for all to see and hear, but the true significance is little realized. It is, then, the purpose of this second chapter to examine the deeper significance of the bewildering changes in life in the East and to see whether it has any relation to the missionary responsibility of the Church.

The industrial problem is so dominant in every feature of the economy of human life throughout the world to-day that not only is the literature of the subject large, but also every man is ready to summarize its essentials in brief and often arresting aphorisms. It is necessary, therefore, first to consider some popular misconceptions and half-truths.

The following are those most commonly met in debate, lecture, and book:—

(a) That the industrial problem is essentially economic, and economics is a pure science, comparable to other natural sciences, with laws outside human control which cannot be broken with impunity; and that in due time the pressure of these laws will right all wrongs.

(b) That all industrialism is wholly evil—a great monster which holds the world helpless in its jaws, and which if it does not die as quickly as it came to life will inevitably reduce all humanity to a brother-

hood of slavery. The corollary of this is generally a pleading for a return to an idyllic age of peasant proprietors.

(c) That the Church must on no account interfere in industrial problems; for her own history should teach her that whenever she has attempted such corporate action she has always brought disaster on herself.

If any of these thoughts expressed final truths, then at once the industrial problem ceases to have any meaning for the Christian and a missionary book on the subject becomes aimless. They must, therefore, be examined in turn, though it is not possible nor here desirable to do more than suggest lines of approach.

(a) "That there are discoverable economic laws comparable to physical laws."

The following quotation from a very great sermon preached before the University of Cambridge in 1912 by Dr. Hensley Henson (now Bishop of Durham) admirably summarizes this thought: "To my mind it is evident that the ultimately determining factors of economic life do lie outside the range of individual human volition, and therefore in a true sense are, so far as individuals are concerned, beyond moral control; that the influence of moral action on the economic process is far more restricted than enthusiasm is ready to admit, or pride willing to acknowledge; that the power in the life of Society, as in that of individuals, must be '*made manifest in weakness*'; that man in the last result must own the empire of economic as of physical 'law'; that, notwithstanding, human character is really independent

of circumstances; that, therefore, the future of mankind cannot really turn on the terrestrial fortunes of the race; that, to borrow sacred and familiar language, *'we have not here an abiding city, but we seek after the city which is to come'*; and that *'our citizenship is in heaven.'* This is the faith which can sustain the human spirit under the cruel and baffling enigmas of life, and make even the stained and sombre records of history luminous with moral witness. Through the mighty madness of physical catastrophe as through the heartless movements of economic revolution, and the bewildering maze of politics, I see a stage prepared on which the divine drama of personal life is being wondrously disclosed."

This striking paragraph does express a very profound truth, if it is safeguarded with the fullest recognition of the nature of a physical law and of known economic laws. If economic laws are to be compared to physical laws it is imperative that essentials of the former are recognized. A physical phenomenon can only be expressed in terms of a "law" if it is constant under all conditions. That water "boils" at a temperature of 100° C. is a well-known natural phenomenon, but it is not a physical "law" as it is only true under normal pressure. Similarly, an economic phenomenon can only be accepted as axiomatic and capable of expression in terms of a law if it is constant under all conditions; it must be constant not only in the complex conditions of Western life to-day, and in the primitive standards in the heart of Africa, but also in such circumstances as, for instance, a few families of cannibals faced with starvation on a desert island. If it will not bear examination under all these varying conditions then

at once it ceases to be a law comparable to a physical law, that is to say a law beyond human control.

Modern writers on economics begin to recognize this. As they are able to study the life and history of lands untouched by the life of Europe they find that the product of x multiplied by y is not always the xy to be found in European history, but an entirely different quantity; and they begin to suggest therefore that the only known economic law which is immutably constant is the old and inexorable "survival of the fittest." A demand for the essentials of life which is in excess of the supply will only produce rising prices and a decreased consumption until stability is reached if the whole community observes certain moral laws; if these are not observed it will more probably produce a revolution, and at once economic laws give way before the operation of moral laws. It is, therefore, increasingly taught that just as humanity has moulded its life to benefit from or to escape the dangers of physical laws, so too, a community can only "survive" by a general recognition—within the community—of some degree of inviolability of person and property. And while, therefore, it may be an over-statement to say that all economic laws are in fact moral laws, it is at least true to say that before economic laws can be called into play and be expected to behave constantly there must be loyal obedience to certain moral laws. This is now universally recognized, and all lands East and West are asking "To what moral laws?" The answers are many and various. Some are hesitating and tentative; some are given with a passion which at once suggests lack of conviction. But all that have in them the thought of freedom are approaching the

truth. Every economic development in the world which does not make obeisance before the perfect law of freedom is at once in collision with the law of the survival of the fittest, and is planting the seeds of certain destruction and chaos.

(b) "That industrial life is wholly evil."

There do indeed come times—many times—when those whose duty it is to care for the human wreckage of the present industrial system are so overwhelmed with the horror of it all that they are tempted to cry out in despair that the great monster is wholly satanic.

The misgotten, or deformed, or foul-minded child to whom the vice and squalor of great slums have given birth; the worker who with inarticulate idealism strives after obedience to the law of freedom for himself and his family, and, with perhaps one week's warning (and this is an abiding evil) finds himself out of employment and the slave of circumstances over which he has no control; the mother who in "bad times" sees her children lacking essential food and clothing; the victims of lust and cruelty, and of the very lust of cruelty itself which thrives so riotously in great cities; the sufferings of all these pierce the soul like a sword and cry from the ground for vengeance.

