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THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN



JAPANESE GIRL PRACTISING ARCHERY

THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN

A Japanese upon Japan

By

KOMAKICHI NOHARA

ILLUSTRATED

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CONTENTS

	PAGES
JAPAN'S DOUBLE FACE	9
EVEN JAPANESE CANNOT WORK MIRACLES	23
EARTHQUAKES AS TEACHERS .	36
The Earth Heaves	39
THE LIFE OF THE JAPANESE	51
A Japanese Baby is Born	54
The Family as the Unit of the Nation	62
The Little School-Soldier	66
The "Higher Daughter"	70
The Bitter-Sweet of College Life	77
A Marriage is arranged .	85
The First Meeting	88
Thrice - Three Cups — The Japanese Wedding	91
The Japanese Woman is not a Slave	100
THE DAY'S WORK	
What shall we do with the Boy ?	102
What shall we do with the Girl ?	104
Social Welfare	108
Communism	111
The Life of the Worker .	113
Japanese Dumping	119
We want Germany to Understand	122
Railway Records .	124
The Solidarity of Classes is no Empty Phrase	126
The Tanaka Family at Home .	129

	PAGE
Our Dwellings are Standardized	133
A World in Itself	135
"Our Daily Rice"	138
The Evening Stroll	141
A Golden Stroll along the "Silver Street"	145
Nocturnal Repose	150
How Japanese Houses are Built	154
The Day's Work Begins .	160
Mrs. Tanaka goes Shopping .	162
The Stores	165
In the Hands of the Hairdresser	170
Is the Japanese Woman beautiful ? .	176
"The Morning Sun of Tokyo"	183
No, the Noble Theatre .	191
Kabuki, the People's Theatre .	194
	210
Pleasure-seeking	218
Heights and Depths of Japanese Feeding	223
Dance, Little Geisha, Dance !	236
THE "JAPANESE WAR"	
The Soldier .	246
Way of the Gods, Japan's Religion	250
The Shrine of Ise .	252
The Divine Emperor	255
The Sacred Rice .	261
THE GREAT PACIFIC CONTROVERSY	
That Manchurian Adventure !	266
Foes to a Policy of Prestige	272
Organized Peace	277
Japan has Never Displayed her Real Power	278
Japan's Symbol : Pine, Bamboo, Plum	282

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Japanese girl practising archery	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	PAGE
The Fleet Review as seen from the warship <i>Kum:</i>	16
The beauty of Japanese films.	24
Youthful Hangyoku or "Half-Geishas" on a pleasure-boat	24
Where the earth is ever heaving	32
Japanese music-shamisen players and singers .	40
Most modern Japan	40
Fine temple architecture	48
Iron and cherry blossom. Japan's symbol	56
Oldest Japan	64
Carp swimming in the air .	72
Asakusa, where Tokyo citizens seek pleasure	80
Healing earth	88
Japanese soldiers with dogs .	96
May-day procession in Tokyo	112
Japanese male prima donna .	128
At work in the rice-fields	144
The Emperor driving through his capital	160
Temple door and pagoda at Nikko. .	176
A modern Japanese baby .	192
Japan's financial power .	208
Japanese marionette	224
Sport-loving Japan	240
The charm of Japanese women lies in their dress rather than their looks .	256
A shooting lesson for Japanese schoolgirls	272

THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN

JAPAN'S DOUBLE FACE

IN all the travel bureaux of the world Japan is alluringly advertised by exotic-coloured posters.

From Japan itself are issued attractively designed pamphlets, on the covers of which Geisha girls are depicted, piquant beneath cherry-blossoms, while Fuji is mirrored in the sea. Visitors are invited to the "Land of the Rising Sun", of the Cherry Blossom and of Fuji—as if Japan were a happy trinity of sun, cherry-blossom and mountain. The foreigner who lands in Japan for the first time, after a long journey through the tropical, flaming splendour of the countries of the Indian ocean, or a fortnight's gruelling in the Siberian Express is, not without reason, bitterly disappointed by what he sees. This grey-green shore with its simple, low, grey houses, on the roofs of which the rain frequently—very frequently—pours down in slanting lines—is *this* the Land of the Sun? The landscape lacks the noble contours to which the posters of Fuji have accustomed him; instead of blossoming cherry-trees, high-tension masts cleave the sky, and with frantic haste smoking express trains shoot out of tunnels, cross iron bridges, and disappear again.

The Korean Express, which constitutes the transport service of the Manchurian and the Siberian

10 THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN

Railway, stops on the quay at Fusan, which is Korea's most southerly port. Parallel with it on the other side of the platform awaits the fast steamer of the Imperial Railways, which leaves exactly to time. In a few steps the passenger passes from train to steamer ; and a sea-journey of a day or a night brings him to Japan proper—to Shimoniseki, across the Straits of Tsushima, at the bottom of which rests many Russian warships and countless Russian sailors, victims of the Battle of Tsushima in 1905.

Shimoniseki is a colourless town devoid of character, except for its ever-changing population of sailors of all countries who throng the streets. Travelling kitchens, in the windows of which three withered tomatoes are displayed by the side of a languid head of endive, bear the grandiloquent inscription "Grand Hotel et Restaurant" ; French sailors with red pompons on their caps and tangled beards around their faces are slinging vermicelli down their throats, while to and fro, in immaculate white uniforms, watchful and alert, pace the police ; the detectives in mufti, with deliberate obtrusiveness, keeping strict watch on this gateway of Japan.

Punctually to the second the boat from Korea rests alongside the quay ; a moment later the traveller is sitting in the comfortable Pullman car of the Japanese Express ; loud speakers blare the names of the termini : Kobe, Osaka, Tokyo, the centres of activity ; punctually to the second the train departs. "Japanese Government Trains are Always on Time", so the motto of the Imperial Railways truly states. Nothing suggests the Japan which the traveller may

have hoped to find ; he might be sitting in the fast train to London as it steams out of Lime Street, Liverpool. It is coldly disappointing.

Moreover, the German, or the Englishman, for that matter, who comes to Japan has a preconceived idea of the country. He has read the three or four books on Japan which have come his way, with the aid of which he has naturally formed a fixed conception of the country and its people. Two kinds of books have been at his disposal : the good and the bad, and it is difficult to decide which of the two has done most harm.

The bad books about Japan are the romantic ones, which treat this country in a sentimental, utterly un-Japanese and absolutely arbitrary fashion, the author using his pen as the servant of a more or less vivid imagination, and labelling what he has written "Japan". French authors especially, although excellent writers in their own way, have transported their own exotic and erotic yearnings to the oriental country which is the least susceptible to such cravings. They have portrayed Japan as one immense tea-house, where one lives and lets live, the inhabitants being divided into Geishas and a completely ineffective male population, which is engaged mainly in match-making. The capital of the country was apparently a place called Yoshiwara and the national pastime *hara-kiri*, which the natives performed somewhat monotonously. According to such descriptions this country is a kind of semi-civilized, exquisite South Sea paradise with a temperature admirably adapted to tempt one to delicate and subtle adventures.

Englishmen, who are conscientious chroniclers and great admirers of Japan's chivalrous past—of her feverish present they are not quite so enamoured—have written excellent and comprehensive books about the country. They have collected folk-lore and glittering legends : they have visited historical centres and structures, even the remotest temples and shrines ; they have—usually in the persons of young Legation attaches and robust missionaries—climbed the highest mountains and explored the most hidden valleys. Whoever desires to investigate Japan's secluded life before she was opened up to Europe and America, to study Japanese folk-lore, may well consult these authors, whose books will conjure up before the inquirer a magical picture of bygone brilliance, of high chivalry and beauty in life and death. But as regards the rapid upthrust of the island Empire and the swift absorption of Western achievements and modes of life, the works of foreign writers are meagre in the extreme.

It is, of course, understood that we are thinking of popular works, just as when we speak of Japanese travellers we are thinking in the first place of the average traveller. Of valuable scientific works on Japan, written by both Japanese and foreigners, there has always been a goodly number ; but experience teaches that the influence of such books, as also that of the scientifically trained traveller, is very limited. What a minute ripple of the mighty stream of tourists do "serious" travellers constitute even in Japan ! And it is the popular, readable volumes, presenting a bird's-eye view of the subject, which do either the greatest harm or the greatest good.

Whenever we think of the literature about Japan, the figure of Lafcadio Hearn immediately comes into mind. He was the greatest and most cordial friend Japan ever had. Of British and Greek origin and Japanese by choice, he caught and enshrined the noble heart of Japan in a few immortal works. But does a land and a people consist only of heart ? Does a nation exist only in pages saturated in tradition, enshrouded in legend ? To read Hearn's books one would almost think so, at least of Japan. And precisely because he limmed this sympathetic, but one-sided, picture of Japan, Lafcadio Hearn, although the best writer on things Japanese, has perhaps been the greatest obstacle to the dissemination of accurate ideas about Japan. He has been, and still is, widely read both in Germany and England ; and the reader is inclined to swallow every word uttered by a critic of such high rank, who penetrated so deeply into Japanese life as to become a Japanese himself. And—it must be emphasized—every word in Hearn's books is true, but the truth is only part of reality : what he describes is only one aspect of Japan.

There is another side : the vulgar, the vital, the teeming, the iridescent, the feverish and often not quite so dignified and hallowed. No, unfortunately, we are not so noble, so restrained, so knightly, nor endowed with so much fine emotion, as Hearn represents us as being. Impelled by the poet's glowing ardour he has created an ideal Japanese, who might belong to Heaven or the museum, but who certainly has no place in this world. By his authoritative and at the same time

one-sided description of Japan he has impeded understanding of her rapid advance, her modernization so swift as to be suggestive of witchcraft during recent decades, the most important features of which he could not fail to note. But his heart was not in the modernization of Japan ; perhaps he had no desire to see it.

What would those nations, the U.S.A., England, and Holland, which aroused the Island Empire of Japan from its profound centuries'-old sleep to modern strivings, what would they not give today if they could undo the past, if Japan could be made to slumber again as in her chivalrous, gallant, artistic, medieval ages which continued until 1853 ? Perhaps this self-reproach and resentment at Japan's awakening is one reason why we have fewer good reports concerning our modern development from Anglo-Saxons, and why it happens that Germans, not being directly affected by, or immediately concerned in, the process devote so much attention to the rise and transformation of Japan. Industrious authors and journalists traversed Japan and recorded their impressions in books and articles. They expressed their amazement at the enormous progress made by this "little" country with its "little" men, which was about to outstrip Europe in industry, America in sport and the whole world economically. Its railways, operated by brown youngsters ; its stores, served by dainty little girls, are at least equal—in some respects superior—to the railways and stores in England and Germany.

The Army is today perhaps the readiest in the

world ; the Navy the third largest and probably the second best; Japanese doctors, especially surgeons, might be compared with German ; the Japanese woman, freed of her medieval chains, is engaged in industry, determines her own life, drives cars and motor-cycles and is altogether an enlightened and modern young person, for whom the English or American "flapper" is no match. And all this the people had achieved in less than half a century ; for when, in 1905, it totally defeated the giant empire of Russia, just fifty-two years had elapsed since its awakening by the American Commodore Perry, and what had subsequently happened had been no more than the organization and consolidation of a position once attained.

The transformation of the Japanese lady from an enslaved doll into the modern woman—witchcraft!

The physical education of the Japanese from decadent, timid weaklings into participators in the 1932 Olympic Games—witchcraft !

The growth of skyscrapers upon the soil of playing-box houses—witchcraft !

The transformation of a medieval feudal State into the most modern of communities—witchcraft !

The creation of a military power with up-to-date equipment out of a soldiery armed with swords and halberds—witchcraft!

The development of a tiny domestic industry and home handicrafts into a colossal economic organization which supplies the markets of the wide world—witchcraft !

And all this within sixty years—yes, the Japs were

devils of fellows, geniuses or—if one wanted to be a shade unfriendly—uncomfortably quick in adaptation, in learning and in the uptake, in the transformation of their institutions according to foreign models.

It was, above all, the newspapers and illustrated periodicals of Germany that most assiduously took up the task of presenting to the reading public a living picture of these processes in Japan, of the rise of a new State ; in doing which they spared neither trouble nor expense, and the reporters and photographers went to work with a will. For years the daily press and periodicals of Germany were flooded with articles about Japan, almost as though they possessed a monopoly of Japanese copy. Millions of photos covered the editorial desks ; whole families in Japan were hired to pose for "pictures of Japanese life" ; ministries, stores and industrial plants were stormed ; equipped with the weapons of the modern reporter, flash-lights and cameras, the bolder spirits pushed behind the scenes of the theatre, into the dressing-rooms of women bus drivers, into the twilight of geisha tea-houses, into bathing establishments, fencing-saloons, factory rest-rooms, and boxing-arenas.

If a Japanese wanted to become acquainted with his country or his compatriots, all he needed to do was to open a German periodical or a German book on Japan. An acquaintance in Tokyo, a modern Japanese, who had received a joint invitation with me to the tea-ceremony in a very cultivated, old-Japanese household, inquired despairingly where in all the world he might look for hints regarding correct behaviour at such a function. I lent him a slender

German volume, which contained everything essential concerning the tea-ceremony and its meaning.

In the estimation of the public whose opinion is formed by the press, the Japanese are a most admirable people, who have built a modern State and conquered a notable place in the world—all in fifty years—as if by magic. But what the Japanese sees everywhere is : Japan's double face.

This double face—here the Middle Ages, there the most Modern Times ; here geisha, there girl ; here tradition, there Americanism—always wears an expression of pride and arrogance. Behold what we have done within fifty years ! Look at the skyscrapers in the Ginza Street ! Look at our girls dressed in the height of fashion ; or the passenger-planes in the sky, and beneath them the age-old, uniform curves of the temple roofs ! Is it not sheer magic ? And we are overwhelmed with compliments anew : You have managed to achieve in fifty years what we Europeans have painfully accomplished through many centuries, even a thousand years. You are conjurers supreme !

This flattery may be well meant, but it has a fatal blemish plain to all Japanese. It overstates the case and, therefore, paradoxically enough, understates it seriously. We are not entitled to such encomiums ; we have deserved a different and more discriminating appreciation.

Take one example. Foreign newspapers always depict the Japanese woman as a young creature, clothed in Parisian or London fashions, who rides, drives a car, plays golf, smokes cigarettes, and steers the motor-boat. Thus, in the mind of the foreigner, the

Japanese girl is a worldly or sporting individual, familiar with all the intricacies of occidental life and looking with disdain upon the homely kimono. This is an utterly erroneous idea, which arose from the fact that to the foreign pressman the young Japanese in European dress stands out among all her sisters dressed in native attire and it is the former who rivets his attention ; while the Japanese cameraman photographs her as a *rara avis*, indeed, and sells the negative abroad. A dancer sitting half astride on a motor-cycle for the fun of the thing, not knowing the back of the machine from the front, is snapped and the picture is circulated abroad with the caption : "Japanese girl driving a motor-cycle." A film company places some girls in an outboard boat and photographs them ; or they are snapshotted on the beach in scanty bathing-costumes. The photographs percolate abroad and create the impression that Japanese daughters of good family are in the habit of sailing speed-boats and bathing half naked—just like her sisters in Los Angeles or Le Touquet ; that they are "right in the swim", working, playing and enjoying life as might any New York, London, or Berlin girl, and sporting the latest Western fashions as to the manner born.

The exact opposite of all this is true. Not ten Japanese women in a hundred, not five, not even two, wear European dress, although this is much cheaper and perhaps more convenient than the native kimono. At the most one in a hundred wears European dress, and this only in the large towns. We are not particularly proud of the "modern girls" in European dress, who are somewhat contemptuously called "compact

girls" by the populace, in reference to the "compact powder" which the girls publicly dab on their faces upon every available occasion. It is true the young Japanese woman indulges in sport, as we wish to produce a more beautiful, straighter-limbed, bigger and stronger race of girls in Japan, but she practises within the natural limits of her physical powers and her father's purse. She therefore chooses inexpensive games and exercises, light athletics and swimming, and displays, indeed, a very particular sense of the proprieties.

Outboard races between young women were, in fact, once held, but the populace expressed their predilections by calling them "Compact races" and "Powder races". Two Japanese sisters, both accomplished tennis players, were introduced by a well-known author into a sporting novel. When the family heard of it the sisters were forbidden to take any further part in tennis tournaments, and the girls meekly obeyed the parental injunction and cancelled all their fixtures. Two notable champions of Japanese ladies' tennis were lost to the game ; but public opinion accepted this loss as a matter of course, and no shadow of censure was cast on the parents. The novel created a sensation ; this could not be prevented, but the private life of the girls was not allowed to be affected by this untoward happening.

Young Japanese women are to be seen driving cars fairly frequently, but in nearly all cases they are sitting in neat uniforms at the wheels of long-distance omnibuses, or driving buses through the busy city streets.

In the same way may be explained the misunderstanding which prevails abroad regarding contemporary building methods and modern modes of life in Japan. I have in mind the manner in which the foreigner is apt to compare the new with the old. One hears complaints from sincere friends of Japan and things Japanese that the old Japanese house is disappearing before the modern European structure, just as the good old Japanese manners are inclining to the more appropriate, but less dignified demeanour of the European, not to say the American. Apart from the fact that one should be slow to form judgments when the social structure of the country which is criticized is imperfectly known, these misgivings altogether lack substance. A Japanese showing a foreigner over a village, out of understandable if childish feelings of pride, will take him into the brand new billiard saloon, fashioned according to the latest West American model, rather than into the village temple, where he may view valuable wall-paintings more than 800 years old.

The Japanese guide can see his temples, with their 800-year-old paintings every day; but the billiard saloon, or the electric dairy, the new brick police-station, or the cinema, have only been opened within the last few weeks, and in any case most of the visitors are better judges of billiard saloons than of ancient sacred paintings. If the visitor does not tarry longer in the village, or if he does not go exploring for himself, he may easily come away with the impression that the genuine Japanese life of the country is dying away ; just as in such cities as Tokyo,

Osaka, or Kobe it is difficult not to believe that the people have wholly given themselves up to Americanism, both in outward manifestation and ideas. This impression is deepened by the circumstance that the male Japanese of the city wear European dress today. In the cities ready-made male attire is everywhere in evidence; among the lower classes, cotton trousers, polo shirt and rubber boots. But this clothing by no means implies acquiescence in Western modes of life, or the adoption of the Western outlook. It is merely due to a circumstance which must weigh heavily with the Japanese of today : the cheapness and the fitness of European clothes for his manifold business activities.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that it would be the grossest of fallacies to infer from the fact that many departments of life in Japan appear to be, or even are, Americanized or Europeanized, that Japan is completely Westernized, or well on the way to becoming so. In many circles in urban areas the youthful and uncritical are fascinated and largely overcome by these tendencies, but it is a sober truth that such classes incur the disapproval of the rest of the population. Today the counter movements, or reactionary influences, in all spheres are stronger than the Americanizing tendencies. The first years of the Meiji Age are over, when it was possible for a Minister in all seriousness to propose the abolition of the Japanese tongue and the introduction of English as the language of the country ; and when another, full of pride in his recently acquired Western clothes—with all their accessories—raised the curtain in front

22 THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN

of the Holy of Holies of a Shinto Temple with his walking-stick.

