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life of a people has advanced or declined. All theories of socialism judged on their own merits are but vain dreams. Socialism is not practicable, but if it were it would mark a lower stage in the course of evolution in eliminating the principle of natural selection. But although such doctrines, when examined critically, are found to be nests of fallacies, yet they have been necessary to all reform in the condition of the working classes. In every country the first movements of the workers have been connected with theories of socialism, which held out to them promises of an ideal future. The lower classes were at that time on too low an intellectual level, and were too wanting in all political discipline to be able to dispense with such a vision. It was socialism which set in motion the organization of the working classes. Dr. Adler sketches the early socialistic movements in England, France, and Germany, and their effect in stimulating social reform. Only in England has the movement reached the stage when it is able to dispense with socialistic illusions. Their support is there no longer needed. In Germany the persistence of the social democratic party constitutes a serious danger to the advance of reform. The doctrines of Marx which were once a necessary condition for the development of the people are now a hindrance to their further progress. But signs are not wanting that these illusions are weakening their hold on the German working class.

The third section deals with the future of the social problem. The tendencies of the social movement show, says Dr. Adler, that the middle classes will remain the main political and social factors in the state. They have shown themselves to be the most intelligent part of the community, and capable of carrying out extensive political and economic reforms. On the other hand, the working classes, in obtaining the recognition of their position in the community, will gain the satisfaction of their physical and moral needs. Their condition will continue to improve, and their political power continue to grow. Both middle and working classes will find a common interest of vital importance in the growth of capitalistic production, which necessitates national expansion. Recognizing that their position and welfare depends on the political and capitalistic strength of the nation, they will find it to their interest to defend both. At present such a condition of things obtains only in England, although in Germany similar currents are beginning to be felt. The social state of the future will be characterized by universal individualistic competition, restrained by social ideas.

MARGRIETA BEER

Die gesellschaftliche und wirthschaftliche Entwicklung in Japan. Von TOKUZO FUKUDA. (Stuttgart: Cotta. 1900.)

IN the *Social and Economic Development in Japan*, one of the series of economic studies edited by Brentano and Lotz, Dr. Fukuda traces the history of Japan from the earliest times. As his main interest lies

in the philosophic side of his subject, he is mainly occupied with the earlier periods, in which he attempts to trace to their origin some of the root-ideas on which Japanese customs and institutions are based, even when outwardly moulded by foreign imitation. His subject falls into four periods: (1) the earliest recorded times to 645 A.D.; (2) the imperial period, 645—930; (3) the feudal period, 931—1602, and (4) the despotic period, 1603—1867. The history of Japan after the revolution of 1867, and its indiscriminate imitation of Europe, is barely entered upon. It is Japan, as she evolved in almost complete isolation, which is here considered.

The chief occupation of the people in early times was agriculture. The cultivation of rice, which was the chief article of consumption, dates back to time immemorial.

To the earliest period is traced the origins of ancestor-worship, an idea which has influenced the people profoundly, and which survives in various forms to the present day. Throughout the whole of Japanese history Dr. Fukuda traces it, forming or modifying every institution and custom. The earliest organisation of the people was into groups of families, or Uji. These were subdivided into smaller groups, or sub-Uji, and these again into families, or Ko. The family, not the individual, was the social unit, economically and politically. The head of each house possessed patriarchal powers, being regarded as the direct descendant and representative of his first ancestor. Each Uji had thus its own ancestral god, which it worshipped through the mediation of the head of the family. The Emperor's power was at first exercised only over his own house, but extended in time out of his character as high priest and chief general.

The group of families constituting a sub-Uji followed the same occupation, which was hereditary. Free choice of occupation on the part of families or individuals was impossible. Land was owned in common by the Uji and the produce divided among the several families according to the number of heads.

Rapid increase of the population, and constant intercourse with China and Korea, both of which possessed a comparatively advanced civilisation, led to the breaking up of this primitive organisation, and the dominion of the Emperors for several centuries. This change, which was carried out in the Taikwa reform of 646, shows many points of similarity with the revolution of 1867. It imitated Chinese institutions as directly as that of 1867 imitated European ones. Chinese was adopted as the official language. Chinese philosophy was taught. Land which had belonged to the Uji was now declared to be the possession of the Emperor. It was farmed by single families, who paid rent out of the produce. A new legal system was established, and the Taiho code, the only comprehensive codification known to Japan until our own days, was worked out. It remained in operation from the 7th to the 19th century. This code determined the association of families into groups, for purposes of administration, for which China again served as a

model. The distribution of the land, as fixed by the Taiho code, took place every six years. Every male over five years of age received one portion, every female received two-thirds of a male share. Such land was held for life. Poor soil, which could only be sown every other year, was distributed in double portions. The imperial dues were at first 3 to 5 per cent. of the produce. These gradually rose, until in the feudal age they reached 50 to 60 per cent. The father of the family disposed of the produce of the land, and had absolute control over its cultivation. The power of the Emperors was broken down in a period of anarchy and civil war, and the feudal system developed on much the same lines as in Europe. An important class distinction grew up between farmer and soldier. The farmer had formerly ploughed his field or marched to battle as occasion called. But now large bands of professional soldiers gathered round the great feudal lords, and these formed a privileged class. Most of the large towns had their origin now, in the groups which gathered round the great castles. The feudal lords encouraged their development, which rendered them the more independent. Trade guilds were established, membership of which was for long hereditary. Industrial existence outside a guild was impossible. A law of 1513 forbade the practice of silk-weaving to non-members of the guild, under penalty of death. The system of apprenticeship was very complete. Commercial relations were maintained with China and Korea. Fine woven goods, matting, and copper coin were imported. Rice was the staple article of export. The first relations with Europeans were in 1541, when the Portuguese landed and attempted to carry on trade with the inhabitants.