Nevertheless, horrible as these things are, they are only the shadows of the picture and are by no means the whole picture nor even the background of it. Our judgment is apt to be biased by the reality of the suffering which is before our eyes, and we tend perhaps to forget that life before the industrial era was more brutal, coarser, more superstitious, and for the great mass of the people not more free. This, too, is true of all lands both East and West. A fungus which thrives on a tree must not be mistaken

for the fruits of the tree; and the evils which are so apparent in industrialism are neither essential nor incurable.

In order, therefore, that judgment may be balanced it is necessary to look for the good and potential good also. The benefits are many and obvious. The peasant proprietor living on the product of his land and hand-loom is a pleasing and happy man as seen in arm-chair dreams; but, in fact, his very survival depends upon the industrial worker. Only modern transport can save him from death by famine if his crops fail; he must remain illiterate if he is to be without the aid of the printer, and printing for the masses certainly requires industrial life; the "chances of life" in face of the dangers of plague and pestilence will be considerably lessened without the help of the doctor who in turn depends on the industrialist; his life will not only be more limited and comfortless, but also much that makes for spiritual and social welfare must be foregone. Nor can it be urged that the community depends upon the labour of slaves for the benefits which it derives from the products of industries; for though there is very real slavery in the sense of unfreedom for many of the workers it cannot be argued that such conditions are even beneficial to industrial health and prosperity, much less essential. Nor, indeed, while the evident evils are noted and uncompromisingly condemned, must it be forgotten that already in all lands many of the workers do enjoy a very real fullness of life.

The Christian must always ask two questions when he considers any new growth in the life of the community. First, does it inherently embody anything which makes for unfreedom? and second, what is its

tendency? its evils will quickly appear; but as the people learn its uses and abuses do the evils increase, or do they give way before a slowly emerging good? In answer to the first question, it cannot be disputed that though tyranny and slavery do appear they are not inherent in the system. And in answer to the second question we remind ourselves that industrial life is very young in the world; and that while its evils are abundant and apparent there is not lacking evidence that the tendency is towards improvement.

(c) "That the Church must not interfere in industrial problems."

This curious expression is so commonly heard to-day that it requires brief notice. What does it really mean? Often its context shows it to mean that the Church acting corporately must not attempt to interfere or guide when the community is faced with a difficulty which is essentially financial (finance and economics are quite different things), and in this sense the statement is an obvious truism. There is, however, a very different sense which can perhaps best be made clear with an example. Slavery is financially (and, indeed, in some aspects possibly economically) a defensible system. If then a powerful group of employers proposed to introduce this system into a land where morality was low and the Church weak, should the Church keep silence? There can be only one answer.

It is difficult to generalize about the experience of the Church in history as the record is so varied and inconstant. And while it is true to say that when she has attempted financial or political interference she has generally damaged herself, yet none will dispute her right to speak with no uncertain voice and

in spite of every opposition on behalf of freedom and justice. She has done so many times and always enlarged her glory; though all too often she has been on the side of unfreedom and injustice.

If the Church to-day is expected by the people to be only a home for the faithful and a not too exacting conscience for the community she was more than this in the past; and the day may come again when she will be required to make unmeasured sacrifice in the service of freedom.

The above paragraphs—necessarily brief and wholly inadequate—will have served their purpose if they suggest three thoughts. First, the industrial problem (or economic problem if that term be preferred) is not to be approached as being something beyond human control, comparable only to an earthquake in its relentlessness, and the variations of high and low atmospheric pressure in its attempts to find stability.

Secondly, that it is—in the world we now live in—idle dreaming to suggest that industrialism is all evil, to be combated as is any other evil. And thirdly, that if our Lord is more than merely a benevolent ethical teacher, but is indeed God incarnate, then in him and in him alone, is to be found the solving of the puzzle.

It is now possible to go forward the last step, and consider both the true significance of the industrial problem in Japan, and, in conclusion, its relation to ourselves.

As regards Japan it may all be expressed in a sentence: Pathetic bewilderment following quite

naturally upon intellectual, social, and religious collapse. Indeed, it may be expressed even more briefly, for as social and intellectual life must necessarily have a religious foundation—that is to say be built upon, and illustrative of, what the people believe, it is true to say quite simply, as all her leaders are now saying—that Japan is suffering from religious chaos. These statements need careful examination to be substantiated, and can most conveniently be examined in the order given above.

Intellectual Life.—The roots of intellectual life in Europe which have made our mind as it is to-day are an amazing tangle of influences from many lands, Greek, Latin, Northern European, and running through them all the ebb and flow of the life of the Church, whether in the Dark Ages, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, or the Puritan Reformation. Nor can it be disputed that the life of the Church has been dominant, for while the critic may protest that much of our scientific thought has been led by men outside all Church life, he must remind himself that the homes of learning which made it possible, were founded by the Church.