Japan's two faces ? The second face was only—is only—a mask, no thicker than a coat of grease-paint. Japan has always had but one face, the nature of which we shall seek to understand. To contend that the far-eastern Empire has been Americanized is as superficial as to assert that Germans or Englishmen, because they build their theatres, parliament-houses and concert-halls in the Greek style have, therefore, fallen under the spell of Hellenism ; it is as ridiculous as the assertion that because many European nations use Latin characters and arabic numerals they are the spiritual serfs of the Romans and the Arabs.

EVEN JAPANESE CANNOT WORK MIRACLES

THE compliment of conjuring magic in the organization of the new Japan must be firmly but politely declined by the Japanese. No more than the flattery in a photograph does this help one to recognize the true features.

Is it a fact that when Japan was opened for intercourse with the outside world by Commodore Perry and his "black ships" on July 7, 1853, she was entranced in a deep slumber which had lasted for centuries ? What could have been the nature of this profound sleep ?

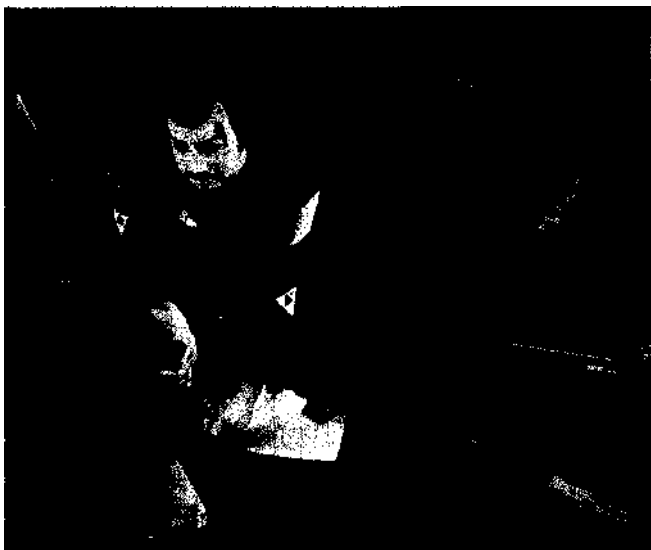
It is pointed out that the Japanese Empire was closed completely to the outside world for about 250 years, that the most recent intercourse with Europeans took place in 1624 ; that is, at a time when Richelieu was Minister in France, when Wallenstein had not yet become an imperial marshal, and when the 'Thirty Years' War was approaching its gruesome zenith. At that time, with this news from far-distant Europe ringing in her ears, Japan, so we are told, fell asleep and closed all her ports. Amid fearful persecutions she uprooted the plantings and destroyed the seeds of the Jesuit Fathers, Christianity, and executed the last Christian. Then peace descended, the peace of the Emperor's viceroy and of the Samurai, of the

24 THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN

somewhat decadent two-swordsmen who, still quite expert at fencing, in the absence of a war and "hairy devils" on whom they might exercise their weapons, frittered away their lives in childish quarrels about honour. The Emperor sat in old Kyoto, which was a kind of living museum, while in Yedo (Tokyo) sat his viceroy, the Shogun, who held the real power in his hands, supported by a number of loyal feudal princes who maintained little private armies, equipped with lances and swords. Shipping and commerce languished, but poetry flourished, chiefly in the form of the very simple three- or four-line verse which did not need even to rhyme, as well as painting, the cult of tea and erotic adventures.

Such, in broad outline, is the notion of the enchanted somnolence out of which Japan was awakened, to find herself in the middle of the materialistic nineteenth century, face to face with the crudest modernity. The truth is altogether different. In reality, at no time in her history has Japan been a tired, languishing, self-indulgent creature, addicted to snail-like seclusion to preserve herself from disturbance and enforced activity by intercourse with foreigners.

Those who are amazed to think that in the year 1894 Japan defeated the great Chinese Empire, and then the Russian colossus in 1904-05, and today ranks as one of the first military powers in the world, forget that she has always been highly organized in a military sense and always was a power prepared to strike. In the year 1596 the Marshal and Imperial Viceroy Hideyoshi raised an army of more than



THE BEAUTY OF JAPANESE FILMS—A SCENE FROM A TYPICAL DRAMA
OF KNIGHTLY CONTEST



YOUTHFUL HANGYOKU OR "HALF-GEISHAS" ON A PLEASURE-BOAT

560,000 men, marched at its head straight through Central and South Japan, and transported it in a gigantic fleet of war junks and boats to Korea, in order to conquer that country. He left 60,000 men behind him on the Japanese coast as a reserve. That is a military operation of which none of the European powers would have been capable at the time ; none of the great States of Europe could have raised an army of over half a million men, let alone have succeeded, or even ventured to dispatch it, on a foreign expedition for an extensive period. Elizabeth was then reigning in England, and eight years before the "Invincible Armada" comprising 160 ships with 30,000 men on board, had embarked with the intention of conquering England.

Hideyoshi originally intended to command his army himself, as well as to achieve the conquest of Korea, an ambitious plan which he cherished and meditated all his life. As, however, he was already sixty years old, frail and in ill health, he selected two generals, who were to exercise the high command jointly. Characteristically, his choice fell on two men who hated each other, and who were constrained by birth and breeding to despise one another: the aristocratic anti-Christian persecutor of the Jesuits, Kiyomasa Katoh, and the Christian Yukinaga Konischi, who sprang from a trading family, and therefore started life on the lowest rung of the social ladder in Japan, and who was in close relationship with foreign Christians.

The Japanese fleet, which was several times larger than the Spanish Armada, was held back by a

storm off the island of Iki, which is fourteen miles from the Japanese coast and halfway to the Tsushima group, and is now an historical region. Konischi, who best knew the sea and the vagaries of the current, went forward with a detachment of boats, landed near the town of Fusan and occupied both that and its castle. Without resting his troops he pushed on into the interior and captured several cities and fortresses. Katoh, landing three days later, found Fusan and its environs already in Japanese hands. Furious at the victory of his detested companion-in-arms and co-commander, he reduced to ashes the towns which had already been captured, and in his turn marched forward into the interior with great haste and energy. Hideyoshi's sagacious policy bore fruit : both commanders vied with each other and spurred on their troops to supreme achievement.

The Japanese were everywhere victorious; Kenkitai, the capital of Korea, fell, and the ruler and the princes fled. In a decisive battle 10,000 Koreans were slain. In accordance with the barbarous usages of those times the Japanese cut off their ears, pickled these appendages in salt and *sake* wine and sent them home. In Kyoto, which was then the capital, these gruesome trophies were buried beside the entrance to the Sandjusangen-Doh, "the Temple of 33,333 Gods". A barrow surmounted by a stone, "Mimi-Dzuka", or Grave of the Ears, marks the spot to this day.

All the eight provinces of Korea were now in the hands of the Japanese ; but on September 15, 1598, two years after the launching of his enterprise,

Hideyoshi died, and his ambitious plan, to march on Peking and make China a vassal of Japan, died with him. An armistice with the Koreans was arranged and the troops were ordered home. Korean envoys followed Konischi to Japan, in order to enter into peace negotiations. The conquest within two years of a great empire, which was supported by the greater and more powerful China, some decades before the Thirty Years' War in Germany demonstrated to the civilian population what lumbering and voracious instruments armies still were, is merely mentioned to indicate the position Japan might have occupied in the world at that time.

The man who ordered and organized the withdrawal of the expeditionary army from Korea was Ieyasu of the Tokugawa family, who was to take charge of Japan's destiny, and who was to inaugurate the policy which was to seclude her completely from outside intercourse for the next 250 years.

It may be definitely asserted that no European power of those days could have withstood the onslaught of the Japanese army of half a million men better than Korea showed herself capable of doing.

Soldiers do not spring up in Japan like mushrooms in the night; nor are the Japanese familiar with the sowing of dragon's teeth from which a crop of fully-armed warriors may be garnered. The present-day military power of the Island Empire is nothing more than the logical development of a powerful military organization which has been in existence for more than three centuries. The greatest military undertakings from the downfall of the Roman Empire to

28 THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN

the days of the Franco-German War of 1870-71 were those of Japan.

The Japanese mercantile marine at the time of the conquest of Korea was without doubt of considerable strength. It was at all events larger than England's merchant fleet, which was then engaged in founding the East India Company. At the commencement of the seventeenth century the Shogunate Government of Tokugawa possessed a mercantile navy consisting of more than 1000 sea-worthy vessels, which regularly voyaged to the Philippines, to Siam and India, and frequently crossed the Pacific and called at Mexican ports. A number of ships, so we are told by chroniclers, even sailed as far as Europe. The pirate Nagamasa Yamada with his crew landed in Siam in the beginning of the seventeenth century, reorganized the army of the Siamese Emperor, led it victoriously into battle, and was subsequently entrusted with the viceroyalty of a province.

The period of seclusion which followed the Korean campaign did not involve the cessation of shipping for, secretly or with the tacit consent of the Government, Japanese vessels continued to call at foreign ports, although the commerce was of limited extent.

The first battle between armoured warships took place in the Korean campaign which has just been outlined ; but when in 1281 the Mongolian Kublai Khan made his ambitious attempt to invade the Japanese Islands, Japan could depend upon a respectable war fleet of small but extremely serviceable junks. It should not, therefore, appear amazing

to contemporaries that within a very brief period Japan proved able to produce a highly efficient modern navy and one of the three largest mercantile marines, with splendid seamen and fine shipyards for the construction of all classes of vessels. The fact that at the present time Japan is the only country in the world which is both a great naval and a great military power is not the outcome of witchcraft, but the natural result of the systematic and ingenious application of previously existing forces.

In the spheres of town-planning, of transport, of public health, of administration, and of jurisprudence Japan was, even in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, quite on a level with Spain, France, or Germany, and we shall learn in due course that her industry, her factory system, and her extensive overseas trading were not suddenly conjured into existence by a magic formula.

It is recorded that Ieyasu Tokugawa, Hideyoshi, the conqueror of Korea, and Nobunaga Oda, one of the greatest, if at the same time cruellest, generals of his time, were once sitting together in a summer-house and listening to the song of the nightingale. Suddenly the bird stopped singing ; the three men waited, but the bird remained silent.

"Let us," suggested Ieyasu, "compose a verse on this theme : a bird ceases to sing, and we listen and wait." To write verses upon a fleeting caprice of Nature, or some slight incident of daily life which they might have heard of or observed, was one of the resources of educated men to while away leisure hours.

The fierce Nobunaga was the first to be ready with his verse, and he read aloud :

Sing, nightingale ! If thou wilt not sing,
I will kill thee !

Hideyoshi, master of countries and peoples, wrote :

Sing, nightingale ! If thou wilt not sing,
I will compel thee.

Ieyasu wrote :

Sing, nightingale ! If thou wilt not sing,
I will wait until thou singest.

And the song of the nightingale again burst forth, and he sang on.

This anecdote is characteristic of Japanese mentality, which awarded the prize to Ieyasu and his gentle, patient policy. And it also reveals the character of Ieyasu and adumbrates the main principle of his politics. After Nobunaga Oda had fought and intrigued himself to death (in 1582 he was hit by the arrow of one of his generals who had betrayed him, and rather than fall into the clutches of the traitors he set fire to his home and committed *hara-kiri*), Hideyoshi, who lay dying in 1598, summoned his friend Ieyasu and handed over to him the reins of government for the term of the minority of his son Hideyori. Ieyasu consolidated his position by successful battles and political negotiations. The nobility of the country, however, who had always regarded Hideyoshi as an upstart, revolted against the rule of the young Hideyori and regarded Ieyasu, who could look back upon a sequence of ancestors unbroken for over 800 years, as their rightful leader. In 1603 he received

the title of Shogun, or Imperial Viceroy, which had been in abeyance in Japan for a period of thirty years, for Hideyoshi and his predecessors had only unofficially exercised the authority of that office.

But two years later he abdicated in favour of his son Hidetada, and, in conformity with Japanese custom, retired to a country castle in order from this vantage-ground to take effective control of the administration and direction of the country. The Shogunate became an hereditary succession, and so it remained until 1868, when the last Shogun of the family retired and restored the reins of government to the Emperor's hands.

Ieyasu studied foreign countries and promoted intercourse with them. The Portuguese Mendez Pinto was the first European to land in Japan as early as 1542, when he introduced the blunderbuss. Later, Dutch trading-vessels frequently touched the shores of Japan and sought permission to dispose of their commodities in exchange for the produce of the country. Ieyasu summoned the captains to his presence and interrogated them upon every subject under the sun. Through these inquiries he obtained information of the importance of trade and traffic between Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. He kept himself acquainted with the arrival of vessels from the Philippines, which had been Spanish possessions since 1570 ; from India, which had become a British sphere of influence ; from Macao, which had been a Portuguese settlement since 1557, and Annam, which had been under Portuguese and French influence since

1428, and entrusted their captains with communications addressed to their various governments, in which he invited them to enter into commercial relations with Japan. He despatched a ship upon a year's voyage to the possessions of the Spaniards in Central and South America.

Through the medium of the King of the Riukiu Islands, which were simultaneously under Japanese and Chinese suzerainty, Ieyasu entered into relations with China. Japanese of high standing were repeatedly despatched to Europe, particularly to the countries of the Mediterranean, which were at that time the fountain-head of knowledge and the flower of civilization, in order to gather information concerning religion, customs and trade in those distant regions. The first emissary was the knight Yoshikata Itoh, who was sent with the permission of the Government by Sorim Otomo, the Governor of the Province of Bungo, which had been the most receptive soil for Christian teachings.

In January 1582, Itoh's ship left the port of Nagasaki, the southernmost of the Japanese Islands, and reached Spain in August 1584 after a voyage of two and a half years. He was received in audience by the King and Queen of Spain, and then visited Rome, where he was received by the Pope, Gregory XIII. In 1590 he returned to Japan, the first European emissary from his native land.

In 1584 the same Prince dispatched a second special envoy to Rome who, however, died there. In 1613 the Prince of Sendai sent the knight Rokuyemon Hasekura *via* Mexico to Spain, whence



WHERE THE EARTH IS EVER HEAVING—A VOLCANIC REGION NOT FAR FROM TOKYO

he repaired to Rome. The envoy had an audience with Pope Paul V, and after several protracted voyages of discovery he returned home in 1620.

Four years later, in 1624, under the rule of the Shogun Iemitsu, the grandson of Ieyasu, Christianity was prohibited in Japan ; the number of ocean vessels was legally restricted, and in 1636 Japanese seafarers were forbidden to ply in foreign waters or to trade with foreign lands. The Dutch settlement of Nagasaki was transported to the tiny island of Deshima and placed under the strictest supervision and exposed to all kinds of interference. Two hundred and eighty-seven Japanese men and women who had contracted marriages with foreigners were expelled from the country. Revolts of Japanese Christians were suppressed with great cruelty, and the country entered upon the two hundred years' period of seclusion, of internal consolidation, and of perfect peace. Between the Christian outbreaks of the year 1637 and the unrest which succeeded the opening up of Japan in the year 1853, no conflict of any kind, nor any political upheaval ruffled the serenity, or the order of the deliberate development under which the Japanese were preparing for the great part they were destined to play in the world's affairs.

It was a conscious preparation and a determined seclusion ; just as the reopening of Japan and her re-emergence to the outside world was a perfectly deliberate act. In 1853 the time was ripe for this change. In conserving her energies, Japan had shown her prescience ; she was a closed community who might now, however, consort with other nations

without peril. The moment of return into world affairs was selected with the inspiration of genius. Europe was in her era of colonial success, of ease and prosperity. These were the "foundation years" ; the world powers were no longer, as once, adventurous, ambitious, or hungry for prey : they were more like the proud lions which adorned so many of their coats-of-arms—satiated, solemn, and a trifle indolent.

It would be entirely erroneous to assume that the reopening of the Empire was imposed on the Japanese nation by a chance circumstance, that it had been necessitated by the arrival of Commodore Perry with his four ships: two steamers and two sailing-vessels. Many facts support the theory that the Shogunate Government of Tokugawa seized the welcome opportunity afforded by the pressing demands of the Commodore for admission, and while meeting them translated into action its intention of opening the country to the world.

The German authority, F. A. Junker von Langegg, who was at one time director of the Kyoto School of Medicine, and whose knowledge of Japan and her past was profound, in a treatise upon the Shogun Iyasu and his policy, published in the year 1880, wrote as follows :

His all-comprehending glance was not restricted by the boundaries of his country, withdrawn from intercourse with the world. It swept across the separating seas. It seems as if Iyasu had apprehended the building of those bridges which after the lapse of 250 years were to connect the Island Empire of Asia with the nations of occidental civilization.

And a modern American, a man of a quite

different stamp, Upton Close, who lived in Japan and Eastern Asia some nineteen years as journalist, writer of travel-books, and observer for the New World Republic, referred recently to the absurdity of the

romantic history of the little settler folk, who lived in simple and primitive isolation until the great Commodore Perry came from dear America and knocked at their door in 1853, whereupon by dint of superhuman exertions in imitation, they achieved the right to take a place on the outermost edge of civilized countries. In reality, Japan's path to a dominant position has been conquered by no sudden leap, but by a gradual and slow onward march.

These words are plain enough. As a Japanese, and also an admirer of the American nation, I can fully endorse the clear insight of the writer.

EARTHQUAKES AS TEACHERS

A EUROPEAN is apt to say : "I cannot tell, by looking at them, the difference between Chinese and Japanese; to me they are all one". The Japanese has a similar difficulty. He cannot distinguish Germans from Englishmen. Races and nations have not yet peered into each other ; they do not yet properly appreciate each other.

The difference between Chinese and Japanese is just as great as that between Russians and Englishmen, in fact, greater. Any Japanese distinguishes Chinese from his compatriots at a glance, as well as Koreans and Siamese, and the various cross-breeds. But could they not all be classified as Mongols ?

Racially the Japanese are not easy to place. In the far north of the main island and on the northern island of Hokkaido, where Japan ceases to be beautiful and begins to become dreary, there live on reserves, like the North American Indians, the white-skinned Aino, the presumptive aborigines of the region. They dwell apart in their own settlements ; have their peculiar customs and clothing; and support life by fishing, hunting and the little they receive from curious tourists, exactly as do the Indians. The bear is sacred to them, and they practise strange rites with captive young bears and their blood. The Ainos are certainly white ; they are of fine physique, with

large anatomical structure, luxuriant growth of beard and fair skins—everything that the Japanese lacks.

