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of the Labour Movement
in Japan.

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INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.
1921.
Workers of the world unite!

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PART I

The Early History

1867—1910.

CHAPTER I.

The Forerunner of Trade Union. (1867—1900).

1. The Birth of Bourgeois Japan.

The Revolution of 1867 (Meiji Ishin) saw the birth of "Modern" or "Bourgeois" Japan. Economic, consequently political, power transferred from the feudal-landlord to the rising commercial capitalist class, with the Emperor as their figurehead.

This was immediately (especially after the reactionary revolt of 1878) followed by "Industrial Revolution". It should be remembered that the industrial slavery system was at the first step introduced into the textile industry which is still one of the main sources of Japanese bourgeois wealth, and also that the great majority of workers employed in this industry is composed of peasant girls. This is one of the reasons why we had a scanty existence of workers' organisations at the earlier stage of Industrial Revolution.

During a quarter of century since the Burgeois Revolution, therefore, there were, apart from friendly and trade societies, only a few Unions, of which the printers' and metal workers' were notable.

2. The Forerunners of Modern Trade Union, 1897—1900.

In the meantime, young Japanese capitalists challenged China in 1894; and after two years' fight succeeded in plundering Formosa and Korea from China, and in getting the right to share with European Countries in exploiting the vast commercial markets of China. This naturally caused a great economic prosperity, an important development
of industrialism and a consequent growth of the modern fighting proletariat. Those facts, side by side with an enormous advance of prices, gave a remarkable impetus to the combination movement of the working classes, as well as to industrial disputes.

Generally speaking, it is since those years that the modern Trade Union—a fighting body of enslaved classes against the bourgeois exploitation mainly in the industrial field—has come into existence in Japan. A body which worked to a great extent for the development of the movement was the "Society for the Promoting Trade Unions" in 1897. The society was an educational or propaganda association established by a dozen intellectuals (Katayama, Takano, etc.), followed by thousands of workers.

The first Union, born directly from the propaganda of the above "Society", was the "Iron Workers Union" in 1897, consisting of metal workers in several workshops near Tokyo. This is a landmark in the History of the Japanese Trade Union movement, both in a historical sense and in structure. Although its formal object was friendly benefit and mediation in trade disputes, with the rapid growth in membership (claiming 5400 in 1900), it became more and more militant against the employers. But the defeat of a dispute the same year was a fatal blow to the young organisation and soon a rapid reduction of members came in.

In 1898, no less important Union, called "The Nippon Railway Culture Society" of locomotive-engineers and firemen, arose from a great successful strike which had stopped the whole traffic in the north-eastern district. It enrolled 1000 membership and accumulated funds of £1000 in the second year.

In the same year, the Printers' Union with 2000 members, under the auspices of middle class politicians and some employers, rose, but to disappear. After the collapse of this Union, a small group of printing workers was formed, and this group was succeeded in 1907 by "The Oyu-kai", and then in 1916 by "The Shinyu-kai", one of the most militant Unions at the present time.

While the above Unions were the organisations which came to existence directly or indirectly from the devoted efforts of the "Society for the Promoting Trade Unions", there were many other associations extending from skilled to unskilled workers, for the purpose of trade contract or mere friendly benefit. But those were of no significance historically.
3. The Police Law, Suppression and Collapse.

Now, turning to the field of class struggle, we witnessed the first appearance of industrial workers' mass action and labour unrests, which reached the climax in 1898-1899. Up to 1899 those disputes were closed comparatively in favour of the workers. But entering 1900 a sudden change came. Not only industrial and commercial depression had a serious effect on the movement, but also the possessing classes, alarmed by the rising tide of revolt of masses, put a speedy end to the strike action of the oppressed through legislative measures—that is the notorious Police Law of 1900, which is still exercising its mighty power. According to the article 17 of the Law, any action of instigation or agitation either for strikes or for increase of Trade Union membership is to be punished (imprisonment of one to six months). No discussion is necessary to prove that the Law practically forbids strikes and the organised movement of the working classes.

The result is easily foreseen. Within a short time, almost all noticeable Unions, one after another, ceased to exist.

In this manner, the earlier history of the Japanese Trade Union movement was concluded. During nearly a decade till 1912, when the "Yuai-kai" was formed, the industrial workers' mass movement hardly showed any sign of life.

But the movement for the emancipation of the exploited class was not absolutely left for dead when the Trade Union quitted the battle field. For the field was promptly taken over by a forlorn hope—a group of revolutionary Socialists.

CHAPTER II.

Socialist movement (1901-1910).

The history of Socialism in its wider sense can be traced far back into the radical movement of bourgeois Liberalism of 1877-1900. It was, however, not until 1901 that scientific Socialism took a form and programme as "The Social Democratic Party". But the Party was an unfortunate child. It had no sooner come out than the government suppressed it. Then in 1903, "The Plebs League" was formed by a dozen intellectuals for the purpose of study and Socialist propaganda. This was the father of Modern Socialism in Japan. It was the League...
which sowed the seeds of revolutionary Marxism in the soil of Japan. It was also the followers or remnants of the League who have been today the leaders of Communist movement in our country. The period of 7 years from 1903 to 1910 was in fact the history of the League.

At the beginning of Russo-Japanese War (1904), the League sent comrade Katayama as a delegate to the Congress of the "Second International" held then at Amsterdam and, on the other hand, made the most energetic agitation against the War, in which many members were sent to prison and their paper suppressed.

In 1905 the League itself was forced to dissolve.

The years following the Russo-Japanese War are marked by a series of important social events,—on the economic side, the great expansion of commercial markets, the astonishing growth of industrial (particularly Iron and Steel) Capitalism, the enormous advance of prices; on the political side, the "national" upheaval against the "compromised" peace terms with Russia, to which the government answered with Martial Law, and the first appearance of the "genuine" bourgeois cabinet; abroad, the first Russian (proletarian) Revolution, and, at home, desperate struggles of Socialists, and incessant persecutions upon them.

It is of importance to notice the fact that there already appeared three main currents of thought in the Socialist movement: that is, Marxism led by Sakai, which always predominated over the rest; Anarchism (Kropotkin) led by Kotoku, one of the greatest thinkers Japan has ever produced; thirdly, Christian Socialism. In the practical movement, however, those sections always united against their common enemy which had prepared to sweep away by every forcible means all obstacles from the paths of bourgeois exploitation.

In 1907 they published the first Socialist Daily, called "The Pleb's Paper", although soon prohibited.

In the next year, "Red Flag Demonstration" took place, in which more than 50 active Socialists were arrested.

At last in 1909 occurred one of the most tragical events in the Socialist history of the world. Twenty-four comrades were arrested under a false charge of "Anarchist Conspiracy"; and half of them (including Kotoku and Oishi) were hanged and another imprisoned for life.

The earlier history of our Socialist movement ended in such a tragic catastrophe. Surviving Socialists (mainly Marxists) have been kept under the extremest watch of police, chased by the hatred; calumny
and threats of the possessing classes. A few of them fled to foreign countries, and a few went over to enemy.

This is but the path through which all social martyrs had to and shall pass before their final goal could be attained. One thing, however, is regretful to the utmost—they died, before they were able to attract the working masses to their Red banner, and before the masses would experience such a proletarian revolutionary rehearsal as the Russian workers experienced in 1905, the French in 1871, the British in Chartist movement. But nobody can blame our earlier Socialists by this reason when taking into consideration the economic and political conditions of the time, which were far from being ripe for social revolution.

At any rate, from 1910 to 1918, the whole Socialist movement went underground. Not a single protest against the capitalist robbery was heard. And the whole of the oppressed classes seemed to be thrown into the whirlpool of bourgeois Social-bettermentism or Class-harmonism.

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**PART II.**

**Recent development**

1912—1921.

**CHAPTER I.**

„Yuai-kai“ and „Shinyu-kai“.

(1912—1917).

1. Formation of the „Yuai-kai (Fraternal Society)“.

Not less than a decade after the wholesale collapse of the Trade Unions under one blow of the Police Law of 1900, and only two years after the massacre of leading Socialists and Anarchists, a new glimmer was thrown on the dark world of labour, not by Socialist, but by petit-bourgeois Reformers—that is, the formation of the „Yuai-kai“ (August 1912) by B. Suzuki as the President and a handful of workers in Tokyo, principally for the purpose of educating the working peoples.
During the first few years, the Yuai-kai did nothing but preach Reformism among its members and arbitrate in case of industrial disputes. But as there existed then no other organisations, the intellectual section of the working classes had begun to join it. Without any support from leaders at the Head Office, the rank-and-file members created the branches in their workshops, and everywhere took the most leading part in strikes, in agitation, and in social life. Thus in 1917 it claimed a membership of 27,000 men and women and more than 100 branches, based on area or workshop, all over the country.

In 1915 and 1916 the Yuai-kai sent the President as a fraternal delegate to the Conference of American Federation of Labour. Anyhow, this is the opening of the International relation of the Japanese Trade Union.

This unceasing development of the Yuai-kai met a hard blow (with lock-out, black-list, police-spy) from the employers who, both rightly and wrongly, attributed the labour unrest of the time to the existence of the Yuai-kai. Despite its moderate propaganda and its opportunist leaders, from 1917 onward it suffered from the bitter attacks of the possessing classes (especially in the government factories). The membership suddenly began to drop (16,000 in 1918), and, at the same time, the old leaders deserted it.

In spite of the ominous situation, in spite of the wish of the governing classes; the Yuai-kai did exist. Not only did so; the assaults upon it served as an invaluable stimulus to give up the former opportunist attitude toward the employer, thanks to the bourgeois autocracy. Since then the Yuai-kai has converted its function into a weapon of the class struggle and a school for educating the proletarian vanguard.

2. The „Shinyu-kai“.

Before entering the next period, it should be written on the no less important body, the „Shinyi-kai (Fraternal Society)“. As we have in the earlier history taken a glance at a long series of printing workers’ fights. The „Shinyu-kai“ was the successor of the „Oyu-kai“ in 1916. At the outset, it was a pure craft-union with an exclusive policy by the European typographers employed in several plants in Tokyo. But soon it opened its door for all workers employed in the same industry, and in 1917 enrolled 700 members.

From the beginning the Shinyu-kai has been led by a few socialist workers and has taken the militant policy against the employer.
This has soon made the Union the focus of fire from the enemy camp. Above all, when the "Rice Riot" broke out in 1918, a number of members were arrested under the charge of seditions action, and then came the secession of timid members from the Union. In a short while, it remained sick and sore.

3. The "Yuai-kai" and "The Shinyu-kai".

I have described in some detail two Unions, the "Yuai-kai" and the "Shinyu-kai", because these Unions are to-day not only leading the whole of labour movement, but also represent two types or tendencies of the Trade Unions.

It is not, therefore, without interest to make comparison, and to point out a few differences between them. In the first place, both differ in their origin. The Yuai-kai grew largely by effort of class reformers, from the above, for something "wider" object, while the Shinyu-kai (of printers) was created by workers themselves in order to fulfil their own immediate necessities. Secondly, in the spiritual side, the former represented the compromising type of Union (however this is not the fact to-day), the latter the militant Unionism. Thirdly, the former was a General (Trades) Union or "One Big Union" including several trades and industries. On the other hand, the latter was a Trade (or Industrial in the wider sense) Union of printing workers only.

In other words, the Yuai-kai was characterised by its constitution, organisation and number of membership, while the Shinyu-kai by its fighting spirit. Doubtless it is clear that the alliance of two Unions was absolutely necessary for the development of a proletarian revolutionary movement. And happily this was finally accomplished early in 1920.


Strictly speaking, the working class movement as a whole was during the period in an embryo and chaotic condition both in practice and theory.

On the practical side, the Unions were left without strike fund, without benefit (except a small fund of sick benefit), without defined trade policy, and without concrete organisation. Moreover, on the spiritual side it was worse than that. Not merely the mass of workers, the Unions and their leaders lacked a clear idea of the class-struggle, a
clear comprehension of the Capitalist system and a definite programme for future action, but most of the Socialists (except a small Osugi Syndicalist group) shut themselves up in their study, keeping aloof from the practical movement, leaving the workers' organisations in the hands of Reformists.

But such a period did not last long. The historical year of the world revolution was coming nearer.

Outside those two, there was another Union in Osaka, called "Association for Conducting Trade Union" of metal workers.

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CHAPTER II.

Prologue of the Social and Industrial Upheaval, and Unorganised Strikes.

(1917—1918).

1917 and the following years mark the turning point in the world history, not only because the Workers' Republic was for the first time established in Russia, but also because the enslaved classes in the Far Eastern countries have begun to awake from their long sleep. In Egypt, in India, in China, in Korea, we have seen the open rebellions of the toiling masses against the exploiting classes, both foreign and at home at first in the form of riot and then organised mass action.

In Japan this tide of proletarian revolt and organising movement synchronises with (1) extraordinary development of industrial capitalism, (2) increase of industrial workers in number, (3) amazing advancement of prices, and (4) also with revolutionary ferments in Russia and Europe.

1. Development of Industrial Capitalism.

Without doubt the "European War" gave Japanese capitalists a golden opportunity for their expansion and adventure, while to European Capitalists it meant a sword for their suicide. During the War Japanese bourgeois triumphantly invaded the huge markets of the Eastern countries, seized upon navigation on the western part of Pacific and the Indian Sea, robbed the former German flash-houses in the South Sea for future large-scale piracy, and succeeded to lay with the sanction of the English government their avaricious hands on rich coal and iron fields in China. Everywhere Japanese and American robbers have knocked heads together and grappled together, leading both into another bloodthirsty War.
At home, economic gravity transferred from agriculture to commerce and industry. Also the iron and steel industry rose to the rank next to the textile. Financially, Capitalism has largely shaken itself free from British and American gold. The following figure tells us the uncommon increase of the "Productive Power" in a last few years. (Also see the Appendix).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>£ 25 millions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>406</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This extraordinary growth of economic power profoundly reflected on every directions of the political and social life. The "heimin" (plebeian, bourgeois, or democratic) Cabinet (based on a political Party—the "Seiyu-kai"—of the commercial and agricultural Capitalists) took in 1918 the reins of the government, throwing aside the Emperor and the aristocrats from the political sphere, and depriving the militarists of their mighty power. The franchise was more and more extended in the poor middle class. The Principle of "Democracy" and "Liberty" has been noisily advocated by bourgeois Liberals.

Thus "Bourgeois Japan" was completely established.

2. Increase of Proletariat in number and power.

It is an inevitable result that such a capitalist development has been accompanied with no less rapidity by the increase in number and power of its mortal enemy—the proletariat and semi-proletariat, whose social position is naturally bringing up class-consciousness, class-antagonism in their minds. The following table clearly shows the fact. (Also see the Appendix.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Factories</th>
<th>No. of Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>9,776</td>
<td>689,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>17,062</td>
<td>911,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>19,293</td>
<td>1,157,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>22,391</td>
<td>1,504,761</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Factories quoted here are those which employ over ten workers).
3. High Prices.

The economic prosperity caused extremely high prices of life necessities (particularly of rice prices), resulting in the reduction of real wages. The next table indicates the heavy pressure which "War prosperity" brought upon the life of the producing classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index of Prices</th>
<th>Index of Prices among above</th>
<th>Index of Wages</th>
<th>Differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Revolutionary ferments abroad.

Every events produced by the Western workers are keenly responded and soon followed by the Japanese workers. Above all, the proletarian Revolution in Russia aroused a stormy enthusiasm, awakened in them a great hope, and drew them into the vortex of the worldwide revolutionary ferments.

But the influence of the Russian Revolution over the Japanese proletariats should not be overestimated. Because the Japanese workers not only felt a great difficulty in getting the true news on Soviet Russia, but also they had been never well educated by the Socialist ideas.

5. Social and Industrial Unrest.

Now, Japan entered upon a period of great social and industrial unrests which she had never seen in any of the foregoing periods. The
following figures will show the astonishing increase of strikes since 1917.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Strikes</th>
<th>Members directly affected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>8,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>57,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>66,457</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>63,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>162,366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. "Rice Riot".

In August 1918 this unrest burst out as the notorious "Rice Riot", at first in a hamlet and then spreading all over the country. Everywhere rice-merchants were raided by hungry peoples; beautiful show-windows along the busy streets were smashed down. In Kobe and Osaka a street fighting took place between rioters and military forces. The price of rice suddenly went down. But these wild risings were mercilessly suppressed by summoning armies and by the arrests of hundreds; and the mania faded away at the end of month.

It should be remembered that this event is not any sort of social revolutionary movement in character at all, but an unconscious and unorganised rebellion of the poorest masses against artificially high prices of rice particularly and against the rich people generally. Not only the majority of industrial and organised workers did not take part.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
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in the "Riot", but it entirely lacked revolutionary ideas and leaders!
By saying so I do not imply that the Riot ended without any effect.
But, on the contrary, it has left a profound lesson to the Japanese working classes—by demonstrating the mighty power of mass action or violent force against which the rich class was pitifully powerless, and by unmasking the real nature of the soldiers who were ordered to level their rifles against their starving "brothers and sisters" instead of the foreign enemy.

CHAPTER III.
Amazing Growth of New Unions, a Series of Great Strikes.
Sabotages.
(1919).

Such a growing intensity of industrial disputes gave a fresh impetus to the Trade Union movement—both to the reorganisation of the existing unions and the creation of new unions.

1. Reorganisation.

As early as 1919, we saw that the "Yuai-kai" had already recovered from one year's sickness and a new movement to reconstruct its constitution had appeared with a definite form. Membership and branches began to increase. In April all local Committees in the Western district (Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto) formed a big District Council, publishing a local journal. In September the National Conference of the Yuai-kai decided to reconstruct it on the lines similar to "One Big Union", which was more definitely assured by the 1920 Conference.

At the same time, hostility against its president, Suzuki, on the ground of his opportunism and reformism, has emerged from inside. It is certain that a new spirit, a new (left-wing) section was being born and the power of leading the Yuai-kai has been transferred from the old reformist to the new revolutionary leader.

This fact will be seen in a series of devoted struggles by the Yuai-kai during the following months.

Also the "Shinyn-kai" of printers healed wounds which were received in the "Rice Riot", and prepared in May for a fight for increased wages and an eight hours day.

In May the "Association for Conducting Trade Union" was reorganised in the "Osaka Iron Workers' Union", one of the biggest metal workers' Unions in Osaka.
2. Up till July.

As there had been before this year no other Unions than the above organisations, most strikes had been either led by the temporary strike committee or left without organisation. But experiences of strikes have always stimulated the spirit of combination. Already the time of unorganised strikes passed.

Since early 1919 there were a continuation of strikes and attempts at organising new unions among printing workers apart from the old Shinya-kai. As a result, the "Reform Society" was formed in July by printers employed in 15 daily paper printing offices in Tokyo. As soon as it came into being, it ordered a general strike and completely stopped the publication of all papers in the Metropolis for five days. But the strike aided by some middle class politicians broke from inside, and the Society pitifully fell to pieces.

Up till July we saw also the appearance of metal workers' and dockers' Unions in Tokyo, Osaka and districts, but the majority of them were very short lived.

3. August.

Six months from August 1919 to January 1920 marks new epoch in the Japanese Trade Union movement. During this period Japan faced the great social upheavals, a mushroom growth of Unions, penetrating into the less industrial towns and the less skilled workers.

It is, however, to be remembered that along with the creation of real fighting bodies there increased such Unions as (1) Black-leg Union to keep away the employees from the real Union or to crush down the already existing body; 2) Yellow Union utilised by middle class politicians for their political ambition; 3) For the electoral purpose of the Labour Delegate on the Washington International Labour Conference.

In Aug. the "Koishikawa Labour Society" (12,000) was established by workers of the Tokyo Ordnance Factory, and soon challenged the authority demanding the recognition of the Union, an eight hours day and higher wages. Backed by the sympathetic "down-tools" of workers of other government factories, the strike continued for about ten days. Against this, the government called out gendarmes; dismissed a large number of strikers and at last arrested 23 leaders. The Society was completely beaten, however surviving till now.

A result of this fight gave birth to two Unions. One is the
"Jujo-kai" of employees of military powder mill who waged the sympathetic strike, and the other is the black-leg Union, called the "Kojo-kai" spreading now to important government workshops over the country.

In this month, more important Unions appeared to exist. The "Transport Workers Union" of tramway employees in Tokyo which challenged so-called "citizen" with a general stoppage of city transportation early in 1920; the "Miners Society", a strong Union in the northern colliery field of Kyushu; the "Miners Federation of Japan" (5,000) at Ashio copper mine. The last Union succeeded in creating a branch at Kamaishi iron mine and later carried on desperate strikes.

Also printing workers Unions sprang up rapidly in several important towns (e.g. in Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, Kure, Hiroshima,) of which the most important one is the "Taishin-kai" in Tokyo.


In Sept. the Japanese Proletariat experienced three momentous events. In the first place, the Yuai-kai, throwing away its former opportunist mantle, accomplished complete reconstruction. The second event is the great "sabotage" in Kobe with which I shall deal later.

The third occurrence arose from the election by the government of a former Director of a big shipbuilding firm as a Labour Delegate to the Washington International Labour Conference to be held in October. Against this nonsensical measure all the working classes rose up spontaneously and instinctively; huge demonstration after demonstration, violent protest after protest. Many arrests of agitators; threats to the life of the Labour Delegate. For a while the whole of the workers seemed to have become mad. In spite of the opposition of all workers, however, this absurd Delegate sailed in secret for Washington. For what? In order to entreat a special treatment for Japanese workers, that is to say, in order to continue the present sweating system, to let men and women toil for more than eight hours a day. And the Washington Conference granted this to him.

The tactics which the organised workers (led by the Yuai-kai, the Shinyu-kai, the Miners' Federation) took in the agitation is worthy of note. From the very beginning they boycotted the election of the government, and strove to unmask the true nature of the League of Nations and the International Labour Conference, and also openly propagated before the masses that the government is nothing more than the executive committee of the robber class. Japanese workers have begun
to doubt, What is the State, What is the Government. Thanks are due to the stupid government and the Black-leg International Labour Conference, without which the working class might not obtain such a mental change.

More than that; the temporary unity of Unions against the government served above all as a bond to combine them permanently, which resulted in the next year in the formation of "Federation of Trade Unions", Tokyo.

5. Trade Unions, September-December.

A no less important result gained from this event was that the government was compelled to call upon each representative of five Unions (Yuai-kai, Shinyu-kai, Osaka Iron Workers' Union, and two yellow Unions), to the electoral Meeting of the Labour Delegate under the direct superintendence of the government; however, they boycotted it. This recognition of Trade Unionism by the government extremely instigated the creation of new organisations. It was in the period of four months from October that the workers' combination movement attained its zenith.

Among metal workers, the following Unions were founded: the "Kojin-kai (Artisans' Fraternal Society)" consisting of workers of the Tsukiji Naval Arsenal in Tokyo (in October); the "Japanese Labour Fraternal Society" of the Yawata Iron Foundry (in October); the "Mechanicians' Union" of engineers employed in several workshops in Tokyo (December), etc.

In the printing industry, the "Seishin-kai", one of the militant Unions, was organised by those defeated in the general strike of July in Tokyo.

In this period, the association extended from factory to out-door workers, and from manual to brain workers. For instance: dockers' and carriers' Union in Osaka. Tokyo, Yokahama, Nogoya; agricultural workers' Unions in Tamba, 'Tokyo; tailors' Union in Tokyo; dyers' Unions in Osaka, Kyoto; carpenters' and cabinet makers' Unions in Tokyo, Osaka; postal workers' Union in Tokyo; clerks' Unions in Tokyo.