The background of intellectual life in Japan is much less complicated. It is Buddhism and the teaching of Confucius. In terms of European thought the former is a philosophy of pessimism amounting to despair, and the latter is an ethical code whose ideals are loyalty, discipline, amounting to the blindest obedience, and suppression of the individual. Both insist on the absolute and immutable inferiority of women. Could any contrast be greater? On the one hand is all the splendour and lure of intellectual adventure, always having ahead of it the goal of the

final achievement of perfect good. In a word we are led on by *faith*. And on the 'other, is a philosophy of the helplessness of humanity, bound eternally to the wheel of cause and effect, with as guide for the conduct of life a constant looking-back to a teacher who admitted that he was not concerned with eternal truths, but with the ordering of daily life. These two meet in Japan with a directness of collision unequalled in the world to-day. Of course, the weaker gives way before the stronger. Modern transport and cheap books whose paper and printers' type are the product of the forests and mines of the world, are two immediate outputs of industrial life, and they have combined to bring the thought of the world pouring into Japan. The student who absorbs the literature of England or Germany, of France or Russia (all, of course, translated) as his fancy may dictate, is perhaps only grotesque; the middle-school boy who proudly boasts that he has read Darwin, and therefore is an agnostic, is pathetic; but it is real tragedy to find (as the writer has done) middle-aged farmers and fisherfolk eagerly studying J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, and G. B. Shaw. The age-long traditions of their forefathers come crashing down, and as they are entirely without knowledge of the centuries of thought behind such writers, they can construct nothing new. Restlessness and discontent follow, and all too often intellectual despair. Our roots are so deep, and our convictions so strong that we cannot readily appreciate that intellectual despair which the missionary so often meets. Here is a typical, if rather outstanding case. An able man—whose name it is kindness to forget—and a great leader. First he expressed himself as a fanatical

Chauvinist. Then he toyed with the German idea of the super-man. Later he called himself a mystic, and withdrew from the world. There followed periods of intellectual socialism, and finally despair, with the conviction that man is an animal, and sex is dominant. He fled to the hills with another man's wife, and together they committed suicide—that "dying together" of a man and woman which is so strange a feature of Japanese life.

And, finally, supreme in the tragedy of it all is the abiding conviction of the Government that education and yet more education is the embrocation which if applied with patience and persistence will heal the sores and build up strongly the body intellectual. The medicine is applied with vigour, and none escape the treatment, for education is compulsory. It is European in fabric, and largely European in matter. The boy in the elementary school may have a superficial knowledge of the history of Europe (and all the religious strife of it), or the girl in the university may write learnedly about the inconstancy of Shakespearian heroines, but these things have no bearing on their own lives. Indeed, where the education is concerned with facts and things utilitarian it is both good and thorough, but where it is concerned with the philosophy of life it is a veritable hotch-potch. Happily there are not a few who begin to recognize this, and dare to ask—even though religion is sternly divorced from education—whether in fact knowledge which satisfies the head without a creed which will satisfy the soul is not as useless as a ship without a rudder.

Enough has been written of the intellectual life of the actual industrial workers in the previous chapter.

It will suffice here to remind the reader that it is the labour of the miner, the type-founder, the ship-builder, the engineer, and many such others—in a word, industrial life—combined with the eager expansion of our life, which have made this intellectual chaos possible.

Social life.—The history of the origin and growth of the social life of Europe to-day would be a work of many volumes. If, then, it is to be dismissed in a sentence is it adequate to say that the pivot of the system is the freedom of the individual, and that this idea is both born from and nursed by Christianity?

The foundation upon which the fabric of social life in Japan has been reared is much less complicated. It is the Confucian teaching of the inviolability of the family. The individual counts for nothing; the family is supreme; and artificial aids are used to insure that the family always remains intact. Even to-day in Japan the family is never allowed to die out, and the law requires that every man has a son in whom there can be continuity. If a man is childless or unmarried he must adopt a legal son, and if he has only daughters he must marry the eldest of them to the younger son of another family who shall become his legal son. The individual was insistenty taught that he must honour his family not only at the cost of all that he might hold dear, but even at the cost of life itself. All this is summarized in the Confucian doctrine of "filial piety" (*oya-ko-ko*), which for centuries has been emphasized as the supreme of all virtues. Sons were taught not only to offer blind obedience to their fathers, but also to honour their lightest whims. Two quaint illustrations will make clear how far-reaching

was this practice. They are taken from a famous series of Confucian illustrations of true filial piety. One is the picture of an elderly man whose very aged parents are still alive. The son is depicted as crawling and slobbering on the floor so as to suggest to the senile parents that if they still have a son who is obviously an infant they themselves must yet be in the hey-day of life. The other is the picture of the son of extremely poor parents; so poor indeed that they cannot afford a mosquito net. The son is shown lying naked on the floor so that all the mosquitoes may fasten on him and his parents may sleep unpestered.

Furthermore, not only must the individual sacrifice himself for the family good, but also he had no voice in the decision of matters concerning himself. His marriage, his occupation in life, often his very movements were all arranged by the family council. And above all things a son must succeed his father. It is this system which has held the whole of the Far East stable and unprogressive for so many centuries, and in a purely agricultural community it has much to commend it economically. Under the touch of Western life it has vanished like a dream and left bitterness between father and son and chaos everywhere. And in industrial life proper it is building up a problem so grave that no man can see a solution of it yet.

A few illustrations taken from personal experience will make this clear. Some eighteen years ago I knew a man who was head clerk in a very large English business house. He had travelled widely, and holding a responsible position he drew a large salary. He was suddenly summoned by his

father to return with his family to the village from which they came to take charge of the village shop which had been the family's for many generations. He was really shocked when I expressed surprise at his ready obedience to an order which meant financial ruin for himself and his family. So far old Japan.