About a thousand years before the Christian era Mongols, or Mongoloids, as meticulous scientists call them, crossed over from the Asiatic mainland and pushed the Ainos to the north. Then from the south came hordes of Malays, a strange people enveloped in tragedy, who have intermarried with other stocks to their great benefit—Japanese, Philipinos, Burmese, and Sudanese, but who themselves live in the shadows, who have neither country nor empire, not even their own language. They were bold, masterful, savage pirates, fearing nothing, and they settled and built forts in the swamps and marshes and formed little principalities. With them came Negoids, South Sea Islanders and Head Hunters, excellent if turbulent human material. Each tribe lived independently until Jimmu Tenno, first Emperor of Japan, son of the gods as well as the first ruler of all countries, in 600 B.C. united the tribes with their little coastal territories and created the Empire of Japan which, however, until the first century of the Christian era comprised little more than the southern part of the main island.

It was not until the year A.D. 113 that Prince Yamato-Dake pushed as far as the thirty-eighth degree northern latitude and for the first time gazed upon the site whereon later the capital, Yedo, now Tokyo, was to arise. In A.D. 552 Buddhism was introduced into Japan by Koreans, and from this date it is permissible to speak of a distinct Japanese Empire, for an empire is no older than its civilization.

According to Asiatic ideas Japan is quite a young country. Today one may see in the streets of Japanese cities the pale Aino type, the slender-limbed Chinese type, the graceful, passionate Malay, the Negroid, the calm, pinched Korean, and the descendant of Mongols, with the broad cheek-bones and the phlegmatic expression. The different types may be quite easily identified today.

If a foreigner finds it difficult to distinguish a Chinese from a Japanese as regards appearance, Japan and China as concepts are sharply separated in his mind. He is immediately aware of the essential attributes of the Japanese people as distinct from those of the Chinese. It was the custom to speak of the Japanese as the "Prussians of the East" or the "English of the East" at a time when the vanity of Western nations saw in all other communities only a pale imitation of themselves. The Chinese have been given no such flattering appellations. It was easier to compare Japanese with Europeans. They have much more in common with this or that western nation than the Chinese. They are, in a word, more definite, more purposeful, less elusive. They are less Asiatic.

The Japanese are not Asiatics at all.

What are they, then ? The English of the East or the Prussians of the East ? And how did it come about that they, living in Asia, springing from Asia, nourished by Asiatic sources, became distinct from Asiatics ?

In calling them the English of the East, one takes into account only some of their external characteristics, ignoring entirely the essential features of their many activities, the economy, even the pettiness of

their lives. Prussians they are not, for their very existence is conditioned by the ocean. In the incessant conflict with this element, which is particularly incalculable in the Far East, their peculiarities have developed. In everlasting conflict with volcano and sea, with the ever-present danger of earthquake—the eternal tragedy of the Japanese Islands—their character has been moulded and refined.

Try to imagine what it means to live in constant dread of earthquake, to know that at any moment, perhaps in the dead of night, the earth is liable to heave disastrously, and no one knows whether this may be the end of all things.

The Earth Heaves

It is a few minutes before midnight. All Japan is sleeping. Unlike Asiatics, the Japanese are early sleepers ; at eleven o'clock the theatres close their doors, after which the city is silent. Even the noisiest pleasure-resorts of the great cities are deserted towards midnight. Nothing is quite so somnolent as Japanese night life. In the country and in the suburbs, after darkness has fallen, people will sit in summer for an hour on benches in front of their houses, and then they prepare for bed. Everything is quiet in the little flat houses and there is nothing to be heard but the rattle of the night watchman, who beats two sticks of wood together. Then suddenly the houses begin to crack in all their joints and Tokyo, with its five and a half million inhabitants, creaks and cracks and

trembles throughout its immense structure. That is the earthquake.

"Japan—a delightful country, but what about the earthquakes?" remarks the foreigner. "How can one live securely in a country that is visited by an earthquake every few days? And then, one never knows whether it is not going to be a serious earthquake, *the* great earthquake, which will make an end of us all."

Something over 1000 earthquakes are recorded as occurring annually in the Japanese Islands—an average of 1041 according to Montessus—which is, within relatively narrow confines, more than a quarter of all the earthquakes which trouble the entire world, estimated at 3800—a somewhat lavish gift of the gods, it will be granted. These thousand earthquakes are spread over all the islands and islets of the Empire, although not equitably. Sometimes the earth heaves here, sometimes there. There are favoured districts and districts less favoured. A Japanese living in one part of the islands does not manage to experience all the 1041 earthquakes, but never, never in his whole Japanese island life, is he safe from the danger of earthquake: never can he escape from the Damoclean sword which hangs suspended over his country—and trains it.

The foreigner who experiences his first earthquake at night rushes, scantily clad, into the hotel lounge or the drawing-room of the boarding-house. The stairs seem to sway like the sea, or is it his knees which refuse to function? Every rafter, every door, every piece of furniture is telling its own creaking tale of horror. He



JAPANESE MUSIC-SHAMISEN PLAYERS AND SINGERS SIT NEAR STAGE
WHEN CLASSICAL PLAYS ARE PERFORMED



MOST MODERN JAPAN

THE HEART OF JAPAN. ROUND BUILDING IN CENTRE IS A THEATRE—
TO THE RIGHT A NEWSPAPER BUILDING, TO THE EXTREME LEFT THE
TOMBS AND GARDENS OF THE IMPERIAL CASTLE

runs and makes frantic jumps, but it is some minutes before he can master the misbehaving stairs.

In the lower room, members of the family are already assembled, or the other guests of the hotel, both native and *habitués*. All are properly dressed in morning coat or kimono, with house-shoes on their feet, while the new-comer stands abashed in his bare feet and night attire. The company wait until either the earthquake ceases or they are compelled to leave the house.

The Japanese regards the earthquake with the greatest composure. There can be no doubt whatever that the steady nerves of the Japanese, what has been called his nervelessness, can be attributed to the constant training by earthquake. Every member of the family has a special post allotted for such occasions : one saves a valuable vase from being broken, another secures a specially prized tapestry, while yet another grips the case of porcelain. The father seizes the papers. In houses built in European style one person takes his stand beneath the crystal chandelier. Only when the shock is so severe that the plaster peels off the walls and the tiles begin to loosen on the roof, does the occupant slip into the garden or the street and smoke a cigarette.

Nobody hurries, nobody runs. What, in fact, is the use of running ? Whither should one run ? When the shocks are very violent, when an Oh-Djischin, a great earthquake, happens, the earth opens and engulfs people before they have any chance to save themselves. In the darkness of the night all one hears are soft or loud whispers : the combined echoes of the voices of many who are urging precautions, discussing the

seismic disturbance, and hoping it will soon cease. Apart from this murmur the only sound is the howling of frightened dogs. Now and then a house collapses, but this does not make much noise, as Japanese houses are light and do not fall with a crash ; all one hears is a light ripple above the cracking. Neighbours hasten to their fellows' assistance. Flames shoot up, or, if it is broad day, dust clouds rise from the ruined dwellings. The shocks diminish in violence, but the dogs whine all the more. The fire-bell clangs and the fire-brigade rushes through the streets.

Families which have been rendered roofless may be seen, loaded with packs and bags, on the way to relatives, anxious to obtain a little more sleep.

The earthquake is over, the excitement dies down, and people return to bed. An everyday occurrence is at an end. The best attitude towards earthquakes, in fact the only attitude, is to maintain calm, and so thus the Japanese have gained the power of self-control. Analysed critically, very many of one's virtues are those dictated by necessity.

It might have been worse ; it very often is worse. The great earthquake of 1923 razed almost the whole of Tokyo, the capital, to the ground, in addition to Yokohama, the most important port. What the seismic shocks left standing, the ravenous flames of the fire rapidly consumed. Fugitives who fled into the country were overtaken by the spring floods. In all 99,331 persons lost their lives, that is, in a single day the deaths numbered those of all the German soldiers killed in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870; 43,476 were missing and 103,733 were injured. Hundreds of

thousands of dwellings were desolated ; a part of the Navy was destroyed by an upheaval of the ocean, which was a prolongation of the earth shocks.

The Japanese well know that they are liable to be overtaken by a similar cataclysmic disaster at any moment. As a matter of fact, this catastrophe occurs on a smaller scale several times a year. On one occasion, an earthquake engulfs cities in Kwansai, the southern part of the country, including Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe. On another a fire destroys a thousand houses in Tokyo. Yet again a typhoon devastates a town in the North, drowns 3000 people and hurls a whole commercial fleet on the beach.

These three scourges of Japan—earthquake, fire, and typhoon, have formed the character of the people and determined their manner of life.

A Japanese does not cling excessively to earthly possessions. He is a good soldier and despises this world's goods, but not on account of innate military instinct. It is because he attaches less importance to these things than other people and thereby becomes a better soldier. The Japanese is not inherently a good soldier—if such there be ; he becomes such, in war as well as in peace, through necessity. What would be the use of clinging to mundane possessions, like books, furniture, and pictures, to all the many comforts and conveniences of everyday life, when he holds them on sufferance, knowing they might be snatched from him at any moment of the day or night ? True, active and combative man that he is, he has discovered a means of circumventing absolute loss, of saving his valuable possessions from the dangers of catastrophic

occurrences. Between the houses of wood, paper and thin plaster, tower the white-washed, massive buildings of the Kura ; the fireproof, earthquakeproof warehouses, in which the well-to-do can store their pictures, furniture, lacquer work, bronzes, books, and silk. On the outbreak of a fire, the thick, metal window-shutters are closed ; the affected quarter of the town burns itself out, and from the ruins, which in Japan are always completely reduced to ashes, rise the smoky but intact warehouses. After they have cooled, the depositors recover from their interior everything that has survived the intense heat of the fire.

Thus even in Japan one can collect earthly treasures and heap up possessions. Japan is the veritable home of curios, of antique products of art and handicraft, and the establishment of the Kura has favourably influenced the character and mode of life of the Japanese ; in fact, it has stimulated their aesthetic sense to an extraordinary degree.

In no household are the rooms crowded with furniture and ornaments. In each room there are only two or three objects, which are changed from time to time for articles which are deposited in the Kura. By this simplicity in household decoration, the appreciation of agreeable and lovely art products remains a vital quality. The *Lares* and *Penates* never become stale, as they do in Western countries, where the same paintings and ornaments decorate a room year in and year out ("They have been there since grandfather's time" it is proudly asserted) ; and at the same time the simplicity and economy of art are cultivated, which in

a poor country such as Japan is a stern necessity. Moreover, when one is accustomed to contemplate a beautiful work of art for a short period only, for one month, or even a fortnight, and it then disappears into the darkness of the Kura, even as we too, after a brief, flickering existence, vanish into the darkness of some other mode of being, one is made conscious of the eternal cycle of life and death, which seems to be observed even in the trivial matters of daily life, and a mental harmony is thereby fostered.

The Japanese does not cling excessively to his kith and kin ; nor does he regard the family as the supreme ideal of social life, although this is not due to coldness of feeling. In the family the individual sinks into a subordinate place, and we have the apparently contradictory fact that, just because he esteems the family highly, the Japanese has anything but a high estimation of the individual members or of the family tie between them. In Japan it is generally accepted and recognized as fitting that Yuranoske Oishi, who is probably the most popular of national heroes, deliberately destroyed the family happiness of himself and his followers in order that they might be better able to promote the ambitions of their princely house. One of them sold his bride to a house of joy, another parted from his wife in discord, while another exchanged his spouse for a courtesan. When the trouble in Manchuria broke out a few years ago, aged white-haired fathers committed suicide so that their sons could fight at the front, relieved of all anxiety concerning their parents⁵ support. Young men frequently allow their sisters to sell themselves to brothels, so that the sale-price may

be used to assist their studies or facilitate their advancement in life.

Nor does a Japanese cling tenaciously to life : any day he may be deprived of it, even as he may lose his relatives or the material possessions he may have accumulated in the course of his career. This fact, however, has not led the Japanese into a fatalism of the kind that prevails in other Eastern countries, but has developed in him a readiness to restart his life, if he loses his worldly possessions ; to bow to the inevitable with the least possible resentment, if his life itself should be demanded of him ; to repress his feelings and devote himself to labour with redoubled energy, if his loved ones are taken from him.

Indifference towards worldly possessions, combined with a pronounced taste for beautiful things, simplicity and modesty in life, the enviable capacity of always being able to start afresh, a resigned attitude in deepest sorrow, and a readiness to sacrifice himself—these are some of the qualities which the natural conditions in Japan have fostered in the people—and not the least of them is the earthquake, the educative natural catastrophe. All these qualities distinguish him from Orientals, from Asiatics, and justify the contention that the Japanese is, in essentials, not an Asiatic ; yet, nevertheless, these characteristics lend a certain colour to such phrases as the " Prussians of the East" and the "English of the East".

Why then, the reflective Western reader may ask, have not the calamities which occur in neighbouring China, which even recur at regular intervals, produced a similar type of character ? Why have they in fact

produced a diametrically opposed psychology ? Why have the stupendous floods of the Yangtse, or of the Hoangho, whose toll of victims is four times greater than those of Japanese earthquakes, created in China not a superior contempt for earthly goods, but a passionate devotion to them ; not stoical endurance of suffering, but a veritable orgy of grief, weeping, and wailing ; not readiness to surrender sensation, but an excessive clinging to life and an almost morbid fear of death, yet with, on the other hand, a spiritual insensibility, a fatalism which shocks or makes run cold the blood of all who have ever witnessed the execution of Chinese bandits or other malefactors ?

The explanation of this difference in the effects of natural disasters is not to be found in any racial differences between the two nations, as they must have started equally at the beginning. It is rather to be discovered in the differences between these two cosmic calamities.

Although it may constantly threaten, the earthquake comes suddenly. It is incalculable ; it trains one to be ready. From it nothing can be saved, neither one's goods and chattels, nor one's house ; not even oneself, hardly the money in the bank. The floods, however, rise slowly ; one can see their coming, and can do nothing. The water advances steadily and inevitably : its seeming inevitability develops fatalism. Moreover, it allows an opportunity to rescue domestic animals, the tools of agriculture and handicraft ; often the houses also. Drought does not strike a community like lightning, but thousands of people die of the starvation which follows in its

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wake. It exacerbates the nerves : it demoralizes the people, and this intensifies their dread of death.

This is a bitter saying, but the truth of it is incontestable : what would have happened to Japan if she had not experienced the beneficent scourge of earthquakes ! May the gods endow her with the capacity to bear the blows of fortune and success with the same equanimity as the blessings of misfortune !

I should be sorry if what I have written should create the impression that I am exalting my compatriots' good qualities, or representing the Japanese as a pattern of all the virtues. Not at all. In many respects he falls far short of this. And it is also true that the educative earthquake has developed in him a number of qualities not to be numbered among the virtues : frivolity, wantonness, carelessness, a certain lack of endurance, and excessive delight in festivals and extravagances.

From his Malay ancestors he inherits and retains undiminished to this day a proneness for sudden anger, which attains a terrible ferocity when the Malay runs amuck. Usually patient and long-suffering to a remarkable degree, the Japanese flies into an uncontrollable rage, especially if he is wrongfully accused, or wounded in his very sensitive feelings concerning honour, and then he becomes capable of anything.

To the same origin is probably due the fundamental and all pervading custom, one might even say, the national vice of the Japanese, of rushing to extremes whenever differences arise between them, instead of proceeding to a cool and impartial consideration of the matter. Sometimes this takes the form



FINE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE
THE JAPANESE PREFER UNPAINTED WOOD. OBSERVE THE SPLENDID
VEINED WOOD OF A BUDDHIST BELFRY

of one of the parties to the dispute killing himself, in order to "set an example" and to put the other in the wrong.

Hara-kiri, or suicide, is the "Japanese argument". It is considered a positive proof of innocence, the clearing of character, the washing away of every stain, the silencing of all suspicion. For European people it is, of course, an utterly incomprehensible attitude. But nothing is more obnoxious, more repugnant to Japanese than discussion. The Japanese is a very indifferent diplomatist. In the political fencing which follows warfare he loses all that he wins by his arms ; he won the Chinese War of 1894, but lost the Peace of Shimoniseki. He won the Russian War of 1904-5, only to lose the Peace of Portsmouth.

It is quite certain that the Japanese possesses very little debating ability.

As the noble teachings of Buddhism, introduced from Korea in the year 552, gradually pervaded the land, a peculiar and special type of civilization developed in Japan, which inevitably influenced and moulded the character of the people. In order, however, to understand the Japanese, it is essential to remember his origins, which explain many of his intuitive actions. It is well to bear in mind that we, when measured by Asiatic standards, are not an old, but a young people. The Chinese still regard us as upstarts, and in many respects they are justified.

The Japanese is the Benjamin, some people say, the *enfant terrible* of the Asiatics.

Two souls, alas ! within his body dwell—the finished aesthete's and the pirate's. It is said of the

Russians : "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar." One might with equal justice say of the Japanese : "Scratch a Japanese, scrape off the varnish, and you find a pirate." Yet it should not be forgotten that in Japan varnish is a valuable product and an aid to handicraft. There is nothing spurious about it ; it is not a daub to cover defects. It is at least as valuable as the substance it adorns. The more coats of varnish that are laid on the foundation by laborious work throughout the years, the more valuable becomes the lacquer work as a finished product.

So it is with a people.

THE LIFE OF THE JAPANESE

THE four corner-stones of Japanese society are the bureaucracy, the army, industry and handicraftsmanship ; but all four form part of the broad, firm foundation of the lower middle-class, to which the great majority of the people belong. Officials and soldiers up to the highest grade are, fortunately, by reason of their modest salaries, restricted to a lower middle-class standard of existence. Consequently, it is no longer accurate to speak of a military caste or of an official caste, inasmuch as one of the characteristics of a caste is a standard of life considerably above that of a shoemaker or a tailor.

The quality of Japanese civilization is quite distinctly determined by the lower middle-class element, and those who desire to understand it must become acquainted with the latter. In this class one can very clearly detect the influence of Confucianism, that social doctrine which is incorrectly described as a religion, which came from China, and continues to exert a powerful influence without visible embodiment in the form of a religious community.

If Samuraiism, the order of the knight of the sword, of which something is known in Western countries, encourages simplicity, modesty and economy the doctrines of Confucius (551-478 B.C.) promote

citizenship and favour a lower middle-class standard of life and attitude of mind.

If Buddhism with its proud superiority may be designated the aristocratic religion, and Christianity with its doctrine of poverty as the proletarian faith, Confucianism is the cult of the lower middle class. It embraces not the individual, but the family; it teaches solidarity, endurance and cautious striving, qualities which exist to a great extent in the Japanese community and which were already present in embryo when the Confucian evangel began to influence and deepen these features.

The influence of Buddhism in Japan is well known, and is popularly supposed to have been revolutionary in its character, and many, in fact, too many phenomena are attributed to the reception of this religion. Confucianism exerted a less radical influence. It spread as a gentle gradual acceptance of the civic morality which the great Chinese sage expounded. Its consequences have not, however, been less powerful and lasting on that account. Many things in Japan have no doubt developed along Confucian lines without its co-operation, because the soil happened to be particularly favourable and a mental predisposition thereto previously existed. Today in neighbouring China there is emerging, under the leadership of Chiang Kai Chek, a powerful renaissance of Confucianism, with the purification, revival and unification of China as its objective. In Japan vestiges of this doctrine have been the common heritage of the ordinary citizen from time immemorial.