On the other hand, yellow and black-leg Unions rapidly increased everywhere. Most of them takes the form of the workshop committee, openly or in secret, helped or created by the employer, both for the purpose of promoting the intimate relation between master and employee*, and of smashing the real workers' Union from within. First of all, the "Kokusui-kai" (Nationality Society) is the one typical of such disgraceful bodies. It was formed in December by out-door workers, led by political underlings, under the auspices of the Minister of Interior. This is the curious coincidence with the "Okhrana" Union in Russia early
this century. But the Japanese "Okhrana" has been rendering better service to its patron than to Russian. In February 1920, it did its best to break the great strike in the Yawata Iron Foundry, and now is making a bloody counter agitation against the Socialist and Communist movements.

6. Industrial Battle Field, September-December.

With the rapid development of the workers' fighting bodies, strikes of large scale and long duration broke out in many industrial cities. On the other hand, the holy Tripple Alliance of employers, the government and militarists was not meanwhile idle, and was preparing for the bloody oppression against any revolts. Besides that, the economic condition stood on the verge of crisis since the summer of the year. The workers' fight became more and more bitter than ever.

In September the first organised (peaceful) "sabotage" carried on by all the workers (15,000) employed in the Kawasaki Dockyard in Kobe. Being led by the Yuai-kai this ended in complete victory of the men after two weeks' fight, and also demonstrated a new fighting weapon to the Japanese workers. Since then the peaceful "sabotage" or "go-easy" has become one of the popular methods of fighting, because it is safe from the Police Law which has been yearly throwing hundreds of "strike instigators" into prison.

October, the Shinyu-kai of printers proclaimed a new campaign for an eight hours day, bringing forward the demand to all printing firms (about 160) in Tokyo and other towns. The majority of employers having rejected the demand, strike or sabotage began in one shop after another. Against this, the employers who strongly combined into a body (the "Tokyo Printing Trade Association") answered with lock-out, threat of discharge, black-leg, bribe, etc. A chaotic condition in the printing industry continued for more than three weeks. But the victory was not on the strikers. The Shinyu-kai was badly hit again.

This defeat was but a signal for the wholesale collapse of labour disputes in the following months. In November the most vehement battles simultaneously took place in three mining fields in the northern district of Japan. The first two were the strikes for increased wages and improvement of working conditions, conducted by the Miners' Federation of Japan, at Kamaishi iron and Ashio copper mines; the third was the demonstration against the dismissal of leading members of the Yuai-kai at Hidachi copper mine. In Japan, as elsewhere, mining areas are almost isolated from the "external world" owing to their geogra-
ypical situation, and consequently are under the absolute monarchy of the mine owner. All things in mining district from the food to the police force, are entirely at the will of the modern King. Therefore, the miners' fight is always far more fierce than other workers', abounding in revolutionary colour. For instance, at the strike of Kamaishi, strikers were enveloped by a considerable number of police-men, gendarmes, and at last two companies of military forces, with arrests of 37 leaders. A similar fate was on the fighters of Ashio and Hidachi; in the former case 23 and in the latter 17 were arrested.

Three disputes fell almost at once in a rout of the miners.

In such an oppressive and ominous atmosphere the historic year 1919 closed.

CHAPTER IV.

Toward Solidarity. (1920—1921).

1. Poor crop of the Unions.

Under such a state of conditions, the mushroom growth of Trade Unions which had prevailed in the previous year suddenly came to a standstill in 1920. As far as new Unions are concerned, only a few are of importance. A teachers' Union, "The Keimei-kai", led by socialists, came into existence in Tokyo January, and in the next few months several seamen's organisations were formed in all important ports, as a result of troubles occurred from the election of Labour Delegate at the International Labour Conference at Genoa, which has been always playing a cynical part in the Japanese labour movement, arousing hostility against itself and awakening the combination spirit of workers.


It is interesting to trace the changing demands of the workers. Up to the summer of 1919, almost all labour disputes originated from the demand for increased wages or improvement of working conditions. But after the printers' general strike of July, the eight hours day began to be claimed. Especially the acquisition of eight hours by the great sabotage of Kobe on September incited this movement.

In the year 1920 another new demand was put forward; that is, the election of foremen in the workshop by the workers themselves, by which measure they meant the first step to the control of industry by themselves. For this purpose the Yuai-kai challenged the Sonoike Metal Works, Tokyo, January. Met by a lock-out, it fought for three weeks
with the support of other fellow organisations and at last won the whole demand. Soon this was followed by others.

In this month the Japanese labour movement made a sharp turn. Beaten on the industrial field, the organised workers turned their eyes towards the political side, demanding universal suffrage and abolition of the "Police Law". For the time being, they acted in concert with some of the middle class politicians of the Opposition. Huge demonstrations were carried out in the important cities. A petition was signed by ten thousands of peoples, and lodged in the House. But before any discussion had taken place on the issue, the Diet was unexpectedly dissolved in February. Then came a General Election, at which all the "democratic" politicians and the "popular" parties slipped off the workers' claims from their programmes.

Betrayed and deceived, disappointed and disentranced, the workers acquired a serious lesson—the fallacy of Parliamentarism and the mistake in joining hands with the bourgeois Liberals. Without delay they returned on their field.

3. Defeat after Defeat.

But their own field, too, was then by no means good for them. Trade which had been on the wane since the summer of the previous year grew suddenly worse. Bankruptcy of numerous firms, closure of the workshops, and tens of thousands of unemployments grimly faced them. Moreover, the merciless class never lost the opportunity of cutting down wages to the starvation lines and crushing out the Trade Unions by the means of discharging the leading members from the shops. The demand of the poorest was answered by a threat of dismissal; strike by lockout, injunction and arrest; and revolt by violent suppression.

February, a bitter conflict broke out at the Yawata (government) Iron Foundry, Kyushu, one of the biggest factories in the Far East. Arising out of a wage demand, 15000 men led by two Unions—Yukai and Labour Society—carried on sabotage and soon converted this into strike action. The situation became more serious when the authority summoned a mass of police, gendarmes, and at last troops. This went on for nearly a month, and was finally closed with arrest of 29 leaders and the discharge of 250 strikers.

In the same month, the Transport Workers Union conducted a sabotage on the whole lines of Tokyo municipal tramway for the improvement of allowance system. The Union fought well, and won in this
dispute. But in April again the Union called to combat for increase wages and an eight hours day. It was refused. Sabotage and then strike began; the city transportation stood still a short while. Again this the municipal authority tried all subtle measures—hiring black-leg bribe, threat of arrest, provocation of the "citizen" against the striker: propaganda on papers, etc. The end was far more miserable than the of Yawata; 83 strikers were thrown to goal and 200 discharged.

In July another big strike occurred in the Metropolis against the discharge of members of the Yuai-kai at the Osbiage Cotton Mill. Among strikers 1600 were working girls and 400 men. The employer by locking up all the girls into the dormitory and guarding the factor with police force, thoroughly cut communication between the girls and the men outside. The Yuai-kai mobilised all branches and, with voluntary help from other Unions, fought for two weeks. But it was then at the height of economic slackness and unemployment. By threat of dismissal the unity went to pieces. The Yuai-kai lost at one time an important section of textile workers and a large proportion of organised woman labour.

In September, again, the citizens of Tokyo were startled with threat of general stoppage of daily papers by the Seishin-kai, which demanded to all the employers an eight hours day and the minimum wages. But the dispute had ended in a pitiful fiasco, before a general strike came in operation.

All Unions, one after another, were hardly hit and beaten.

Figures of the unemployed over the country (from an official record):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year/Month</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920 April</td>
<td>5,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>52,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>30,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>16,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>10,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>42,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921 Jan.</td>
<td>5,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Toward Solidarity.

Now, the time of trial of the strength of trade Unions came.

It is true that almost all Unions, except non-fighting ones, experienced a big drop in membership and more or less a crippling of their fighting capacity, owing to the incessant arrests of able leaders, and economically exhausted scanty funds. However, it is equally true that even an armed suppression can not root out the spirit of combination and revolt from the oppressed masses. On the contrary, the more bitter the attacks upon them, the stronger their solidarity and class-consciousness becomes. Instead of raising a white flag, they turned, under the shower of bullets, from the offensive to the defensive, and commenced to combine all their powers against the triumphant enemy,—to federate or amalgamate several Unions. At the same time, from the inside of their camp rushed out a squadron of daring vanguards of the class war,—the "Left Wing" section on which I shall narrate in the next chapter. That is to say, the Japanese labour movement has, through the hardest experiments, gained spiritually or qualitatively, while it lost numerically or quantitatively.

The new movement for the amalgamation or federation of separate Unions can be traced back to September 1919 when a dozen Unions of different industries temporarily combined in Tokyo against the Labour Delegation of the Washington International Labour Conference. Since that time onwards, the important Unions took a co-operative action; they worked shoulder to shoulder and helped each other in every emergency.

Then in January 1920, they acted jointly for their common claim—Universal suffrage and the repeal of the Police Law. Again in May, they carried on a May Day Demonstration in Tokyo which was the first May Day held in Japan. The time became ripe for uniting them in a concrete form. In the next month, the former Joint Committee of May Day, including leading Unions led by the Yuai-kai and the Shinyu-kai (see the Appendix), was decided to come into a permanent organisation, called the "Federation of Trade Unions". This is not a Federation in a narrow sense, but a joint committee for common purposes, industrial and political, consisting of the most advanced section of Unions in several trades and industries (metal, printing, transport, mining, tailouring, teachers, etc.,) in and near Tokyo. At any rate, it is the first appea-
rance of a body expressing the whole organised workers' minds, at least, in the eastern half of the country.

In December, a similar body was formed by 14 Unions in Osaka, called "The Western Federation of Trade Unions", (also see the Appendix).

So far I have spoken of the federation of Unions in the different industries. It is of no less importance that the amalgamation of Unions of the same trade or industry has been swiftly in progress. For instance, the Jujo-kai and the Koyu-kai were amalgamated in March, called "The Koyu-kai" (Workers' Fraternal Society), mainly composed of the employees in one of the Ordnance Factories in Tokyo. In July, a grave fusion took place in the mining industry; three big bodies—the Miners' Department of Yuai-kai, the Miners' Federation of Japan and the National Miners' Union—were strongly incorporated in a single unit, the "All Japanese Miners' Federation", which directly affiliates to the Yuai-kai. Later, a federation was effected between various Seamen's Unions, led by the Yuai-kai; a similar attempt was successfully made in the printing industry by the Shinyu-kai and the Seishin-kai.

As a matter of course, the above mentioned consolidations are not in a position to represent the whole of the working class all over the country. Such a body, however, is paramount necessity. So a scheme was planned by the Yuai-kai at its Conference of 1920 to hold annually a big Congress of all existing Unions for the purpose of consulting on common problems. When this plan will be carried out in practice, the Congress should become a good school-room of revolutionary education for the masses.

CHAPTER V.
Revival of Socialism, and the "Left Wing".


In 1910, the year of the bloody execution, the Japanese property-tied class succeeded in guillotining or imprisoning a number of Revolutionists, but could achieve no effects in massacring or imprisoning the Socialist ideas, which is nothing but the product of the Capitalist System itself. Soon after the tragedy, Sakai established the "Baibun-sha"

*) Toshihiko Sakai is a leader of Marxism, practically the chairman of the newly formed Socialist Federation. Co-translator (with Kotoku) of Marx and Engels, "Communist Manifesto", the translator of Kautsky's
(Sling-ink Society), both for the study of Marxism and for supporting the livelihood of colleagues. In 1914, the Baibuh-sha started a monthly journal, "The New Society". Naturally the society and its journal became a bond of Socialists scattered over the country and in the foreign countries.

In 1916 *) Osugi published a syndicalist journal, "The Modern Thought", but it could not continue long.

A little later, there appeared a few small study groups of Socialist intellectuals and workers in Tokyo, among which "The Hokufu-kai" was prominent.

Taken on the whole, however, all those groups, papers, and activities were largely confined to the academic study of Socialist theory; and the masses of workers and their organisations were not touched by them. Poor, miserable and wretched not materially alone, but mentally also, were the exploited peoples of this period.

2. Revival of Socialism, 1919—1921.

Faced with the life-and-death struggles of the enslaved for their existence at home and the great practical lesson of Communist Revolution in Russia, Socialism (especially Marxism) began early 1918 to revive from a decade’s enforced silence, to come out on the high-way from its refuge on the dusty bookshelf.

One year from the summer of 1919 was that of the greatest crop of Socialist literature such as never happened in the previous years. Translations, writings and papers on Socialism of all schools **) (Marxism, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, Anarchism, State Socialism, Fabianism, etc.) were published in a considerable amount by the Baibun-sha group, petit-bourgeois professors and journalists, some of them however being suppressed by the censor and some published in secret. At the same time, several groups for the study and propaganda of Socialism sprang

*) Sakaé Osugi, Anarchist in his youth, then Syndicalist, and now the true leader of the Communist group. Writer and translator on Anarchism, Syndicalism, natural science, etc.

**) Marx became so popular that the translation of his whole volumes of Das Kapital was attempted by three persons separately, and also the translation of all his important works by a few professors is in progress. His "Lohnarbeit und Kapital" was translated by a professor in this period.
up everywhere. Intellectual quarrells took place between various schools.

For awhile, Communism or Bolshevism was in a state of under-current, being greatly hampered by the lunatic watch of the government against the importation of Communist literature and the communication with Soviet Russia.

Alarmed and frightened by the growing tendency of the opposite ideas, the possessing classes hurried to exterminate all "dangerous thoughts" with the usual ruthless methods. Since early 1920, there appeared again the hysteric confiscations of "dangerous" papers and the arrests of Socialists; almost all revolutionary propaganda meetings were brutally broken and dispersed by police and Japanese "Black and Tan".

Fortunately, however, instead of extinguishing the revolutionary thought, this bourgeois terrorism resulted, firstly, in a hasty withdrawal of the counterfeit Socialists and Socialist Philistines from the stage, putting an end to the "popularisation" of Socialism, and justly leaving the victory in the hands of Revolutionary Socialists; secondly, in adding fresh fuel to the revolutionary fire, in driving all Revolutionists toward Communism. The study of Communist theory and the fragmentary informations about the real conditions in Soviet Russia through the foreign books and papers began to appear on all the Socialist papers. Although the propaganda or agitation for Communism is absolutely prohibited, it is being carried on by every possible means among workers, soldiers, policemen, and teachers with a good amount of crop.

Thirdly, it met with a cynical effect in uniting those revolutionary elements into one solid army)—"The Socialist Federation of Japan", which was, in the teeth of every counteractions of the authority, openly formed in Tokyo, December 1920, although it was practically founded three months before. The Federation is in form neither a Communist nor Socialist Party which possesses a certain definite programme, but merely a body calling together individual persons and groups which had a tendency of Revolutionary Socialism in a wider sense. But practically it was engineered and led by the Baibun-sha group and dominated by Communism. Therefore, the formation of the Socialist Federation is a preliminary proceeding to create a Communist Party at no very distant date.

*) The Manifesto produced by the Organising Committee of Socialist Federation was confiscated before distribution. 10th Dec. was
3. The "Left Wing" in the Trade Unions.

Now, turning to the workers' side, the severest experiences of the class struggle on the one hand, and the revolutionary propaganda on the other, threw a cold light on the minds of the oppressed. They gradually began to put their eyes upon the fundamental cause of their present agony—the Capitalist System, and upon the gospel of freeing themselves completely from the fetter of the system—Communism. Thus, for the first time, Communism or Socialism rightly came down from being the monopoly of the intelligentsia into the possession of the proletarians themselves. Today everybody can observe this new or revolutionary tendency in the labour movement, as revealed in various *) declarations of the Trade Unions, in their uncompromising attitude to the master class, and in their deep hatred to Parliament.

In August-1920, for instance, each leader of the Yuai-kai, The Shinyu-kai, the Seishin-kai, the Transport Workers', Japanese Watch Makers' Union, worked as a member of the Organising Committee of Socialist Federation. December, many rank and file members of labour organisations joined the Federation. At the Conference of the Yuai-kai, October, the "Left Wing" or the Direct Actionists won in a debate—"Direct action or Parliamentaryism".

This the latest tendency—above all the "Left Wing" fraction—which is steadily taking in power inside the Trade Unions, though the great bulk of the masses having nothing to do with it. The time this tendency will take more definite shape, evolve in the acute Communist movement, and lead the whole of the west into it, of course fixed for the inauguration, but, in anticipation of being broken up by police, it was unexpectedly (to police) held on the previous day. At the propaganda meetings on the following day, not less than 50 Socialists were arrested under a charge of seditious action. The Federation claims 2000 members over the country, publishing a monthly "The Socialism" which is the renamed The New Society. Address. 19 Shinsaurada cho.

*) For example: "Through the long and bitterest experiments, We, Japanese workers, learned that the function of Trade Unions is to strike at the nucleus of Capitalist System. Now the time is approaching when we shake off the yoke of the wage-slavery system—Capitalism", (from "The Labour", the official organ of Yuai-kai, published in Jan 1921). Remember that our urgent demand—Eight hours day and other improvement of our conditions—is nothing more than a first step. Our final aim is upon the complete overthrow of the present wage-system itself", (from "The Fraternity", the official organ of Shinyu-kai, published in Jan. 1921).
depends largely upon the devoted efforts of the present Left Wing leaders and Communists.

4. 1921, and the Outlook.

After the failure in an attempted strike by the Seishin-kai (of newspaper printers) in September 1920, there was for some time an armed truce in the field. Towards the end of the year, however, this was spasmodically broken by the fighters of Yuai-kai,—a seriously defeated strike at Kasho coal mine, Kyushu, in which more than 40 members were arrested; and a successful strike and sabotage conducted by the tailors (belonging to Yuai-kai) against the Mitsukoshi Department Store, Tokyo, the biggest shop in Japan.

The year of 1921 was opened by a thrilling event—a complete smash and destruction of the machines and workshop, and the forcible attack upon the owner and officials of a metal factory, Tokyo, by a band of furious workers who had been locked out and dismissed on the ground that they had been the members of Yuai-kai. More than 40 were arrested on the next day.

The prospect of 1921 is far more dark and gruesome. The economic condition does not seem to recover in the earlier days; the tyrannical class does not slacken the reign of terrorism.

In the past two years, the toiling masses strove and fought, by common impulse, with all means for their existence. But everywhere they were ruthlessly beaten and defeated. Exhausted and despaired, they retreated to the last stronghold, behind which the abysmal Death Ravine deepens.

Now, they are standing on the cross-roads,—more fight or the surrender to their enemy, Communist or Reformism. Here, again, they are waiting the full-hearted activity of Communist.

In closing this chapter, I will quote a few words from a Manifesto issued by the printers' Seishin-kai in January 1921, in order to show the spirit and determination of the Japanese proletarian vanguards and also to show the road through which they are going to march.

"Twice we had to be knocked down—but in order to get up to our feet Thrice. Our present silence is merely a short rest for the further fight, for rising up in full force, and for making our fight more vital, more serious, more "red."
PART III.
Survey of the present conditions and problems.

CHAPTER I.
Statistics *)

1. The "Organisable" Workers.
In order to understand the extent of the Japanese Trade Union Movement, it is necessary to bear in mind: (1) that agriculture and semi-agriculture occupy nearly 60 per cent. of the population (56.6 millions), (2) that the handicraft and small-scale industries greatly dominate, and (3) that there is an extraordinary number of woman labourers, chiefly employed in the textile industry (650,000 in factories and 700,009 small and home works) and other small-scale productions. (See the Appendix).

According to the latest official report (1918), we obtain the following figures in connection with a rough estimate of the so-called "organisable" workers, with complete exclusion of wage-earners engaging in distributive, domestic, clerical, and other similar services, outdoor (including building), and agriculture labourers.

1) Factory workers (factories employing over ten);
   1,680,000 (855,000 men & 825,000 women),
2) Transport workers (railwaymen, seamen, dockers, & post-men),
   590,000 (560,000 men & 30,000 women),
3) Miners:
   465,000 (360,000 men & 105,000 women),

Total ........ 2,735,000 (1,775,000 men & 960,000 women).

The total figure shows that there are nearly three millions of the industrial workers. But, as the Trade Union movement among the wo-

*) I refer to native Japan only and do not concern with Formosa, Korea, and other exploited lands. The Japanese official statistics are not always reliable. The first census was held in Oct. 1920.
man workers is at present extremely of insignificance, it is better to omit this section from our estimate for a moment. Thus, we arrive at the conclusion—only hypothetical—that about two millions of the manual male workers constitute the fundamental "organisable" basis of the Trade Union.

2. Trade Unions.

Under such a transitional phase and a frickle state, nobody can tell exactly, how many independent Unions exist in Japan and what membership they enlist. But if I do not make a mistake, from the statistics recently published in connection with all labour organisations which existed at the end of 1919, I hypothetically estimate that the total number of Trade Unions in the modern sense certainly exceeded 100 Unions and 60,000 members, and probably did not reach 150 Unions and 100,000 members. As the aggregate number of male "organisable" workers was about two millions, the membership of Unions numbered between 4.5 and 5 per cent. of all. This estimation may be moderately applied to the present condition.

Of those Unions, however, only one third belong to the proletarian fighting bodies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industries</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Organisations</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Textile</td>
<td>713,620</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>61,643</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>222,366</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>40,125</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>141,769</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>9,047</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>433,843</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>52,135</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**       | 1,511,598 | 333          | 162,950 | 10.8      |

Labourers, Carriers & other Out-door Workers, etc. . . . 838 269,532

This table shows the labour and semi-labour organisations of all kinds at the end of 1919. This figures of workers quoted here differ from those added in the Appendix. But this is not my fault.
CHAPTER II.
Concentration of the Trade Unions:

1. Concentration of powers in certain Unions.

Although at a glance the present situation of the Trade Union movement in Japan seems very confused and lack of unification, in reality the condition is not so. A few Unions are by far predominant in membership and tower over others, and are always leading the whole movement; above all, the Yuai-kai stands unparalleled. Next come Shinyu-kai, Seishin-kai (both printers), Transport Workers Union, Osaka Iron Workers Union, and a few other Unions which affiliate to the Federation of Trade Unions both in Tokyo and Osaka.

2. Massing in certain Districts.

The Trade Union is specially concentrated in certain districts and industries. Roughly speaking, there are five busy industrial centres in Japan: (a) Tokyo and Yokohama district, (b) Osaka and Kobe district, (c) Fukuoka district, and (e) Okaya district.

(a) Tokyo and Yokohama district is not only the political and intellectual center of Japan, but also stands at the head of development of the modern industry; it is always in this area that we find the most advanced section of the Trade Unions, as well the energetic Socialist and Communist movement. The important Unions in this district are, as I said before, united in the Federation of Trade Unions in Tokyo.

(b) Osaka surpasses Tokyo in number of factories and employees, but they are largely composed of the textile and small industries, hiring a great number of women. The Trade Union and political movement is far backward after Tokyo. The main Unions are loosely combined in the Western Federation of Trade Unions. Kobe, the greatest commercial port, stands out, there is only single Union—the district committee of Yuai-kai—which is trying to include the whole of organised workers (chiefly of ship-building) in that city.

(c) Industrially, Fukuoka is young, but is to be in future a great industrial center in Southern districts, possessing the vast coal fields in its area.

(d) Nagoya is the city of earthen and textile. It is of recent date that the Trade Union movement was started.
(c) Okaya is the center of the silk industry and also of the working woman slavery. We never heard of the existence of a Trade Union in the district.