Again, the foreigner in a small country town is frequently appealed to by entire strangers as they imagine that he can be trusted not to chatter to neighbours, and that his judgment will be impartial. Here are two examples. An elderly man, who, when little more than a child, had been widely applauded because he drew his sword and killed a peasant who had spoken rudely to his (the child's) father, called on me in the greatest distress saying that his son refused to obey him and asking if Christianity could make him do so. A young man (also an entire stranger) called and asked for advice. His mother was a widow. They came of the old fighting stock which was scattered with the coming of new Japan and were in real poverty. An opportunity of employment in an old-fashioned Japanese business had offered which would cure their poverty. In old Japan only the lowest grades of society touched commerce. His mother had absolutely forbidden him to think of so soiling the family name. What should he do? Would he be dishonouring his father's name if he disobeyed his mother and provided for her needs? This is old and new Japan in collision.

And as for new Japan, the cry goes up everywhere that loyalty and obedience and discipline have gone and no virtues remain. This city youth either ignores his parents or even despises them. More than once when I have urged a young man to discuss his

difficulties with his father I have been told that it is impossible because the father is only willing to dictate and not to discuss. Some are even more forceful. *Oya-koko* is the Japanese for filial piety. *Oya* means a "parent," and *koko* means "duty." But *oya* is also a word which is an exclamation of annoyance or anger, and *koko* also has several other meanings, one of which is the name of a highly pungent pickle. I have heard *oya-koko* spoken of as *Oyal kokol* with the suggestion of "stinking nuisance." Nor is this only the light-hearted flippancy of youth. I have heard an indignant father refer to his own son and young men in general as *bata kusai*—"smelling of butter." Flesh meat and such products of the cow as milk and butter were wholly revolting to old Japan, and especially the butter on account of its odour. Young Japan, however, frankly prefers bread and butter, and on this account the latter word came to mean something ultra-modern. Hence the point of the father's abuse.

Moreover, a critic would not be justified in arguing that this is no part of the industrial problem and is only an oriental expression of the world-wide revolt of youth. It is all the direct outcome of industrial life. The economic basis of life in the land has been shifted in a generation from agriculture to industry, and be the skill of the financial pilots of the country never so great they cannot prevent this from reacting on the life both of the farmer and of the newly created city worker. When agriculture ceases to be the economic foundation of a country it also ceases to be the social foundation. And it is this fact that is the very heart of the social chaos. The restraints and moral impulses of Confucianism may

have been admirably fitted to the life of a community living on the land. They are grotesquely unfitted for life in a factory. Industry in Japan (at present) buys labour, it does not support individuals, much less families. It cannot accept responsibility for aged parents, nor can it pay heed to the rulings of family councils. Industry is no father to which the employee can offer filial piety. Even lying naked on the floor to save the manager from mosquitoes would not prevent a worker from being paid off if there were not sufficient orders to employ him.

Briefly, then, it is this. Agricultural, feudal, and clan life thrives and even possibly benefits by the Confucian family system. Industry is essentially individual. It uses a man for his worth—whether intellectual or physical—and that only. It may possibly consider his social welfare if that will enhance his working worth, but it can by its very nature consider nothing else. In effect it demands that the worker shall be both individual and free. And the age-long teaching of Japan holds that a man is neither individual nor free. The old teachings found expression in a definite social system. Industry cannot support this system, nor is it concerned with creating a new social system which will both support industry and give stability to family life. It is to be expected that chaos would follow this deadlock. It is not so generally recognized that faith in the old religious and ethical sanctions must fail and the land be left without a creed on which to build again. Confucian ethics are sterile and inflexible, and are wholly and finally incapable of guiding the life of an industrial worker. To what then shall he turn? for he has no other guide now than the hotch-potch of

aphorisms and platitudes which his intellectual leaders have been able to skim off from the surface of the world's thought.

It is not necessary to write of the social habits and daily life of the factory worker as they are closely parallel to those of his fellows in England. Early to work and late home, with spare time spent in enjoying the many amusements which great cities offer—picture palaces being, as everywhere, the most popular.

There is, however, one problem which must be noted, though it is purely an economic one. Japan as an industrial country has yet to face in her turn widespread industrial depression. It is true that a period of depression followed after the war and post-war boom, and was in part aggravated by the great earthquake in 1923. These difficult times, however, could be met because industry is still in the first or second generation and the individual may still look to his family in its widest branches to support him. The villages, therefore, were able to absorb again the greater number of those whom they had given to industry. This cannot continue; and no man can forecast how the country will behave in the face of really widespread and acute unemployment. Loyalty together with the clan and family spirit have enabled them to triumph over national dangers in the past, but these can no longer be relied upon; and a recent telegram tucked away in the corner of English newspapers may be a straw of indication: "the Japanese police have arrested over a thousand communists during the disturbances which took place at the time of the general election." And this is in a country in which only twenty years ago patriotism,

loyalty, and the spirit of sacrifice amounted to a passion and had all the force of a religion.

Two little illustrations shall end this section. A few years ago a little band of "coolies" were engaged in some ground-levelling work not far from my house. A sudden heavy squall of rain broke, and they ran to my house asking if they might shelter on the verandah. As they sat there they fell to discussing among themselves political questions. Their talk was startlingly radical, and "Marukusu" (Marx) was freely quoted. One of them, however, was even more surprising. He said that he had heard somewhere that Christianity had something interesting to say about these questions, and he would like to know what it was. This was said quite simply and in no way for my hearing, for if they gave me a thought at all it would never occur to them that a foreigner would understand them. And not many months after this a young university student for whom I had high regard came to me for advice. He wanted to ask which of the following I thought he should choose as a master whom he could study and follow: Cæsar, Napoleon, Gladstone, or Nietzsche. Will those who hold that we have no right to "interfere with the religions of others which God meant them to have" ever realize how completely our very commerce with them (which is never deprecated) has already "interfered with their religions"?