The study of the upper classes of various countries

may, as an investigation, be of absorbing interest, but who would venture to draw general conclusions from such research as embracing an entire nation today ? Much the same may be said of the proletariat, whose habits have been broken up in the great fulling-mill of modern industrialization, and then pieced together again and remoulded out of all recognition. Important as the study of the proletariat may be to the sociologist, it can never be complete enough for those who wish to become acquainted with the life of a people, of a nation. This consideration applies most particularly to Japan, where the pursuits of even a great part of the upper stratum are definitely and consciously of a middle-class character, where there is no proletariat within the meaning of the term ; as this class, too, partakes of a petty bourgeois character and is what is called a vagabond proletariat.

When related to Japanese conditions the lower middle-class concept of life has nothing of a derogatory character. What can be accomplished within its narrow confines with good will and versatile talents is visible everywhere in Japan. What forces lay latent in the Japanese community are shown by Japan's subsequent development.

The typical Japanese is the "little man", the little Mr. Tanaka or Nakamura or Yamamoto, the Messrs. Brown, Jones and Robinson of the East. Their names denote the rural ancestry of the Japanese : Tanaka means "in field", Nakamura is "middle village", Yamamoto is "mountain-side". Although there have been immense cities in Japan—the former capital of Kamakura contained a million inhabitants at the

height of its glory about A.D. 1200, and Tokyo has had a population of over a million for centuries—the majority of the people have remained peasants until the most recent generations. The Japanese peasant was engaged in perpetual conflict with an unproductive stony soil. The opening and close of the year, the succession of the seasons, the natural phenomena of birth and death were of the utmost importance and highest significance to him : he could feel their reverberations throughout life. Seed-time and harvest were with him associated with many mysterious good and evil influences; his mental world was peopled with demons and fairies, while the birth of a child into this mysterious world was for him an event which, although joyful, was encompassed with a hundred enigmas and forebodings.

A Japanese Baby is Born

The Japanese character for affection is signalized by the words *'mother" and "child" ; the love of a mother for her child stands supreme, while matrimonial attachment occupies a secondary position. The wife who is expecting a child realizes that she is about to become entirely merged in her husband's family, and for the first time is regarded by him as a true wife. She complies willingly with all the rules of diet and methods of life ordained by superstition and popular medicine. She goes on pilgrimages to the temples, to ensure that the fruit of her womb will be born alive and healthy. Still, according to one superstition, a child whose advent

is prayed for dies early or it shortens the life of its parents, but this does not restrain the mother from fervent supplications. She often undertakes long pilgrimages in order to pray before a shrine whose divinity is most favourably disposed towards expectant mothers.

The midwife is summoned early to assist the mother and alleviate pain and sickness ; in the fifth month of pregnancy the father invites his relatives to a repast, during which he officially announces the expected birth. On the same day the wife's body is bound tightly with a cotton band, in order to keep the child small and in position and thus facilitate easy birth. The mother does not remove the band until the actual hour of birth. During the period of pregnancy she must perform all the housework, for that, too, renders the birth easier. Only in the last month, when the midwife makes regular visits, does she abstain from household toil. If Mr. Tanaka is a prosperous man, he makes arrangements for the midwife's stay in the house, so that she may be available at any moment.

The hour of birth approaches. In these days there are women who go to a clinic, but in accordance with Japanese custom, the mother remains at home ; nor is any doctor called in. The midwife, who has also a nodding acquaintance with astronomy, is well acquainted with the changes of the moon, the rise and fall of the tide ; she knows at what time the birth will in all probability take place, that is, at the hour when the river begins to rise.

The Japanese woman bears children easily, probably owing to her Spartan mode of living, the light fare

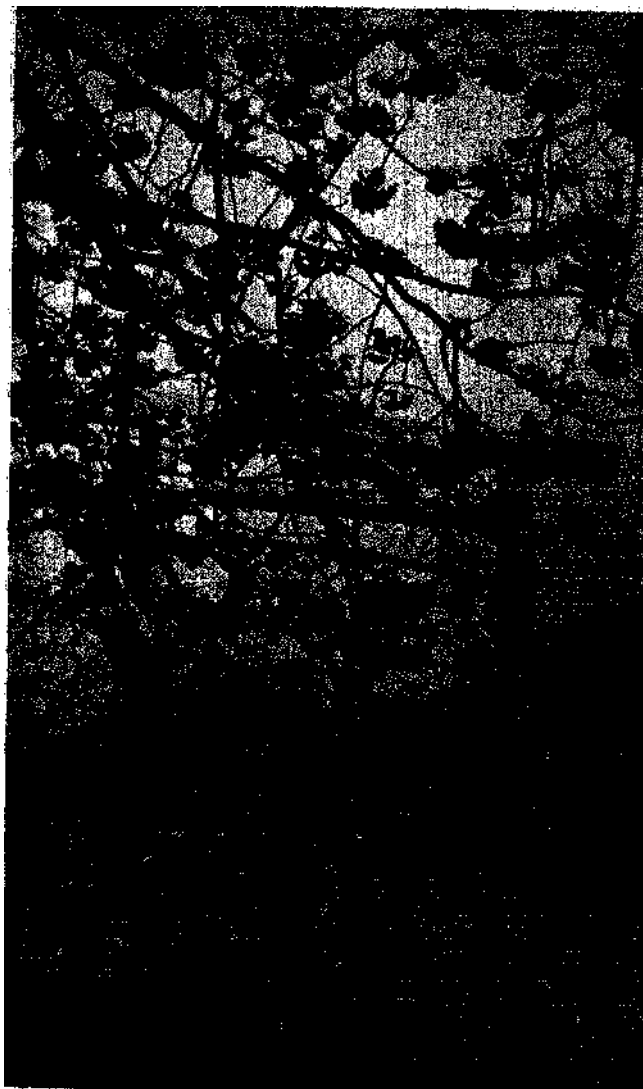
and the hard physical labour. She bears her child in a sitting posture, in a darkened room in the day-time, upon a couch surrounded by folding screens.

The midwife washes the child, dresses it in swaddling clothes and displays it to the mother and the relatives assembled in the ante-room. If it be a boy, especially the first, the general jubilation is great and Mr. Tanaka is overwhelmed with congratulations. If it be a girl, satisfaction is more restrained, although a girl swallows up less business capital and in the marriage market is a more negotiable object than a boy.

The ceremonial connected with the disposal of the afterbirth is very curious indeed. In accordance with old Japanese custom, it is placed in a covered earthenware jar and buried in the ground near the entrance to the house. It is deposited inside the door, if the child be a boy, outside the door, if it be a girl; for a son is destined to remain in the parents' family, but a daughter will leave it and cleave to another.

On the first, sometimes not until the second day of his life, the little Tanaka is given nothing save an infusion of seaweed, which acts as a purgative. The mother, too, is put on a spare diet and keeps her bed until the twenty-first day after the birth. She is not allowed to return to normal food until seventy-five days have elapsed.

Except among Christians, children are not baptized in Japan. Instead of this ceremony, the Festival of Naming is celebrated, on the sixth day of the child's life, in the presence of relatives; and the first visit to the Temple takes place on the thirty-first day in the



IRON AND CHERRY BLOSSOM. JAPAN'S SYMBOL
IN FRONT OF THE YASUKUNI TEMPLE IN TOKYO, THE TEMPLE OF
FALLEN WARRIORS, IS ERECTED A HUGE DOOR, CAST FROM
CAPTURED CANNON

case of boys and the thirty-third day in the case of girls, on which occasion the child is usually carried by its paternal grandmother ; for the mother is considered unclean for the seventy-five days following her confinement and is not allowed to enter a temple or visit a shrine. Relatives and friends are visited and the child receives presents, among which will always be included a dog made of papier mache : white, with staring eyes, big ears and a marvellous curly tail, which keeps guard every night by the side of the child's pillow. This dog has one excellent quality. It drives away demons and ghosts and greedily devours bad dreams. No sooner does a heavy, disturbing dream approach than snap ! the dog gobbles it up. What is a fearful nightmare to a human being is a delight to the dog.

Whenever possible, the Japanese mother suckles her child herself. The infant does not take any other nourishment until the 109th day, the "Festival of the First Meal". The relatives assemble and the baby is given a little rice boiled in milk and a taste of broth, and usually it spits it all out again, but, that the "Festival of the First Meal" shall be worthy of its name, the parents and relatives, at any rate, all sit down to enjoy a banquet. It is considered particularly lucky to postpone the Festival for five or ten days. Why it is not actually appointed for the 119th day no one is able to discover. But the parents adhere to the 109th day and then postpone it for five or ten days ! Only thus is the luck made certain.

The birth of a Japanese child is associated with a thousand and one superstitions. Man's entrance into this world and his exit therefrom seem to the Japanese,

who still lives in close relationship with natural forces, to be hedged about with deep significance. He lives in constant fear of the known and unknown powers, from which, however, he has extracted all possible secrets. How many apparently senseless rules, dictated by superstition, have shown themselves to be profoundest wisdom ; how many nursery tales have been endorsed by orthodox medical science !

The child is not permitted to walk until it is a year old ; if it struggles to its feet before that time, it must be restrained, even knocked over. It may eat no fish until it can pronounce the word "fish". The child's clothes must never be allowed to hang outside the house to dry, for the atmosphere teems with the phantoms of those mothers who have died in child-bed. These spirits assume the shape of birds, and when they see a child's clothes they let fall a few drops of blood on them, and the child who wears such a blood-spattered garment falls ill and dies.

Japanese ghost stories are full of the dreadful deeds of unfortunate dead mothers and the horror that inspires living ones at the fate which may be in store for their children. All this testifies to a great maternal love for offspring and a solicitude for its well-being.

The Japanese child is usually carried on the back, and the mother doubtless finds this less wearisome than bearing the infant in her arms. It also leaves her hands free and she can perform her housework undisturbed, tend the garden and even follow an occupation. In a country like Japan, where life must be ordered in accordance with the strictest economy, this circumstance is not unimportant. Often enough

the child's elder brothers or sisters relieve the mother of the little one's care. One sees little girls of six and seven—and even boys, for no male arrogance in this matter is tolerated—with their little sister or brother tied to their backs with a scarf. While the elder child is running, jumping and playing, the suckling is peacefully sleeping upon his or her back. In winter both mother and child are enwrapped in the same padded garment, and the child appears to be a part of its mother, as the little kangaroo seems to be a part of the parent animal.

It has been queried whether this custom of child-carrying is healthy or beneficial, especially to the child's growth. As a matter of fact, the custom is on the wane in Japan, and it is not easy to say whether this is to be welcomed or regretted. It is certain that the cosy nest on the mother's back, with its uniform temperature, is a better protection from ailments due to cold than the unsheltered and rapidly cooling mail-cart or perambulator. Japanese mothers also share their bed with the baby. In this way they can immediately detect every little ailment and the onset of real illness more quickly than if the child slept in another room, when the mother would not know that anything was amiss until the morning.

Above all things, however, this method of transporting the child ensures it adequate sleep : it teaches it to slumber in any position, during any kind of movement or noise. It is a real blessing and a crying necessity in view of the cramped living conditions and the fragile houses, where no room can be set apart for sleeping, and all the rooms serve every possible

purpose, according to the time of day. Perhaps in this way the Japanese acquires the expert capacity, which he retains during the whole of his life, for falling asleep in every possible and impossible situation—in a jolting tramcar, in a waiting-room, upon benches in the park, upon the staircases of stores, upon a heap of paving-stones amid the greatest bustle of the streets ; whenever he can snatch five minutes away from work, he falls fast asleep. To be able to sleep at night, to sleep in the day-time, to sleep between whiles, that gives him his great, almost inexhaustible powers of endurance. In the suburban trains, which convey millions of workers into and out of the cities night and morning, the Japanese workers may be seen slumbering in rows, with open mouths and nodding heads, their tickets inserted in the front of their hat-bands. A person entering a train automatically fixes his ticket in the front of his hat-band ; the inspector who passes through the carriages takes it out, examines it and replaces it in the sleeper's hat.

How could the Japanese, who have hitherto been accustomed to a leisurely existence, sustain the nerve-racking pace of modern life, if they were not able to maintain equilibrium by recuperative somnolence, if they were to lose their blessed capacity for sleep ? They take their rest just where they can. The pretty papier mache dog, which maintains guard over their infant couch, remains loyal to them through life, and although invisible, still guards their sleep. He banishes such demons as the click of typewriters, the buzzing of telephones, and dissipates nightmares such as endless

rows of figures which always end with a minus quantity.

The little Japanese learns early to take the repose that he needs. He is not a light sleeper. He does not start up when someone opens the door softly in order to see whether he is yet awake. The little Tanaka goes on sleeping quietly even if father Tanaka is interviewing a customer in the front of the room while mother Tanaka is chaffering with the greengrocer at the back. A very durable, unbreakable article is Japanese sleep, and so cheap—what a pity it cannot be marketed as an export commodity !

The cramped conditions of the Japanese dwelling and the close proximity of each member of the family in all the affairs of everyday life naturally enough develop family feeling. On the other hand, this living together in the really primitive houses, which have practically no divided compartments, would not be possible, would be almost intolerable, were it not that a high standard of family discipline prevails. In a European domicile there are sanctuaries which a child may not enter without trepidation ; the middle-class drawing-room, which is, perhaps, now almost obsolete, was one of such sanctuaries; father's study is another, while his desk therein is completely taboo. In the Japanese house the child romps through all the rooms, which differ in no respect from each other. Consequently, there must be considerable self-discipline, much instinctive regard for the private lives of other members of the family if the arrangement is to be bearable.

The Family as the Unit of the Nation

It has been observed that the symbol "love" consists of "mother" and "child". The sign representing "a person" consists of two strokes, the stronger and bigger of which is supported by the smaller and weaker, as the Sino-Japanese system of writing is a philosophical one. According to Japanese ideas, a person consists only in the duality of man and woman, of being supported and supporting. The sign for "woman" under the sign "roof" conveys the idea of rest or assurance. The lofty conception of the family as a unity of domestic life is thus implanted in the writing of the people.

In its structure the Japanese family is emphatically patriarchal. The father is the absolute head ; but it is a mistake to imagine that the Japanese woman as a wife is a colourless individual having no rights, who, at the caprice of her spouse, may even be divorced and sent home. In truth, the Japanese woman has so much culture and good taste, as well as psychological insight into the character of the male, that she is always anxious to create the impression in public that she is voluntarily subject to the will of her husband. In her domain, the home, she reigns even more absolutely than her European sister. In Japanese the title "Madam" is "Oku-san" or "Mistress of the Household".

It is true that an institution of informal one-sided divorce at the husband's request exists ; but only in cases where the wife has failed to furnish the family

with male offspring. In this circumstance, the Japanese who is a monogamist by inclination and habit, may exercise the right to maintain a concubine, whose male child he is allowed to legitimize. If the wife should later give birth to a son, the latter, although younger than the child of the concubine, becomes eldest son and heir. The same procedure is followed in the very frequent instance of the adoption of a boy, who must renounce his rights in favour of any subsequently born son of the wife. The aim is to preserve the family and the blood pure and undefiled.

Another family-sustaining procedure is the formation of clans. This originated in the custom which ordained that, on the father's death, the eldest son, and not the mother, succeeds to his estate. He inherits not only the house and the whole of the property, but in the Samurai, that is, noble families, the title as well. His younger brothers and sisters are "sent empty away" ; but they are entitled to support for the whole of their lives by the new family head and to shelter in the paternal, which is now the fraternal, home.

For this eventual happening, the children are prepared in the lifetime of their father; all the family—mother, brothers and sisters, as well as servants—pay to the eldest son, next to the father, that respect and veneration which are due to a head. The father is the "Danna", the Master ; the eldest son is the "Waka-Danna", or the young master.

The clan or tribe comes into existence so soon as the younger brothers and sisters marry, as they continue to dwell more or less with the head of the family, or turn to him in distress, or seek his advice

in urgent cases. In most instances, their marriages are arranged on his initiative. The clan once lived together forming entire villages, or occupying suburbs or certain quarters of the towns, or scattered about the castle of its chief. Today the clan does not congregate together physically ; as for example, in China, where it inhabits rambling, palace-like buildings, with dozens of court-yards, yet, although less manifest visibly, the power of the clan survives unimpaired.

The young man who goes out into the world does not do so to gain freedom, nor does he feel himself free. When he marries he does not substitute a new tie for the old, the eternal blood-tie of the family. Throughout his life he knows that he can rely upon, can always apply for advice or assistance to the "Ani", the elder brother, whose house is a refuge which is never closed to him. Thus there is generated and diffused in Japan a deep sense not merely of family feeling, but of tribe membership ; the whole Japanese nation is one great tribe with a thousand names but one single sovereign—the Emperor.

But the Japanese is not only a good son, but in most cases he is also a good father, who does not abuse his position. He does not find it difficult to become the father of a family. In Europe the father of a numerous family is sometimes depicted as a figure of fun. A hundred prejudices have arisen which render it difficult for a man to fill the rôle of *paterfamilias*. It was thought mawkish and is even so considered today, for a father to show solicitude for his children in public ; he must not push the perambulator, nor dare he carry his child in his arms. If the



OLDEST JAPAN

A FISHERMAN IN THE DRESS OF HIS OLDEST ANCESTORS, BEFORE SETTING OUT TO FISH WITH TAME CORMORANTS

child becomes troublesome, it is the mother who must retire with it : everything falls on the mother. In Japan it is different. There it is by no means a rare sight, after military parades, Court receptions, or other functions, to see the fathers, resplendent in uniforms, in all the pride of orders and ribbons, take their children on their shoulders and carry them home ; and if the little one confides to his lieutenant-colonel or State secretary father that he is feeling uncomfortable, the father in all his glittering attire takes his offspring aside. This is just as natural as it is for the mother, on her child intimating that it is hungry, to bare her breast and feed it openly whether in the street, the waiting-room, the train, or the theatre.

Public opinion does not make it impossible for the Japanese father to assist his wife in the most elementary matters connected with child-rearing. And it is just this close relationship between father and child from earliest youth which prevents the father, no matter how busy or how important a man he may become, from evolving into a family god, into an awe-inspiring deity.

In all probability, the disinclination of married couples in Northern and Central Europe to have large families is not due so much to economic difficulties, which prevail in Japan perhaps to a greater extent, as to those prejudices which inhibit a husband from helping to bear part of the family burden.

Japan has often been termed the paradise of children, and it is a matter of keen controversy whether in consequence the little Japanese is a better or a worse educated child than the little European. Japan is a

paradise for children because it is a family paradise. This idyllic life ends for the Japanese child when he is six years old, at which age he must go to school.