3. In certain Industries.

(a) Metal industry: The Trade Union in the engineering, iron, steel, shipbuilding surpasses other industries in number, power and discipline; the destiny of the proletarian revolution in Japan largely rests on this section of workers. The following are the important Unions: Metal workers' sections of Yuii-kai (in Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Fukuoka, etc.); Artisans' Fraternal Society, Artisans' society, Koishikawa Labour Society, Engineers' Union of Japan, (above four in Tokyo); Osaka Iron Workers' Union, Copper workers' Union, (in Osaka); Labour Fraternal Society in Fukuoka.

(b) Printing industry: The Japanese printing workers are the most revolutionary section of the working classes. Numerically not large, but spiritually they are in the van. Shinyu-kai, Seishin-kai, Taishin-kai, (above in Tokyo and Yokohama) Printers' Union in Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya, etc.

(c) Mining industry: The miners are a powerfully organised body. Almost all organised miners belong to the All Japanese Miners' Federation which affiliates to Yuii-kai.

(d) Transport: There is a deadlock for organising the railwaymen, for all railways were nationalised in 1906 and the employees are controlled so bureaucratically—by means of the Station Committee akin to the British Whitley Council—that the real proletarian Union can not penetrate in this section. The only real Union is the Engine Drivers' Union. Workers in the tramways are making their own Union in the important cities. In Tokyo the Transport Workers' Union is most powerful.

The seamen have also a great number of organisations, but they are for the most part nothing more than labour exchanges or friendly societies. The Seamen's Union of Japan (of Yuii-kai) is the strongest. The leading Unions are federated by the Japanese Seamen's Union.

Among carriers, dockers, stevedors, rikishaw-men, and other out-door workers, there are already a comparatively great number of associations. Free labours' Union, Rikishaw-men's Union in Tokyo, Osaka Stevedores and Carriers' Union in Osaka. As a rule, this section of workers represents the yellow type of Union.
(e) Textile industry: In this industry we have hardly seen any Union except those of Yuai-kai in Tokyo.

(f) Agriculture: Farm labourers remain indifferent to the labour movement. But recently a wide agitation for organisation against the landowner has been in progress. Labourers and Peasants Society and Tenant Farmers' Union are known.

(g) Brain Workers: Keimei-kai, one of the most interesting Unions is succeeding in combining the teachers of elementary school. Salary Men's Union is a body of poor middle classes.

(h) Female workers: Woman labourers lack the organisation, except a few bodies of Yuai-kai in Tokyo.

CHAPTER III

Constitution, and the Yuai-kai.

It is rather a curious feature that the structure of Craft Unionism is not very popular among the Japanese workers, and the existing Unions are for the most part constructed on the unit of factory committee, including all grades of the employees. But it is inevitable in such an immature state that the members are in fact chiefly composed of the skilled workers.

Among the rest, the "Yuai-kai" or the "General Federation of Labour of Japan, Yuai-kai" occupies a peculiar position in the Trade Union structure. Accordingly, it will be well to glance briefly at its constitution and strength. At the last Conference, it determined to become a federal body of Unions of Federations which are organised on the basis either of industry, trade, workshop or area, regardless of craft or skill. All units enjoy as a rule a great deal of autonomy. But in practice the Yuai-kai is more strongly united than a mere Federation. The Central Committee (elected at the Conference) has not only the right to order strikes of all affiliated bodies, but is always interfering in important businesses of the Unions. Where Unions or Branches are massed, there is a Local Committee (Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, etc.). From the administrative point, the country is divided into three wide District Committees (Eastern, Western, Kyushu) and two Industrial sections (All Japanese Miners' Federation and Seamen's Union of Japan). At the present moment, it includes several industries and trades: iron, steel, shipbuilding, mining, shipping, textile and miscellaneous trades (tailoring, building, gum-producing, etc.). It claims 30,000 mem-
bership and 150 Unions or Branches covering the whole country (from Hokkaido to Manchuria).

CHAPTER IV.

Legal Position of Trade Union.

There is no law directly prohibiting the formation of the Trade Unions nor recognizing them. Convinced of the impossibility of wiping out the workers' combinations, the government is now drafting a bill which is expected to be brought forward at the session of the Diet in 1922, in order to restrict the sphere of labour movement and to destroy the true proletarian Union.

Although Japanese workers have never experienced such a brutal suppression of their associations as the British workers did in 1800—1824, and the Russian in 1874, the Article 17 of Police Law (1900), which punishes the instigation for strikes and for the increase of Trade Union membership, is effective enough to hamper the Trade Union activities. The following figure shows, how many strike leaders are thrown into prison every year by the Law.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imprisoned.</th>
<th>Strikes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cases</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we count the victims arrested under the charge of "breach of peace", etc. by Criminal Law and Press Law, they reach a considerable number.
CHAPTER V.
International Relations.

Owing to the isolated position of their country, to concentration of their energy on the campaigns against their internal enemy, to their youth, and to their undeveloped class consciousness, the Japanese Trade Unions have taken no part in international affairs, except a mere fraternal relation of the Yuai-kai with the American Federation of Labour, some personal connections with Chinese and Korean workers and Socialists, and the accidental intercourse of a few Japanese workers with the Western champions of yellow Unions at the International Labour Conference (at Washington and Genoa).

Recently we learned the Amsterdam Trade Union International is trying to create some relationship with the Japanese Trade Unions.

At any rate, it is of great importance that the huge land of the Far East has been not yet stained by the yellow colour of Internationalism.

CHAPTER VI.
Communism and Trade Unions.

In conclusion I wish to consider an important issue that in Japan the Trade Unions should play by far the principal role in the future development of Communism; more than in European countries. The reason is rather plain. In our country most of the leading Unions sprang up for, or as a result of, the fighting against the employer, and not for the mere friendly benefit nor protection of their craft privileges. Therefore, they are comparatively free from narrow-minded and exclusive spirit, free from such a superstition as draws the futile line of demarcation between industry and politics, between industrial and political action—the political "neutrality"—as British Trade Unionists like to do. In other words, from the very beginning the Japanese Trade Union has been fulfilling both industrial and political functions; and the Trade Union constitutes by itself a Political or Socialist body.

Again, it is only the Trade Union in Japan which openly combines the mass of industrial workers in a permanent form. And the government is now compelled to recognise it as one of the social powers and also to permit it more freedom than to Socialists and Communists who
are under the extreme watch of the authority, and this not because of any moderation of Trade Union leaders but because it is backed by the powerful mass forces. Consequently, it is obvious that there is no other way to influence, to capture the mass of the workers for Communism than through existing (more or less legal) Trade Union organisations, whether they are not revolutionary enough or are so.

In short, the Japanese Trade Union is not merely in a position exceedingly sensible to revolutionary ideas, but also constitutes the sole school of the masses for Communism. Nothing is more absurd, more harmful, more criminal than to neglect, to desert the proletarian mass organisations; particularly so in Japan.

The Japanese government pays a great deal of attention to the national education. The official record tells us that more than 98 per cent of the children of school age go to school; (the elementary school is compulsory—6 to 12 years of age—and, as a rule, free). Since 1920, the regular lectures on the social, economic, and political subjects for the workers were started by the Yuai-kai in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe.
Appendix.
B. "The Federation of Trade Unions of Western Japan" in Osaka:
Address: 1/6 Yuai-kai, 292, Enaricho, Nishinoda, Kita-ku, Osaka.

(1) "Western District Council of Yuai-kai":
Address: 292, Enari-cho, Nishinoda, Kitaku, Osaka; secretary: Takayama; monthly: "The Workers' Paper". This Council represents Osaka, Kobe and Kyoto Local Committees.

(2) "Osaka Printing Workers' Union".

(3) "Tailoring Workers' Union".

(4) "Osaka Brush Makers' Union".

(5) "Osaka Tailors' Union".

(6) "Western Iron Workers' Union".

(7) "Osaka Carriers' and Labourers' Union".

(8) "Copper Workers' Union".

(9) "Carpenters' and Carriers' Federation".

(10) "Western Outdoor Workers' Union".

(11) "Japanese Printed Mousseline Workers' Union".

(12) "Electric Workers' Union".

(13) "Commercial Employees' Union".

(14) "Kojo-kai".

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APPENDIX B.

Important Socialist Organisations and Journals.

(1) "Socialist Federation of Japan":
Address: 44, 1 chome, Motozono-cho, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo. Official monthly organ: "Socialism".

(2) Rodo-undo-sha" (Labour Movement Society), the most active sindica-commuiss group, led by Osugi.
Address: 12, Kita-koga-cho, Kanda, Tokyo. Weekly: "Labour Movement".

(3) "Gyomin-kai":
Address: 40, Shimokozuka-cho, Suwa, Tokyo.
APPENDIX C.
Agriculture and semi-Agriculture.

I. No. of Agricultural householders, (1918).
   a) Farmers who cultivate their own land. 1,699,000
   b) Tenants. 1,550,300
   c) Farmers Combining tenantship. 2,229,400

   Total. 5,476,700

II. No. of Sericulture householders, (1918). 1,910,800.

III. No of Fishing householders and Fishermen, (1918).

   No. of No. of
   householders. Fishermen.
   a) Professional. 263,800 688,400
   b) Occasional. 372,800 711,200

   Total. 636,600 1,399,600

The Population of Japan (1918) 56,253,200
## APPENDIX D

**Number of Workers in the Important Industries.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industries</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Labourers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Textile.</td>
<td>129,500</td>
<td>649,200</td>
<td>25,600</td>
<td>803,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Iron, steel, ship-building.</td>
<td>387,900</td>
<td>30,300</td>
<td>37,500</td>
<td>455,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chemical</td>
<td>113,400</td>
<td>46,400</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>171,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Printing &amp; book-binding.</td>
<td>23,200</td>
<td>5,900</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>29,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Electric &amp; Gas.</td>
<td>6,600</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>8,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Foods &amp; Drinks.</td>
<td>60,900</td>
<td>37,200</td>
<td>17,300</td>
<td>115,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Miscellaneous</td>
<td>48,900</td>
<td>31,900</td>
<td>7,300</td>
<td>88,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand total: 770,400 800,060 106,400 1,676,860

| II.                             |           |          |           |          |
| Mining.                         | 360,500   | 104,700  |           | 465,200  |

| **III.**                        |           |          |           |          |
| 1. Railway & Tramway.           | —         | —        | —         | 141,900  |
| 2. Seamen                       | —         | —        | —         | 255,000  |
| 3. Carriers & Labourers.        | —         | —        | —         | 110,200  |
| 4. Post men                     | 78,800    | 17,500   | —         | 91,300   |

Grand total: — — — 598,400

Great grand total: — — — 2,740,460

**Factories employing over ten.**

## APPENDIX E

**No of Workers Employed in the "Sweating" Works.**

Besides the previous figures, there are a considerable number of labourers toiling under the terrible conditions, employed in the household, handicraft, and other small industries: Here I quote some of their examples (1918).
### Industries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Silk &amp; Cotton weaving</td>
<td>30,800</td>
<td>654,800</td>
<td>685,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Plaits of Straw, Wood shavings &amp; Hemp.</td>
<td>69,000</td>
<td>165,800</td>
<td>234,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mats &amp; Mattings</td>
<td>60,900</td>
<td>129,100</td>
<td>190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Wood, Bamboo &amp; Vine</td>
<td>138,400</td>
<td>13,300</td>
<td>151,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Japanese Paper</td>
<td>56,500</td>
<td>81,000</td>
<td>137,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Earthen-Wares</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>10,200</td>
<td>34,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Oil &amp; Waxes</td>
<td>10,500</td>
<td>18,400</td>
<td>28,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Lacqueque-wares</td>
<td>18,600</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Drawn work &amp; Battenburg</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>16,100</td>
<td>16,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDIX F.

Growth of Commercial and Industrial Companies and Capitals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Company</th>
<th>Paid up Capital in Pounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>8,994</td>
<td>97,593,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>11,543</td>
<td>136,716,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>16,858</td>
<td>206,878,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>18,219</td>
<td>243,407,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>23,028</td>
<td>414,312,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AN
OUTLINE
OF THE
SERICULTURAL INDUSTRY AND
SERICULTURAL LABOUR
IN
JAPAN

Published by

Bureau of Agriculture
Department of Agriculture and Commerce

TOKYO
1921
ERRATA.

P. 2, Line 5-6, for "utilisation" read "utilization"
do. Line 18, for "atmopheric" read "atmospheric"
P. 3, Line 18, for "541, 577" read "341, 577"
do. Line 27, for "270, 821, 014" read "270, 824, 625"
P. 4, Line 5, for "3,731" read "3,766"
do. Line 7, for "4,105" read "4,205"
An Outline of the Sericultural Industry and Sericultural Labour in Japan.

CHAPTER I.

General Remarks.

I. The Relation between Sericulture and Agriculture in General.

In Japan those who rear silkworms, as a rule, grow their own mulberry-trees. There are some that obtain their mulberry leaves from others, but the number of such people is not great. Now-a-days sericulture is carried on all over the country as secondary occupation of farmers whose chief work is the growing of cereals. By reason of the circumstances that the most important part of this industry, viz., the silk culture is carried on within doors and consequently it is little affected by the inclemencies of weather, that it brings in fair profits for labour of short duration, that its process is so simple that even women and children can undertake it, many engage in it availing themselves of what leisure their work in the fields allow them, or combining the spare labour of the whole family. Especially the recent improvements in the races of silkworms and in the method of preserving silkworm eggs in low temperature have made it possible for the farmer to obtain several crops in a year or to choose seasons most suitable for him. All these circumstances have united to make sericulture a very popular employment among people. Agriculture in Japan, for historical as well as natural reasons, has developed principally as cereal raising industry, but the land is so small in comparison with the number of its inhabitants that the average area cultivated by each farmer and his family only slightly exceeds a hectare. Consequently farming in Japan is on extremely small scale, and in spite of all the efforts of the farmer to reap the greatest crops from his puny fields the yields of cereals are far from satisfying his wants, and he is compelled to enlarge his income by engaging in sericulture or some other work in addition to his labours in the fields. Cereal farming
requires more labour in one season than in another. Thus the farmer is
busy in the spring when he has to plough his fields and plant rice, but he
is comparatively at leisure in summer and autumn until the harvest time,
when he is again busy. The spring silkworms, coming as they do, in a
busy season for the farmer, are apt to cause inconveniences in the utilisation
of labour, but the autumn silkworms are entirely free from such
drawbacks and the wonderful increase in the rearing of autumn silkworms
in recent years is principally due to this fact. Further, while a large
quantity of rice straw is required in rearing silkworms and at the time of
"mounting" as the human assistance to silkworms in making cocoons is
called, a cereal growing farmer who engages in sericulture as subsidiary
work never suffers from the shortage of this material. He also has rice
chaffs and millet-hulls in plenty and consequently he can carry on his work
with very little circulating capital.

2. Climate and Sericulture.

Sericulture is best carried on in a warm climate not subject to violent
fluctuations of temperature, with dry air and fine weather. Japan is not
favourably placed in respect of climate, inasmuch as atmospheric changes are
often very violent, and the air damp in silk culture seasons. This is
especially the case in the season of spring silkworms, for the cold is severe
at the beginning and the air becomes excessively damp as the rainy season
sets in. The intense heat in July and August, too, is very trying on the
summer and autumn breeds. Compared with more favoured silk-producing
countries, such as France and Italy, Japan seems to be heavily handicapped,
but the great abundance of mulberry leaves all over the land and the
comparative rich margin of spare labour among the farmers have proved
great advantages, and with the gradual improvements in the method of
rearing and successes which have crowned the efforts to fight with natural
drawbacks the sericultural industry has come to enjoy its present prosperity
in Japan.
CHAPTER II

The Present State of the Sericultural Industry in Japan.

1. The Area of the Mulberry Fields.

The total area of mulberry fields in Japan was estimated at 517,295.6
hectares in 1919. Of this figure 437,298.3 hectares represented the ordinary
field area and 79,997.3 hectares, the estimated area of mulberry trees grown
in odd places. These areas covered 8.6 per cent. of the total space of
the cultivated land (6,011,169.6 hectares)\(^1\) and 17.1 per cent. of the entire
area of upland (3,019,508.6 hectares).\(^2\)

2. The Number of People Engaged in Sericulture.

In 1919, 1,942,252 families were actually engaged in sericulture in
Japan. This figure was equivalent to 35.4 per cent. of the entire number
of farmers' families (5,481,187).\(^3\) Since the Government's returns for 1918
showed that a family consisted of 5.317 individuals on an average, we may
estimate the total number of people engaged in sericulture, at 10,326,954.
If we allow for the aged and children who cannot work and assume 3
persons to form the working membership of the average family, we still
have 5,826,756 individuals in the same employment. Besides these, 541,577
persons were hired as workers during the spring silkworm season of 1920,
so that we find 6,168,333 people or something near this number actually
employed in rearing silkworms in Japan. This figure is equivalent to 11.08
per cent. of the total population of the country (1918). The above figure
for the employees may include a certain amount of members of silkworm-
rearers' families, but their exact number is not available.

3. The Yields of the Sericultural Industry and the Cost of
Production.

In 1919, about 270,821,014 kilogramme of cocoons, worth 1,985,605,724
francs, were produced in Japan. The cocoons form an important item among
the agricultural products of Japan, next only to rice. A tambu of mulberry

---

1) Without acreages in Okinawa. 2) Without acreages in Okinawa. 3) Without the
number of families in Okinawa.
field produces on an average 1.356 koku of cocoons (513.638 kilogramme per hectare) and since a koku of cocoons was worth 106.81 yen (7.33 francs per kilogramme) on an average (including double and waste cocoons) throughout the country in that year a tambu of mulberry fields yielded 144.83 yen on an average (3.731 francs per hectare).

The cost of production of cocoons depends on the weather, the skill of the rearers, wages and prices and many other factors. In 1916, 4.105 yen was expended for producing a kamme of cocoons on an average (2.89 francs per kilogramme), but owing to the rapid rise of wages and prices the production cost rose to 11.284 yen per kamme in 1920 (7.75 francs per kilogramme).

4. How Silkworms are Reared.

Generally speaking silkworms are reared in Japan between April and October. The term is extended in warmer districts and shortened in colder ones. Spring rearing which is the first rearing in the year is commenced as soon as the young leaves of the mulberry unfold themselves and lasts in most places from the beginning of May to the beginning of June. Summer rearing commences about the middle or end of June and ends in the course of July, while the autumn breed is fed from the end of July till October.

According to the method of rearing most prevalent in Japan, silkworms are kept and taken care of in large bamboo trays of oblong or round shape which are placed on shelves framed in the house. The mulberry leaves are cut according to the size of the silkworms, until they attain the fifth age when entire leaves are given to them. In recent years, however, some rearers have come to give them entire leaves from the outset and leaves not severed from the branches in the mature age, in order to effect a saving of labour. During the growth of the silkworms and their "mounting" it is most important to keep the air in the room properly warm and dry, and often a fire is used for the purpose.

5. The Scales of Sericulture.

The sericultural industry in Japan being, as we have seen, principally carried on by farmers as their secondary work, the scales are generally
small, except in the case of rearers who make it their business to manufacture egg-cards. A rearer sometimes confines himself to a single cellular system card i.e., card of eggs laid by twenty-eight moths, though some attempt as many as fifty cards. The average scale per family in 1919 was 3.24 cards of eggs (each card laid by 100 moths) including the spring, summer and autumn breeds. As to the advantages and disadvantages of rearing on large scales, there is no doubt that a rearer can make a more economical use of labour on a large scale than on a small one, yet in view of the enormous rise of wages this saving of labour does not necessarily reduce the cost of production as large scale rearing necessarily involves the more extended employment of hired labour, while the size of scale seems to have little to do with the quality of the cocoons produced or with the amount of production per egg-card.

6. The Extent of the Use of Mechanical Power.

The process of sericulture requiring great care and skill in handling at every stage, there is comparative small room for the use of machinery. New devices have recently been made for cutting mulberry leaves, clearing litter from the tray, in the form of rearing berths, and the like, with the object of saving labour, but they are all simple and trivial, not worthy of the name of machinery and in their operation hand-power alone is resorted to. Machinery, therefore, is little employed in sericulture at present, and in view of the scales of the industry and the nature of the process its extended use in the future can hardly be expected. Such being the case, we must say that the possibility of supplying the shortage of labour by mechanical power is by no means great.

CHAPTER III.

The Kinds of Sericultural Labour.


If we divide sericultural labour into family and hired labour, we find
that in the present state of the industry, a greater part of it belongs to the former class, that is, the labour of the rearers themselves and their families, the latter being employed in the busiest seasons or in anticipation of such seasons. According to investigations of labourers engaged in the spring breed in 1920, the season in which hired labour is most needed, the families that employed hired labour numbered 236,045 or 14 per cent. of the entire families of rearers. The total number of employees in the same season was 341,577 or 5.5 per cent. of the entire estimated number of individuals engaged in the industry. The families that employed hired labour had 1.45 persons each on an average.

2. The Kinds of Hired Labour.

The sericultural industry consists mainly of mulberry-growing and the rearing of silkworms. Of these the latter requires more labour, and the returns of 1916 show that while the labour yearly needed for a tambu of mulberry fields was 19.8 persons (200 persons per hectare) the silkworms hatched from a card of eggs (laid by 100 moths) required the labour of 49.2 persons (1,455.6 persons per kilogramme). There is a certain difference in the amount of labour needed by the spring, summer and autumn breeds, but this figure represents the average of all the breeds. Since a tambu of mulberry field yields sufficient leaves for feeding 1.5 cards of eggs (0.512 kilogramme per hectare) including the spring, summer and autumn breeds, it may be said that the labour of mulberry growing is approximately a quarter of that of silkworm rearing. To consider the relative amount of labour needed in the different stages, full-grown silkworms naturally require the most labour. Thus silkworms in their fifth age take up over 40 per cent. of the labour required in their whole life. Of the three silkworm breeds, summer and autumn breeds are generally reared by the rearer and his family, independent of hired labour, since they are not reared on large scales and the rearer can choose the time when he is least occupied with his work in the fields. It is for this reason that hired labour is most resorted to in the adult stage of spring silkworms and very little at other times. Because the call for hired labour is thus limited in season and of short duration, very few try
to make their living by hiring themselves out as employees for silkworm rearers. As a matter of fact hired labour is in most cases afforded by people who happen to have spare time, in a spirit of mutual assistance, or by members of peasants' families who seek for a "job" in other families.

Such being the case hired labour for a silkworm rearer is mostly sought for and found in his own neighbourhood and seldom in other prefectures except in the case of special provinces. Here we insert a table concerning hired labour, based on the aforesaid returns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexes</th>
<th>Hired in the Employers' own Prefectures</th>
<th>Hired from other Prefectures</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>98,210</td>
<td>13,379</td>
<td>111,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>212,876</td>
<td>17,112</td>
<td>229,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>311,086</td>
<td>30,491</td>
<td>341,577</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this we find that less than 9 per cent. of the employees are obtained from other prefectures than the employers' own. In prefectures, however, where sericulture is carried on large scales the labour available within their own boundaries is not sufficient to meet the demand, and consequently it is often obtained from other prefectures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefectures</th>
<th>Persons Employed in Employers' own Prefectures</th>
<th>Persons Employed from other Prefectures</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nagano</td>
<td>25,041</td>
<td>8,967</td>
<td>34,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gumma</td>
<td>36,887</td>
<td>5,627</td>
<td>42,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fukushima</td>
<td>25,744</td>
<td>1,984</td>
<td>27,728</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In prefectures like the foregoing where much hired labour is employed, the employers often give the employees the promise to hire them again in the following years, and some of these employees moving gradually from districts of early rearing to those of later rearing manage to make the work their regular occupation.