Religious life.—It remains, then, to examine the relation between the religious and the industrial life of Japan. The religion of the people—"the creed of half Japan"—is the doctrine of Gautama—The Buddha. It is the teaching of the law of cause and effect, and the law of enlightenment. The great

Indian mystic who retired from his principedom to meditate on the riddle of life finally taught that all life is desire; that every desire is an "effect" of some previous "cause" and is in its turn the cause of further effects. And so the endless chain goes on through eternal re-incarnations. Mankind is inseparably bound to the wheel of desire and of cause and effect. He taught also a way of escape. If only a man could so master himself that his every act and thought was performed without desire, that is, in supreme indifference, then every such act ceased to be a cause, and finally man might achieve Nirvana, that perfect state in which he is freed from the wheel of fate, and is at last loosed from all desire, a state which Mr. G. K. Chesterton has brilliantly defined as "an ecstasy of indifference." This is a crude summary of the teaching, and in its thousand year's journey from India to Japan it has naturally suffered many changes. There are three main divisions of the creed in Japan. Those which only include the intellectual and scholarly and teach that enlightenment can only be achieved by prolonged meditation; those who teach that enlightenment can be won by the faithful repetition of mystic formulas, or the performance of mystic acts, of which the principal is to go on pilgrimage; and finally those that teach that poor humanity cannot unaided achieve enlightenment, but that by calling on the help of certain Buddhas (of whom the chief is the goddess of mercy) man may enter the land in the West from which it is possible to gain Nirvana. Such is the theory. In the practice of the masses it is the second of these which is commonly used. They go on pilgrimages; they repeat mystic formulas (of which the most popular is the "Hail! Teaching of the Lotus

Flower"), and they buy many tablets and amulets to safeguard them through life. Those who know Japan will agree that I write in no spirit of *odium theologicum* when I say that in actual practice Buddhism in Japan is both corrupt and superstitious. It has recently taken over many of the externals of Christianity, as, for example, hymn-singing, Sunday schools, and works of compassion. Its fundamental philosophy remains unaltered. That all life is evil and desire, and that escape from it is only to be found in meditation and mysticism. It is wholly and finally without thought for the recreation of life or for the search for good in this world. Its temple worship is a slow and majestic ritual which concerns itself with the ceaseless repetition of the scriptures and the mystic formulas. It is intelligible, perhaps, in the quiet of country life as an explanation of the phenomena of the spring and winter of all life; though it must always remain infinitely pathetic in its pessimism. What foothold can such a creed find in the roar of factory and city life? Statistics shall give the answer. In Osaka—the Manchester of Japan—a census of a few years ago showed that 80 per cent. of the people said "we have no religion." This, then, is the very inmost heart of the industrial problem in Japan. It is hard for a European to realize quite how deep-reaching it is. There are few even in the darkest parts of our great cities who have absolutely no knowledge of a god. And when difficulties are oppressive or passions run high or wrong has been done there are none who do not feel that they have a right to appeal to such standards as "justice" or "mercy" or "truth" or even "love." These, however, are Christian virtues. And to what shall a Japanese

appeal? To Buddhism? the only answer is the ruthless law of the endless wheel of cause and effect with enlightenment after many re-incarnations spent in stern self-discipline. To justice? What then is "justice"? For us now because the word is filled with a Christian content it is something which satisfies the conscience. The word itself is Latin and contains the old Roman idea of the upholding of the law. And so it is in Japan. The Japanese for justice is *Ko-hei*, which means "public peace." A man cannot cry out "I demand public peace," as we can say "I demand justice." And while it is true that the legal codes of Japan are European and therefore Christian in theory, nevertheless, it is equally true that in times of stress or sorrow men have nowhere to turn to for succour. What then happens? *Shikata ga nai*, "it can't be helped," is their answer, until the burden becomes too oppressive and then they take their own lives. The number of suicides is greater in Japan than in any other land in the world; and in one great factory of which I had knowledge, for a while a waterfall was watched to prevent the mill girls from committing suicide there.

The life of Europe has been built up on a creed. And so, too, the life of old Japan has its roots in religion. Where old Japan remains the old creed remains. New Japan which is industrial Japan lives a life imposed from without, and the old religious foundations being incapable of carrying the weight of it are collapsing everywhere. It is, indeed, a life without religious conviction. A body without a soul. The leaders of the land are now wholly aware of this lack of religion. They attempt many remedies. At one moment the Government will severely castigate

Buddhist priests for being indolent and immoral; at another they bolster up the Shinto revival and try to dress that venerable relic of the nation's childhood with the externals of modern ethical idealism. When, owing to financial pressure and the failure to secure recruits, there was a possibility of the withdrawal of English missions, officials hastened to wait on those concerned with earnest pleadings that, if anyhow possible, the work be continued. Some years ago the Government officially summoned representatives of the "three religions" (Christianity, Buddhism, and Shinto) to confer about the religious health of the people. It was never quite clear what their object was, though the press was of opinion that—under Government patronage—there was to be an attempt to evolve a Japanese religion which should embody the good of all three creeds. Nothing, of course, came of it except two days' fun for the newspapers (and the Japanese above all people have the keenest sense of fun). It arose in this way. After the conference there was a final banquet. This was held at a European hotel with European and not Japanese food. There was much speech making, and a veritable flood of theoretic idealism was let loose. After the feast the hotel staff were quick to discover that a large amount of cutlery had been carried away by the guests. This was heaven-sent copy for the newspapers. Who stole it? Christians or Buddhists or Shintoists? The story bears repetition, for it shows how true was the instinct of the public in fastening on this side of the conference. It realized, inarticulately perhaps, that religions are not made by Governments. Yet another illustration of the widespread religious hunger is to be found in the enormous

output and circulation of religious literature, more especially of the religious novel, and, in the number of brand-new religions which are invented, seen in visions, or evolved from experience, and presented to the public dressed and ready for consumption. Their creators generally make a considerable income unless they are foolish enough to add a little political wisdom to the mixture, for if this is not orthodox the police are certain to interfere.