The Little School-Soldier

In its organization the Japanese school is not essentially different from those of European countries. Japanese seminaries have, in fact, been established upon European lines, especially on German models.

For the six years of primary instruction—the literal translation of the designation *Sho-Kakko* is little school—there is compulsory attendance. The pupils are taught Japanese, arithmetic, history, geography, natural science ; they learn Japanese and Chinese script with their legendary 40,000 characters—a fraction of them only, certainly—they are taught drawing and gymnastics, while the boys also learn a trade and the girls have sewing lessons. School caps and uniforms are prescribed for the boys ; in summer, the boys wear plain black garments made of strong, hard-wearing cotton ; and undoubtedly the wearing of a uniform instils a sense of unity and a desire to co-operate. For the girls, European dress is ordained, which is, it is generally confessed, extraordinarily ugly. Whether the intention is to curb the natural vanity of the female sex betimes, or whether only practical and financial considerations weigh in the choice of school attire it is difficult to determine ; but it certainly should be possible for the same price and the same amount of work, to produce a more becoming school dress for the little girl. The watchful observer

of Japanese conditions cannot fail to notice that the charm which characterizes the children of the country—gentleness, nice manners, quaint appearance and a natural grace—usually disappears when they reach school age.

Imitating the older pupils and students, the boys then cultivate rude manners, while the girlish charm is submerged in the shapeless, heavy clothing, the thick woollen stockings, which will not keep in place, and the shockingly bad shoes. The proper school dress of the Japanese girl, a flowered or patterned kimono, with a loose scarlet robe drawn in at the waist with a bow, as may be commonly seen in superior girls' schools, is incomparably more becoming and far better suited to the figure and the walk of the Japanese female.

The boys who are not destined for Higher schools, spend two or three years in the Secondary school, which terminates their course of instruction ; others are accepted by the Middle school (Tju-Gakko), which comprises five classes and, in addition to the subjects taught in the primary school, teach the Chinese classics, higher mathematics, physics, chemistry, jurisprudence and political economy, with English as the first foreign language. The pupils of the Middle schools receive preliminary military training ; at the conclusion of the five-year course they are seventeen years of age, and the higher or vocational schools are open to them. Those who desire to acquire an academic education must spend two or three years at a university preparatory school before they can be admitted to the Dai-Gakko, the university itself. In the preparatory school German or French and Latin are taught.

In Japan there is a vigorous movement in the direction of higher education, especially among the male youth. Those who used to be satisfied with the curriculum of the primary school today attend, at least, the Middle school. This is the most important educational institution of the country ; here is laid the solid, if not very profound or many-sided, educational foundation of the Japanese ; here his character is formed. The Japanese Middle scholar is a very useful specimen of human material, not precisely given to speculation, not overburdened with cultural equipment, but educated in Spartan principles, disciplined, with firm will and a distinct, if not too highly set, goal. Moreover, the Middle school offers one solid advantage : young people who have passed through it may enter the Army as one-year volunteers. They are exempt from the two years' period of service, and usually leave the Army as non-commissioned officers, often, after passing tests, as reserve officers.

The number of Middle scholars and of Middle schools in Japan grows from year to year, which, from every point of view, is a satisfactory state of affairs.

The Japanese girl finishes her education with the Primary school or she may continue it in the Daughters' school (Jo-Gakko), which comprises five classes. She is seventeen when this is over and she may now go to the Women's University ; but as Japanese women marry early, the majority of them return to home life, and then begins the real training of the young girl, namely, preparation for marriage, the transformation of the "daughter of the house" into the "higher

daughter". This, and not the school, is in reality the crucial educational training of Japanese girlhood in which the character of the Japanese wife and mother is formed and fashioned.

The formation and development of character is an expression which is never heard in Japan, simply because it is considered the most natural thing in the world and is an implicit assumption of all school life. The children are early accustomed to discipline, order, and subjection to a higher will. As regards boys, any feeling of male superiority, of contempt for "menial labour", is discouraged, and this is a fact of supreme importance. After lessons are over, the scholars of the Primary schools have to sweep their own class-rooms and restore to its proper place all equipment used during the day. The school buildings are usually plain wooden barracks, which in winter are very moderately heated, and this is supposed to harden the pupils physically ; but in the school itself or in special municipal gymnasias, in addition to physical exercises of all kinds, ball games, the athletics of Europe and America and the rigorous old Japanese fencing with bamboo swords, is customary. This accustoms the boys to experience and endure pain and favours the fullest development of physical strength ; it teaches them to be prompt in bodily response and to make up their minds immediately. The comparatively mild sport of Jiu-jitsu is also taught.

To all intents and purposes the Japanese scholar is a little school-soldier, but this expression is not to be interpreted in a purely military sense. It rather indicates that those soldierly qualities so extremely

useful in civic life, are sedulously cultivated and thus become a national asset.

The schools, and the Middle schools especially, are mainly situated in the towns, but the pupils, to a large extent, come from the country, and thus the boarding-school is a common feature of medium-sized provincial towns. The pupils are withdrawn from the personal and individual care which they receive at home and are subjected to the strict discipline of the boarding-school, which exerts not only a profound influence upon the character of the trained, but also determines the nature of the training itself.

A complete change takes place so soon as the Middle scholar becomes a student and, bidding adieu to the Spartan discipline of the Middle boarding-schools of the small town, enters on the Bohemian existence which awaits him in the "furnished apartments" of the large cities.

The "Higher Daughter"

Next to the little child, the most charming sight to be seen in Japanese streets is the O-Jo-San, the marriageable daughter who belongs to a good family. There she flits, radiant as a colourful flower, clothed in costly flowered and patterned silk, with a looped bow on her back, making her look like a butterfly ; artistically painted and powdered, her eyes downcast, a sunshade in her hand, her toes pointing inward as she walks, as custom prescribes for women. She is like a jewel-box, full of precious gems ; and she is in fact a casket filled with the jewels of a select education and

ancient noble tradition. The value of an Asiatic woman is not measured so much by her physical beauty as by her acquirements and capabilities, what are so happily termed accomplishments in England. The middleman or middlewoman who is entrusted with the task of arranging marriages in Japan pays much more attention to accomplishments than to a pleasing appearance ; and the young man desirous of marrying allows himself to be convinced that an O-Jo-San who has been well educated, brought up under the strictest discipline and trained exclusively for marriage is to be preferred to a pretty face. For this reason and because the single life of a worker or an employee does not offer much prospect of happiness for the young girl, and is in most cases regarded merely as a temporary expedient, Japanese parents bestow much more care upon the education of a daughter than upon that of a son. The consummation of all such female education is marriage.

The son of an average middle-class family attends the Primary school and the Middle schools, practises fencing and that is all. On the other hand, the curriculum of a "higher daughter" embraces a whole series of additional subjects of a distinctly Japanese character, all of which have to be mastered in the period of approximately two years between the termination of school studies and marriage.

Among these are included the domestic accomplishments of washing, needlework and cooking, into which the girl has already been initiated at school. Although domestic servants are cheap, the allowance of a wife is not high, and a thrifty housewife is glad to take a

"girl from the country", whom she trains in all household duties and supervises generally. The concept of domestic service which prevails in such countries as England is completely alien to Japanese ideas. In Japan a domestic servant identifies her life with that of the household she serves. She is under the maternal care of her mistress, who often marries her to an eligible husband. The Japanese would find it intolerable to have working and living within the family someone who was also employed in other households, who was paid by the hour, and who had no real interest in the family for whom she laboured.

The Japanese housewife must be a perfect cook, for the way to her husband's love is through his stomach. True of Europeans also, perhaps of all men, it is especially applicable to the Japanese, a nation of epicures, if ever there was one, and who are spoiled so far as their palates are concerned. No Japanese wife would dream of placing in front of her husband one solitary dish, a thick soup or a stew, something hastily improvised. The head of even the most modest household demands at least two or three dishes of rice, which may certainly be cheap and simple, but must be well prepared.

The influence of several nationalities is perceptible in the kitchen as well as elsewhere. Some European dishes have been nationalized, and a number from the Chinese kitchen which are considered to be particularly choice, and these take a place in Japanese menus similar to that of Viennese dishes in Germany. And so a young married woman, if she wishes to surprise and please her husband by her skill in the



CARP SWIMMING IN THE AIR

ON THE 5TH MAY, THE BOYS' FESTIVAL, HUGE SILK CARP, SYMBOLIZING STRENGTH AND ENDURANCE, ARE FLOATING ABOVE THE HOUSES WHERE BOYS LIVE

culinary art, learns the three kinds of cooking. She must be able to prepare a Katsuretsu (chop), a Bifuteki (beefsteak) as well as raw fish with Soya sauce or a Chop Suey in the Peking manner.

The cleaning of the house, with its beautiful polished woods, its dividing-screens of painted paper, its windows which must be frequently pasted with spotless Japanese paper, its cream-coloured mats an inch thick, which form the floor of the house as well as furnishing it, must also be thoroughly mastered in all its details.

To every dwelling is attached a garden, even in the cities. Strictly speaking, the care of the garden is the province of the husband or of the father-in-law ; but Japanese husbands, no less surely than their Western compeers, have mastered the art of performing only the pleasant part of the work that has to be done, the attractive and the spectacular, and that which docs not involve undue exertion. The serious labour of the garden devolves upon the wife.

The Japanese are great plant-lovers, in fact they may be called flower enthusiasts. Their fondness for the garden is in inverse ratio to its size. And as in the congested districts of the populous cities no more than two or three square yards are available for horticulture, the love of the garden is very warm indeed.

A wife who did not know how to tend the plants properly, to train the young growths deftly, to water them so that they would not seem to have been watered, to cleanse the decorative stones and miniature rocks so that they appear unwashed, to place her husband's garden sandals at the very spot where he would seek

them on descending from the veranda—such a wife would soon be "settled" so far as he was concerned. The pruning of the twigs, above all, to check the development of the plant whilst not sacrificing vitality and beauty, is a science in itself. The young girl masters it.

Upon the irrigation of gardens, horticulturists and aesthetes have composed volumes, as well as upon the vexed question whether a fallen leaf should be left where it falls or removed—the natural and the classical schools of gardening. The young girl reads these works. When the chrysanthemum blossoms, tiny wire plates are inserted in the buds, so that they unfold symmetrically and the delicate petals of the blossoms are not allowed to droop ; peonies must be protected by a paper shade from excessive sunlight. Such expert attention is an essential part of the care of the garden and falls upon the wife.

The arrangement of flowers is an art in itself, conducted according to traditional rules. The Japanese apartment is almost empty for the greater part of the day—the little tables are never brought in until meal-times, the sleeping-mattresses are never unrolled until the evening, while the cupboards are wall receptacles, screened by paper slides. All the more important are the few things that adorn a chamber, such as the *Toko-no-Ma*, a stand made of rare wood, raised only a few inches from the ground, which bears the porcelain or bronze vase containing two or three flowers or a green twig.

Flowers are not placed in the vase just as they are gathered or purchased. Flowers, leaves or twigs are

manipulated and arranged until they assume a certain favoured form or design.

One scheme of blossom arrangement, for example, adheres to the principle of the trinity : a male twig must be supported by a female twig, from which the third, the "child" twig, must proceed : this is the symbolist method. The naturalist school will denote "early morning in autumn" by a bowl of water, some tubing and two or three floating leaves of the water-rose with a reddened maple twig with dew-drops which have been carefully sprayed on !

The young girl before marriage must be fully conversant with the theories of one of the five or six schools. If it should happen that her husband prefers another and perhaps rival school of thought, that is their joint misfortune.

A German author once said that the Japanese were a race of children at play. So far as this applied to private life, the hours of relaxation and pleasure, this is perfectly true. No one is more addicted to pastimes than the Japanese. In other words, no one plays so seriously as he. His whole aesthetic nature, his tendency towards amiable, fantastic ritual attains its climax, however, in the tea-ceremony, in the cult of tea-drinking.

Every detail of this lengthy, ceremonious ritual, every object necessary for its complete observance, has been sanctified by age-long usage and custom. Very high prices are paid for the utensils employed, which are treasured as precious possessions. The attitude of the tea-maker, her every movement is prescribed, even to the graceful turn of the hand as the lukewarm

beverage, green in colour, rather like spinach water, is presented to the guest. Japanese tea is green and taken without milk or sugar, but its devotees extract therefrom the very essence of the stimulant in its purest and most aromatic form. After partaking of tea in this ceremonial fashion, in a special pavilion no larger than a tea-table, the Japanese feels stimulated and refreshed, as a music-lover might when listening to a Beethoven symphony.

The Japanese girl who failed to master the intricacies of the tea cult is not worthy to be called higher daughter.

The Japanese, especially the male sex, is pleasure-seeking. If his purse will permit, he spends his leisure hours in the theatre, the cinema, or the tea-house. If his means are slender, he turns to the many varieties of domestic pleasure, of which music, or at least listening to music, is one of the most popular.

Judging from the volume of sound that is heard and enjoyed, the Japanese people are as musical as the Germans. If no dwelling in Germany is without its piano, every household in Japan possesses its Koto, a kind of lyre, which is played exclusively by women. Consequently, this instrument must be mastered by the wife or adult daughter.

The higher daughter, however, does not rest satisfied with this accomplishment. She also learns from a retired Geisha girl how to play the *samisen*, a three-stringed lute which has become the national instrument of the Japanese, and, in doing so, she also learns singing as well as dancing and correct demeanour.

And she learns all this from an ex-Geisha, who also

gives her instruction as to serving the master of the house at table, and probably initiates her into many other secrets and artifices essential to happy relationship with the lord of creation, with which she becomes well acquainted from her years of practical experience.

It is not in the least surprising that the young Japanese girl of today finds herself less and less able to satisfy these requirements, which involves the devotion of time and attention to seven or eight courses of private instruction of a preparatory character. In many of the big towns today there are "schools for brides" in which all these subjects are compressed and imparted in tabloid form.

The Bitter-Sweet of College Life

At an age when the Japanese girl is ready for marriage, or perhaps is already married, the Japanese youth, who considers that an academic training is necessary for his advancement, enters the university. His age is nineteen or twenty when he finishes his course at the Middle school or the university preparatory school, and leaves his native town for the city, in which Dai-Gakko, or High schools are alone situated. The capital, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto in Central Japan, Sendai and Sapporo in the North and Fukuoka in the South, each possesses an imperial university, as do Keijo (Seoul) in Korea and Taihoku in Taiwan (Formosa) ; these universities comprise the following faculties: jurisprudence, medicine, engineering, literature, natural science, agriculture, and political economy.

The imperial university in Tokyo has about 600 professors and 7000 students, while that in Kyoto has 400 professors and 4000 students. In addition to these seats of learning there are twelve State universities or academies, which include, if not the whole, at least several faculties. In addition there are twenty-six private universities, such as the Waseda and the Keyo in Tokyo, which enjoy the patronage of celebrated aristocrats and possess an eminent position. The Doshisha in Tokyo is a Christian university, which was founded sixty years ago, but this confines itself almost exclusively to Christian teaching. In the capital there is also a commercial High school and a ladies' High school, which makes a total of sixteen High schools in all, and in this respect Tokyo is probably unique. The complete number of High school students in the year 1932, the last year for which statistics are available, was 427,609.

A Japanese of nineteen or twenty years is a fully grown man. Consequently, the student starts his academic career as a strong, physically developed adult with all kinds of insistent desires and a minimum of opportunity for gratifying them. As he has been under strict surveillance in the Middle school, he is not spiritually independent. He lives in cheap students' boarding-houses, which in Tokyo are situated in the Kanda district, in narrow streets near pawnbrokers' shops and second-hand book stores, both being establishments which, apart from the university, he visits most frequently, not omitting a fourth, which is the cafe. He goes about in student's dress, which is plain and black. He is shabby and badly shaved, has

long hair ; is under-nourished and short-sighted. Often his clothing is of the cheapest cotton. He is courageous and revolutionary and he has made a virtue of necessity. Among students it is considered a disgrace to be decorously, or even respectably attired. In the winter he trots about, his bare feet thrust into wooden clogs ; if it is very cold, he wears several layers of newspapers under his coat.

His interest is, naturally enough, attracted by the two subjects which are least cultivated in the Middle school, namely, foreign literature and politics. The Japanese is by no means a great politician ; politics do not come naturally to him and it is, in fact, considered bad form to discuss the subject. It is only between his seventeenth and twenty-fifth years, while he is attending the university, that the Japanese goes into politics, often violently and with passion, cherishing revolutionary, if somewhat incoherent, ideas.

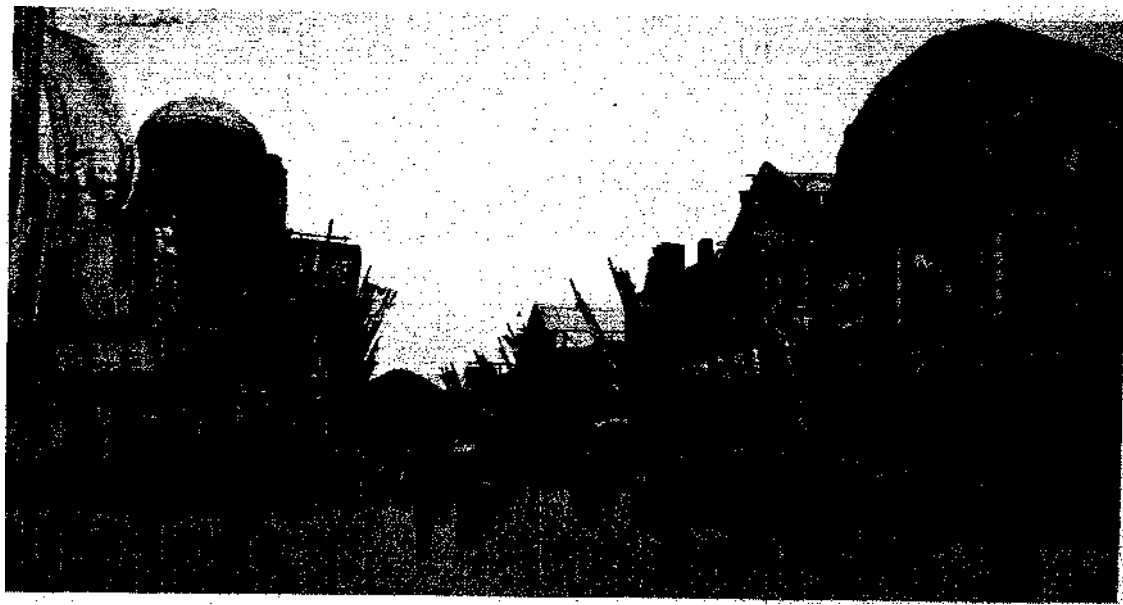
The Russian writers, Tolstoi and Dostoievski in particular, introduce him into a new world of psychological riddles and social struggles. All that is unrestrained, untamed, and violent in Western literature awakens his sympathies ; it arouses in him, paradoxical as it may seem, the dormant heritage of Asia, the boundless, the wild and convulsive ; he is attracted to anarchism or to a sentimental brand of Communism. The spirit of self-sacrifice he has already inherited as a son of the Samurai or has learnt from the Samurai, and this he now transmutes into social ethics. He feels that he must prepare for the struggle to enlighten and liberate the proletariat and, with uncritical enthusiasm, he applies himself to the

study of Marx, Engels, and the Russian revolutionary thinkers. He seeks some sort of contact with the proletariat, agitates, carries on propaganda and participates in Labour demonstrations.