Since the need for sericultural labour is of short duration and the rearers are busy only for part of the term, even those who employ hired labour seldom hire it for a long period. Only such rearers as carry on sericulture as their principal occupation sometimes hire employees by the year with the understanding that they are to help them on the farm as well as in the rearing house. Some again hire employees for a season or a series of seasons, but a great majority of employees are hired by the day only in the busiest stage of rearing and according to the aforesaid returns the average employee's term of employment in the season was 18.22 days.


Since ancient times it has been customary in Japan for men to work in the fields and for women to weave in the house. With the increase of machinery in recent years, not only weaving but also reeling and other domestic work has been gradually absorbed by factories with the consequence that women have lost much of their work at home. Sericulture, however, has remained a purely domestic industry, and since it does not require hard labour as ploughing or other out-door work does, but only ability or care as mulberry-leaf picking, silkworm feeding, litter-clearing, silkworm bed extension, heat or moisture adjustment does, the industry is particularly suited to women. It is true that mulberry growing is to a great extent depends on men's labour, but silk culture falls more to the lot of women than of men. The returns of 1916 further show that of the 19.8 persons' labour which was required in cultivating a tambu of mulberry fields 14.7 persons fell upon male labour and 5.1 upon female, and of the 49.2 persons' labour which was required in rearing silkworms hatched from a card of eggs 16.9 fell upon male labour and 32.3 upon female. Men's labour in sericulture is chiefly employed in reaping mulberry, constructing frames, disinfecting the rearing rooms and utensils and other preparatory work. We have already seen that of the total number of employees 341,577 persons, 111,589 or 33 per cent., were men and 229,988 or 67 per cent. were women. To compare the two sexes by the number of days on which they were respectively
engaged 1,929,768 (or 31 per cent.) were the days for men and 4,273,796 (or 69 per cent.) were the days for women.

CHAPTER IV.
The Number of Working-days and Hours and the Nature of Work.

1. The Number of Working-days.

A sericultural term may be divided into the period of incubation, the period of rearing, and the period from "mounting" to cocoon harvest. Labour is most needed from the second half of the period of rearing till the completion of "mounting." The length of the term varies according to the weather, the race of the silkworms and the methods of rearing, but it is generally estimated that the spring term extends over 54 days and the summer and autumn terms over 31 or 32 days each. Of these days the period of rearing covers 32 or 33 with the spring breed, and about 21 or 22 with the summer or the autumn breed. The busiest stage lasts for 16 days in the case of the spring breed and about 12 days in the case of the summer or the autumn breed.

2. The Hours of Work.

In the whole process of sericulture what takes up the most time and requires the strict regularity of work is the feeding of silkworms. The number of the times of feeding varies according to the methods of giving mulberry leaves: feeding by cut leaves must be repeated at the most frequent intervals, feeding by uncut leaves less frequent and feeding by leaves not severed from the branches the least frequent. To speak of the spring breed, cut leaves must be given 7 times a day in the first age, 6 times in the second, 6 times in the third, 5 times in the fourth and 4 times in the fifth. More painstaking rearers add one more time to each age. The summer and autumn breeds must be fed 2 or 3 times oftener daily than the spring
breed, since the warmer weather gives a larger appetite to the silkworms. What makes such frequent feedings necessary is the specially high humidity of the air in Japan. If a large quantity of mulberry leaves is given at a time or if they are cut too coarsely, the silkworms bed would grow too wet and their health would be injured. The leaves, therefore, are cut fine, proportionate to the size of the silkworms, and it is considered most important to prevent the accumulation of unconsumed leaves or litter on the bed. The necessity of frequent feeding and constant care tends inevitably to prolong the hours of work, which generally begin at 5 or 6 in the morning and end at 10 or 11 p.m. When heating by fire is necessary, further service is required at night for the proper adjustment of temperature and the prevention of fire accidents.

So far we have only considered cases where the silkworms are fed with cut leaves—a practice most common in Japan—but the recent progress in technical skill and knowledge have made it possible to feed silkworms with uncut leaves or with leaves not severed from branches without the fear of injuring their health. Consequently these new methods are adopted in districts where the climate is favourable or where labour shortage is particularly severe. By these methods the times of feeding may be reduced to 3 or 4 a day and the hours of feeding may be shortened to from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Sericultural labour thus requiring so many hours daily, fear may be entertained that it will cause excessive fatigue of the worker’s mind and body. But it should be remembered that the work is not incessant. When the silkworms are once fed there is some respite before the next feeding, while one or two days’ rest may be enjoyed every time the silkworms “sleep.”

Except in the busiest period the workers can rest by turns, and it is believed that when all is considered silkworm rearing is not very harmful to the health of those who undertake it.

3. The Nature of Work.

(a) The work requires close attention and careful handling. The silkworm is a delicate insect, and for its sound growth close attention must be
The Number of Working-days and Hours and the Nature of Work.

paid to temperature, the times of feeding and the like. In the infant stage rough handling must be especially avoided, as the silkworm is extremely fine and apt to be injured or killed.

(b) The work requires some experience and skill. In order to execute feeding and litter-clearing at proper times or give the right amount of mulberry leaves, one must be able to observe the silkworms' appetite and the state of the bed. Also certain technical skill is needed for the even cutting and distribution of mulberry leaves.

(c) It is suited to female labour, as it does not require muscular power. Such work as feeding, litter-clearing and attending to the silkworms at the time of "mounting" may all be done by women or aged people.

(d) The amount of labour required is not uniform at all times. The silkworm develops very rapidly; consequently the number of trays and the quantity of the mulberry given must be correspondingly increased. It is, therefore, inevitable that the amount of labour needed should be but little at the infant age of the silkworms and very much in their mature age.

(e) Work is needed from early morning till night. As the silkworm eats quite as much at night as in the daytime, it must be fed at more or less regular intervals throughout the twenty-four hours, and not to allow the silkworm to starve between the last feeding in the night and the first feeding in the morning it is necessary to make the former very late and the latter very early.

(f) The labour is not continuous. After each feeding a brief respite intervenes until the time of preparation for the next feeding. As often as the silkworm "sleep" one or two days' rest may be enjoyed as already stated.

(g) There is little room for the employment of mechanical power. Because of the extreme delicacy of the process of sericulture the sphere of use for machinery is very small.
CHAPTER V.

The Wages of Sericultural Labourers.

1. Wages.

It is customary for employees to pay sericultural labour in money, but in a few districts the wages are paid in rice.

As a rule wages for sericultural labour are higher than those for farming work, inasmuch as the term of employment is short and the work is heavy and irregular. The following table will show the changes in the wages as viewed every five years since 1909. Food is provided free by the employer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Labour in the Fields</th>
<th>Sericultural Labour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>Francs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is a table showing daily wages (including the estimated expenses of meals, which are supplied by the employer) for the spring sericultural season.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Index Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male.</td>
<td>Female.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>62 Sen</td>
<td>1.6 Francs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>83 Sen</td>
<td>2.1 Francs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>193 Sen</td>
<td>5.1 Francs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows how great has been the rise of wages in recent years and also that the rise has been greater with men's wages than with women's.

2. How Wages are Paid.
With employees who are engaged by the day, wages are paid every day. When a person is engaged for a season he or she generally receives from 10 to 30 per cent. of his or her wages in advance and receives the rest on the expiration of the term or when the employer has received the price of his cocoons. It is, however, not rare that the employer makes payment of a further percentage at the request of the employee, and in cases where the employee was engaged through an employment agency the payment is sometimes made through it.

CHAPTER VI.


1. The Conclusion of Labour Contracts.

The time of concluding employment contracts may be early or late. Some make their contracts as early as December; some make them after the silkworm rearing has been commenced, but most people between March and the time just before "brushing," or removing newly hatched silkworms from the egg-card to the feeding tray. When a rearer employs a worker from another prefecture or a distant part of his own prefecture, or through an employment agency, contracts are sometimes made in written documents, but in most other cases verbal contracts between the two parties are deemed sufficient.

2. Employment agencies: Their Advantages and Disadvantages.

In 1920, the employment agencies in Japan numbered 2,057. Their business was to receive applications from intending employers in advance and supply workers on finding them, or receive applications from intending employees and find employers for them. In compensation for their inter-mediation they receive from 0.50 yen to 1.50 yen (1.3 francs to 3.9 francs) from each contracting party or 5 to 6 per cent. of the wages for the entire term of employment.
Employment agencies are very useful in cases where hired labour is not easily available or where one desires to employ extra hands in the busiest season, but they are not entirely free from disadvantages.


Some local government offices, agricultural societies, guilds and the like undertake to collect information respecting employers who desire to engage workpeople, and workpeople who seek engagement, or to pronounce the standard rates of wages. In some cases they give practical lessons in sericulture and find work for those who have completed the course. But the number of such public bodies is not large.

CHAPTER VII.

The Economical and Social Situation of Sericultural Labourers.

1. Their State of Living.

Sericulture being, to a great extent, undertaken by rearers themselves, their families or peasants who can spare their time, all sericultural workers have their own farming or silkworm rearing business, large or small, and consequently pure labourers, such as we have in manufacturing industries, are very few. And even hired workers, as they live in their employer's house and eat at his table in a majority of cases, live much the same mode of life as farmers. It may, however, be said that since sericulture yields a comparatively large reward in a short period of time, those who are engaged in the industry are liable to extravagant habits, in their eagerness to comfort themselves for their days and nights of hard work.

2. Their Economical Situation.

At ordinary times sericulture is a lucrative employment as farmers' secondary occupation, but in consequence of the wonderful rise in the price of raw silk, the rearers gained very good profits. The workers' wages also went up and their economical situation distinctly improved from year
to year. But a slump dealt a severe blow upon all lines of business in 1920, and the sericultural industry, too, suffered most terribly. Not only were the rearers' profits reduced, but the price of cocoons sank below the cost of production and the lowering of the rates of wages was an inevitable consequence.

3. The Workers' Education.

Common education and agricultural continuation education in Japanese farm villages are spreading year by year and the intellectual level of farmers is rapidly rising. This tendency is specially marked in sericulture which is more dependent upon human effort and in which scientific knowledge sooner bears fruit than in any other employment of farmers, and consequently fresh exertions are constantly made in the improvement of races, in the method of rearing or with regard to the prevention of diseases among silk-worms. It is a notable indication that many young members of farmers' families have come to receive scientific training in sericulture, take short term courses, attend lectures or try to enrich their knowledge by reading publications on the subject.

4. Their Social Status.

In a majority of cases, sericultural labourers live in their employers' houses, receiving the same treatment as the members of the families as already stated. They are, therefore, on the same social level as farmers or agricultural workers and there is nothing that we need specially mention about sericultural labourers' status.

5. Disputes between Sericultural Labourers and their Employers.

Since sericultural labourers are, as we have seen, mostly sons and daughters of farmers living with their employers and treated like members of the employers families, they generally get on very well with them and disagreement has seldom arisen between the two classes. In the financial disaster of last year, however, cases of discord occurred in two or three districts and, much to our regret, stained the history of the sericultural industry in Japan. Encouraged by the high price of raw silk, the rearers
had made their plans with great expectations and most of them had promised handsome wages to their employees. But just before the rearing season a shadow of depression had fallen upon raw silk and when rearing was in full swing its price fell so rapidly that many employees as well as the rearers began to feel uneasy with the outlook. On the opening of the cocoon market, not only the price fell far short of the rearers' first expectation, but the cocoons brought in nearly a half of what they had done in the previous year, and what the rearers received did not cover the bare cost of production. The result was that they found difficulty in paying the promised wages, and some of them tried to prevail upon their employees to take less than the sums agreed upon. The employees, however, protested in a body and disagreement ensued between the two sides, but thanks to the kind mediation of some influential people in their respective districts the matter ended peacefully.
（換騰寫）
Trade Union Movement in Japan

by K. Matsumoto.

Generally speaking it is about the end of the 19th century that the modern trade union movement has come into existence in Japan. A body which worked to a great extent for the development of the movement was the Society for the Promotion of Trade Unions (Rodo Kumiai Kisei Domei Kai), established in 1897. The Society was a propaganda association formed by a dozen intellectuals, followed by thousands of workers. The first union, born directly from the propaganda of the above Society, was the Iron Workers’ Union in 1897, consisting of metal workers in several workshops near Tokyo. Although its former object was friendly benefit and mediation in trade disputes, with the rapid growth in membership (claiming 5,400 in 1900), it became more and more militant against the employers, but the defeat in a dispute in the same year was a vital blow to a young organisation and was followed by a sudden decrease in the number of members. Other unions formed through the activities of the Society gathered the locomotive engineers and firemen, and printers.

The first stage of labour unrest reached its climax in 1898-1899. Up to 1899 the disputes ended comparatively in favour of the workers, but by 1900 came a sudden change. Not only industrial and commercial depression had a serious effect on the movement, but also the possessing classes, alarmed by the rising tide of revolt of the mass of workers, put a speedy end to strike action through legislative measures — that is the notorious Police Law of 1900 which is still in force. According to Article 17 of the Law, any action of instigation or agitation for strikes is punished (imprisonment from one to six months).

No discussion is necessary to prove that the law directly forbids strikes and the organised movement of the working classes.

1 See the appendix.
The result is easily foreseen; within a short time almost all notable unions one after another ceased to exist. In this manner the earlier history of the Japanese trade union movement was concluded. During nearly a decade until 1912 when the Yuai Kai was formed, the industrial workers' mass movement hardly showed any sign of life.

A new light was thrown on the dark world of labour in Japan, by a social reform movement which led to the formation of the Yuai Kai (in August 1912) by Bunji Suzuki as president and a handfull of workers in Tokyo, principally for the purpose of educating the working people. During the first few years the Yuai Kai did nothing but preach social reform among its members and arbitrate in cases of industrial disputes, but gradually the working classes began to join. The rank and file members created branches in their workshops, and everywhere took a leading part in strikes and in agitations. Thus in 1917 it claimed a membership of 27,000 men and women, distributed over 100 branches all over the country. This continuous development of the Yuai Kai, however, met with fierce opposition from the employers, and the membership suddenly began to fall. (In 1918 it was 16,000).

Mention should also be made of the Sinyu Kai or fraternal society of printers, founded in 1916. At the outset this was a pure craft union with an exclusive policy, founded by the European typographers employed in several plants in Tokyo, but soon it opened its doors to all workers in the same industry and in 1917 enrolled 700 members. The Sinyu Kai has been led by a few socialist workers and has taken a militant policy against employers.

The slow development of the trade union movement in Japan is due to the fact that (1) agriculture and semi-agriculture occupy nearly 60% of the population; (2) that the handicraft and small scale industries greatly dominate; and (3) that there is an extraordinary number of women labourers, chiefly employed in the textile industry (half of the factory workers are female), to say nothing of the prohibitive effect which the aforesaid Police Law has had on this movement.

However, during and after the war, especially in the two years 1919 and 1920, great progress was made in the organisations of labour, which may be accounted for by the extraordinary
development of industry, the numerical increase in industrial workers, the amazing rise in prices, and the influence of revolutionary ferments in Russia and all over Europe.

Trade unions not only increased in number but also began to unite with each other towards a common end, and the growth during 1919 and 1920 was rapid. Both the Yuai Kai and the Sinyu Kai took on new life and many unions were formed spreading to the less industrial towns and the less skilled workers. After the May Day demonstration in Tokyo in 1920, which was the first May Day held in Japan, a federation of labour unions, Rodo Kumiai Domei Kai, including the most important unions led by the Yuai Kai and the Sinyu Kai, came into existence as a permanent organisation. At the instigation of the Western Committee of the Yuai Kai, in December 1920 a similar body was formed by 14 unions in Osaka, called the Western Federation of Trade Unions. In July of that year a great fusion took place in the mining industry, and three big bodies, the Miners' Department of the Yuai Kai, the Miners' Federation of Japan, and the National Miners' Union, were strongly incorporated in a single unit, the All Japanese Miners' Federation, which is directly affiliated to the Yuai Kai. In May 1921, out of 48 existing seamen's unions, 22, including the Seamen's Department of the Yuai Kai and others, amalgamated under the name of the Japanese Seamen's Union.

It is very difficult to know the actual number of trade unions and their memberships, but according to the press statements giving the results of recent government investigations, there exist in Japan 273 unions with 110,688 members.

1 For example, the membership of the leading trade unions reached the following figures about that time.

a) Yuai-kai proper 64,000
   | Yuai-kai proper 34,000
   | All Japanese Miners Federation 30,000
b) Transporters Union 5,000
   | (in Tokio and its vicinity)
   | Shinyu-kai (Printers Union) 1,200

* The Yuai Kai and some trade unions affiliated to it withdrew in May 1921 from this Federation, owing to differences of opinion.

* The membership of the Japanese Seamen's union reaches to 7,000 in this year.
I. Appendix:

I. Extracts from the Police Law (10th March, 1900).

Article 17. — "It is prohibited to exercise violence and intimidation against another, or publicly slander another, for the purpose of either item of the following; or to tempt or instigate another with the purpose of the second item of the following:

1. To make another enter, or prevent him from entering such association or organisation formed for acting in cooperation, concerning the condition or renumerations of labour.

2. To make an employer discharge a worker or make him refuse the application for employment; or make a worker cease working or to make him refuse the offer of employment; in order to perform a combined lock-out or strike.

3. To force the other contracting party in the matter of the condition of renumerations of labour."

It is prohibited to inflict violence upon others or make threat of violence against others to compel them by force to agree in regard to conditions of rent of land for agricultural purposes.

Article 30. — One who violated the Article 17 will be imprisoned for the duration of one to six months, with the additional fine amounting from three to thirty yen.

One who exercised violence or intimidation against, or publicly slandered another who did not join the employer's lock-out or employees' strike will be inflicted the same penalty.

II. The number of workers arrested and imprisoned on charge of contravening article 17 of the Police Law of 1900.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrested</th>
<th>Imprisoned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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A MEDICAL ASPECT
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1. General Aspect.

The health insurance law of Japan was promulgated in April, 1922, and became effective in July, 1926, the intermediate period being taken for preparation and for the other causes. The actual granting of benefits provided by the law to the insured persons, however, was only began in January, 1927. Before describing the medical attendance and sick benefits, the present health insurance law may be briefly summarised.

The objects of the health insurance law of Japan is to grant to the insured persons medical attendance, or pecuniary accident or sick benefits, funeral benefit, and confinement and maternity benefits, in case of their sickness, accident, death or childbirth. It does not include the disablement, old age or unemployment insurances as in the other countries.

A person may be compulsorily insured or voluntarily insured under this health insurance law. The former case is one who is employed in a factory or works to which the factory law or mining law is applied. Temporary employees and administrative employees,
whose annual remuneration is more than 1,200 yen are exempted. The employees in certain undertakings, other than the factories and works mentioned above, may be insured with the consent of more than half of the persons to be insured, and if an insured person who has ceased to be insurable may continue in insurance if he applies for this.

The carriers of health insurance may be either the Government or the health insurance societies. An employer normally employing 300 or more in his undertaking may incorporate a health insurance society with the consent of a half of the persons to be insured. The Government may direct an employer normally employing 500 or more insurable persons in an undertaking to establish a health insurance society. At present the total number of insured persons is about 2,000,000 and one half of the number is directly insured by the Government.

As to insurance benefits, there are medical attendance and pecuniary benefits. Pecuniary and accident benefits are given from the day the insured person is unable to work. If the insured person incurs sickness or injury through any cause not connected with his work, the pecuniary benefit is paid from the fourth day after he became unable to work. The pecuniary benefit is equivalent to 60% of his daily remuneration and paid during the period of incapacity not extending over 180 days. The confinement benefit is 20 yen and the maternity benefit is 60% of her daily remuneration for four weeks preceding the confinement and six weeks after the confinement. One week may be added if confinement is delayed. In the case of death of an insured person a funeral benefit of 20 times the daily remuneration is given with the minimum of 20 yen.

The insured person and his employer bear each one-half of the amount of the insurance contribution and the Government Treasury bears 10% of the expenditure for insurance benefits, but not exceeding two yen per person per annum. The amount of the insurance contribution borne by the insured person is fixed as not to exceed three per cent of his daily remuneration. At present it is two per cent.
Any person who is dissatisfied with a decision regarding insurance benefits or assessment or collection of insurance contribution may apply to the health insurance enquiry commissions. There are the first and second instances of enquiry commissions. Any person who is dissatisfied with the decision of the last enquiry commission may bring an action in the ordinary law court or appeal to the Minister of Home Affairs or may bring an action in the administrative court.

2. Medical Attendance.

Insured person receives the following medical attendance from physician, dentist and pharmacist who had been designated by the insurance carrier.

1. Medical examination.
3. Manipulation, operation, and other treatments.
4. Nursing service.
5. Transportation of insured person who is to receive medical attendance.

As to the cost of operation, the limit is twenty yen, except in an emergency case and where the insurance carrier considers it necessary to have a larger operation. When the insurance carrier considers it necessary, a more costly operation may be done.

Insured person may be taken into a hospital when the insurance carrier considers it necessary. It is the same in the case of sending the insured person to a health resort or employment of special nurse. When an insured person has difficulty in obtaining medical attendance from a physician designated by the insurance carrier or there is impending necessity, he may receive medical attendance from a non-designated physician. In such case, the insurance carrier may pay a reasonable amount requested by such physician. Actually there is only a few undesignated physician. The reason for this is explained later.

The period for which the medical attendance is given is limited to 180 days for the same sickness or injury or total of 180 days for
different sicknesses or injuries in the same year. The medical attendance of over 180 days is responsible by the employer.

3. The Agreement in Regard to the Medical Attendance between the State and the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association.

The method of granting medical attendance is a very difficult problem. Free selection of physician was most eagerly sought by the insured persons, for it affords a wider facility and convenience. Some physicians also welcomed this scheme. Taking into consideration of the experiences of various countries, practically entire medical attendance of the insured persons was put in the hands of the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association. This scheme afforded equal opportunity for all physicians to become a health insurance physician.

It is necessary here to describe the nature and organisation of the Japan Medical Practitioner's Association. According to the Medical Practitioners' Law of Japan each practicing physician must be the member of the district or city medical practitioners' association. The district and city medical practitioners' associations form the prefectural medical practitioners' association and send their representatives who have voting power. The prefectural medical practitioners' associations form, in turn, the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association, and the former associations are the members of the latter to which they send their representatives. Thus the entire medical practitioners in Japan are systematically controlled by the three associations one above the other. A matter which is decided by the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association is carried out by the prefectural associations and then, in turn, by the district or city associations and finally it is executed by each individual practitioner. Each medical practitioners' association is a body corporate and not a private institution. Consequently, it has a power to make regulations and to take decisions and a physician who infringes rules may be reprimanded.

The existence of such a strongly centralised association made
it possible to draw up the contract with the Government in regard to the health insurance medical attendance.

The agreement and memorandum drawn up between the Government and the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association are as follows.

Agreement

Entered into between the Government and the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association relative to the diagnosis and the treatment (except dental) of the insured persons of the health insurance undertaken by the Government in accordance with the Health Insurance Act.

Art. 1. — The J.M.P.A. agrees to undertake the diagnosis and treatment of the sickness and injury of the insured person of the health insurance in accordance with the provision of this agreement. This rule may not apply to the cases provided for in Article 48 of the Health Insurance Act.

Art. 2. — The J.M.P.A. shall designate a physician or physicians who shall be in charge of giving medical attendance to the insured persons, practicing in a private office, and see that there is no inconvenience felt in the diagnosis and treatment of insured persons.