These things can be written lightly, for at their sincerest they are only pathetic. The tragedy is in the individual who is without a goal, without constancy in ideals, and especially without comfort in sorrow, or hope for the future. And the sum of individual need is the need of the nation.

Many pictures crowd into the memory. Here is one. Four years ago climbing a mountain pass I overtook a man and woman sitting by the roadside. Both looked extremely tired and the woman looked really ill. After reaching the summit I was resting a little way back from the road. The two presently reached the top, and about the same time a man arrived up from the other side of the pass. Him they asked how much further it was to the town at the bottom of the hills. He told them the distance—it was still many miles to go—and urged them to hurry as the temple festival ended that night and they might be late for the fun. They replied that they were not bound for the festival, and doubted if they could reach the bottom that night as they travelled slowly, "for we have eaten nothing for three days," added the man. The other traveller expressed such sympathy as is possible in a very unsympathetic language, told them he regretted that he had no money (which was prob-

ably true), and gave them a little tobacco to stave off the hunger. As soon as they had parted and were out of sight of each other I overtook the two, and without hinting that I had overheard them a few minutes earlier, began to talk with them. This was the tale. He was a craftsman—a leather worker—in a country town; the pressure of factory competition began to tell, and at last they answered an advertisement in a daily paper offering employment to young women in a factory in the Northern Island. The pay was good and the man's younger sister had been sent off there to work and earn money for the family. She herself had probably not been consulted. She did not write and did not answer letters; so, finally, after the manner of Japan, they travelled north to find her. "There was no such factory," said the man, "and never had been, and we do not know what has become of her." I suspect that he did know; and I knew full well what her probable fate had been. It is perhaps best to state the fact bluntly. She had almost certainly been met at the station and sent forthwith to a life of enforced prostitution, and she might be anywhere from Bombay to Shanghai. They spent all their money searching for her, and then walked all the way back. They had travelled some four hundred miles in nineteen days. For the greater part of the way they were in country districts and naturally turned to their fellow craftsmen who not only helped them, but gave them their cards as introduction to others of the Guild. For the last three days they had been in the industrial areas where country folk claiming to be hungry fellow guildsmen would get no sympathy, and so they were starving. They asked no help of a foreigner. *Shigatı ga nai*,

"it can't be helped," was their philosophy. And they knelt on the ground and made the obeisance of thanks with tears when sympathy combined with their hunger compelled them to accept *dojo-kin*, "fellow feeling money." Nor must the critical reader think that this is merely a "sob-stuff" story with an *ad misericordiam* appeal. A moment's reflection will show how it is a miniature of the whole; the economic pressure which broke up the family; the newspaper; the easy transport; the lure of the factory and high wages, and the rampant evil round the life, for very many who do enter factories leave them in a short while for the life which claimed this unknown victim. And above all is the helplessness of the individual in a land where there is little of our vast and far-reaching machinery for dealing with the welfare of those who come to grief in industrial life as we know it.

What then is the relation of all this to ourselves, and more particularly to our Church life?

The lowest of all appeals is that which would insist on our own protection. Almost any week it is possible to find a paragraph in the financial pages of our daily papers which emphasizes the severity of Japanese competition with Lancashire in the cotton trade of the world. The experts point out how Japanese costs of manufacture can always be driven down a little lower than our own, however much we may reduce costs (and wages) at home; and there are, therefore, those who would urge that we must bring every sort of pressure to bear—even religious, if that proves effective—to bring Japan up to our level, not for their good particularly, but for our protection. Dare one say that it would be better that we should cease to

exist as an industrial people rather than that we should use our Lord's name to bring pressure to bear on others for our protection?

An equally common appeal is the appeal to justice. This would urge that it is we who gave them industrialism who are responsible for showing them the way of escape from the evils of it. The motive of this has in it at least a certain idealism, but in so far as it is humanitarian it falls far short of the perfect.

Next in the scale is the impulse of service, and while we cannot withhold admiration from those who at real cost whether at home or overseas spend themselves whole-heartedly in the cause of moral, social, or intellectual welfare ("uplift" is, I believe, the modern word), we must remind ourselves that the great passage quoted earlier in this chapter from Dr. Hensley Henson is abidingly true, and that the effect of such effort is small, or, to use his text, "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." And moreover, while such an appeal may be eloquently moving from a platform at home, none will question that the actual change which can be wrought by a few who may be impelled by a spirit of social service is crushingly small when compared with the need.