Thus he leads a composite existence, compounded of Bohemianism, proletarian agitation and academic study, thus causing his parents, as well as his teachers and the authorities, considerable anxiety. The authorities, and in particular the police, turn a blind eye on his vagaries, and only interfere when they become too obtrusive and attract public attention. High school professors are sometimes infected with the political outlook of their students and avow "red" ideas in the class-room and elsewhere. Such teachers are warned and, if obdurate, dismissed.

The students may then proclaim their sympathy with the dismissed masters. There are school strikes, flaming speeches and demonstrations, which latter have to be dispersed by the police. Not infrequently the Ministry of Education is obliged to give way and reinstate the dismissed professors, especially if their colleagues, for professional reasons, or because they share their views, or simply because they want to vindicate freedom of speech in academic life, take their part; but cases of this kind have become ever rarer in recent times.

Inclination towards anarchist and revolutionary principles is a typical phenomenon of adolescence with the young Japanese, who is emotionally and mentally a child when he is plunged into the freedom of academic life, and thus immediately succumbs to those doctrines which depend upon sentiment and



ASAKUSA, WHERE TOKYO CITIZENS SEEK PLEASURE
A DISTRICT AS BIG AS A PROVINCIAL TOWN, CONSISTING OF THEATRES, CINEMAS, AND SHOW BOOTHS

lack of knowledge. He is not so much attracted to systematic Communism, as it is displayed in Bolshevism, where it represents perhaps the strictest form of social discipline. It is suggestive that since the establishment and consolidation of the Bolshevik State in Russia, Communist ideas have lost much of their charm for Japanese students. The flag which they profess is mainly that of sentimental Communism, under which they spend their free, if economically restricted, lives divided between proletarian interests; and academic studies. ;

Very few cases are recorded of students who[^] have salvaged their "red" convictions from their academic Bohemian lives and carried them into the more sober and tranquil existence of a teacher or government official. The Government' adopts a very wise and psychologically correct policy towards "dangerous ideas" and those who profess them. When such students are talented it grants them scholarships to travel abroad, where they can see that their "advanced" ideas are not so warmly welcomed, and where, above all things, they become acquainted with so many pleasing aspects of life. The consequence is that when they return home they are strongly attracted by the prospects offered in bourgeois vocations or the civil service, with its fixed salary, and no longer dream of resuming the ascetic and dangerous avocation of a political agitator.

Parents and teachers who regard the politically turbulent activities of academic youth with some concern would appear, however, to take the view that there are worse and more dangerous vices, and when

all is said and done it is probably better that an energetic youth should expend his superfluous energy in this way rather than in more deleterious pursuits.

Another feature of Japanese student life of today is the custom of sitting in cafes, the interminable gossip with kindred spirits, with fellow-students and with the pretty, attractive waitresses. The cafes are a new institution in Japan. They compete with the traditional tea-houses. They spring up overnight at all corners of the city and appear to do good business. If the tea-house is a quiet retreat where one sits in a favourite apartment and sips meditatively a dish of tea or a glass of *sake* wine and enjoys a little conversation with the *Ne-San*, the serving maid, then the cafe is its very antithesis. The pianola is set going or the loud speaker is blaring all day and all night long. The customers sit close together, drinking beer and spirits, eating sandwiches and jesting with the waitresses, who never fail in smart repartee. Drunken *habitués* bawl while others dance. In this environment the student, who is usually a young provincial, satisfies his longing for society and banishes his fear of solitude, and in his unsophisticated youthful way he deems the waitresses, who are often little better than harlots, to be worthy recipients of his philosophic and political chatter.

To be sure we have also our working students, the youths from poor homes who are determined to succeed, and consequently pursue a subsidiary occupation so as to pay for their studies. One may see them at break of day, under-fed, hollow-cheeked, but teeming with ideals, scurrying through the streets of the suburbs delivering milk or newspapers ; or if they

come from the country, instead of a monthly remittance their parents send them new-laid eggs, which they hawk from door to door. Our student is a stranger to snobbery, in which he follows in the footsteps of the great Buddhist sages, who, patricians in the realm of mind but mendicants on the economic plane, pass the begging cap from door to door in order to keep body and soul together.

We have also the admirable institution of house students. The young man from the country or the provincial town who intends to study in the city is received in the house of a prosperous citizen and regarded half-way between a poor relation and a privileged servant. In his spare time he performs light domestic duties, undertakes secretarial tasks, for which his superior education particularly fits him, nor does he disdain the role of nurse-maid. In this way he earns his board and lodging as well as a little pocket-money ; lives in a healthy, peaceful and cultured atmosphere, while his parents need send him small remittances only.

The institution of house students, however, is slowly disappearing. In Japan, as in other lands, economic conditions are imposing restrictions more and more severe, so that there is no room in the social structure for anything which is not based on a clear monetary foundation, and there are ever fewer opportunities for generosity.

We realize that, taken as a whole, the Japanese student, a quaint medley of Bohemian, proletarian and amateur demagogue, is not a very inspiring type of person ; but we find consolation in the thought that

he is a temporary phenomenon, a product of the psychological crisis through which our country is passing at the present time. We would also fain console ourselves by the reflection that his defects and vices arise to a great extent from an idealism which cannot be too highly esteemed among academic youth. And we set our hopes very largely upon an improvement in the standard of living which will follow upon the social elevation of the people as a whole, but particularly the farmers and peasants, as well as from the creation of a new type of which we have far too few, namely, the man of all-round education.

Specialization still flourishes among us. A railway engineer is happy when he constructs railways and can compete with foreign countries. We are, in fact, admirable railway builders ; but this special activity should not absorb the whole of the engineer's energies. We are delighted when we can speak German with some fluency and understand the German language sufficiently to be able to give German lessons ; but we ought also to study the German drama in order to compare it with the theatre of other countries. We ought to desire to know something about the influence of classical antiquity upon German masterpieces. We should be able to understand how form and content are invariably in conflict in every German, in a few happy cases resulting in splendid self-expression. To understand their language properly we ought also to become acquainted with German music as well as with the cathedrals and secular architecture of old Teutonic cities.

In a word, in addition to our excellent oriental

education we ought not merely to learn but to absorb all that is beneficial in Western education. So equipped, we should be better able to play our part in the perilously perturbed emotional conditions of today.

Authorities on European education are now advocating less information and more culture. In our case the motto must be more knowledge and more culture, too—a desideration which may be difficult to obtain. As J. Inouye, one of our writers, aptly puts it : "We are in process of slipping into a new dress which does not fit us properly ; as soon as it is made to fit, we can think of the lace and braid."

A Marriage is Arranged

The most important person concerned in a Japanese marriage is the Nakohdo or Makohdo, the middleman or marriage-broker, a familiar figure in all Eastern countries.

Mr. Tanaka, when he thinks the time has come to seek a suitable life companion for his son, instructs a relative, who has already arranged a number of marriages, to review the young girls in his circle of acquaintances. Although he receives monetary compensation for his services, the Nakohdo is not a professional marriage-broker. He must be a married man, as a considerable part of the activity incidental to matrimonial arrangement as well as the ceremony itself, falls upon his wife.

Husband and wife go through the list of their acquaintances. Although he is the possessor of an academic degree, young Tanaka is in receipt of no more than 100 yen a month as a commencing salary, but he has excellent prospects of advancing to a respectable position, although he may never become opulent. Consequently he needs a wife who understands economical housekeeping, and such a wife is likely to be found in a good, old-fashioned family. In the city he has seen many pretty girls and made the acquaintance of some of them ; consequently his intended bride must not be positively ugly. It is not always a simple matter to combine the two essential characters, perfect training and tolerable good looks.

The Nakohdo's wife looks up and inquires : "How would Haru of the Nakamura family do ? The girl is eighteen, is good-looking and——"

"No," answers the Nakohdo, "her people want a rich son-in-law, and attach less value to education than to position. They are upstarts and social climbers. The father used to hawk fish in the streets ; now he is a wholesale dealer in the central fish-market. Now I think Hana of the Yamamoto family is a much more likely girl. True, she is twenty-two, but scarcely looks her age."

"You forget that the Yamamotos have no son yet. Recently I discussed the matter with Mrs. Yamamoto and asked her why she had not yet disposed of her daughter. She told me that her husband was still waiting for a male descendant. So long* as they remain without a son they will not allow the daughter

to leave the house ; they would rather adopt a husband for her, who would then move into their house and assume their name. And the Tanakas would not agree to this. They consider the name of Tanaka is better than that of Yamamoto. Moreover, the young man is too independent to accept the position of an adopted son-in-law in a strange domicile. How would Tama of the Mori family do ?"

"Mori's Tama? Not bad. True, the parents themselves have nothing ; but the father is an educated man, a fencing master and instructor in the tea-ceremony, while the son is studying to become a doctor at the Waseda University. Tama is probably the right wife for him, although she may not be a beauty. She has been well brought up and has excellent manners."

The Nakohdo's wife thereupon betakes herself to the Mori family and paints the accomplishments of the young Tanaka in the most glowing colours, and these advantages may run somewhat as follows : Well educated, self-controlled, quiet, temperate, healthy, parents likeable.

The Nakohdo himself returns to the Tanaka dwelling-place, pictures the virtues of the young Tama Mori in the most resplendent colours ; she has not been called jewel for nothing. Her points are detailed one by one : Cultured, submissive, quiet, averse to scandal, healthy, while her family has never failed to produce male descendants.

When a Japanese wishes to stress an exaggeration he frequently says : "The fine words of a marriage-broker."

The First Meeting

Both the young Tanaka and the young Mori are aware that the catalogue of their excellencies and virtues should be taken with a grain of salt; but after they have inspected each other's photographs, and have discounted these portraits to their proper value, they give their provisional assent, and a meeting between the young couple is arranged.

This assignation takes place in a tea-house, a theatre, or a park. If the season is the spring the cherry and the peony are in full bloom and a popular resort is chosen. There is a growing tendency to make an appointment at a store when the meeting must take place in the city. The members of both families are present in full force. When they actually encounter each other astonishment is pretended. The Nakohdo undertakes the introduction: "Mr. Tanaka, Mrs. Tanaka, acquaintances of mine. Mr. Mori, Mrs. Mori, acquaintances of mine."

The two young people who are chiefly concerned in all this have an opportunity to study one another. Miss Tama Mori is certainly no beauty; but a holiday kimono and the artistic use of powder and paint can produce a tremendous difference. The Japanese woman can work magic with her cosmetics, and the hairdresser is an artist. Young Tanaka does not find her so bad, if everything the Nakohdo has said about her character turns out to be true. Tama, for her part, notes that her destined husband is slender, pale, inclined to stoop and wears spectacles,



HEALING EARTH

IN THE VOLCANIC REGIONS THE JAPANESE TAKE BATHS IN THE HOT EARTH, WHICH HAS GREAT HEALING PROPERTIES

which in the eyes of a Japanese girl are admirable characteristics, pointing as they do to a good family and a sound education ; while Mother Tanaka, her mother-in-law, if only the parents contrive to agree, does not look too severe.

For their part the four parents are not in any way disposed to quarrel with the Nakohdo's choice ; but before they give their definite consent they make inquiries, in the district where the other family lives, among the neighbours and tradespeople, respecting the other family's financial circumstances, whether they run into debt, whether they often quarrel, whether they have a good circle of acquaintances ; respecting the young people, as to whether a marriage has ever been projected before and fallen through, and if so, for what reason. Whether the young man goes out much in the evening, and whether the girl is such a model of domesticity as she is represented to be.

If all these inquiries are favourably answered and the young people themselves have no serious objection to urge against the proposal, the Makohdo is requested to fix a favourable and auspicious day for the betrothal. When the day comes a friend of the Tanaka family, bearing a valuable present, silk clothes, fish and *sake* wine, and the balance of the purchase price which has been agreed upon, repairs to the house of the Mori family. Mr. Mori receives the presents and reciprocates with a gift of considerably more modest proportions. The acceptance of the present to the bride is, in fact, the most important part of the transaction and constitutes the

Japanese betrothal. Mr. Mori now invites relatives and acquaintances to a repast and announces the forthcoming nuptials of his daughter. The preparations go forward rapidly ; an engagement lasting years, such as is often found in Europe, meets with no favour in Japanese eyes. For the Nakohdo it is a matter of extreme urgency that the marriage be consummated before the two parties could change their minds, and he fixes for the wedding an auspicious day which is not too far distant from the day of betrothal.

The bridal dress and other wedding garments and accessories are exhibited to the relatives and friends at a reception in the residence of the bride's father ; a day or two before the ceremony all the bride's possessions—chests of drawers and cases with clothes, bed-linen, articles of toilet, utensils for tea-making and for floral decoration, hand-made cases and the Koto lyre—in short, all the things which will enable her to demonstrate her supreme capacity as a model higher daughter and wife—are sent to the bridegroom's home. If the latter's parents have a house which is large enough to accommodate two families, the son continues to dwell there with his young wife. If not, he rents a small dwelling which should not cost him more than 15 or 20yen a month, and does not return to his father's domain until one of his parents dies.

On the eve of the wedding the bride leaves her parents' house. On the bridal day she dons the costly raiment, all of bright, nuptial colours ; the *obi*, of richest brocade, looped into an immense bow on her

back, may be worth a fortune ; around her brow and her artistically dressed hair she wears the *tswio-kakushi* (horn concealer), a rose-coloured cloth which, according to popular superstition, is supposed to hide the horns which are subsequently revealed in marriage. In reality it is, of course, the remnant of the bridal veil behind which, in former times, the bride, while invisible to the bridegroom, was married to him. She arrives at the bridegroom's house sometimes in a rickshaw drawn by a coolie, occasionally in a motor-car, accompanied by relatives and friends.

Thrice-Three Cups—The Japanese Wedding

On reaching the bridegroom's residence the bride is first conducted to an ante-room, where she may rest and repair what damage her toilet may have suffered on the journey. Then she enters the apartment that has been prepared for the wedding.

With respect to the proper appointments of this chamber controversy rages, in the genuine Japanese manner, and among several schools of thought ; but in any case there will be offerings to the Shinto gods that are placed on a high shelf—two large rice cakes, consecrated *sake* wine, as well as a plate of fish and also one of poultry. A black lacquered case with writing materials, a small washing-basin and utensils for tea-making must never be omitted, but the focus of the festal decorations is a shallow, square porcelain bowl or a table, in or upon which imitations of a pine tree, a bamboo bush and plum tree in bloom, are

placed ; beneath which are two dolls no larger than one's hand, representing two venerable people, the Japanese counterparts to Philemon and Baucis, the ideal married couple whose happiness persists until death.

Pine, bamboo, and plum are symbols of properties which the Japanese highly esteem. The pine signifies longevity and constancy, the flexible bamboo represents adaptability and meekness, the plum, the first flower of the spring, which even braves the snow, symbolizes fidelity in trying circumstances. The ensemble is equivalent to "saying it with flowers". May the young couple live long, be happy, and mindful of the symbolized virtues !

As soon as the bride has taken her place, the bridegroom appears and seats himself opposite to her, according to the rules of one party, or beside her, in accordance with those of another. Servants, child-pages and the Nakohdo and his spouse surround and attend them. A lacquered table with three lacquered red wine cups is brought in ; the cups are of various sizes and are placed over one another, the smallest on top. The consecrated *sake* wine is taken from the household altar and poured into a bronze tankard whence it is decanted into the topmost cup. The bride takes the first sip, and this is the first time in her life when she holds precedence over a man. The bridegroom then takes three sips from the same cup. The second cup is then placed in front of him. He drinks from it three times, and then the bride follows his example. When the third and largest cup is reached, the bride has precedence once more and for the last

time. She tastes the wine thrice and then it is the bridegroom's turn. These nine sips from three separate cups—the "three-times-three", as it is called—constitute the proper act of marriage. No kind of religious ceremony is prescribed nor is any priest present. With us marriage is solely a civil contract, which is celebrated with a certain degree of solemnity and is sealed by the drinking of wine. Only in quite recent times has a disposition been shown to associate the civil ceremony with a religious service in the Shinto Temple, in imitation of the Christian custom.

After the wine-drinking ceremony both bride and bridegroom retire in order to divest themselves of their wedding garments and dress in ordinary holiday attire. Then they join the festive throng for a short time, but they soon leave the assembly and repair to the bridal chamber. The Nakohdo and his wife accompany them, assist them to undress and then return to the company, when they solemnly announce that the couple have retired to bed. This part of the ceremony is no longer strictly carried out ; the middleman and his wife accompany the bridal pair to the door of their chamber and then return to the guests in order to declare the ceremony concluded, whereupon all the guests quickly take their departure.

Post-marriage customs are peculiar, but are not always strictly observed. On the morning after the bridal night the young wife carries the news to her father that the marriage has been consummated ; while, for his part, the father sends a messenger to inquire after the health of his daughter and her husband. Presents and congratulations are exchanged ;

the next day relatives and friends are invited to the young couple's house in order to admire the clothes, the lacquered chests of drawers and the costly toilet articles which the bride has brought to the marriage. They eat, drink and make merry, far into the night.

On the fourth day after marriage the wife leaves her husband and returns to the parental roof, under which she remains for a few days. This may, at first sight, seem a somewhat strange custom, but women doctors are of opinion that the custom of sparing the young wife a few days after marriage assists in assuring the couple offspring. A honeymoon is as unknown in Japan as marriage before a registrar. The bride's father advises the local authorities that his daughter has changed her address owing to marriage ; the bridegroom's father intimates that he has taken the girl into his family as his son's wife, and the couple are now husband and wife in the eyes of the law.

The bride does not expressly swear love, fidelity, and obedience to the bridegroom ; all this goes without saying. However marriage customs may differ among various peoples their meaning is always the same : they always contain vestiges from the days when women were bought, and also some kind of expressed or implied oath of fidelity. The "horns concealer", the bright bridal clothes, the three-times-three cups of wine are in themselves not more remarkable than the bridal veil, the closed or half open myrtle crown, the orange-blossom and the exchange of rings which pertain to Western marriage; and one need not dwell upon the peculiarities of Japanese marriage did not its details demonstrate that the attitude of

the Japanese towards matrimony is fundamentally different from that of the European? And, moreover, this attitude exercises a profound influence over the whole social structure of the country.

The young man of Europe becomes acquainted with a young lady. He learns to esteem her and entertains a desire to share his life with her. He asks her to become his wife. The desired object is the woman, who provokes the primary impulse towards marriage ; the wish to wed is a secondary, often a very subordinate consideration.