Art. 3. — The extent of the insured persons to be treated by the physician in charge of such attendance shall be the insured persons who come under the competence of the health insurance bureau which has a jurisdiction over the locality where the physician's office is situated or the insured persons who live inside of the jurisdiction of such bureau.

In case of emergency or in case an insured person has obtained the approval of the chief of the competent insurance bureau, the designated physician shall examine and treat an insured person who does not come under the extent of the preceding clause.

Art. 4. — The extent of medical attendance to be undertaken by the J.M.P.A. is as follows:

(1) Examination (inclusive of examination at patient's home, at physician's office and giving of prescription, but exclusive of health examination);

(2) Supply of medicines and materials for treatment (any material for treatment such as clutches and glasses except glasses for correction of sight);

(3) Manipulation, operations and other treatments (exclusive of the treatment by sending the insured person to a health resort).
ART. 5. — The J.M.P.A. shall place the insured person in a hospital when the treatment necessitates it.
When the insured person is placed in a hospital, the J.M.P.A. shall furnish the beddings, equipments and foods.

ART. 6. — The remuneration to be paid by the Government to the J.M.P.A. for the medical services undertaken under this agreement shall be the sum obtained by multiplying the amount corresponding to one twelfth of 7 yen 4267 with the number of total insured persons as existed on the end of that month, minus the amount of remuneration payable in that month to the government or public hospitals or pharmacists the service of which was asked by the Government.

The amount of remuneration payable to the government or public hospitals or pharmacists under the preceding clause shall be reckoned by the method determined by the Government.
Payment to the J.M.P.A. by the Government shall be made without delay after the calculation is made as provided in the preceding section.

ART. 7. — When the Government is requested to pay a remuneration by the government or public hospitals and pharmacists after having had paid to the J.M.P.A. according to the calculation made as provided in the first section of the preceding article, the amount of such remuneration shall be included in the remuneration of the following month only when the delay was due to the natural calamity or unavoidable cause.

ART. 8. — When the J.M.P.A. desires to appropriate a part of the remuneration to be received from the Government to the office expenses necessary for the discharge of duties provided for in this agreement, the Association shall determine its amount with clear basis for the calculation and obtain the approval of the Government therefore.

ART. 9. — The J.M.P.A. shall determine the method of distribution of the remuneration among those who dispensed the medical attendances with the approval of the Government.

ART. 10. — The J.M.P.A. shall not use the remuneration paid by the Government other than for the payment of the expenses incurred in the execution of the provisions of the agreement.

ART. 11. — The J.M.P.A. shall keep the account of the remuneration received from the Government separate from its general account.

ART. 12. — The J.M.P.A. shall submit to the Bureau of Social Affairs the estimate and settled account of the expenditure under the preceding article.

ART. 13. — The J.M.P.A. shall cause the designated phy-
sicians to engage in diagnosis and treatment in accordance with this agreement and to observe the matters specified in Articles 14 to 26 of this agreement.

ART. 14. — The designated physician shall so pursue the medical attendance according to the provisions of the law and regulations regarding the health insurance.

ART. 15. — The designated physician shall obtain the approval of the chief of the health insurance bureau for a treatment or an operation costing over 20 yen.

ART. 16. — When the designated physician deems it necessary to place an insured person in a hospital or to transport him or to employ special nurse, the physician shall make arrangement for it with the approval of the chief of the health insurance bureau.

In such case, the designated physician shall give a certificate as to the expenses required for the removal or nursing under the preceding clause to a person who is entitled for the payment.

ART. 17. — When the designated physician is requested for examination or treatment by the insured person, he shall ascertain the qualification of such person by requesting the presentation of the insurance certificate or treatment certificate.

The designated physician shall give medical attendance to the insured person, if his qualification is obvious, who, however, can not present his insurance certificate or treatment certificate with unavoidable cause. The insurance certificate or treatment certificate shall be presented without delay when the cause is removed.

ART. 18. — When the designated physician has found, in the course of examination or treatment, that the sickness or injury of an insured person, though not so certified by the employer as provided in the fourth clause of Article 45 of the Regulation for the Enforcement of Health Insurance Act, was caused in connection with his occupation, he shall immediately notify it to the chief of the health insurance bureau stating his views on the case.

ART. 19. — If the designated physician is requested to give the medical attendance to the insured person who is qualified according to the provision made in the section 3, Article 47 of the Health Insurance Act, he may request the presentation of a letter from the chief of the health insurance bureau giving evidence that such person is so entitled.

ART. 20. — When the designated physician is requested to issue a treatment certificate as provided in the first clause of Article 47 and the first clause of Article 51 of the Regulations for the Enforcement of Health Insurance Act, he shall issue it immediately.

ART. 21. — When the designated physician is requested by an insured person a certificate or written opinion necessary for receiving insurance benefit, he shall issue it immediately.
Fees for the issuance of the certificate or written opinion shall not be asked of the insured person.

ART. 22. — In either of the following cases the designated physician shall notify it to the chief of the health insurance bureau without delay.

(1) When the sickness or injury is caused by quarrel or intoxication;

(2) When an insured person does not obey the instruction of the physician in regard to treatment without justifiable reason.

(3) When an insured person has received or attempted to receive the medical attendance by fraud or wrongful act.

ART. 23. — The designated physician shall prepare the list of medical attendance he has given during each month according to the prescribed form, and shall report it to the chief of the health insurance bureau by the 10th of the next month.

ART. 24. — The designated physician shall put up a door plate of a prescribed form at the place where his office is located.

ART. 25. — The designated physician shall not request the payment of fares for carriage or horse required for his visit when the visit is within \(\frac{1}{2}\) ri (2 kilometers) from his office.

ART. 26. — The designated physician shall visit for examination when so requested by an insured person living within a distance of four ri (16 kilometers).

In the case a separate agreement is made between the competent health insurance bureau and the J.M.P.A., the request for a visit from an insured person living farther than the distance of the preceding clause may be accepted.

ART. 27. — When the J.M.P.A. has designated the physicians who take charge of giving medical attendance, the Association shall report it according to the prescribed form to the health insurance bureau which has the jurisdiction over the area where such physicians are living.

In the case there is any change in the matter filed in the foregoing report, the Association shall notify it to the bureau each time such change occurs.

ART. 28. — The J.M.P.A. shall constantly supervise the designated physicians and if there is any one who neglects his duty, the Association shall give warning to or expel such physician.

ART. 29. — The forms mentioned in Article 23, 24 and 27 of this agreement shall be determined after consultation between the Government and the J.M.P.A.

ART. 30. — The J.M.P.A. shall keep the books and documents relative to the medical attendance under this agreement for a period of twelve years after their closure.
ART. 31. — The J.M.P.A. shall see that the books and documents relative to medical attendance given by the designated physicians be kept for a period of twelve years after their closure.

ART. 32. — The Government shall reserve the right to examine the books and documents mentioned in the preceding two articles and to demand from the J.M.P.A. a report on the medical attendance under this agreement.

ART. 33. — The Government shall reserve the right to suspend the operation of this agreement within a certain locality or to rescind the agreement when there is a conspicuous impediment to the medical attendance provided in this agreement undertaken by the J.M.P.A.

ART. 34. — The present agreement shall be in force from November 4, 1926 to March 31, 1927.

ART. 35. — By the term insured person in this agreement is understood any insured person who is not the member if a health insurance society (exclusive of an insured person employed in the Government undertakings who is a member of the mutual aid society designated by the Home Minister under the provision of the Article 7 of the Regulations for Enforcement of the Health Insurance Act) and an insured person who is still entitled to the medical attendance after he ceased to be insurable (exclusive of a person coming under the provision of Article 48 of the Health Insurance Act).

In order to prove the accuracy, this agreement has been done in duplicate, and each of the parties concerned having affixed its signature and seals keeps a copy.

November 4th, 1926.

Director of the Bureau of Social Affairs
(Name and Seal):

President of the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association
(Name and Seal):

MEMORANDUM.

Whereas the Government and the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association have entered into an agreement with regard to the medical attendance to be granted to the insured persons of the
health insurance undertaken by the Government in accordance with the Health Insurance Act, the Government and the Association have exchanged the following memorandum and each party shall endeavour to fulfill the provisions in this memorandum.

(1) The J.M.P.A. will see to that the designated physician shall, in consideration of the spirit of health insurance, engage in the examination and treatment with fair and sincere attitude, and without any discrimination between the insured persons.

(2) The J.M.P.A. shall direct the designated physician to study the law and regulations relative to health insurance in detail so that there will be no mistake in the procedure to be followed.

(3) The J.M.P.A. may cause the designated physicians to appoint office hour convenient to the insured person, in addition to his own office hour.

(4) The J.M.P.A. shall prohibit the designated physician to give unnecessary treatment or to submit wrongful document.

(5) In the case the medical attendance is to be continually granted beyond the period prescribed in the law under the provision of Article 48 of the Health Insurance Act, the Association shall cause the designated physician to give such attendance.

(6) The remuneration for the attendance of preceding clause shall be the amount a third less than ordinary remuneration.

(7) The remuneration for the attendance of the preceding clause shall be paid directly to the physician who gave such attendance by the health insurance bureau whose jurisdiction covers the area in which the physicians' office is located.

(8) When the Government or a health insurance society makes necessary equipments for the preservation of the health of insured persons under the provision of Article 23 of the Health Insurance Act, the J.M.P.A. shall give necessary assistance.

(9) In the event the Government establishes, in the future, a hospital or sanatorium which it may find necessary for the treatment of special disease, such hospital or sanatorium shall be regarded as the Government hospital mentioned in Articles 6 and 7 of the Agreement entered into between the Government and the J.M.P.A. on November 4th, 1926.

(10) The Government shall endeavour to spread among insured persons the knowledge concerning securement of medical attendance.

(11) With regard to the renewal of the Agreement between the Government and the J.M.P.A., a separate consultation shall be held.

(12) When there is a considerable increase of expenses for medical attendance due to a serious epidemic, the Government
and the J.M.P.A. shall hold a conference on the increase of remuneration payable to the J.M.P.A. by the Government.

(13) The remuneration for the medical attendance per insured person as fixed in Article 6 of the Agreement entered into between the Government and the J.M.P.A., dated November 4, 1926, may be increased or decreased according to the actual results in the future.

(14) The J.M.P.A. shall respond to the inquiries and studies which may be made by the Bureau of Social Affairs and the health insurance bureau in regard to the health insurance.

(15) Committees may be selected by the health insurance officers and the J.M.P.A. for conferences in order to harmonise the relation between the designated physicians and insured persons.

November 4, 1926.

Director of the Bureau of Social Affairs,
(Name and Seal):

President of the Japan Medical Practitioners, Association,
(Name and Seal):

4. Important Points in the Agreement.

1. — The medical attendance of all the insured persons is in the hand of the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association, except those insured persons who are placed in the government or public hospitals.

2. — All medical practitioners, except those who relinquished the right to become health insurance physicians, must serve in medical attendance of the insured persons.

3. — The insured person has free selection of physician including specialist within the prefecture in which his work or residence is located.

4. — The remuneration of medical attendance of the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association is based on 7 yen 4267 per insured person. The amount actually paid to the Association is the sum multiplied per head rate by the number of total insured
persons minus an amount payable to the government and public hospitals and to the licensed pharmacists who prepare medicine according to the physician's prescriptions only.

5. — The limit of medical attendance includes medical examination (including visiting homes), supply of medicines and medical materials for treatments, operation and other treatments, and hospitals services. But it does not include the expenses for health resort treatment, special nursing services and confinement services.

Some of the most important bases for this agreement may be explained. In the first place, a calculation of number of days of sickness per annum per insured person is very difficult. The surveys made in connection with the factory law and mining law and others are not accurate. Especially the number is naturally expected to be increased greatly when free selection of physician by the insured person is granted. The statistics of the other countries can not be taken as basis in Japan for the conditions are different. After careful studies, 11.5 days was taken as the number of sick days per annum per person. To this 50% was added for a safe margin and made it 17.3 days. Taking 50 sen as the cost of medical attendance per days, it was calculated 8 yen 65 sen as the cost per annum per person. This is the basis of the budget of the Government for the health insurance scheme. From this per annum cost, nursing, transportation and dental expenses are deducted and the cost of the medical attendance, therefore, is 7 yen 467 per person per annum.

The budget of the Government for the health insurance scheme in 1927 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefit</th>
<th>Yen</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sick and injury benefits</td>
<td>12,270,681</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral benefit</td>
<td>463,172</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confinement benefit</td>
<td>810,480</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity benefit</td>
<td>1,480,744</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical attendance</td>
<td>13,012,308</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28,037,385</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Items of the medical attendance are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Yen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct payment by the Government</td>
<td>809,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>468,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation of patients</td>
<td>227,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash payment for medical attendance</td>
<td>113,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remuneration for medical attendance for the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association</td>
<td>11,172,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remuneration for dental attendance</td>
<td>1,030,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,012,308</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beside the budget above mentioned a certain amount of money is put aside for preventive work such as anti-tuberculosis measures, etc. This amount, in all probability, is increased in the future.

When the total amount payable to the J. M. P. A. as remuneration for medical attendance as contracted is divided by the total number of the insured persons, which is 1,504,313, the amount per insured person is 7 yen 426.7. This remuneration per person is an appropriate amount even if a comparison is made with that of the other countries. When a calculation is made from the standpoint of physicians, supposing that the health insurance scheme is extended to the entire population of the country, the average income of per physician per annum is about ten thousand yen. Of course, this amount may be increased or decreased by the future experiences. There is an understanding that the remuneration is increased when there is an epidemic of contagious disease of considerable magnitude or some such cases where medical attendance requires more expenses.

5. The Method of Distributing the Remuneration for Medical Attendance for Physicians.

Since the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association has undertaken to give practically the entire medical attendance of the insured persons, such a method as to give satisfaction to them must be adopted. At first, the Association sent out inquiries to the
entire practicing physicians whether or not they intended to become a health insurance physician. There only 5% in some places and in the others 10% of the physicians were refused to become health insurance physicians. The reasons offered for refusals were old age and ill health, and there was not a single selfish motive for refusal. Thus practically all the physicians in the country became health insurance physicians. Each health insurance physician has a door-plate in the entrance of the office designating that he or she is a health insurance physician. The insured person goes to such a physician and presents his insurance certificate card and receives medical attendance. In an urgent case certificate may be presented at the second visit. The physician keeps this certificate during the entire course of treatment and returns it to the insured person at the end of the course. In this way, it prevents the insured person from going from one physician to another. It does, not, however, prohibit it absolutely. The insured person may change the attending physician by permission from the local health insurance bureau. Permissions are also required for receiving an operation costing over twenty yen or entering into a hospital. Of course, in a case of emergency, permission may be obtained after having been operated or taken into hospital. If the attending physician considers it necessary to have a treatment of other physician or a consultation, he issues a treatment certificate without designating any particular physician. Thus for instance, if a treatment by an ophthalmologist is necessary, the insured person may go to any ophthalmologist with the treatment certificate. The choice is left entirely to the insured person. When the treatment is over, this certificate is returned to the first attending physician.

In Japan, a physician can give medicine to a patient with his own prescription. Consequently an occasion to send a prescription to pharmacist is very rare. It is allowed to request home visit within a distance of 4 "ri" or about 16 kilometers. In a far away country, where physicians are few at near by places, a permission may be obtained from the chief of the local health insurance bureau beforehand whereby physicians may be invited
from a place over 16 kilometers. When an insured person changes his residence to the other prefecture he may be able to receive medical attendance of a physician in the second prefecture with a permission of the chief of the local health bureau. Thus practically, an insured person has free choice of receiving medical attendance anywhere he goes.

As to the remuneration for the service of the physician, it is calculated according to the rules adopted by the Japan Medical Practitioners’ Association. A certain service is given a definite number of points value and each physician informs within the first five days of next month the total of the points he rendered service during the month to the prefectural association, through the hand of the district or city medical association. The prefectural Association collects within its jurisdiction the points of each physician and calculates the value of a single point. The total amount of remuneration for a month as calculated per rate per insured person is sent to the prefectural association from the Japan Practitioners’ Medical Association. This money is distributed to each physician according to the total number of points he obtained during that month. Thus when the total number of points of a prefecture is large, in other words, when there was a large number of patients, the value of a single point is low and vice versa.

The rules for evaluation of the services rendered by each designated physician adopted by the J.M.P.A. with approval of the Government are as follows.

Rules concerning the Remuneration for the Medical Attendance of the Health Insurance.

ARTICLE I. — Remuneration for various medical attendance is made according to the point scheme described in the table. When the following point scheme can not be adhered to under the peculiar circumstances of the locality, the Prefectural Medical Practitioners’ Association may apply with the reason thereof to the Japan Medical Practitioners’ Association for alteration.

ARTICLE II. — The Prefectural Medical Practitioners’ Association shall examine the claims for remuneration of each
health insurance physician and shall decide the points impartially.

**ARTICLE III.** — An operation or treatment of over 100 points in the following table is considered as a remuneration over 20 yen and shall receive a permission of the chief of the local health insurance bureau through the office of the Prefectural Medical Practitioners' Association, except in an emergency case.

**ARTICLE IV.** — For admission to hospital, a permission shall be also received from the chief of the local health insurance bureau through the office of the Prefectural Medical Practitioners' Association, except in an emergency case.

**ARTICLE V.** — The number of the points for remuneration of a treatment or an operation not enumerated in the following shall be decided by the Prefectural Medical Practitioners' Association.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fist Office consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home consultation (within 2 kilometers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two points are added for a distance of each 2 kilometers or fraction thereof. (Patient shall pay the transport expenses of physician for a trip over 2 kilometers).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One point shall be added for each patient over the two in the same family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a case of first consultation 3 points are added.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50% of the points shall be added for home visit during the night between 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medicinals.**

- Internal medicine (One kind for a day) | 1 |
- Haustus (For once) | 0.5 |

**External medicines:**

- Gargle (one prescription) | 1 |
- Abluent (one prescription) | 1 |
- Cataplasmic solution | 1 |
- Medicament for bath | 1 |
- Ointment | 1 |
- Powder | 1 |
- Paste | 1 |
- Suppository | 1 |
- Eye drop | 1 |
- Ear drop | 1 |

(Above includes container.)
Certificates, prescriptions, etc.

Certificate of diagnosis (death or illness) ........ 2
It does not include certificate or statement of opinion in connection with the health insurance work.
(Certificate for life insurance, lawsuit, military conscriptions are not included.)

Prescription ........................................... 2

Autopsy certificate ..................................... 10
— According to the place where autopsy is done, a number of points is added as in the home visit.
— 50 % of the points is added when autopsy is done during the night.

Examination Fees — (Laboratory, X-ray, etc)

Wassermann reaction test .................................. 10
Taking of blood sample ................................... 2
Widal test ............................................... 3
Test of spinal fluid including lumbar puncture .......... 10
Microscopic examination of urine, feces, sputum and blood ........................................ 2

Chemical test of urine:
Qualitative ............................................. 1
Quantitative ............................................. 2

Tests of gastric and duodenal fluids ................. 10

Bacteriological test .................................... 10

X-ray examination:
Simple examination .................................... 10
Examination with contrast material .................. 20
Photographic ........................................... 15 to 30

Esophagoscopy .......................................... 10
Examination of esophagus with bougie ................. 3
Rectoscopy .............................................. 5

Urethroscopy ........................................... 10
Cystoscopy .............................................. 25
Examination of eye sight ................................ 5

Injection Fees — (Including medicine)

Subcutaneous injection .................................. 2
Ringer's, physiological salt solution ................ 10
Glucose solution injection ........................... 15
Intramuscular injection ............................... 2
Intravenous injection .................................................. 5
Salvarsan injection ................................................... 20
Anti-rabic injections (one course) ................................. 75
Diphtheria serum injection ........................................... 15
Streptococcus serum injection ..................................... 25
Tetanus serum injection ............................................... 30
Therapeutic vaccine injection ...................................... 2

Treatment Fees.

Change of surgical bandage ........................................ 6
  a) ................................................................. 6
  b) ................................................................. 3
Obstetrical and gynecological treatments ..................... 5
  a) ................................................................. 5
  b) ................................................................. 2
Vaginal douching ..................................................... 1
Dermatological treatments .......................................... 7
  a) ................................................................. 7
  b) ................................................................. 3
  c) ................................................................. 1
Urological treatment ................................................ 5
  a) ................................................................. 5
  b) ................................................................. 2
Urethral irrigation .................................................. 1
Ophthalmological treatment ....................................... 5
  a) ................................................................. 5
  b) ................................................................. 2
Eye drop or washing ................................................ 1
Otto-nasopharyngeal treatment .................................... 5
  a) ................................................................. 5
  b) ................................................................. 2
Ointment .................................................................. 1
Gastric washing ......................................................... 4
Clyster .................................................................. 2
Colon flash ................................................................ 4
Catheterisation .......................................................... 4
Bleeding .................................................................. 3
Transfusion ............................................................... 100
Emergency artificial respiration ................................. 10

Incisions.

Small incision ........................................................... 5
Medium incision reaching subcutaneous tissue .............. 10
Large incision:
  — (A large area with local anesthesia) ...................... 25
  — (Deep incision with general or lumbar anesthesia) .... 40

Removal of Foreign Bodies.

Superficially seated removable with local anesthesia ... 5
Deeply seated removable with local anesthesia ............ 20
Under general anesthesia ............................................ 50
Treatments of Wounds.

Small external wound ........................................... 3
Medium external wound .......................................... 10
Large external wound ............................................
   a) 40
   b) 25

Physical therapy.

Electric .............................................................. 1
X-ray ..................................................................... 10
Massage .................................................................. 2
Heat bath .................................................................. 2
Medicated warm water bath ...................................... 3

Operation Fees.

Fracture of mandibular .............................................. 80
Recto-auricular fistula .............................................. 30
Orbital operation ..................................................... 80
Eye ball operation ................................................... 80
Cataract operation ................................................... 80
Palpebral operation .................................................. 50
   a) 50
   b) 30
Ocular muscle operation .......................................... 80
Lacrimal operation .................................................. 50
   a) 50
   b) 20
Facial plastic operation ........................................... 100
   a) 100
   b) 50
Trachoma operation ................................................ 10
Removal of intraocular foreign body ......................... 20
   a) 20
   b) 5
Optic iridectomy .................................................... 40
Nasal septal operation .............................................. 80
Radical adenoid operation ........................................ 50
Radical naso-pharyngal fibroma operation ............... 50
Peritonsillitis operation ........................................... 10
Incision of tympanic membrane ............................... 10
Tonsillotomy (one side) .......................................... 15
   (both sides) ...................................................... 25
Tonsillectomy ......................................................... 80
Ranula operation ...................................................... 20
Resection of tumor of process alveolus ..................... 50
Extraction of tooth ................................................ 2
Treatment of epistaxis .............................................. 5
Treatment of chronic ethmoidal phlegmon .................. 100
Reposition of mandibular laxation ............................ 5
Extraction of atheroma and fibroma ......................... 20
Nasal polypus operation .......................................... 20
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Points</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trepanation</td>
<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ligation of blood vessel of dura mater</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mastoidectomy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation of eye ball</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cataract</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical operation of sinus frontalis</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incision of sinus maxillaris</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandibular resection</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical operation of chronic otitis media</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thyreoidectomy</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laryngeal operation</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esophageal operation</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation of pulmonary abscess</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Removal of mammary tumor (with metastasis)</td>
<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schede's thoracic plastic operation</td>
<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radical operation of navel hernia</td>
<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radical operation of cicatricial hernia</td>
<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radical operation of ingunal hernia</td>
<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artificial anus</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Operation of tubercular peritonitis</td>
<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander's operation</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decapsulation of kidney</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation of rectal fistula</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amputation of extremities</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exarticulation of extremities</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resection of articulation of extremities</td>
<td>170</td>
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<td>Operation of aneurysm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exarticulation of femur</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radical operation of femoral hernia</td>
<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Removal of brain tumor</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otological intracranial operation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orbital operation</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maxilary resection</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radical operation of cancer of tongue</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation of ankylosed joint</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laryngeal excision</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulmonary tumor excision</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation of making gastric-fistula</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gastro-intestinal anastomosis</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of foreign body from stomach</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incision of gastric ulcer</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entero-anastomosis</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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(If the value of the 13 points is less than Y.2.50, this amount is paid).