There is yet another appeal which is both higher and profounder. It is the recollection of all that our creed teaches us. It may put the goal further ahead, and perhaps delay the righting of wrongs that cry out for redress. It will remind us of our Lord's method of making known his claim to the whole world. In terms of things divine it will teach us to look first not at humanity, but at God working out his eternal purposes. It will perhaps suggest that there is to be seen in all the religious chaos of Japan great potential

good; for the old creeds which are built upon the false philosophy that all life is evil are breaking down and so preparing the way for that incomparably greater teaching that "God saw all that he had made and behold it was very good." And in terms of humanity it will suggest to us not thoughts of social welfare, but of a far more searching and alluring ideal, namely, freedom. I know of no passage which more superbly expresses this than the great paragraph with which Mr. G. K. Chesterton closes his book on America. I quote it exactly as written. If the reader will make the necessary alterations, such as substituting "Japanese industrial life" for "American democracy," he will realize how apt are these great sentences:—

"It would be the worst sort of insincerity, therefore, to conclude even so hazy an outline . . . without testifying my belief that to this also the same ultimate test will come. So far as that democracy becomes or remains Catholic and Christian, that democracy will remain democratic. In so far as it does not, it will become wildly and wickedly undemocratic. Its rich will riot with a brutal indifference far beyond the feeble feudalism which retains some shadow of responsibility or at least of patronage. Its wage slaves will either sink into heathen slavery, or seek relief in theories that are destructive, not merely in method, but in aim; since they are but the negatives of the human appetites of property and personality. Eighteenth century ideals formulated in eighteenth century language have no longer in themselves the power to hold all those pagan passions back. Even those documents depended upon Deism; their real

strength will survive in men who are still Deists. And the men who are still Deists are more than Deists. Men will more and more realize that there is no meaning in democracy if there is no meaning in anything; and that there is no meaning in anything if the universe has not a centre of significance and an authority that is the author of our rights. There is truth in every ancient fable, and there is here even something of it in the fancy that finds the symbol of the Republic in the bird that bore the bolts of Jove. Owls and bats may wander where they will in darkness, and for them, as for the sceptics, the universe may have no centre; kites and vultures may linger as they like over carrion, and for them, as for the plutocrats, existence may have no origin and no end; but it was far back in the land of legends, where instincts find their true images, that the cry went forth that freedom is an eagle, whose glory is gazing at the sun."

"Whose service is perfect freedom." This is the Christian missionary message. It can be seen running through all the New Testament missionary history, and it reaches perfection in the superb Pauline paradox that the true freedom is to be the slave of Christ. Humanity, left alone and unguided, has always in the past headed straight for the unfreedom of slavery, and doubtless, except for the restraints of Christian ideals, would do so again. Furthermore, a slave might achieve his freedom in two ways: he might be manumitted by his owner, or he might be *bought at a price and redeemed* by another. Which latter is the doctrine of the redemption.

Our task, then, is not to win proselytes from Buddhism who are already wholly content in their own life. Indeed, such people would never even approach our missionaries. It is not to interfere in Japanese industrial life, and, by using all means, to endeavour to lift it all to certain moral standards which we call Christian, but which without Christ are meaningless. If every worker in the land lived a model life, worked for short hours at high pay, was fed with just the right number of calories and vitamins, and was wisely guided in the intelligent use of abundant free time, even so the life would remain meaningless and without purpose. These facts need emphasizing, for we are the victims of our own religious past and are apt to think that the Christian Faith is only concerned with certain standards of conduct. Indeed, for multitudes of our people, Christianity is limited by the fifth chapter of St. Matthew. There is a tendency in much of our missionary literature to write lucidly of world chaos and world problems, and then vaguely of an undefined embrocation called Christianity, which if rubbed in persistently will cure all ills. Our message is freedom—the freedom of final bondage. And our method must always be the Divine method. First, there are the works of compassion by which our Lord won acceptance of himself. And so, too, it is our charge to care for the outcast, the leper, the blind, the sick, and for the wreckage of industrial life; having also the same purpose. Then he taught men. And what teaching! Leading them on by question or parable in a perfect progress from the known to the unknown till they reached heights undreamt of. And herein are our schools and the routine work of the

missionary. Finally, there was the full revelation of himself as the Christ. This is our building up of the whole Church.

I venture to ask to be allowed again to emphasize this. This little book will not have been worth the writing if it has not left clearly the thought that the industrial problem in Japan is essentially religious, and that our message is the making known a freedom which is at the cost of a redemption through him "who made there, by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."

APPENDIX.

THE following notes can hardly claim to be part of the subject of this little book, but they may interest the curious.

(a) JAPANESE COMMERCIAL MORALITY.

"I have always understood that the Chinese are so much more honest in business than the Japanese, and indeed that things are so bad in Japan that even Japanese banks always employ Chinese cashiers."

This little titbit of information about Japan is so widely enjoyed and so generally believed that it merits notice. First of all, about those Chinese cashiers. I have read a very large number of books about Japan, not only authoritative books, but also the ecstatic or explosive effusions of "globe-trotters," but I have not yet found the author of that legend about the cashiers. There never have been, are not, and certainly never will be, any Chinese in any Japanese bank. Probably the origin of the legend is to be found in the practice of the great English bank, the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank. The headquarters of this firm are in Hong-Kong. Their staff are largely trained there, and from there are sent out to many branches all over the East. There are branches in the treaty ports in Japan, and, of course, Chinese clerks and cashiers. Probably some well-known "globe-trotter" once cashed his letter of

credit at one of these branches, did not know that the bank was English, and not Japanese, and so started the ball rolling. It is perhaps possible that, in the earliest days of Japanese banking, Chinese clerks were employed to teach the elements of book-keeping. I have asked several Japanese bankers if they have any knowledge of this, and they all reply that, as far as they know, their respective houses never did so. It is most improbable. For five hundred years China and Japan have disliked each other as heartily as neighbours are likely to do, and in 1894 (not so very long after the Restoration) they were at war.