With the Japanese it is quite different. In Japan the time comes when the young man feels it his duty to marry. "Yes, I must marry." And he requests his parents, or, if they are dead, his relatives, or the Nakohdo to seek a suitable partner for him. A likely girl is found. He inspects her, listens to a narrative of her virtues and then resolves : "Good, I will marry her." The desire to marry is the impelling force : the partner of the marriage, the girl, is a minor character.

Throughout the whole affair our young Tanaka assumes a very detached attitude. The average Japanese today leaves the choice of a suitable wife entirely to his parents and the Nakohdo. The young girl behaves in the same way, that is to say, she is not an active but a completely passive agent ; for what influence upon their decision can the few moments possess during which the young people are able to observe each other? They are given no opportunity of really meeting one another or of becoming acquainted. The girl has spent hours, assisted by all her female relatives, in painting and powdering her

face and dressing her hair. She is on her best behaviour. The boy is the same, and if he speaks at all, utters a few platitudes. The decision rests with the family, chiefly, of course, with the parents.

This right of determination by the parents, the eager participation of the relatives, the presence of uncles, aunts and cousins at every gathering and ceremony would undoubtedly be regarded by the European as an intolerable injustice to the bridal pair, indeed, as a harsh lack of consideration. The rigidity of the rules, the endless succession of stiff, crowded festivities, of which only a fraction have been presented ; the heaps of presents, the gifts of cake, passing backwards and forwards—all this appears to a European as somewhat vulgar, ostentatious and wearisome.

No European youth or girl of today would submit to such annoyances. The Japanese wedding, however, is not a matter which simply concerns the two individuals who are marrying. It is a family concern, a transaction which is necessary to produce children and thus perpetuate the family and the family name. Just as the father, who has not been blessed with male offspring, adopts a husband for his daughter into his house, so the father of a marriageable son introduces a wife for him into his dwelling-place. Marriage is an adoption, not only in fact but in law, and is thus announced in the intimation to the local authorities.

The *modern* Japanese has his own opinion about this kind of marriage. He contends that the exclusion of the sentiment of *love* leads to domestic trouble and unhappiness, and does not believe his elders when they tell him that love comes of itself at a later time.

His idea of affection does not coincide with that of his parents, who point out to him that to exclude the element of *reason* is far more likely to lead to marital disaster. Japanese are usually young and inexperienced when they wed. When they are severed from their families they are not by any means so mature as Europeans of matrimonial age. If the Japanese obeyed the promptings of their hearts and married the girls of their choice, many more mistakes would be made than are usual in European marriages. Moreover, a girl who had a slight physical blemish might easily remain a spinster. Her good qualities remaining, unsung, might remain unknown and neglected. A woman who had the capacity to help her husband to fame and wealth might wither into an old maid. The desire of Japanese society is that everyone should wed, so that in securing the maximum number of marriages, the minimum of human material should remain fallow—and the Nakohdo system proves very useful for this purpose.

In a girl who is not quite comely, the middleman detects the good sterling qualities which one is accustomed to find in just such a girl, and stresses these characters to the prospective bridegroom, or rather to his father. She could, therefore, be correctly described as domesticated, economical, a good cook, an agreeable singer, and—this counts in Japan as a virtue—as having very few relatives.

The young man reflects : "Good so far. One does not marry for love, which flies away after the first two or three years. What endures are the solid capabilities, the agreeable traits of character, and it is

these that make living together tolerable." And so he marries the girl.

But the *modern* Japanese reflects : "This is likely to encourage polygamy, concubinage and prostitution, for as soon as a man feels a longing for the exciting experiences of love, he is attracted to another woman ; keeps a mistress, if his means permit, or visits the courtesans of the Yoshiwara. The matrimonial ethics of the Japanese are, therefore, nothing else than sheer immorality." To which an old Japanese would retort : "Well, let him keep a concubine ; let him resort to harlots, provided the marriage, that is the family, remains unimpaired and its continuance is certified, and this is only assured by the old-fashioned kind of wedlock."

In actual practice today a compromise is frequently sought and found midway between the standpoint of the old and that of the new generation, and an attempt is made to harmonize the son's emotional cravings with his father's common-sense outlook. As the services of the Nakohdo are still enlisted in nearly all requirements, this means greatly increased labour, but in this he is only sharing the toils of all other professional men who have been constrained to adapt themselves to modern tendencies.

Love and marriage with the Japanese are dominated by a lofty conception of the family group, the smallest but most important unit of Japanese life. After his parents' home, school and military service, marriage becomes for the Japanese his fourth school of discipline, of communal consciousness, of self-expression and self-control.

Marriage customs may become simpler as the years roll by, and there is now a growing tendency to omit half a dozen traditional festivities and receptions, and to celebrate marriage in a restaurant or tea-house. In passing, I would like to refer to a restaurant situated on the sixth floor of one of the "buildings" of Osaka which advertised in the press that it had a special hall for wedding festivals. To me, and I should hope to the majority of my countrymen, this borders on the sacrilegious and is extremely tactless, for Isumo is the greatest sanctuary of the Shinto faith : its temple is the oldest in the land, and its priests should have nothing to do with the smart advertisements of a roof-garden restaurant—however much emancipated young couples may ape modern ways and plume themselves on being "American", dragging secretly reluctant parents along with them. The spirit of marriage and the power of the family have not changed and are not likely to change just yet.

Abundant proofs of the rigidity of opinion concerning marriage and love are to be found in the many double suicides, the sacrifice of young lives to an ancient ideal. Innumerable young Japanese of both sexes fall deeply in love with one whom they realize they can never marry, with whom they can never unite against the will of their parents ; and, consequently, after spending a night or a few rapturous days together in some charming resort, they seek death in each other's arms. Death for love and the double suicides of lovers are favourite themes of Japanese novels and dramas, and the newspapers of today are full of reports of such actual tragedies.

Better to choose death with the beloved than to attempt a hopeless rebellion against the will of the father and the family—such is the decision of these delirious lovers.

The life of the Japanese appears to be an extraordinarily serious and circumscribed affair. To borrow the words of an English author, the Japanese are "a people of really absurd earnestness".

The Japanese Woman is not a Slave

In connection with the question of marriage, strongly opposed tendencies violently clash in Japan today. If one examines carefully all the questions and problems wherein the "double face" of Japan is now most clearly visible, it is the marriage question in which the continuance of old popular customs seems to be most sternly contested and the issue most uncertain. Contested, of course, because the older generation see in Japanese marriage the firm basis of our ethics and social life, and this foundation would be imperilled if that marriage were abandoned ; doubtful, because the emancipation of woman, her participation in education, public life and work are certain to involve a transformation of the customs of wedlock.

It has already been pointed out that the Japanese woman has never been a weak-minded chattel in the hands of her husband, the chief among his servants ; although she possesses so much tact, good breeding, as well as insight into her husband's weaknesses as

to give this impression to onlookers. The Japanese woman is gifted with so much personality, energy, and initiative as to be ill-fitted for the rôle of slave or lady of the harem. Even in historical times these qualities were prominently in evidence. It was the Empress Gemmyo (A.D. 708-715) who issued instructions to collect the "Kojiki", the "Bible of Shintoism" and Japan's oldest book. In subsequent years empresses were frequently active in political life. About the year 1000 the Dame of Honour Murasaki Shikibu wrote the romantic and impassioned novel which is called *Genji Mono-gatari* (The Adventures of Prince Genji). The noble writer has been called the Richardson of Japan. About the same time a lady of the Court named Sei Shonagon wrote the *Makura no Soshi*, which scintillates with wit and delicate satire. These two works are Japan's most important and still unsurpassed literary masterpieces. The creation of the greatest trading and industrial concern of our country and perhaps of the whole world, the Mitsui Company, is traceable to a woman ; and in more recent times women have often been active as wholesale merchants, or directors of great enterprises. And, to speak of more modest activities, it was always the Japanese woman, as peasant and home-worker, digging or spinning silk, who took a large share in the work of Japan and "held her own" with her husband.

THE DAY'S WORK

What shall we do with the Boy ?

THE choice of vocation does not cause the young Japanese, or rather his parents, so much heart-burning as the solution of the same difficulty in Europe. For most of them the course is already prescribed. Until the abolition of the feudal system about sixty-five years ago the social orders, and consequently the professions and callings, were sharply defined. Below the Court nobility and the reigning princes were the Samurai, who may be taken to denote the entire warrior clan. It was long traditional in old Japan that all gentlemen must be soldiers, and all soldiers gentlemen. The Samurai, therefore, constituted soldiers, gentry and officials. Below them came the peasants, who were succeeded by the handicraftsmen, and in the lowest class stood the trader, who was formerly despised and treated almost as an outcast.

Much of this distinction, despite its nominal abolition, still survives. In diplomacy, among the high military grades and in the ranks of the higher officials, one meets the offspring of the higher nobility and the reigning princes. The officers and middling officials are almost exclusively composed of Shisoku, the former nobility of the sword. An ordinary citizen finds it very difficult to rise above the rank of captain, although no

avenue of military promotion is supposed to be closed to him. Trades and handicrafts remain, in accordance with the traditions governing these branches of labour, "in the family" ; while trade itself, once so despised, has produced a kind of patricianism, a certain civic pride, and from the highest to the lowest circles its devotees are intent upon keeping the blood pure and the family unsullied. In this sphere, too, custom ordains that the son, or, at any rate, the eldest son, shall inherit and continue the business and trade of his father.

One of the leading features of recent times is the flocking of country people into the towns, and this movement needs no explanation in view of the unfavourable conditions of the peasantry, the progressive industrialization of Japan, and the growth of large cities. The peasants' sons, who become acquainted with urban life as soldiers, leave their villages and join the great army of workers. In the same way homeworkers, who eked out a scanty existence on the fringe of the lower middle class, give up their badly paid labour, which they performed in close, dark, unhealthy dwellings, and seek employment in the modern factories, which, although demanding ten hours' toil, leave more liberty to the worker than would have been possible in his old occupation.

The two great tendencies in the world of Japanese labour today are the migration of rural people to the towns and the steady drift of the petty bourgeoisie, or the lower middle classes, into the ranks of the proletariat.

The lad who has passed through the Primary and the Secondary schools serves as an apprentice to a

craftsman and later becomes a carpenter, joiner, tiler, screen-maker, tailor, shoemaker, or some other useful citizen, in most cases following in his father's footsteps ; or he may enter one of the numerous shops or stores, where he is in due course promoted to the rank of a fully-fledged employee, and if he shows tact and ability he may have the luck to marry the proprietor's daughter ! At any rate, there is a reasonable prospect of starting in business for himself.

The youth from the Middle school in most cases enters one of the large establishments of the city as a mercantile or technical employee, but he may also take up a handicraft. He is one of the pillars of Japanese progress and expansion. A soldier of the modern era, he is also standardized in appearance, wearing a cheap, ready-made suit of Western fashion, and, in the family which he soon founds, he preserves the solid tradition of the ordinary Japanese citizen.

Youths who pass through university preparatory schools seek posts in the civil service or in local government, while the teaching profession is also open to them. For the higher positions in the teaching profession, as well as for the upper branches of the civil service and the executive positions in industrial and commercial undertakings, an academic education is essential in modern Japan.

What shall we do with the Girl ?

With regard to a girl's chances of pursuing a career, it may be said that if Miss Tanaka is not

anxious to get married immediately, a narrower but still sufficient choice is open to her. Hundreds of professional schools are ready to prepare her for a suitable vocation. There are commercial schools, technical schools and teachers' colleges. It is true there are still more male teachers than female, but the number of the latter is constantly increasing, especially in the elementary schools. A large percentage of women turn to the healing art. In nursing, dispensing, dentistry, health-visiting, and in babies' clinics women are found in increasing numbers and, indeed, in these occupations they far outnumber the men.

A further field of activity, which is rich in possibilities although not equally attractive in all its departments, is offered by the amusement industry. The Japanese as a nation have an overwhelming passion for pleasure. With us theatres, cinemas, music-halls, show-booths, and tea-houses represent whole cities. The staffs of theatres and cinemas are entirely feminine, male service being known only in the restaurants which are conducted in European style. Enormous is the army of Ne-San, the waitresses and service-maids in hotels, tea- and guest-houses. The profession of the Geisha, supposed to be dead for decades, still absorbs many girls, especially from the country districts. The Geisha's counterpart and her closest competitor is the coffee-house girl.

In the cities Miss Tanaka may become a "taxi-dancer", a professional dancing-partner in the large dance halls ; as an actress she may display her figure and demonstrate her incredible incapacity as a

dancer in many of the modern revues which, unfortunately, are very popular at the moment.

The modern theatre, unlike the classical theatre, engages female performers, while the film industry is able to absorb an enormous number of "sweet girls". Domestic music, either of Western or Eastern variety, creates a demand for teachers, as also does dancing, flower arranging and other accomplishments of the "higher daughter".

Woman's entry into industry and economic life, or the decline of the lower middle-class woman into the ranks of the proletariat, is probably the most important of the changes through which the Japanese people are passing at the present day. The Japanese woman works in cotton-mills and weaving-sheds ; from youth upwards she is engaged in silk-growing and the silk industry. The staffs of the many huge, entirely modern stores are almost exclusively female. The drivers of the trams and buses in the big cities are young girls, who also drive heavy motor-coaches in many districts.

Female labour-power is considerably cheaper than that of the men. Whereas the average daily wage of a male worker amounts to about *two yen*, the female worker rarely earns more than *one yen*. The *yen* is today worth just over *is. 2d.* in international exchange, but its purchasing power in Japan is *2s.* and more. Even so, the English business girl who may deign to interest herself in little Miss Tanaka's way of living may well wonder how—poor thing !—she can contrive to get along with barely two shillings a day and always manage to be neat, clean, freshly bathed and daintily attired.

The key to the problem is, once more, the family system. When young Miss Tanaka contemplates taking up a post, she never, for a moment, dreams of making herself independent of her family. This determination, which is acted upon by a large proportion of European and American business girls, is absent from her mind. She continues to live with her family, where her board costs next to nothing, and where Mother Tanaka shows her how to expend her modest salary, and to live quite comfortably on 25 or 30 *yen* a month, even to save some of it. This arrangement is not entirely unknown even in Germany. The wages of many Berlin shorthand-typists bear no relationship to the standard of life which the girl manifestly enjoys, and which would be impossible without the support, at least, of her mother, that splendid, sagacious, energetic and warm-hearted Berlin mother, who is justly regarded with universal respect and whom I should like to compare with the best Japanese mothers of families.

Even if Miss Tanaka should want to estrange herself from her family, she would not become really independent. In all probability she would go and live in one of the big hostels for working women which the industrial concerns maintain for their single and unattached employees. Here she can live for *five yen* a month in bright, airy, hygienic common-rooms with girls of her own age and character—another school of communal training. She can live here in comparative comfort and in orderly surroundings, under some measure of discipline, but above everything, ridiculously cheap. She is under medical supervision, a service

which is provided entirely in the employer's own interest. She has the opportunity of purchasing clothes and other requirements on very favourable terms, and there is a clinic for her reception in cases of illness or accident. When she loses a relative, the firm makes a contribution towards the funeral expenses. When she has to undertake a journey, the firm furnishes the fare. If she thinks of getting married, the employers supply the trousseau, the money needed for a little festivity and often even provides for the bridegroom. Many firms have a profit-sharing arrangement with their employees ; while it is customary to pay compensation for dismissal owing to trade depression. The so-called *Kasoku-Seido*, or the family system, prevails also in the work place and industry is a patriarchate with the employer as father.

Social Welfare

It would be entirely false to assume that the Japanese authorities rely solely upon the *Kasoku-Seido*^ the patriarchal system in factories and works, in order to assure the workers a tolerably humane existence. Social welfare and labour legislation is, it is true, of very recent date, but it does in fact exist. The Japanese labour law, passed in 1910 and amended in July, 1928, fixes the maximum hours of daily work at eleven ; it prescribes a midday interval of half an hour to one hour, a strict inspection of sanitary arrangements by the local authorities and the granting of compensation in cases of disability, illness, death, etc.

In the year 1932 the average working day was ten hours. Night work between 10 o'clock in the evening and 5 o'clock in the morning is prohibited, as is also the employment of young people under fourteen years of age, which means under thirteen, as the Japanese reckon the years of human life differently from Europeans.

The measure governing insurance against sickness was introduced in 1926 and amended in 1928 ; it prescribes State Insurance against illness collaterally with sickness insurance associations. Such a body may be established by any employer who has more than 300 workers. Workers who do not belong to such associations are covered by State Insurance. The Government grants the associations subsidies up to ten per cent of the benefits. The insurance contribution is borne equally by the employer and the employee, but its amount must not exceed three per cent of the worker's wages. In the State Insurance service the contribution amounts to four per cent; among miners to eight per cent of the wages.

In return for this contribution the worker receives, in cases of illness or accident arising out of his employment, free medical treatment for a period of 184 days, including voluntary choice of doctor from the medical panel. During the same period, in the event of his being incapacitated for work, he receives sixty per cent of his wages ; if still indisposed after 184 days, he is given forty per cent of his wages. If a very prolonged incapacity should supervene, he is entitled to disablement pay, not for the rest of his life, but for a stated period.

In the event of death arising from illness or injury induced in the course of employment, the dependents receive the full wages of the deceased for a year, as well as twenty times his daily wage as a contribution towards the funeral expenses. For a month before, and six weeks after their confinement, pregnant women workers receive sixty per cent of their wages, in addition to a grant of 20yen. The services of midwives, as well as reception, treatment and nursing in maternity clinics, are quite free for the indigent classes in the large towns.

In the sphere of social welfare, every year one sees considerable progress, and the defects which still exist are largely of a temporary character. The somewhat barrack-like hostel system for women workers is no ideal solution, in the long run, of the problem of the young girl ; although a residence of one or two years in such an institution cannot fail to be of great educational value. The working day might be lessened, provided appropriate measures were taken to ensure the educational and cultural use of the leisure thus gained. The measures dealing with the employment of young people and night work are not yet sufficiently comprehensive. The diet to which the people have been accustomed for centuries is not considered by our social hygienists as sufficient for the maintenance of the physical and nervous energy expended in modern industry.

Moreover, there are many gaps in the *Kasoku-Seido*, which leave the decision regarding the extent of assistance and welfare work too much to the employer, who cannot be adequately controlled by the authorities,

particularly in the small towns and country districts. Social welfare and protective labour legislation on the Western pattern are excellent to supplement the unwritten law of the *Kasoku* system, which, however, we should in no case abandon, for we regard it as not merely the strongest support of our industry and our labour conditions, but an indispensable constituent of our national life. We believe it is more democratic than the State Insurance systems of Western States.

In past years, we admit, with their frequent wage conflicts, strikes, and political struggles between capital and labour, the system has often been called in question, attacked and put to a severe test, particularly by the male workers, who are, indeed, privileged when compared with their female compatriots, and the social legislation which the Government has passed are concessions made to national feeling thus expressed. The events of the most recent past—the consolidation of the whole community, including the Labour movement, into a united front behind the nation's leaders, when the Manchurian conflict broke out in 1931 and Japan entered a state of "unofficial war"—make it permissible to assert that the *Kasoku* system has withstood the severest trial.