The value of the point, according to this remuneration method must be appropriate. When its value is very small, it might threaten the material reduction of the income of physicians.
If a physician carelessly or intentionally increases the number of the points by giving unnecessary treatments or hospital services the number of points will increase, and therefore, the medical associations must carefully supervise and the total points sent in by each physician within its district must be carefully examined. If there is any sign of carelessness or intentionality in increasing the number of points, it may be reduced to appropriate number, and such physician is warned. When such physician continues to do so, his right to be a health insurance physician may be forfeited. In this way, it prevents to increase the number of points unnecessarily.

It had been calculated by various ways that the value of a single point is about 20 sen. And if it is about 20 sen, it is fairly an appropriate value. Whether or not this is appropriate is difficult to say for it has only been put in practical working process since last January. But a month of actual experience has shown that the value of a point in the majority of prefectures was 10 sen to 30 sen. In Tokyo it was 19 sen, while in an exceptional prefecture it was 8.5 sen, which was the smallest, and the largest was 52 sen. Thus it was near the value estimated.

The office expenses of the medical practitioners' associations were born by using 6 % of the amount of money paid by the Government for the medical attendance of the Association. The prefectural association has health insurance section and handles all the work concerning the collection and calculation of the points. This section has a committee for examination of points and corresponding medical attendance services rendered by each physician to find out whether or not the physician has increased his points intentionally.

6. Agreements between the Health Insurance Societies and the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association for Medical Attendance of the Insured Persons.

Beside the Government, there are health insurance societies which carry the insurance of their members. The method of giving
medical attendance of the health insurance societies to the insured persons are left entirely to their hand. But as the Government has adopted the free selection of physicians in the agreement with the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association, the Government has also solicited the societies to adopt this principle. Since the free selection of physicians is advantageous to the insured persons they influenced the societies to adopt this method of medical attendance and at present 256 societies out of the 325 non existed with 556,000 members have made agreements with the Association for medical attendance. In the future, this number will be greatly increased. Of course, in some of the factories in the country there were well equipped medical facilities; a few of them were very good with modern hospitals. Even in such cases, besides utilisation of their own hospitals, it is desired by the insured persons to have medical attendance of other practising physicians, and there arises occasion to have treatments of outside physicians other than those of factories. Therefore, it was not simple to make agreements with the health insurance societies as in the case of the Government. Consequently, the Association made the following three kinds of agreements according to the circumstances.

a) The agreements as with the Government.

In this case, the Association contracted practically all medical attendance of the members of the health insurance societies for 7 yen 4267 per insured person per annum as with the Government. When the society has dispensaries, the medical attendance given in such places is paid by the Association as for ordinary practicing physicians.

b) The Medical Attendance with Fixed Remuneration.

In this case, the health insurance societies pay to the Association the amount of money fixed according to the calculation of points the insured persons received for medical attendance. The value of a point is fixed at 20 sen.
c) The Medical Attendance with current Point value.

In this case, the value of the point is made the same as the value of a point in the Government agreement and the health insurance societies pay to the Association accordingly. Therefore, the value of this point varies in different prefectures as with the Government agreement and it also may vary from month to month. But its value is the same as with the Government. There is, however, a difference in fixing maximum and minimum values, the former is 25 sen and the latter is 15 sen. Thus in spite of unlimited variation of the value of a point with the Government agreement, there is a balance by fixing the upper and lower limits. The societies in this category pay to the Association 6% of the total amount of payment for handling of the work.

There are the mutual benefit societies, the nature of which is practically the same as the health insurance societies. These societies are found in the factories and works under the direct control of the Government, such as army and navy works and factories and the government tobacco monopoly factories. The Japan Medical Practitioners' Association has made agreements with the societies in these factories and works whereby the medical attendance of the members is done by the Association physicians.

7. Conclusions.

Briefly a description of medical attendance of the insured persons was given above. The Japan Medical Practitioners' Association now carries practically the entire medical attendance of over a million and half of the insured persons in the country. There are many new phases which are far better than those in the other countries. The Association has kept guarding its interests while offering satisfactory service to insured persons. This is only made possible by the existence of such a strongly centralised and powerful association as the Japan Medical Practitioners' Association. The insured persons have advantages of free selection of physicians, while the physicians have equal opportunity of
giving medical attendance and the Government saves a major part of the work in supervising the physicians in medical attendance. Supervision of physicians in medical attendance can not efficiently be done by others than the physicians themselves. The other countries have bitter experiences in it. The medical association watches the physician within its jurisdiction, and controls irrational treatments and malingering of insured persons at the same time. One important advantage for the Government is the stableness of budget; in other words, by this method the Government needs only a fixed budget for the work and pays to the Association without regards to be increased or decreased expenses for medical attendance. The good results of the agreement depends on the cares and control and unselfishness of each physician.

It is too short a time to draw up any conclusion and no definite statement can be made as to the results. If, however, all things go well as predicted, it has all around advantages for the carriers, insured persons and physicians.
AN OUTLINE OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN JAPAN

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TOKYO

1921
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Introductory Remarks.

1. Situation.—Japan is an insular empire situated south-east of the Asiatic Continent, in the Pacific Ocean, extending from 24° 6' to 50° 56' N. lat. and from 156° 32' to 122° 45' E. long. The empire consists of four main islands, i.e., Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu and Hokkaido together with a number of adjacent minor islands.

2. Area.—The total area of Japan proper at the beginning of 1918 was 382,409 square kilometers (24,794 sq. Rl) which corresponds to 2.77 per cent. of the total land area of the globe and 6.11 per cent. of the total area of Asia.

3. Population.—According to the Census Report of 1920, the total population of Japan proper is 55,961,140. The above figures show that the land is densely inhabited. With 145 heads per square kilometer, Japan is one of the most thickly populated nations of the world. Comparing those data of Europe, we find that only three countries,—Belgium, England and Wales and Holland exceed Japan with respect to the density of population. The mean rate of increase in population in recent years is 12.6 per 1,000 persons per annum.

4. Topography.—The physiographical features of Japan are characterized by the fact that the land is long and narrow, serrated by continuous ranges of mountains along its central zone with peaks of various heights rising among them. Consequently there are but few large plains and only along the rivers and coasts, small plains can be found where the development of agriculture has been fostered.

The mild climate and abundant rainfall stimulate a luxuriant forest development throughout the country which in turn provide ample fountain-heads for the rivers. The rivers and streams run in all directions, affording opportunity for irrigation all over the country, but owing to the scarcity of plains, there are few navigable rivers. Furthermore, Japan stands on the great volcanic veins in the world, so that there are a large number of volcanoes both active and dead.
Mt. Fuji known so well as an unsurpassed national monument, is a typical example of these volcanic mountains.

These diverse mountain ranges extending sheer to the coast form by manifold disruptions and indentations, numbers of bays and inlets with thousands of islets left scattered among them, constituting a type of scenic beauty of rare charm.

5. Climate.—The southern extremity of Japan extends to the tropical zone and the northern extremity to the arctic regions, but the main part of the empire lies in the temperate zone. The climate is semi-continental in spite of the fact of Japan's physiography typically insular, the difference between the extremes of temperature being comparatively well marked.

Generally speaking, the climate is very diverse since the islands extend over some thirty degrees from north to south. Corresponding climatic variations are also due to the manifold topographical conditions, the rivers and the influence of the Asiatic Continent.

The insular position of the country renders its humidity high and its rainfall abundant when compared with Continental countries. The rainy season prevails during the months of June and July, making season risky for the harvest of wheat and barley, on the other hand it affords a beneficent irrigation supply to paddy-grown rice, which is the most important crop of the country.

The characteristic feature of the climate in the most part of the islands is the frequency of storms in the months of August and September. As the flowers of the rice plant commence to bloom during the same period, these late summer storms give much damage to the rice crops which give rise to the people at large many superstitious believes upon the weather of this critical season.

PART I.—AGRICULTURE.

1. Area of the Arable Land.—In 1918, the total area of Japan proper, was estimated at 38,475,000 hectares (38,864,000 Chobu) and the area of the arable land at 6,020,000 hectares (6,081,000 Chobu) or 15.6 per cent. of the whole. Pasture and "Genya" (natural

Note.—Formosa, Korea and Saghalien are not included in the content of the book.
AGRICULTURE.

The area of Japan is 3,775,000 square kilometers, of which about 3,516,000 hectares (3,552,000 Chobu) or 91 per cent. of the total area. More than half of the total area of the land is occupied by forests.

The above figures indicate that the proportion of the arable land to the total area is exceedingly small, hence one may naturally presume that the utilization of the land is below that which prevails in Europe. The low percentage of arable land in Japan is due chiefly to the topographical features of the land. The gradient of vast areas is too steep for ordinary cultivation. Indeed, the utilization of the land is very highly developed by the most careful methods. Thus the terrace farming is not uncommon in many parts of the islands.

Moreover, in regard to the utilization of agricultural land, the following fact cannot be overlooked. The arable land in Japan differs from that of Europe inasmuch as in the former, practically no grasses and other fodder crops are grown whereas in the latter, a considerable area is occupied by such crops. Even barley is much cultivated in Japan principally as a food crop, not much used for feeding stock and for beer. Cultivation also two or even three crops a year is not uncommon, and most cereal crops are successively cultivated year after year even without field system of rotation. Barley as winter crop after rice which is successively cultivated is not uncommon. Hence because of such intensive cultivation, the degree of utilization of land in Japan cannot be regarded as inferior to that of Europe.

Of the total area of arable lands, 2,985,000 hectares (3,010,000 Chobu) are paddy fields, while 3,044,000 hectares (3,070,000 Chobu) are upland fields. The relatively large area used for paddy fields is due to the fact that rice is the staple food crop for which the climate so favorable with the abundant water supply for irrigation.

2. Rural Population.—The total number of agricultural households in 1918 was 5,561,053 aggregating a rural population of about 29,584,000 inclusive of the members of the rural homes not engaged in agricultural occupations. This is equivalent to 52 per cent. of the total population.

According to the statistics recently published by the United States Department of Agriculture the density of the rural population in Japan seems to be higher than that of France, Switzerland, Denmark and certain other countries where the agriculture is practiced by fairly intensive methods. Such congestion of rural population in our country results in the development of a most highly intensive system of agriculture, so much so that it is mostly regarded as spade-farming by occidental authors.
land and some other countries of Europe. In these European countries, the agriculture is practiced by fairly intensive methods. However, the congestion of the rural population in Japan necessitates a most highly intensive system of agriculture so much so that it is mostly regarded as spade-farming by occidental authors.

3. Agricultural Production.—The average yearly production of the principal agricultural products during the last three years is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural Products:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>80,960,000 Quintal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>9,580,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naked Barley</td>
<td>10,767,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>8,562,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soy Beans</td>
<td>4,724,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adzuki Beans</td>
<td>1,238,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foxtail Millet</td>
<td>2,431,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckwheat</td>
<td>1,095,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Potatoes</td>
<td>41,117,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Potatoes</td>
<td>14,468,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaf Tobacco</td>
<td>429,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mat Rash (&quot;Round grass&quot;)*</td>
<td>419,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Three Cornered Grass&quot;**</td>
<td>143,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>39,611,000 Kilogram</td>
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<td>Sugar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Citrus Fruits</td>
<td>2,489,000</td>
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<td>Fresh Persimmons</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pears</td>
<td>1,052,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apples</td>
<td>285,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soy Beans (Green hay for manure)</td>
<td>10,992,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astragalus (</td>
<td>32,099,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>)†</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Live Stock:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>208,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>111,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs</td>
<td>318,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>11,549,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Juncus effusus L.
** Cyperus tegetiformis Roxb.
† Astragalus sinicus L.
Sericultural Products:

Cocoons  ...  ...  ...  ...  255,302,000 Kilogram

4. Agricultural Systems.—It is known from the ancient historical writings, that even in the very early days of our history, rice culture in the paddy field occupied the place of prime importance in Japanese agriculture, but that animal husbandry seems to be unknown. Probably domestic animals were imported from foreign countries at a much later period. Even at the present time the mixed husbandry—crops cultivation with live stock is rarely practiced in Japan, the majority of the farms follow the simple system of crop cultivation without live stock. Even single crop system being not uncommon especially where paddy fields predominate. The cultivation of rice occupies the preeminent place but usually accompanied by sericultural and other subsidiary pursuits.

5. Size of the Holding.—The size of the holding is exceedingly small. The common size in “Kansai” district (south-western Japan) is 1–2 hectares, in “Tohoku” district (north-eastern Japan) 2–3 hectares. The former is one of the most densely populated sections of the country, while the latter, the opposite is the case. The small size of the Japanese farm is principally due to the intensity of cultivation of rice in the paddy field which has been in practice for centuries.

6. Degree of Intensity.—Despite the fact that the industrial development of Japan is very considerable in recent years, agriculture still holds its place as the chief industry of the country. The pressure of dense population and its rapid increase necessitate the method of agriculture to be highly intensive. In the paddy fields, young plants which have previously been grown in a specially prepared nursery beds, are transplanted solely by hand without the aid of machinery. Consequently from two to three hundred days labour are required to grow one hectare of rice in the paddy, and sometimes more than five hundred days labour are required. This gives an idea of the intensiveness of rice culture in Japan with respect to the amount of labour employed.

Also from the standpoint of the capital invested, rice culture is shown to be fairly intensive inasmuch as, owing to the more frequent application of commercial fertilizers in recent years, the gross value of 250,000,000 Francs is annually invested in its purchase. Not-
AGRICULTURE.

withstanding, the capital invested in the equipment of the farm does not aggregate a large amount on account of the small size of the holding.

7. Application of Animals and Mechanical Power.—As previously stated, since the farming is conducted on a small scale in Japan and as it is exceedingly intensive with respect to the amount of labour employed, the majority of the work done on the farm is manual labour. The ploughs of simple design are almost solely used in paddy fields. The area of arable land ploughed by horse and cattle power amounts to only 1,842,000 hectares (1,858,000 Chobu) of paddy fields or 61.89 per cent. of their total area and 1,164,000 hectares (1,117,400 Chobu) of upland fields, or 38.97 per cent. The rest of the arable land is cultivated by “Kuwa” or mattock and by other simple hand tools. In Hokkaido (northern Island) there are a number of farms of considerable size using modern farm machinery, but these may be regarded as exceptional.

8. Distribution of Agricultural Land Properties.—The agricultural land properties are minutely divided, as shown by the following figures. Of the total number of land owners, 49 per cent. own but less than 0.49 hectares (0.5 Chobu) of land, 42 per cent. are owners of 0.49 to 2.97 hectares (0.5-3 Chobu) and 7.7 per cent. own farms averaging between 2.97 and 9.9 hectares (3-10 Chobu). Less than one per cent. of the land owners possesses above 9.9 hectares (10 Chobu) of land. Thus we see that under the present conditions of agriculture in Japan more than half of the farmers belong to the ultra small land-owning class whose individual holdings do not exceed more than 0.49 hectares (0.5 Chobu) of land.

There are three kinds of farmers in Japan:—28 per cent. of the total number belonging to the tenant class, 40 per cent. are “landowner tenants,” namely they lease land as well as till their own tracts of land, and only 33 per cent. are farmers of land-owning class or “Jisaku”-farmers (peasant proprietors).

9. The Village System.—Except in Hokkaido and some other districts where farms with their dwellings are scattered, the rural community of Japan has, as a rule, the dwellings in densely housed villages. So that the farmers are aggregated in one place, the workers have to go daily to their own fields which are often located at a considerable distance from their homes. This condition is
principally due to many historical origins and give rise to a marked racial characteristic; consequently in the village life, the custom of mutual help has been developed to a considerable degree.

PART II.—AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

CHAPTER 1. KINDS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

1. Non-Hired and Hired Labour.—The most important differentiation in the field of agricultural labour in Japan is that between non-hired and hired labour. The labour employed in Japanese agriculture is chiefly of the first kind, that is to say, the labour is supplied by the owners of the small farms, and by the members of their families. This is due to the fact that the size of the farm is so small that the peasant families of fair size are nearly able to supply enough labour to manage their own farms without employing outside labour. According to the survey made by the Imperial Agricultural Society in 1915, the total amount of labour required on the average per farm is 717 days labour of which 559.8 are supplied by the family of the farmer and 157.2 are supplied by hired labour. It can be said, therefore, that a large proportion of farm labour upon the small farms is supplied by the families of the owners themselves.

These small farmers on the one hand supply the labour for their own farms and employ the labour as it may be needed, and on the other hand, supply labour to others when it is in excess of their own needs. It is often customary in such cases for neighbours to exchange their labour working alternately on others' farms, upon the mutual help plan of the rural society, as already mentioned.

Hired labour is only necessary, therefore, in the case of the farms whose labour-demands exceed those of the small and middle sized units which are self-sustaining with regard to labour. Consequently the amount of hired labour is less than that of non-hired labour, for the wage earning, hired workers who offer their labour to employers are naturally less in number than the small farmers who themselves furnish the work needed on their own farms.

Among the hired labour, the following three kinds can be distinguished, i.e., workers of fixed, seasonal and daily employment.
2. **Fixed, Seasonal and Day Labour** — The fixed or continuous employees called "Saku-otoko" (male) and "Saku-onna" (female) are employed throughout the year, or from early spring to late in the autumn aggregating to ten months of year as a single term of service. Their employment includes every variety of work that is met with upon the farm without reference to any specialized phase of agriculture. Furthermore, as they often share the domestic work of the employers' household, many of them live and board in their masters' house as a member of the family, though married employees frequently live in their own homes and go back and forth to their work.

The daily period of work required of this type of employee is often excessive lasting from day break to late in the evening, but the nature of their work is comparatively simple and easy without using the heavy machinery and its attendant physical strain.

There is an increasing tendency in recent times to abolish evening works.

No sharp distinction can be made between the nature of work required of male and female employees, only that ploughing and other heavy works are solely done by males. However, women workers are sometimes called to assist in the housekeeping for the employers, taking the part of a family servant, but such is very seldom the case upon the middle farms where work of this kind is shared by the head of the employer's family, his wife or the elder member of the family.

Usually fixed employees are unmarried men and women varying in age between sixteen and thirty years. Some are employed as a sort of apprentice with a view to learning farm works.

Workers who belong to the class of seasonal or temporary employees are hired by fixed periods of the year to engage in a particular kind of work in the busiest seasons, such as transplanting rice plants, harvesting, tending silkworms, and picking tea leaves, etc. This kind of work requires a large amount of labour at one time. Most of these employees are job-workers, coming from different localities and the terms of employment are by week, ten day periods or by the month.

Like fixed labourers, most of them live with the family of the employer and share the family meals.
The total of this class of employees reaches fairly large proportions, especially in sericultural districts, where great numbers are employed. The hours of labour of the seasonal or temporary worker do not vary from those required of the day-labourer, but the age of the former is generally younger than that of the latter being about the same as the average age of fixed workers.

Day labourers consist chiefly of those peasants and their families who holds tracts of land not exceeding 0.49 hectares in extent. After the labour needs of their own farms are met, they hire themselves out by the day to other farmers. Hence only a small fraction of these day labourers actually belong to the class of true wage-earners.

Usually day labourers are required to work from day break to dusk with meals sometimes supplied by the employer sometimes by themselves. They are generally put to work on a definite job each day by their employer and do not engage in other work than that specified.

3. Sex of Agricultural Labourers.—Both men and women are employed in agricultural labour as non-hired as well as hired labourers, though naturally there are fewer women on account of the interruption of household and other pursuits for which they are specially filled.

Thus we find a special diminution of female farm hands through the employment of women in filatures, spinning and other factories.

CHAPTER 2. NUMBER OF DAYS, HOURS AND EFFICIENCY OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

1. Number of Working Days.—Number of days in which farmer’s work during the year varies according to locality, income of the farmer, and the size of his holding. Speaking in general, two hundred working days can be regarded as the average year’s work of the ordinary adult farmer. This includes all kinds of work upon the farm. The working days of the women are fewer in number, approximately about one hundred and fifty days. Besides, they may be employed in domestic work.

2. Hours of Labour.—The number of working hours per day
varies according to locality, season, and the nature of the work, but
in general, the worker begins his task soon after sunrise and ceases
about sunset. In the season of silkworm breeding, however, the
work is continued even till midnight, from the necessity of feeding
the worms with mulberry leaves for definite intervals of time, and
in certain parts of north-eastern district ("Tohoku"), it has been
the custom to harvest the rice crop at night, but all these operations
are limited to particular seasons of the year.

In many districts, the custom prevails of allowing the labourers
to take a nap during given hours. Speaking in general, the follow­
ing can be considered as the average hours of a day's work: 8 to 10
hours in the spring time, 9 to 10 hours in summer, 8 to 9
hours in the autumn, and 7 to 8 hours in winter.

At certain seasons, such as transplanting the rice plants, harvest­
ing, etc., the working day often exceed twelve hours and during
the silkworm feeding season, work continues till midnight, but such
long hours are only required in sericulture.

3. Efficiency of the Agricultural Labour.—Although the effi­
ciency of agricultural labour varies according to the physique, age, and
sex of the individual worker as well as the kind of work performed,
the daily output of ten hours of work by the average man is esti­
mated according to the following principal works:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of work</th>
<th>Tools used</th>
<th>Output by one man per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tillage of paddy field</td>
<td>&quot;Kuwa&quot; (mattock)</td>
<td>0.06 hectare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Fumi-guwa&quot; (heavy spade)</td>
<td>0.1-0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transplanting rice plants</td>
<td>Hand work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>Sickle and weeding tools</td>
<td>0.07-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting the rice crop</td>
<td>Sickle</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mowing grass</td>
<td>Sickle (long handle)</td>
<td>0.1-0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Scythe</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER 3. WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

1. Kinds of Wages.—Hitherto, the wages of agricultural labour
in Japan have been principally paid in kind from the output of the
worker, i.e., by specified measures of rice, barley, etc., but at the
present time, the majority of wages are paid in cash. However, the general practice still remains of making a commodity payment in addition to the cash wages. Thus even day labourers are often provided in this way with teas, meals and even the liquor.

In the case of the fixed hired labourer, the greater part of the wage is paid in kind, since he lives and boards in the house of his employer, as already stated.

2. Fluctuation in Wages.—The wages of agricultural labour in Japan fluctuate according to the season, the period of employment, class of labour, sex, and locality. Usually they reach the maximum at the busiest seasons, such as transplanting and harvesting, and drop to the minimum in winter. There is a wide range in the wage scale in respect to the kind of labour, naturally such simple work as weeding and mowing being paid less than operations which require more or less training and skill, like agricultural engineering, gardening, etc.

Wages are higher in the vicinity of urban and industrial centers than in the purely rural district on account of the influence of industrial labour. Women workers are universally paid less than men; particularly in the case of the fixed hired labour, the difference in wages received by men and women is very considerable.