While, however, the Chinese cashiers can be dismissed as bad witnesses, it is true that there is much commercial malpractice in Japan. Here are a few examples out of many that crowd on to the memory :—

"Neither Australia nor India will ever buy Japanese matches again. Half of them have never been dipped in sulphur at all, and those that have will not strike." "Even Governments are not safe. A big order for copper wire proved useless, as the wire was of varying tensility." "Samples are always good, but goods are never up to sample." "Any Japanese firm will refuse to take delivery of goods ordered if the market has become unfavourable, and it is useless to prosecute for broken contract, as their credit would not stand it, even if you won your case." "They will pirate any trade mark, and sell the spurious goods as genuine." This latter is only true in part. Until a few years ago many European manufacturers did not take sufficient care to protect

themselves, and most trade marks were pirated. But there was no attempt at deception. The shopkeeper would, when any particular article was enquired for, quite openly produce two samples of it—sometimes they were quite indistinguishable—and say, "This is foreign made, and this is Japanese made; which will you have?" Once, indeed, after Evensong in a Yokohama church, a stranger came in to seek my help in this very matter. He said that he proposed to start the manufacture of tinned milk, and would like to know if he had had the labels correctly prepared. Whereupon he produced from the sleeve of his *kimono* two tinned milk labels. One was from the tin of a well-known English firm, the other was his attempt at a copy, and he asked if it was correct. The drawing of the trade mark was faultless, but all the printed matter was upside down and read from right to left!

These few examples carry with them their own evidence of exaggeration. Nevertheless, it remains true that there is much grave dishonesty, to which indeed the attacks on it of their own press bear witness. It cannot be excused, but it can in some measure be explained. First, it is to be remembered that until the Restoration only the lowest classes engaged themselves in commerce. A "gentleman" prided himself on being both ignorant of, and indifferent to, anything to do with money. Tradition dies hard, and it was not the best of the nation that crowded into commercial life when Japan fell into line with the rest of the world. And, secondly, there is the Japanese passion to make a little money and to retire to the village of his fathers. They have little

or no thought of establishing a firm which shall be handed down from father to son with an honourable name. If therefore they can find someone—and if he is a foreigner so much the better—at whose expense they can make enough to retire and live simply in the old village, they are not in the least interested in what happens to the victim afterwards. There is, moreover, another side to the picture. Any English merchant who has had extensive dealings with Japan will bear witness that the big and old established firms are as straightforward as similar houses in any other land. Most of the important trade is done between big English and American houses, and similar houses in Japan. It is the little man who is likely to be swindled by the little Japanese firm. Nor, unhappily, are there lacking foreign merchants who are well capable of teaching Japan dishonest ways. And perhaps every example of gross dishonesty can be paralleled by examples of not only honesty, but even a spirit of *noblesse oblige*, and as, for example, the behaviour of some of the oldest Japanese families when several banks were in difficulties in 1927. Where they were shareholders they were, of course, safeguarded by limited liability protection, but in spite of their losses they gave very largely in order that the small depositor should not suffer. While therefore it is true that there is glaring commercial dishonesty, it is a very grave mistake to argue from this that the people as a whole are unscrupulous and dishonest. They are neither. In all the little trading transactions of daily life they are both upright and courteous.

(b) TWO CURIOUS STRIKES.

A strike for lower wages would be a novelty in England, yet such actually took place in Japan after the War. During the War Japan was incredibly prosperous, and the demand for her goods and, by her manufacturers, for labour, far exceeded the supply. The reaction was violent. Large numbers of those who had been drawn into industrial life were no longer required. In some cases the manufacturers made plans for carrying on their work on a peace basis of costs and profits, and offered the men considerably lower wages to this end. These were almost invariably refused. On the one hand, the Japanese mind seems to be incapable of understanding retreat; and on the other, the men had visions of getting back to their villages with the final bonus with which they would be dismissed; for, of course, they had no knowledge of the economic pressure that lay behind all these changes, and could not realize that they would be wiser in the long run to remain in the factories at peace-time rather than war-time pay. This very incapacity to retreat is one of the main causes of Japan's economic difficulties to-day. The land remains the most expensive in the world because the people will not consider "going back." In one small factory, however, where something of the old feudal spirit had grown up, the workers actually struck for lower wages; and this apparently was not only because they realized that if the costs were not lowered the factory would ultimately close, and they would be out of employment: the evidence all seemed to suggest that they were impelled by a

desire to act differently from others around them, as they regarded their firm as being different from others.

The strike of the Tokyo tramwaymen—though some years ago now—affords a noteworthy picture of the Japanese mind at work. With the war prosperity costs rose steeply, and were, of course, normally ahead of wages. This entailed very much suffering, which, when it became very acute, broke out into rice riots. The Tokyo tramwaymen demanded increased wages to meet the hugely increased family budgets. This was refused. They could not strike, as strikes were illegal; trams were the only transport in the capital, and the police would probably have dealt swiftly with them. They very effectively, however, held up the whole city by a united "drive slowly" campaign. Trams *crawled* everywhere. The stock was old; strict police regulations required that any tram that broke down must return empty to the sheds. It required but little ingenuity to produce quite good breakdowns. The conductor would politely ask all the passengers to leave the car, and the same happened to the next that came along, as it was required to tow the damaged car home. Dismissing or arresting one man would have meant doing the same to all, as all were doing the same. Moreover, no rules were broken, and the East lives by rules. In a few days the city was in a ferment, as travel became almost impossible. The public, though exasperated, admitted the humour of it, and sympathized with the men. And the increased pay was granted.

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