The end of the sixteenth century was a critical time in the history of Japan. New ideals were making themselves felt. Various parties were once more striving for supremacy. The office of Shogun, formerly the supreme position in the State, was now sunk to a merely nominal headship, but in the hands of the Tokugawa family it once more regained predominance. Under their rule Japan became the most typical example of the isolated and absolute State. They attempted to centralise all the various activities of the State. To this end the fallen dignity of the Emperor was propped up, but the aim of the Tokugawa policy was to secure permanently the power to their own house. The feudal chiefs were deprived of all real authority. The influence of China was again most marked under the new *régime*. The Academy was founded, in which the philosophy of Confucius was revived. Science and art were actively encouraged. Beautiful examples of the architecture of this period survive. Painting, wood and ivory carving, book illustration, porcelain manufacture, and metal work reached a high stage of development. Weaving and dyeing of silk stuffs and the manufacture of paper were perfected. Roads and bridges were built. The sugar cane was cultivated generally, and much attention was devoted to the cultivation of the soil. Meanwhile all intercourse with the outside world was strongly discouraged. The introduction of foreign customs or products was strictly prohibited. A series of

decrees during the next two centuries attempted to completely isolate Japan. In 1641 the Dutch, the only Europeans who had been granted commercial privileges, were forced to quit Hirato, and to occupy the little island Dejuna. In 1685 the export of silver was strictly limited to a given amount for the Dutch trade. In 1715 the export of copper was limited, and the number of Dutch vessels admitted into their harbours limited to two per annum. In 1752 the export of gold was prohibited. After 1790 the export of silver was further restricted, and only one vessel permitted to enter each year. The trade with China was similarly restricted.

The population outside the towns lived in village communities, with a president at the head, whose main function consisted in the collection and payment of dues to the Shogun. The community was divided into associations of five families, united for purposes of mutual support, with an elected head, who represented the association. These groups, bound together by the simple tie of proximity, for they were grouped according to locality, extended over the whole country, even to the towns. Here they assumed their chief importance in connection with the trade guilds. In accordance with the general tendency these were assuming more and more the nature of monopolies. In 1813 it was forbidden to admit new members, and membership might only be bequeathed to blood-relations. Their struggle for existence became keener and keener. At last in 1841 the whole system of guilds was declared at an end and all industry free. As this, however, did not result in the expected fall in prices, in 1851 the guilds were once more established, only to be finally swept away after the revolution of 1867. A rigidly exclusive organisation also existed among the merchants who imported goods from China and Holland. Changes within the state were gradually taking place. The relations of the soldier class to the industrial class was changing. The latter no longer held the subservient position of former times. A middle-class was feeling its way, and asserting itself. The population during these two and a half centuries of unbroken peace, had rapidly increased, while methods of cultivation of the soil made little progress. After 1833 there was a succession of bad harvests, and the price of rice rose enormously. The grasp of the government on the various activities of the country was weakening. So rotten was the whole organisation that it needed but a touch from without to level the whole fabric. This impulse came with the arrival of the Americans under Perry in 1853. A series of treaties with European countries followed. In 1867 the house of Tokugawa was dethroned from its supreme position, and the Emperor proclaimed actual ruler of the country. Dr. Fukuda enters upon the subsequent period only to point out briefly the forms in which the national ideas still survive, in spite of their indiscriminate imitation of all things European. The conception of the family as the social unit is still a real one. The patriarchal authority of the paterfamilias still persists. The individual

is as yet hardly conceived as an independent unit. Ancestor-worship still forms the basis for their religious conceptions. In spite, too, of all innovations the strict law of inheritance of the eldest son continues, for the continuity of the family is their moving principle. The development towards individualism is more marked from the economic than from the social point of view.

MARGRIETA BEER

Le Développement Économique et Social du Japon. ("Chronique du Musée Social." March, 1901.)

In the "Economic and Social development of Japan," an article in the March number of the *Musée Social*, M. André Siegfried, gives an interesting account of the economic conditions in Japan at the present day. He first sketches the political conditions. In 1869 the Emperor promised the people a Parliament. He assured them "that the principles of political economy should be diligently studied, and the absurd customs of former days abolished." After twenty years of study and research the constitution was promulgated in 1889, modelled on that of Prussia. Two assemblies were formed, one aristocratic, the other representative. Practically, however, the political condition of the people was little changed, for the suffrage was granted on a very limited scale, and only affected the middle class. The real power still lies with the great feudal families.

The economic development of Japan has proceeded on an enormous scale, especially marked after the Chinese war. Since 1893 her exports and imports have more than doubled. The efforts of the country are devoted almost entirely to the development of commerce and industry. Railways are rapidly intersecting the country.

M. Siegfried traces the development of one industry, that of cotton-spinning, as a typical example of what has taken place in numerous others. The first spinning mill was established in 1865 with 6,000 spindles. Another was set up in 1880. In 1899 there were 80 mills with 1,130,273 spindles. These are well organised, and fitted with the best machinery. Production proceeded at such a pace that a crisis resulted in 1898, which had the effect of stimulating the export trade with China and Korea.

This economic transformation has resulted in the growth of a large working class. No factory legislation exists. No limit is set to the hours of labour, nor to the employment of women and children. In spinning mills, where the majority of workers are girls of from 15 to 20 years of age, the hours are eleven, on night and day work alternately. These girls are usually engaged by contract for three years, and earn 37 to 50 centimes per day. They are boarded and lodged at the works, for which 15 to 17 centimes are deducted from their wages. One to two thousand girls are frequently lodged at one mill in this way.

The most serious abuse is the employment of children. They begin work at the age of 6 to 8 years, and work 8 hours, earning usually 25 centimes per day.