The wages of rural labourers have been raised annually due to the general improvement in living conditions, high prices of commodities, high wages of industrial workers and other causes. This has been the case particularly during the last few years owing to the influence of the great war. Below is given a comparison of the index number of wages in recent years, the year 1900 being taken as 100.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>143.9 150.9</td>
<td>130.0 121.1</td>
<td>135.5 142.1</td>
<td>135.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>161.5 182.1</td>
<td>153.3 152.6</td>
<td>161.3 147.4</td>
<td>166.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>247.3 275.4</td>
<td>250.0 247.4</td>
<td>232.3 242.1</td>
<td>251.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We see by the above figures that the wages of fixed female employees have experienced the most rapid increase.

3. Payment of Wages.—The wages are usually fixed in terms
of cash and in the case of day labourer, liquor as well as food is sometimes given. The same applies to seasonal employees. In the case of fixed employees, in addition to the wage which is fixed for the whole term of employment, the board is always given and besides this, clothing, wooden shoes ("Geta"), etc. are sometimes given to the worker in "Bon" festival* or at the time of expiration of employment. Moreover, the employee generally lives with his employer who furnishes him with a room.

Wages are paid daily in the case of day labourers, but weekly, monthly or at the end of the season to seasonal workers, while fixed employees receive their pay only at the end of the year or at most semi-annually.

Only in comparatively few instances, are wages drawn in advance of service. Often, however, a sum of money is paid beforehand to fixed employees at the time of contract. Both seasonal and fixed employees occasionally draw their wages in advance.

4. Comparison with the Wages of Industrial Workers.—The wages earned by agricultural labourers are considerably lower than those earned by other industrial workers, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of labour</th>
<th>Wages in Francs (June, 1918)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maximum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labourers:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hired by day, male</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; female</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaving-shop workers:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hired by day, male</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; female</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardeners</td>
<td>3.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters, hired by day</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among industrial workers, those who are qualified by special technical training required by highly developed industries are able to earn high wages, but the agricultural labourer, owing to the less frequent demand for highly trained labour, meets fewer opportunities of gaining high pay. The figures given below were recently compiled by the Bureau of Agriculture of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, upon the wages of certain occupations outside of

* The feast of the Dead, on the 13th, 14th and 15th of the seventh month.
agriculture to which apparently the farm labourer can readily adapt himself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Occupation</th>
<th>Wages in Francs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making charcoal</td>
<td>7.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>7.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter*</td>
<td>6.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team driver</td>
<td>12.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER 4. EMPLOYING AND DISMISSING OF LABOUR.

Nearly all contracts made by agricultural labourers are verbal without the exchange of formal documents. This may be effected by both parties at will, but the use of agent between the contracting parties is not unknown. In some districts, wage-earners who come from other parts of the country, are employed through the services of a middle man. This is sometimes observed in the sericultural section of Nagano Prefecture. Recently public employment bureaus have been established in many centers, but very few agricultural labourers pass through these agencies.

The employer often advances a part of the payment to fixed employees as a guarantee of good faith in the contract. A labour contract may be terminated by the fixed employee due to his personal circumstances, such as marriage, sickness, etc., but in these cases no claim for damage is brought against him. Only in rare instances, is a contract broken by the employer.

CHAPTER 5. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

1. Living Conditions.—As explained in previous sections, the peasant proprietors and tenant farmers from whom the major part

* The man who pulls a cart with load by hand.
of the agricultural labour is supplied, own their own farms as the words imply, no matter how small their holdings may be. Thus enjoying a certain degree of independence and not suffering from extreme poverty, their living conditions are comparatively satisfactory. Most of them own their own houses. This is a noteworthy characteristic of the Japanese small farmer.

The house consists of at least two or three rooms, beside kitchen and the small unfloored court which is used for the household work, and sanitary condition of the whole establishment being in the main satisfactory.

The common farm diet consists of a mixture of cooked rice and barley as the principal food and vegetables, and occasionally fish as side dishes.

The clothes worn are made of cotton yarn. Usually each worker possesses two or three holiday suits beside his working and everyday clothes. It can be said, therefore, that in the main, the living condition of the agricultural labourer is not inferior to that of the industrial worker but that the diet of the former being less good than the latter.

2. Unemployment.—We are safe in stating that practically no problem of unemployment exists in the agricultural labour world in Japan, for the reason that only a small number of the farm workers belong strictly speaking to the wage-earning class, i.e., deriving their subsistence solely from their wage. The large majority of labourers are drawn from the peasant proprietor and tenant farm class who are, in most cases, the members of a rural household having a fixed occupation (farming) which is often supplemented by hiring themselves out to others. Hence, even at the slack working season, by devoting themselves to the various kinds of subsidiary pursuits on their home farms, they are not entirely without the opportunity of earning. In this connection, the Government takes special measures for encouraging these supplementary farm activities.

Furthermore, farm employers in Japan do not, as a rule, dismiss their employees without previous notice. Except in cases of sickness, etc., hired labourers are kept at work throughout the alleged period of employment. Even when sickness or other unusual circumstances compel a farm worker to rest, the danger of immediate want that threatens the unemployed industrial labourer is not imminent,
3. Educational Conditions.—No definite information regarding the educational status of agricultural labourers alone is available, but taking the education of the rural district as a whole, it is fully as good as that of the urban districts. The compulsory education of Japan covers a period of six years, from the sixth to the twelfth year of the pupil. The percentage of children in school to the total number of boys and girls of school age reveals a very satisfactory condition. The average percentage for the entire country is 98.73 per cent. Not only is the percentage of children in school in the rural districts nearly as high as that of the urban districts, but in respect to the equipment of the schools, and the quality of teachers, the education in the rural districts is about equal to that of the cities.

Agricultural education has also made considerable progress in the rural districts. At the end of 1917 there were 7,908 agricultural continuation schools, totalling more than 430,000 pupils and 810,000 graduates. These schools are capable of receiving all the children in the village. In addition, two grades of agricultural schools ("Ko-shu" and "Otsu-shu" schools or upper and lower grades) number 280, with a total enrollment of more than 23,000 students. Besides these, the higher elementary schools in the rural districts, provide agricultural subjects in their curricula giving instructions in agriculture to all the boys and girls.

4. Sanitary Conditions.—No particular investigation has yet been made, regarding the sanitary condition of agricultural labourers but it is safe to state that in general, the sanitary condition of the rural districts is better than that of the city. This can be appreciated by the fact that the rate of increase in population is far greater in the rural districts than in that of any of the cities, The rate in the former is nearly twice that of the latter, and the physical condition of farmers is much better than that of the city people, which is plainly shown by the physical examination of army conscripts.

Speaking in general, citizens of the rural districts can be regarded as those who are engaged in agricultural occupations and those of the urban districts as engaged in other than agricultural pursuits.
THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The data show that the physical condition of the army conscripts from the rural districts is always superior to that of those from the urban districts. The mean percentage of the conscripts who passed the physical examination to the total number of persons examined from 1912 to 1916 for the entire country is 69.9 per cent. If we classify the prefectures of the empire (being the administrative sections) into agricultural and non-agricultural districts, 29 out of 38 or 76 per cent. prefectures which come under the first category show higher percentages than the average of the entire country given above. In contrast to the above, only three out of eight prefectures belonging to the non-agricultural district are above the average for the entire country or as low as 38 per cent. of the total number of prefectures under the non-agricultural district.

5. Social Position.—It is proper to consider the social condition of agricultural labourers in Japan by discriminating the fixed employee from the other classes. Many of the fixed hired labourers in Japan are treated as members of the family of their employers, receiving, beside board, the clothes and other necessary commodities. Even in cases of being not at work from sickness and other causes, no discount in wages is made.

The hours of work are not stringently enforced, they work voluntarily from daybreak to evening as members of the employer's family. They enjoy holidays on occasions of village festivals, and often go home for two to three days at "Yabu-iri"* (rest day) and at other similar occasions.

Certain unmarried workers are employed as a sort of apprentice to learn the practice on the farm preparing themselves for the farming pursuit. Also wages are often saved for the expenses for marriage and making homes. These apprentice workers are very numerous.

In the main, the social position of fixed employees cannot be said to be unfavourable. They are in the position to offer the terms of their contract to the employer upon an equal social footing, and in recent years by a shortage of such workers, his condition is favorable.

Since the majority of seasonal employees and day labourers are, at the same time, the holder of small farms, their social condition

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* "Yabu-iri" days come at the 16th days of the first and seventh months.
THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

does not differ from that held by the employer. No working class which holds a special social position as such exists in the rural community of Japan. This is the greatest point of difference between the Japanese agricultural labour situation and that of Europe. The same distinction holds true between the country and city labourer in Japan.

6. Organisations of Agricultural Labourers.—It can be said at the present moment, that no organization exists among the agricultural labourers in Japan. This is due to the fact as already mentioned that no labouring class as such exists in agricultural Japan.

7. Disputes of Agricultural Labourers.—Disputes arising between employers and employees may solely be regarded as of a personal nature between the parties involved. These often result in the interruption of work, for example, discontinuing of work by the employee through the ill-treatment by his employer. We are able to state, however, that no agricultural labour dispute in the nature of strike has ever been experienced in Japan.

Conclusion.

Agriculture in Japan has been developed since the time of her foundation according to the fundamental policy—"Agriculture is the basis of national prosperity." Its peculiarities in the method of cultivation, management, and organization are, in truth, historical products of the past. Much stress has been laid on manual labour in the processes of the farm. Agriculture has persistently followed the intensive cultivation of the soil by skill and industry. We may expect that Japanese agriculture will maintain these same characteristics in its future development.

The labour on the farm is supplied chiefly by non-hired workers and even when the hired labour is needed, it is supplied by the surplus labour of the small farmers. As there is no special class of agricultural wage earners so that no problem of agricultural strikes
The main problem confronting Japanese agriculture is not the problem of labour, but rather of tenancy or the lease of the agricultural land.

**Number of Agricultural Labourers on October 1, 1920.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Day* Labourers</th>
<th>Seasonal* Employees</th>
<th>Fixed* Employees</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labourers</strong> who live solely upon wages**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>119,676</td>
<td>52,007</td>
<td>49,110</td>
<td>220,793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>80,870</td>
<td>42,193</td>
<td>23,862</td>
<td>146,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>200,546</td>
<td>94,200</td>
<td>72,972</td>
<td>367,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labourers who live upon agricultural wages and other sources</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>949,266</td>
<td>407,596</td>
<td>188,369</td>
<td>1,546,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>646,720</td>
<td>405,131</td>
<td>116,152</td>
<td>1,168,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1,595,986</td>
<td>813,727</td>
<td>304,521</td>
<td>2,714,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>1,068,942</td>
<td>460,603</td>
<td>237,479</td>
<td>1,767,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>727,590</td>
<td>447,324</td>
<td>140,014</td>
<td>1,314,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1,796,532</td>
<td>907,927</td>
<td>377,493</td>
<td>3,081,952†</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See p. 8.

** Including labourers who live upon wages not only agricultural but also other wages.

† Beside this, there are 32,973 agricultural labourers who are boys and girls under fourteen years.
THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES
OF JAPAN

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THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF JAPAN

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THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF JAPAN

I.

Origin and Development

The Coöperative societies in Japan date from about 1892 and were first established at the instance of such men as the late Viscount Shinagawa and Viscount Hirata. A great impetus was given the movement in 1900 when the laws regulating the establishment of coöperative societies were promulgated. Thenceforward these societies increased in number and prosperity until at present there are in Japan about 13,400 of them, and surplus the total number of the cities, towns, and villages in which such organizations (i.e. about 12,000.) They are, it is true, as yet unevenly scattered over the country; in some cases several organizations are found in the same city, town, or village, while many places are without one. On the whole, however, considering the number of years in which the movement has been in progress, their diffusion in all the principal cities and towns must be taken as rather encouraging. If we look into the actual condition of single case here and there, some perhaps will not be found as active as might be expected, while others may even be said to be practically dormant, so that much yet remains to be accomplished. Be that as it may, the period is fast passing on from that of inception and governmental promptings to that of an efficient working of the whole system. We believe that the future of the coöperative societies of Japan depends first on the resuscitation of inactive societies and second on the general development of each separate society throughout the country, on the forming of strong unions which will perform their functions untrammelled and on a closer connection between the societies themselves, thus making it possible for the organization to exert a powerful influence upon the industries of the country.

In looking over the whole situation up to the present time, we notice that credit societies have been the most numerous, followed at some distance by purchase societies, of which associations for the purchase of manure head the list. They are, however, in their infancy. Even the last mentioned is
The Coöperative Societies of Japan.

represented by 47,370,000 yen (at the end of 1919) that passed through the hands of the coöperative societies, against a total of 315,000,000 yen actually consumed throughout Japan; that is to say, a little more than 15% of the total amount of manure consumed was actually negotiated by the coöperative societies. Sales and productive societies are still insignificant in their showing and belong practically to the future. As to the agricultural warehousing, the government is lending assistance by subsidies, and it is hoped that a further development of this branch of the work will prove helpful to the farming community. Then, with regard to consumers' coöperative societies, the movement has of late gained in activity, especially in great urban centers, in consequence of the high cost of living, the awakening of the consumers themselves to public needs, together with special efforts on the part of the government. We must, however, look to the future also for the development of this department of the work.

II.

General Note.

The coöperative society is a corporate juridical person formed by persons of moderate or small means with the view of promoting and developing by their mutual help the industrial undertakings and economic conditions of its member. The idea includes the following points:

(1) A coöperative society is an organ for promoting and developing the industry in which each member of the society is engaged, and also for helping to improve his economic condition.

(2) As a general rule, the benefits to be derived from a coöperative society are enjoyed by the limited number of persons of moderate or small means composing the society, and do not go beyond such a limit except on rare occasions.

(3) Coöperative societies are strictly economic bodies. These are the chief features that distinguish coöperative societies from other similar organizations.
III.

Classes of Cooperative Societies

Cooperative societies are divided into four kinds by virtue of the lines of work undertaken: These are credit, sale, purchase, and utility societies. These do not exclude each other, but in many cases more than one kind of work may be combined by one of the societies, so that, for instance, credit work is often combined with sales and purchases. In such cases (as the last named), the organization would be known as a "credit, sale, and purchase society."

I. The Credit Society.

The chief purpose of the credit society is to furnish the members with funds necessary for their industries in the form of loans, and to facilitate savings. As a side issue, it may, under the constitution of each society, advance capital to develop the economic condition of each member. The benefit of the society may be extended to those living in the same household with the members and also to public organizations, non-money-making legal persons, or corporation, to the extent of making deposits with the society. The greatest number of the cooperative societies in actual operation belong to this class, which occupied, at the end of 1920, 88.5% of the total number of cooperative societies in Japan.

A general idea of the nature of the work undertaken by credit cooperative societies may be gained from the following:

The maximum amount of individual loans is fixed at the annual general meeting. A committee made up of several members is usually elected to pass upon the status of each member and to decide upon the amount of loan, which is, of course, to be kept within the bounds set at the general meeting. The loans thus given out amounted at the end of 1919 to the sum of Yen 144,000, 000, that is Yen 12,549 per society on the average, and Yen 75 per member. These loans are generally unsecured and occupy nearly 80 per cent. of the total amount of all the loans. The interest is fixed at 9 or 10 per cent. in most cases, that is, one or two per cent. lower than the local rate of interest.

If a city ("shi") or an urban district appointed by the state minister happens
to belong to a credit society district, such society is allowed, under conditions prescribed in the articles of association, to discount bills for the members asking for money necessary to carry on their industries or to develop individual economy. It can also receive deposits from people outside the membership. This line of work is what belongs to a credit society, none as the urban credit societies, which is undertaken for benefit of small traders and artisans of urban districts. It fulfils practically the function of a "People's Bank." There are at present eighty cities and ninety three urban districts appointed by the authorities. In these, urban district societies have been established to the number of sixty-nine. At the end of 1919 these organizations had deposits to the amount of Yen 4,590,000, loans including discounts of bills to the amount of Yen 5,860,000. The work is as yet in its infancy.

The deposits received are usually of three kinds:—current account, fixed account, and deferred deposits. The amount of deposits has rapidly increased of late years, and amounted at the end of 1919 to Yen 205,000,000 roughly, that is an average of Yen 17,900 for each society and Yen 107 per member. The rate of interest most in vogue is 5 or 6 per cent. per annum.

II. Sale Societies.

The sale society is established on the fundamental purpose of selling articles, produced by the members of the society, with or without work, and usually consigned by the members. In some localities these articles are bought from the producing members and sold without consignment. The word "work" used here has a broader sense as it embraces various grades of actions from the simple treatments of things such as packing or classification up to those complicated fabrications, e.g. sugar or paper manufacture. About 52 per cent. of the total number of our cooperative societies are of this class. The yearly income from such sales at the end of 1919 was estimated at Yen 225 000,000, showing an average of Yen 34,420 per society and of Yen 206 per member. The articles dealt in by those societies comprise such commodities as rice, wheat, barley, beans, legumes, fruits, tea, linseed, cocoons, raw silk, matting, straw and straw-work, cattle, textile fabrics, hosiery, pottery and porcelain, earthenware, timber, fuel and charcoal, marine products, sugar paper, etc.
III. Purchase Societies.

Purchase societies have for their object either purchasing articles necessary for industry or economy, to which work may be applied or not, or producing them to sell to their members. This genetic name is applied together to two kinds of cooperative societies: those purchasing industrial (agricultural included) raw materials and those of consumers. Most of those societies being found in rural districts, the articles furnished by them usually comprise both industrial and non-industrial ones. The said faculty of producing articles to furnish them to their members has been authorized only by the revised law of April 1921 and not yet put into practice until now.

As commonly conducted, purchases are made as orders come in from the coöperators, or sometimes shops are opened where such articles as would be needed by the members are kept in stock and sold as required. The price is in many cases lower than the standard market price by five per cent. As a general rule cash payment is required, but where old customs persist payment is made every half year at the end of the year.

There are almost as many societies of this kind as there are credit societies, amounting to 73 per cent. of the total of the cooperative societies in Japan. The purchases made during 1919 amount Yen 172,700,000, i.e. an average of Yen 18,848 per society, and Yen 89 per member. The chief articles bought through the hands of this organization are, those of industrial use such as, manure, agricultural implements, seed and stock, silkworm eggs and sericultural implements, all kind of raw materials, or tools and machinery for industry, fishing tackle, etc., and among the articles of those of daily need namely, rice, wheat, barley and other crops, salt, soy, sugar, sake, vermicelli and the like, fish, fuel and charcoal, kerosene oil, textile fabrics, and so forth.

IV. Utility Societies (called as productive societies before the promulgation of the revised law of April 1921).

Utility Societies aim at placing at the disposal of members the equipment necessary for industry or economy. Such "equipment" so called, include a wide range of matter, not only the material element such as land, factories and houses,
but also the human element, as inspectors or expert instructors in some particular branch of work, etc. The faculty to take measures necessary for economy of members such as to build dwelling house, common bath-house or to take lighting instalment has been authorized to the societies only by the revised law of April 1921 and not yet put into practice until now. The equipment practically provided to the members are, for instance, land, cocoon drying apparatus, warehouses and repositories, reeling machines, rereeling machines, sericultural implements, mill, paper making machines, sugar making machines, fishing crafts and tackles, machinery for rope and mat-making, carts, cattle, rice-polishing machines, hulling-machines, etc.

This class makes the poorest showing of all the coöperative societies of Japan, being represented by but 18 per cent. of the total number. The manufacture and the utilization of equipments, if reduced to figures, would be represented by some Yen 1,550,000 at the end of 1919, making an average of Yen 703 per society, and about four yen per member.

In addition to the above, since the laws relating to agricultural warehousing were put in force in 1917, many coöperative societies were formers, for building barns to preserve corns and cocoons for farmers, for working such products as were entrusted to them, for packing, repacking and transportation of these articles, for acting as selling commissionaires or in general for performing brokage, and for loaning funds to agricultural communities, for which agricultural warehouse bonds are taken as security. This branch of work, extremely short as its history has been, seems to presage a hopeful future, in as much as the coöperative societies in their warehousing business already amounted to 798 on 25th May 1921.

IV.

Organization

The coöperative societies are organized as "associations" and are treated as juridical persons. Classified in accordance with degree and nature of the liability borne by the members, they are of three kinds: those of limited, un-
limited and guaranteed liability. In the case of societies of limited liability, their members are required to contribute to the indebtedness of the society to the extent of their share. But in the case of those of unlimited liability, when the assets of the society are insufficient to cover the obligations, every member assumes a joint and unlimited responsibility to the creditor. Guaranteed liability means that all the members are responsible in such case to a certain extent outside each member's share of investment. Of the above-named three societies, the limited societies are the greatest in number and occupied about 76 per cent. of the total at the end of 1920. This class is also growing more rapidly than all the rest.

V. Membership.

The qualifications for membership may be fixed by the articles of each association in any way to suit its own organization. Eligibility to membership is in most cases extended only to persons of independent livelihood. Sometimes it is limited to persons of some prescribed calling. These associations from the nature of the work undertaken, are of course composed of persons of moderate or small means. But it is at the same time true that as our co-operative societies have mostly developed in rural districts, farmers of moderate and limited means are naturally found to be most numerous among their members. If classified according to occupation, farmers occupy 81.4% of the whole constituency; the manufacturing class 3.7%, traders 7%, dealers in aquatic products 1.7%, foresters 0.1%, all other occupations 6.1%. The minimum legal membership required to form and maintain a co-operative society is fixed at seven, but as a general rule the number of members is much greater, as may be seen from the nature of society. As at present organized, the average number of members per society is 167. Several associations have a membership of over 3000 each, one having as many as 19,782. A new member may be admitted into a society without much red tape; only in case of societies of
unlimited liability, the consent of the whole body is required. Members may withdraw from a society freely at the end of any business year. Such members as wish to withdraw, however, must notify the society, as stipulated in the articles of association, not less than six months beforehand and not more than two years. A immediate withdrawal takes place under the following conditions: (1) The loss of membership qualification, as specified in the articles of association, (2) Death, (3) Bankruptcy, (4) Incompetency, (5) Expulsion. All these conditions are prescribed in the statute laws of Japan.

VI.
Boundary

The boundary which prescribes the district in which a coöperative society shall have power or the extent of membership to be included in one society is fixed by the society itself in consideration of local conditions and from the nature of the work to be performed. In the case of credit societies, however, the law requires them to fix their boundary, except under special conditions, within our smallest administrative boundary, such as city, town, or village. As a credit society is, as a rule, engaged in granting uncovered loans, this limitation is easily seen to have arisen from the actual impossibility of ascertaining any member's status if in too extensive a district.

VII.
General Meetings

The legislative body of the coöperative societies is the general meeting, called usually by the director ("Riji."). Ordinary and special meetings are the two kinds of general meetings usually recognized. The ordinary general meeting is usually held in the first month of a business year. Important business matters, such as the election of directors and auditors their reelection, revision
of the articles of association, amalgamation and dissolution, generally require
the attendance of at least half of the members and a three-quarter vote of those
represented. All minor business matters may be decided by a majority of all
votes represented at the meeting. No discrepancy is made among members as
to votes, but each is allowed one vote and no more, irrespective of the number
of shares taken by each member. The votes may be relegated to a substitute,
who should be appointed from the members.

VIII.

Directors and Auditors

The board of directors is an executive body and represents the society in
all the transactions of the society. Directors do their business in accordance
with the regulations found in the articles of association and with the resolutions
passed at the general meeting. There are generally two or three to seven or
eight directors on the board, whose term of service is from one to five or six
years. In some cases each director has a different function assigned to him,
sometimes one or two are entrusted with full power.

The auditors' business is to inspect the actual condition of business trans­
acted by the society. Their number and term is usually limited as compared
with those of the directors.

The directors and auditors are elected from among the members at a
general meeting. They receive, as a rule, no remuneration, except in some
cases, when one of them is made managing director on some fixed pay. In
rural districts, the village headmen or other prominent personages of the
locality are often elected to the position.

The directors usually have a certain number of secretaries to assist them.
IX.

Condition of Assets

Each member is required to invest in at least one share and, as a rule, not more than thirty. In exceptional cases the number of shares may be increased to fifty. The price of a share, except under special conditions, is required to be less than fifty yen, the average face value being thirteen yen.

The assets of a cooperative society are made up, beside the investment above stated, of a reserve fund and other savings. The law requires the laying by of a fixed sum of money each month until the amount shall have exceeded the sum of the contributions. It is required that a society should lay by at least one quarter of its surplus money each business year, until such savings shall have reached the required amount for the reserve fund. All the entrance fees, and premiums fees and premiums paid on the increase of shares, etc., are required by the law to be put in with the reserve fund. The balance arising from the surplus money, after the required amount has been deducted for the reserve fund, may be disposed of in several ways, e.g. it may be distributed among the members of the society, paid as a bonus to officers, or laid by for special purposes. The dividend to members may be (1) in proportion to the shares held by each member, or (2) in proportion to the amount of work done. (pro rata dividend, patronage dividend.) The former kind of dividend, that in proportion to the shares, is legally required to be kept within 6% per annum of the shares of the individual members, and only under special circumstances may it be increased to ten per cent. As to the latter kinds, the law does not set any limit, as herein it seeks to accord more strictly with the principle of mutual help in the distribution of profits.

The following figures will give some general idea of the present status of the work as represented by the assets: The total value of the paid-up shares at the end of 1919 was estimated at Yen 46,500,000. All kinds of reserve funds and savings, Yen 20,420,000, making the total assets Yen 66,920,000; i.e. the average per society was Yen 5,106, and per member about Yen 31.
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X.

Establishment and Dissolution of Societies

The establishment of coöperative societies is accomplished on the "government permission" principle. As a preliminary step, the articles of association are formulated fulfilling certain prescribed conditions, and the application has to be made to the local authorities of the place where the chief office of the organization is located. The society is established at the same time the permission is secured. Each member is forthwith required to pay his first instalment without delay, and the fact of establishment is duly entered at the Registry Office. It can now set up its independent existence against a third party.

A coöperative society may be dissolved for the following reasons:

(1) By certain conditions postulated in the articles of association, having arisen.
(2) By the decision of a general meeting.
(3) By amalgamation with another society.
(4) By the falling off by membership below seven.
(5) By the bankruptcy of the society.

Up to the present the number of coöperative societies dissolved since 1900, i.e. during seventeen years, totalled 3,757. Of this number 3,173 broke up of their own accord, 193 closed by order of the government, 391 ceased to exist as prescribed by law. Of those which wound up voluntarily, the chief causes were (1) small membership, (2) lack of harmony among the members, indifference, misunderstanding, etc. (3) lack of efficient officials, etc.
XI.

The Federation of Cooperative Societies

Cooperative societies cannot perform their functions to the full until they come to closer relation with each other, from themselves into groups, and by mutual help further the object they have in view. Thus the federation of the cooperative societies has been established to satisfy this demand. It is a corporate juridical person which may be classified into four, according as the component members of each are credit, sale, purchase, or utility societies. (called as federation of productive societies before the promulgation of the revised law of April 1921). More than one line of work may by combined in a federation. There may be, for instance, a union of credit and purchase cooperative societies. The federation which may be, as a general rule, formed by the cooperative societies more than seven in number has been authorized to be formed either by cooperative societies or their federations by the said revised law of April 1921.

With regard to liability, the federations are of two kinds; limited and guaranteed. The boundaries in which they can do business, except in special cases, are fixed within one prefectural boundary. They follow, for the rest of organization and work, the principales stated above in the case of cooperative societies.

The following is a statement of their condition at the end of 1919. There were 123 federations comprising 7,067 separate cooperative societies. The aggregate investment was estimated at 3,080,000 Yen, of which Yen 1,660,000 was paid up, with reserve funds amounting to Yen 733,000; loans, 5,080,000; savings Yen 10,160,000. The total amount received from goods sold was Yen 35,650,000; purchases amounted to Yen 9,290,000. On the average there are 60 societies belonging to one federation, the total investment per federation is Yen 21,600, of which Yen 14,400 has been paid up. Reserve funds per federation are Yen 6,300, loans Yen 63,700, savings Yen 137,400, sales of goods Yen 625,400, purchases Yen 125,500. The work is, of course, as yet in its infancy.
XII.

The Central Association of Cooperative Societies

The Central Association of Cooperative Societies is organized for the purpose of diffusion and development of cooperative societies and of federations, and also for establishing a close relation among them. It was first set up in 1905 after the advocacy of Viscount Hirata. In 1910 laws relating to the formation of such organizations were promulgated, and the association was formed upon a revised basis. This body is a corporate juridical person, made up of cooperative societies, the federations of cooperative societies, and of individuals who are specially interested in the movement. There is just one Central Association, located in Tokio. At the end of March 1920, the total enrolment was 11,608, divided into regular members (cooperative societies and their federations), 9,494; and associate members (individuals) 2,114. There are 46 branch offices of the organization in the country, each endeavoring to promote the interest and harmonious working of local associations. At the central office, the awarding of honours for best results, the planning of series of lectures bearing on the topic of cooperation in industry, of lectures on agricultural warehousing, the publication of the cooperative system, and other kinds of literature, the canvassing for the increase of the industrial societies by means of lectures and other means of propaganda, these and various kindred works are attended to. The central organ acts as an intermediary between capital and local enterprise, is entrusted with the profitable use of funds, and especially by furthering the transmission of goods, facilitates the performance of the societies' manifold duties.

It seeks to bring individual societies into a closer connection with each other and sends proposals to the state-ministry bearing on the extension and development of cooperative industry. In 1911 the Japanese Emperor recognized the achievements and merits of the central Association for many years past and was pleased to give it the sum of twenty thousand Yen together with the Imperial message of Encouragement.
XIII.
Superintendence and Guidance

The coöperative societies and their federations are under the control of the chief of gun (county), the prefectural governors, and the minister of agriculture and commerce. The central board is under the minister of agriculture and commerce. The credit societies of cities and urban districts are looked after by the ministry of finance acting in conjunction with the above authorities. The superintending offices have, at the same time, the duties of encouragement and guidance. At the department of agriculture and commerce, eight experts are appointed for the task. At various prefectural offices, two or three officers are usually appointed for the purpose.

XIV.
Privileges

With the view of promoting the interest of the coöperative system of societies and facilitating their formation in different localities, the state has granted them the following privileges:

(1) Exemption from taxes. The coöperative societies enjoy exemption from both business and income taxes, and also from the registry tax on such registration as is done in conformity with legal requirements.

(2) Private contract. The government gives to coöperative societies special support in making purchases. Military necessaries, as for instance, rice, wheat, barley, hay, vegetables, etc., are bought by the Japanese army in private contract with coöperative societies.

(3) The supply of funds at low interest. The government buys debentures issued by the Japan Hypothec Bank and the Hokkaido Colonization Bank with the fund, chiefly made up of postal savings, and belonging to the deposit section of the Finance Department. These banks lend the money thus secured directly to coöperative societies or their federations at low rates of
interest. The Japan Hypothec Bank, moreover, makes loans, the Agricultural and Industrial Bank acting as its agents. These loans have been made since 1910. The amount aggregated Yen 17,630,000 upto 1920, at the interest, usually, of 5% or 6% per annum.

(4) Unsecured Loans. The Japan Hypothec Bank and other real estate banks are allowed to advance money to co-operative societies without securities. At the end of 1919 the amount thus loaned by the Japan Hypothec Bank was Yen 9,470,000.

XV.

Conclusion

In conclusion it may be said that the co-operative societies of Japan are organized under a special provision of laws, which seek to bring out their characteristics, such as (1) limit of the amount that each individual member may invest in the society's work; (2) the perfect equality of votes irrespective of the amount of shares which stand to each member's credit; (3) the limit placed with regard to dividends. These conditions were made obligatory in order to prevent the societies from becoming capitalistic and to emphasize their principle of mutual help. The result of these precautions has been satisfactory so far, for in actuality, no society seems to present a capitalistic colour, but they have been making a healthy and natural development. As, however, but little time has elapsed since the laws relating to the co-operative system have been put in force, and as also Japanese society in general is not quite ready to receive the new ideas favorably, the actual results are not perhaps so overwhelmingly successful. But the importance of the work seems to warrant our continued efforts which only we believe will bring about the full realization of these splendid ideas.
APPENDIX

NOTES

(1) The figures given in the Comparative Tables, 1908-1916, have been prepared from data kept in the books of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce. The rest has been compiled from the report submitted by local authorities for the year 1916, i.e. including all the reports of such societies as had finished their business year during 1916.

(2) Under the caption, "Number of Coöperative Societies Examined" have been included all the societies from which reports have come, whether the facts under examination existed in connection with the societies or not.

(3) Number of members, shares, investment, and reserve fund, give the figures reported at the end of the given year. The amount of loans made and savings received, are the figures that appeared as present at the end of the previous year, added to the amount transacted during the year in question. The amount of sales, purchases, cost of the work put on the material and the use of equipment, show the amount paid or received during the year named.

(4) In the third table relating to the funds, the figures representing money borrowed and deposits, are the amount actually on hand at the end of the year.
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A. COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES

### I. NUMBERS OF COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES

#### 1. CLASSIFIED BY KIND

(A Comparative Table; 1900, 1905, 1910, & 1914-1918)

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#### 2. CLASSIFIED BY NATURE OF WORK

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<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>21,978</td>
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<tr>
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<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
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<td>5,547</td>
<td>7,854</td>
<td>1,845</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>25,736</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>10,915</td>
<td>5,985</td>
<td>8,303</td>
<td>1,984</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>27,847</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Percentage at the end of 1918: 40.2

Ratio to the total number of Societies at the end of 1918: 87.2

Urban Credit Societies: 100.0
### 3. CLASSIFIED BY ORGANIZATION
(A Comparative Tables; 1903, 1905, 1910 & 1914–1918)

#### (1) A Generalized Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Limited Liability</th>
<th>Unlimited Liability</th>
<th>Guaranteed Liability</th>
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<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Unlimited</td>
<td>Guaranteed</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>11,509</td>
<td>66.3</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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#### (2) Credit Societies (Exclusive)

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<th>Unlimited</th>
<th>Guaranteed</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,085</td>
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#### (3) Urban Credit Societies

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<th>Guaranteed</th>
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<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1917</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
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#### (4) Sale Societies (Exclusive)

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<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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#### (5) Purchase Societies (Exclusive)

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<th>Guaranteed</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>128</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>350</td>
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(8) Utility Societies (Exclusive)

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<th>Guaranteed</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Limited</th>
<th>Unlimited</th>
<th>Guaranteed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>43.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>30.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>87.4</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>132</td>
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<td>9.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. PERCENTAGE OF THE NUMBER OF COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES TO THAT OF CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES

(A Comparative Table; 1900, 1905, 1910, 1914-1918)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cooperative Societies</th>
<th>Cities, Towns, &amp; Villages</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14,050</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1,671</td>
<td>13,437</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>7,308</td>
<td>12,393</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>11,160</td>
<td>12,348</td>
<td>90.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>11,509</td>
<td>12,329</td>
<td>93.3</td>
</tr>
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</table>

II. NUMBERS OF MEMBERS AND AMOUNTS OF INVESTMENTS

1. A GENERALIZED TABLE

(A Comparative Table, 1903, 1905, 1910, 1913-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Societies Examined</th>
<th>No. of Members</th>
<th>Average No. of Members per Society</th>
<th>Investment</th>
<th>Average Amount of Investment per Member</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Paid up Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Investment</td>
</tr>
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<td>571</td>
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<tr>
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<td>68,563</td>
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<tr>
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<td>534,085</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9,328</td>
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<td>19,531,135</td>
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2. CLASSIFIED BY NATURE OF WORK
(A Comparative Table; 1901, 1905, 1910, 1913-1917)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Credit Societies (Including Joint Work)</th>
<th>Sale Societies (Including Joint Work)</th>
<th>Utility Societies (Including Joint Work)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>No. of Members</td>
<td>No. of Members per Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>37,659</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>8,553</td>
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<td>125</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
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<td>1,251,752</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>9,715</td>
<td>1,335,490</td>
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3. CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION
(A Comparative Table; 1901, 1905, 1910, 1913-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Societies Examine</th>
<th>No. of Members</th>
<th>No. of Members per Society</th>
<th>Average Amount of Investment per Member</th>
<th>No. of Societies Examine</th>
<th>No. of Members</th>
<th>Average Amount of Investment per Member</th>
<th>No. of Societies Examine</th>
<th>No. of Members</th>
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### III. FUND (INCLUDING SURPLUS)

(A Comparative Table; 1904, 1905, 1910, 1913-1917)

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<th>No. of Members Examined</th>
<th>Paid up Investment</th>
<th>Reserve Fund</th>
<th>Borrowings</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Savings</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
<td>Average per Member</td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
<td>Average per Member</td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
<td>Average per Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>48,127</td>
<td>1,045,037</td>
<td>1,048</td>
<td>21,71</td>
<td>1,287,128</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>68,563</td>
<td>1,348,085</td>
<td>1,158</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>4,998</td>
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<td>1,747,912</td>
<td>1,514</td>
<td>14,08</td>
<td>1,407,936</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>2,346</td>
<td>1,094,780</td>
<td>1,719,335</td>
<td>1,614</td>
<td>13,57</td>
<td>1,754,154</td>
<td>714</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,747,912</td>
<td>1,514</td>
<td>14,08</td>
<td>1,407,936</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2,907</td>
<td>1,085,432</td>
<td>1,624,434</td>
<td>1,614</td>
<td>13,57</td>
<td>1,754,154</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>3,037</td>
<td>1,528,910</td>
<td>1,399,152</td>
<td>1,373</td>
<td>11,86</td>
<td>1,592,207</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>2,707</td>
<td>1,097,502</td>
<td>1,399,152</td>
<td>1,373</td>
<td>11,86</td>
<td>1,592,207</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>2,109</td>
<td>1,488,995</td>
<td>1,278,050</td>
<td>1,235</td>
<td>11,04</td>
<td>1,240,955</td>
<td>407</td>
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### IV. WORK ACCOMPLISHED

#### I. CREDIT SOCIETIES (INCLUDING JOINT WORK)

(A Comparative Table; 1904, 1905, 1910, 1913-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Societies Examined</th>
<th>Loans</th>
<th>Drawbacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
<td>Average per Case</td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>1,977,274</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>2,557,703</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,907</td>
<td>1,085,432</td>
<td>1,399,152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
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<td>1,094,780</td>
<td>1,747,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>2,930</td>
<td>1,094,470</td>
<td>1,747,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2,907</td>
<td>1,085,432</td>
<td>1,624,434</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
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<td>1,528,910</td>
<td>1,399,152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>2,707</td>
<td>1,097,502</td>
<td>1,399,152</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>2,109</td>
<td>1,488,995</td>
<td>1,278,050</td>
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#### Savings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Depositors per Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>2,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>2,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2,907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>3,037</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>2,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>2,109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2. SALE SOCIETIES (INCLUDING JOINT WORK)

(A Comparative Table; 1914, 1915, 1910, 1913-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Societies Examined</th>
<th>Amount of Sales</th>
<th>Average per Society</th>
<th>No. of Members</th>
<th>Average per Member</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>¥885,396</td>
<td>¥14,573</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>¥1,354,899</td>
<td>¥11,858</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,731</td>
<td>¥11,370,007</td>
<td>¥6,514</td>
<td>483,693</td>
<td>64.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>3,072</td>
<td>¥31,049,074</td>
<td>¥7,816</td>
<td>529,046</td>
<td>59.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>4,270</td>
<td>¥31,295,630</td>
<td>¥7,389</td>
<td>573,601</td>
<td>71.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>¥40,777,399</td>
<td>¥8,955</td>
<td>604,977</td>
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<td>4,672</td>
<td>¥59,090,177</td>
<td>¥12,647</td>
<td>696,282</td>
<td>128.00</td>
</tr>
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<td>4,956</td>
<td>¥89,126,348</td>
<td>¥17,983</td>
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</table>

### 3. PURCHASE SOCIETIES (INCLUDING JOINT WORK)

(A Comparative Table; 1904, 1905, 1910, 1913-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Societies Examined</th>
<th>Purchase Made</th>
<th>Sold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Average per Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>¥155,007</td>
<td>¥1,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>¥506,075</td>
<td>¥3,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,032</td>
<td>¥7,461,130</td>
<td>¥2,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>5,797</td>
<td>¥24,522,603</td>
<td>¥4,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>6,464</td>
<td>¥23,336,260</td>
<td>¥3,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>6,732</td>
<td>¥27,549,914</td>
<td>¥4,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>6,683</td>
<td>¥32,865,072</td>
<td>¥4,793</td>
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</table>

### 4. UTILITY SOCIETIES (INCLUDING JOINT WORK)

(A Comparative Table; 1904, 1905, 1910, 1913-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Societies Examined</th>
<th>Cost of Working</th>
<th>Income from Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
<td>Average per Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1,243</td>
<td>¥116,273</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1,373</td>
<td>¥118,512</td>
<td>86</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>2,449</td>
<td>¥179,081</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>2,508</td>
<td>¥277,734</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1,659</td>
<td>¥394,680</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
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</table>
## B. FEDERATIONS OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

### I. NUMBERS OF FEDERATIONS

#### 1. CLASSIFIED BY KIND

(A Comparative Table; 1910–1915)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Federations of Credit Societies</th>
<th>Federations of Sale Societies</th>
<th>Federations of Purchase of Utility Societies</th>
<th>Federations of Credit and Purchase Societies</th>
<th>Federations of Credit and Sale Societies</th>
<th>Federations of Credit, Sale and Purchase Societies</th>
<th>Federations of Credit, Sale and Utility Societies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2. CLASSIFIED BY NATURE OF WORK

(A Comparative Table, 1910–1915)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Federations of Credit Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Sale Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Purchase of Utility Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Credit and Purchase Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Credit and Sale Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Credit, Sale and Purchase Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Credit, Sale and Utility Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage at the end of 1918: 42.8

Ratio to the total number of societies at the end of 1918: 71.8
3. CLASSIFIED BY ORGANIZATION

(A Comparative Table: 1910-1918)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Limited Liability</th>
<th>Guaranteed Liability</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Guaranteed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liability</td>
<td>Liability</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>24</td>
<td>91.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>82.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>21</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>74.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>67.0</td>
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</table>

II. NUMBERS OF AFFILIATED SOCIETIES (OR FEDERATIONS) AND AMOUNTS OF INVESTMENTS

1. A GENERALIZED TABLE

(A Comparative Table: 1912-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Federations Examined</th>
<th>No. of Affiliated Societies (or Federations)</th>
<th>No. of Affiliated Societies (or Federations) per Federations</th>
<th>Investment</th>
<th>Average Amount of Investment per Affiliated Society (or Federation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total Amount</td>
<td>Paid up Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total Amount</td>
<td>Paid up Investment</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,164</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>412,160</td>
<td>151,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2,043</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>721,915</td>
<td>227,784</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2,580</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>852,650</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3,655</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1,144,570</td>
<td>527,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>80</td>
<td>4,958</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1,276,870</td>
<td>705,572</td>
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<td>88</td>
<td>4,530</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1,552,045</td>
<td>872,550</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## 2. NUMBERS OF AFFILIATED SOCIETIES (OR FEDERATIONS) CLASSIFIED BY NATURE OF WORK

(A Comparative Table; 1912-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Federations of Credit Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Sale Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Purchase Societies (Joint work included)</th>
<th>Federations of Utility Societies (Joint work included)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1,113</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1,037</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2,874</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
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<td>1915</td>
<td>3,287</td>
<td>1,039</td>
<td>1,103</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,166</td>
<td>1,359</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>4,530</td>
<td>1,334</td>
<td>1,627</td>
<td>28</td>
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## III. FUND (INCLUDING SURPLUS)

(A Comparative Table; 1912-1917)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Federations Examined</th>
<th>No. of Affiliated Societies (or Federations) Examined</th>
<th>Paid up Investment</th>
<th>Reserve Fund</th>
<th>Borrowings</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,164</td>
<td>$151,649</td>
<td>$5,416</td>
<td>$130</td>
<td>$39,033 $1,144</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>$227,768</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2,862</td>
<td>$325,553</td>
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<td>$65,691 $1,824</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,655</td>
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<td>5,136</td>
<td>$872,550</td>
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<td>$297,451 $5,380</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Federations Examined</th>
<th>No. of Affiliated Societies (or Federations) Examined</th>
<th>Savings</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
<th>Surplus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>$288,580</td>
<td>$11,542</td>
<td>$259</td>
<td>$1,016</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>2,787</td>
<td>$400,689</td>
<td>$9,789</td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>3,724</td>
<td>$507,899</td>
<td>$10,263</td>
<td>$214</td>
<td>$2,530</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>4,827</td>
<td>$624,902</td>
<td>$11,062</td>
<td>$228</td>
<td>$2,851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>5,327</td>
<td>$733,902</td>
<td>$11,688</td>
<td>$242</td>
<td>$3,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>6,453</td>
<td>$833,914</td>
<td>$12,624</td>
<td>$257</td>
<td>$3,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>7,530</td>
<td>$933,924</td>
<td>$13,668</td>
<td>$272</td>
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<th>Surplus</th>
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<td>$933,924</td>
<td>$13,668</td>
<td>$272</td>
<td>$3,826</td>
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### IV. WORK ACCOMPLISHED

#### 1. FEDERATIONS OF CREDIT SOCIETIES (INCLUDING JOINT WORK)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Federations Examined</th>
<th>Loans</th>
<th>Average per Federation</th>
<th>Redeemed</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Average per Federation</th>
<th>At the End of the Working Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Average per Federation</th>
<th>Average per Case</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Amount in Yen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1,805,764</td>
<td>43.506</td>
<td>1,425,383</td>
<td>30.990</td>
<td>952,051</td>
<td>20,666</td>
<td>1,517</td>
<td>20,666</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>51.693</td>
<td>1,766,927</td>
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<td>1,300,811</td>
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<td>1,517</td>
<td>23,464</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,485,571</td>
<td>38.387</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,079</td>
<td>23,128</td>
<td>1,263</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### 2. FEDERATIONS OF SALE SOCIETIES (INCLUDING JOINT WORK)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Federations Examined</th>
<th>Amount of Sales</th>
<th>Average per Federation</th>
<th>No. of Affiliated Societies (or Federations)</th>
<th>Amount of Sales per Affiliated Society (or Federation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8,406,871</td>
<td>457,048</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>1,164</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>18,118,934</td>
<td>549,058</td>
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</table>

#### 3. FEDERATIONS OF PURCHASE SOCIETIES (INCLUDING JOINT WORK)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Federations Examined</th>
<th>Amount of Purchases</th>
<th>Average per Federation</th>
<th>No. of Affiliated Societies (or Federations)</th>
<th>Amount of Sales per Affiliated Society (or Federation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>126,999</td>
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<td>1,687</td>
<td>796</td>
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</table>