Communism

In the year 1921, three years after the establishment of the Comintern, or the Third (Communist) International, a Communist organization called the Communist Party was founded in Japan, which



The most prominent leaders of the Communist movement publicly recanted their earlier convictions as they now realized that Marxism could not be adapted to the peculiar conditions of Japanese economy. The Communist Party is now no more, although an underground agitation survives, much as it existed prior to 1921.

Since 1931, however, the great majority of the workers have been united upon two principles : a full recognition of the spirit which created the Japanese Empire and the necessity for Capital and Labour to combine in the common interest to further the country's industrial development.

Well, the Japanese has never been a great politician, nor a doughty warrior in the class war ; his mind is less attuned to principles than to the details of common life.

The Life of the Worker

How does the present-day Japanese working man live ? How does he contrive to exist on what appears a phenomenally low wage ?

Of Japan's approximately five million workers about sixty per cent are female ; only forty per cent being male. The highest unemployment figure stood at 500,000 in the year 1932.

Something has already been stated concerning the life of the unmarried woman worker. The married woman worker shares the life of her husband, and in many cases assists in the earning of money. What, then, is the financial position of these married couples ?

The question of the balancing of the family budget is the foremost consideration in every Japanese household. A comparison with German conditions goes directly to the heart of the problem, and at the same time furnishes an answer to the charge so frequently made abroad that the Japanese workers, handicraftsmen and peasants eke out an ill-paid, half-starved, humiliating existence, dwelling in kennels and subsisting upon the proverbial handful of rice. And even those who are supposed to possess an intimate acquaintance with Japan, add : "Even the rice is not always sufficient, and the little man frequently eats millet or the like."

According to inquiries conducted by the International Labour Office in Geneva with reference to the year 1933 and the returns of the German Statistical Department, an ordinary Japanese family spends on an average annually the sum of *1150 yen*, which at the present rate of exchange is equal to £78, but possesses a domestic purchasing power approaching £115. For purposes of comparison, it may be noted that the income of the average German family is 3325 R.M., which is equal to £166.

The difference in purchasing power of these two sums is by no means great. When it is remembered that in Japan the necessities of life, such as fish, vegetables, and rice, are cheaper than equivalent foods in other countries, it will be appreciated that in reality the Japanese worker is not worse paid than his German counterpart. Expenditure upon food comprises nearly half the budget in most German families. In Germany it is forty-five per cent, in Japan only thirty-

seven per cent, which demonstrates, on the one hand, the cheapness of our food ; and, on the other, the circumstance that our workers retain sixty-three per cent of their income for "unconsumable" commodities of a material and spiritual character, whereas this proportion is only fifty-five per cent with the German workers.

The prices of the most important articles of food in Japan are as follows :

	<i>Best.</i>	<i>Second Best</i>
1 lb. rice	<i>2d.</i>	<i>id.</i>
1 lb. spinach	<i>\d.</i>	—
1 lb. chicken	<i>\d.</i>	3*
1 lb. meat .	<i>Sd.</i>	5*
10 fresh eggs	<i>*\d.</i>	<i>ild.</i>
10 sardines in oil .	<i>lid.</i>	—
10 fresh sardines	<i>id.</i>	—

Before leaving the subject of food, I should like to point out that the Japanese worker spends seven per cent of his wages on meals away from home, while the German worker pays only two per cent on the same item. Thus the Japanese has three meals in a restaurant, in order to relieve his wife, where the German only takes one. Not infrequently the Japanese have food brought in from restaurants, which are easily available for this purpose and supply food promptly and cheaply.

The German, who is reputed to be a heavy drinker and smoker, spends on these relaxations no more than four per cent of his income. The Japanese, who is supposed to be very temperate in his habits, spends seven

I 16 THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN

per cent on drink, tobacco, and dainties. Sweet-meats are popular with men in Japan and often take the place of alcohol or tobacco. It can scarcely be contended, in the light of these facts, that the Japanese are obliged to stint themselves, or that they endure the lives of beasts of burden.

House-room costs the Japanese sixteen per cent of his income and the German thirteen per cent. Owing to frequent damage to property by earthquake and fire, rents in Japan are relatively high, although building costs are low. High blocks of dwellings are unknown. While flats are piled on top of each other in Europe, in Japan dwellings are huddled close together. The Nagaya, or "Long House", which is the cheapest kind of Japanese residence, consists of small uniform houses built in a row. Yet they provide a greater degree of privacy for the families that inhabit them than do the industrial or municipal dwellings of Western cities, as they have no common entrances and staircases, no common washing-houses, cellars, or drying-yards; nor can anyone make a noise overhead, while each tiny house in the Nagaya, if it is at all possible, has its own diminutive garden.

Expenditure upon clothes and laundry is about the same in both cases, namely thirteen per cent.

In the realm of hygiene the nature of the Japanese is very pronounced. He has a passion for cleanliness and is constantly bathing. I do not assert that the Japanese are naturally cleaner people than Asiatics in general or the peoples of other continents. It is likely enough that there are no communities of which **it** can be said **that** they **are** **naturally** clean **or** **naturally**

dirty. The fact that the Japanese has a warm bath once a day, or at the very least twice a week, is no proof of his primordial cleanliness, but simply denotes that Japan is a country which is superabundantly blessed with natural hot springs, and consequently the people early become accustomed to the pleasures of frequent bathing. When one pauses to think of it, nearly all those countries where baths have been very popular—Greece, Rome, Turkey and South-West Germany in the Middle Ages—are the scenes of volcanic phenomena and possess numerous mineral streams and springs, as does Japan.

Our much-vaunted physical cleanliness is little more than the result of the educative earthquake, and the volcanic character of our country.

While our Chinese brother must first laboriously heat on the hearth every pint of water which he needs for washing, the Japanese need only plunge into a mineral spring which bubbles out of the earth beside his house. When he leaves the country for the town, he also diverts such springs into urban areas, or, inasmuch as he cannot dispense with his bath, he constructs large bathing-establishments, in which male and female unconcernedly bathe together and gossip. Today every town, no matter how small, has its public baths, where bathing can be enjoyed at the price of a few *sen* ; this is a cheap, proletarian pleasure. Nevertheless, while the Japanese spends six per cent of his earnings upon physical culture, the German only spends 0*8 per cent for the same purpose.

For what is usually called recreation, such as travelling, sport and the like, both the Japanese and

the German worker spend about one per cent of their wages. To pursue the ends of general culture the Japanese has nearly three per cent left and the German two per cent. Upon the hundred and one unnecessary things which help to make life worth living, such as visits to the theatre, the cinema, open-air functions, meetings, concerts, and the like, the German worker spends 0.9 per cent of his income, while the Japanese spends 3.6 percent. Upon presents the German spends 1.5 per cent, and the Japanese worker seven per cent of his wages.

It is sometimes asked whether the German worker would feel such a wage-slave and miserable, exploited proletarian if, instead of the 2s. 6d. which he pays every month for pleasure, he could spend three and a half times as much, 8s. or 9s. In this connection, it may be remarked that our entertainments are very cheap. For 20 *sen* (say 4d.) one can see two long films and two or three short ones, whether native, German, American, French, Russian, or English, according to choice. The performance lasts three or four hours. There is no need to go to Asakusa, which is Tokyo's pleasure-quarter, or to the Dotonbori in Osaka, where five or ten *sen* procures admission to theatres, music-halls, and cinemas. No ! The legend of the Japanese wage-slave, of the coolie who drags out an existence on a level with the beasts, and thus facilitates the economic achievements of the industrialists or the nursery-tales of "social dumping", simply will not hold water. That no successful economic expansion can be effected with low wages alone is demonstrated by the case of Italy, where in the Southern regions and

in Sicily the average daily wage of a worker is only *is. 6d.*

In this discussion we have ignored altogether the amenities, the "cultural opportunities and pleasure" which the Japanese has no need to purchase himself, but which are showered upon him gratuitously by employers, by public authorities and by the great newspaper proprietors. Nor need we do more than mention the training in school and in family life which induces him to regard this slight expenditure as virtuous, and which, at least to all appearance, the rich man shares with the poor. It is no more than acquiescing in a mode of life which is the product of thousands of years of cherished custom, and which achieves the greatest simplicity and cheapness combined with a comprehensive culture.

How can decades of ruthless exploitation, or centuries in the case of domestic and old native industries, be reconciled with the industrious, skilful, highly qualified worker, as the Japanese is frequently represented to be? The combination of wage-slave and skilled worker is a contradiction in terms.

Japanese Dumping

When the Japanese cotton-mills were flooding the markets of the world with goods at an ever lower price and ever higher quality, those who felt the force of this competition in America and Europe used to speak disparagingly of sweated labour, of State subsidies, of systematic and social, but at any rate uneconomic,

dumping. Now the Japanese Government lends industry no support which European governments do not also afford their industries, which at the very most amounts to credit facilities and the discounting of bills, and even this is granted to a very limited extent, in view of the shortage of capital in Japan.

The cotton industry in particular has not received a single *yen* in the form of a subsidy from the Government. These are not statements which cannot be sustained. They are verities which, in addition to a complete disposal of the legend of social dumping, are set out in the reports of the Englishman, Mr. Arno S. Pearse, the former General Secretary of the International Association of Cotton Spinners and Master Cotton Weavers, with headquarters in Manchester, and of the American, Mr. Charles K. Moser, chief of the Far East Section in the Department for Foreign and Home Trade of the American Ministry of Commerce. In this connection, therefore, I can cite two unprejudiced witnesses who had every reason to be hypercritical of things Japanese, and who made inquiries into the matter on the spot.

While on the subject of cotton spinning (and spinning and weaving find employment for more than half of the industrial workers of Japan), it may be pointed out that an English weaver tends six looms, but a Japanese weaver tends twenty looms, including several double looms, in terms of another European comparison. The Lancashire worker tends five or six looms, works five or six hours daily and receives a weekly wage of at least £2. A female worker in the weaving-sheds of Osaka works ten hours a day,

tends twenty-five looms and receives a weekly wage of 5yen. Which means that, with an output ten times as large, she receives a wage which is little more than one sixth of what is paid the Lancashire weaver, at the present rate of exchange.

At this point, if anywhere at all, the ant-like industry, the skill and the fidelity of the Japanese worker of both sexes, any inquiry into the economic advance of our country ought to begin.

The impetus to our economy does not reside in social dumping, nor in non-existent State subventions, nor in the depreciation of the yen—inasmuch as if our industries wish to sell goods cheaply to countries which occupy a stronger currency position, they are also obliged to purchase raw materials from them at correspondingly dear rates. In 1933, for example, the cotton industry imported raw cotton from abroad to the value of 605 million yen, in order to export manufactured goods to the value of 407 million yen. No, its strength resides in the virtues of the little worker of both sexes, in the supporting fabric of the family, in the *Kasoku-Seido* of industry and in a peculiar national order which distributes the burdens and makes the pleasures accessible to everybody, in short, in Japanese civilization itself.

It goes without saying that, in its own interests as well as in those of the employees, industry strives to keep the technical equipment of its plant in the maximum state of efficiency by constant testing, renewals and replacements, as well as by the repeated introduction of new inventions.

It is necessary to enumerate once more what, **under**

these favourable conditions, the Japanese workers have manufactured both for the home market and for export, of excellent quality and at fabulously low prices. The European Press, partly in a spirit of consternation, partly with feelings of admiration, have sufficiently attended to this.

From the bamboo counting-beads which are equal to any Swiss article, to a complete tea service for 8d., from paper goods and toys, which cost next to nothing, to a bicycle for 155-, from incandescent lamps to cameras with half a dozen plates for 8|rf., all of these things, without any effort on our part, have received the widest unpaid for advertisement.

When a European journalist asked one of our industrial magnates why Japan, which seemed to make everything—macaroni for Italy and preserved fruits for America—did not also build motoi-cars, the latter is supposed to have answered : "Because we cannot yet manufacture them fifty per cent cheaper than the Americans ; as soon as we can do so, we shall start constructing them." And today small four-seater Japanese cars are running about in Japan, in Holland and in Australia, at the price of 600yen, or £35. Five hundred of these cars are said to have been sold in Germany.

We want Germany to Understand

We Japanese believe that we deserve the reproach of dumping, least of all from Germans. We hope, in fact, to find among them the clearest understanding of

our industrial and economic expansion. That same accusation of dumping used to be urged in English economic and political circles against German industry in its lusty infancy and long afterwards. Germany was then treated in much the same fashion as Japan is today. She used to be indicted with the charge of "sweated labour", of "humiliating wages", of long hours of labour and the alleged inferior quality of German production. In 1887 a law was passed in England that German goods must bear the mark, "Made in Germany", if they were to be admitted into British and Colonial markets. This discriminating mark, which was intended to designate German goods as such and to inform the British buyer, soon became the emblem of good quality. With feelings of pride and anticipation of profit, German manufacturers marked their goods "Made in Germany", for this stamp proved an open sesame to the markets of the world. In the same way we believe that in course of time our productions will overcome all the hostile special regulations which have been established to exclude them, and enter into friendly rivalry with the high-grade manufacturers of the entire world. The hall-mark "Made in Japan" is destined to be as certain a guarantee of reliable quality as the stamp "Made in Germany" has been.

The industry, the reliability, and the skill of our workers are no miracles ; they are the heritage of our handicrafts which have always been highly developed. It is a particular characteristic of ours that the skilled worker tends to develop from the petty handicraftsman ; if he changes his social status, his value remains

unimpaired. The Japanese worker, especially if he be a handicraftsman, has always been a hundred per cent citizen. He works one hundred per cent, he enjoys himself one hundred per cent, he loafs one hundred per cent ; in the transition from handicraft or agriculture to modern machine industry, he has lost none of these three splendid qualities.

From the ranks of the arms-smiths and sword-smiths of our Middle Ages, who found their occupation gone with the onset of modernity and the prohibition of the carrying of weapons, there has been recruited the army of our contemporary iron-workers, moulders, turners, welders and smiths. From the ritualistic occupation of the arms-smithy and its small, consecrated workshop to the labour of the railway builder and the gigantic modern workshops of the Imperial Railways is a giant stride. Nevertheless, our workers seem to have transferred the noble attributes of artistic dexterity and craftsmanship, of labour, fidelity and meticulous knowledge of material from one epoch to another.

Railway Records

The locomotive workshops of Omiya and Hamamatsu are famed beyond our borders as model establishments ; in those workshops the complete disconnection of parts, cleaning, overhauling, and improvement of a locomotive occupies not more than four and a half to five days, which is a record, for the corresponding workshops of America require for the same work two weeks, while three weeks is the

period in European countries. The dissembling alone takes us ten hours. Fifteen years ago the overhauling of a locomotive would take us from two to three weeks, while the period for overhauling a coach was twenty days. The acceleration in this operation which has been accomplished has resulted in a reduction from 6100 to 5900 *yen* per locomotive in the annual costs of maintenance.

China, Siam, and Persia have repeatedly sent missions to Japan to study our railway system. Twelve Japanese railway experts, led by the eminent engineer Fujinaka, were despatched to Soviet Russia, in order to reorganize or "Japanise" the Russian railway system. These men were engaged in an executive capacity in the Kasan railway workshops of Moscow. In Russian railway parlance the word "Japanisation" has become synonymous with rapid and accurate work, which, together with punctuality in arrival and departure, always strictly observed, are a characteristic of Japanese railways which fills their officials with pride. A young railway servant, alert, upright, never failing in courtesy, and always wearing immaculate white gloves, a versatile and intelligent overseer of traffic, is a delightful figure, whom we gladly pardon any excess of professional pride.

Despite the narrow gauge of our railways, of which the width is 1'067 metres, compared with 1'435 metres in the case of the German railways, and despite the relatively high speed of the trains, the percentage of accidents is insignificant. According to the report of the League of Nations for the year 1929, the following collisions and derailments

happened in respect of each 100 kilometres of railway track :

In Great Britain	. . .	1 . 8 5
„ Germany	. . .	153
„ Japan		1*17

Deaths in railway accidents in 1929 were as follows:

In Germany		26
„ Soviet Russia		19
, Japan		3

In the length of his working day and his standard of living the railway official has little, if any, advantage over the average worker. The standard of life is of the same petty bourgeois character ; the wage is the same low wage. We are notorious for the poor pay which our railway servants, our police, and military receive. Even the officers draw a salary which need not arouse envy in any quarter. A lieutenant receives *joyen* a month, which is hardly equivalent to £7 ; a major has 100yen (£10), a captain 150yen (£15), as commencing pay. Even the general, with his 400 yen (£40), cannot indulge in extravagant living.

The Solidarity of Classes is no Empty Phrase

What is it that constitutes the strength of Japanese society, of the Japanese nation, which in reality is nothing less than one immense family, whose members cling together indissolubly ? This cohesive factor is the solidarity of classes, the adjustment of social differences

in the material and intellectual realms. The whole people works as one and forms a single great army of workers.

That this is no empty phrase, which comes trippingly from the tongues of capitalists, who wish to keep the workers bemused in order the better to exploit them, is demonstrated by thousands of cases of sterling solidarity in the ranks of the workers, as well as by numerous instances among the leading employers.

Kojiro Matsukata is one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Japan. He is a shipping and oil magnate, as well as the possessor of the most valuable collection of European art in Japan. In 1927 he witnessed the financial collapse of his undertaking, the Kawasaki shipyards in Kobe. The causes of this disaster were the complete suspension of the building of new warships, as a consequence of the Washington Naval Agreement, the slackened pace of commercial shipbuilding, traceable to the general economic crisis, and a bank panic which had convulsed the whole Empire—all of which events were utterly beyond his control.

Nevertheless, Kojiro Matsukata assumed full responsibility for the disaster, placed the whole of his private fortune at the disposal of his creditors and employees, and retired from business affairs.

For two years he lived a life which those who had been associated with him could only regard with the deepest sympathy. He lived, in fact, like a hermit, supported by allowances from friends. In 1929 he inherited 180,000 *yen*, being the proceeds of a paid-up life insurance policy of 750,000 *yen*, of which policy

he had been unable to maintain the premiums. With this money he started to initiate a new enterprise. He purchased oil-fields in Formosa; the borings proved promising, and Matsukata became the proprietor of three oil-wells. Correctly estimating that the home production would not be sufficient to cover the oil requirements of the Empire, and that, consequently, it would be necessary to import further supplies from abroad, he assigned oil-fields in Formosa to the Navy, which could make good use of them for the establishment of a depot in this outlying possession of our country, and, unmoved by the most violent opposition of his partners and influential national interests, he proceeded to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union. He travelled to Moscow where the Soviet authorities welcomed the man who, two years before, had been one of the "unemployed", as a State guest. He, who in his youth had studied in Oxford, Yale, and Paris, spoke French and English fluently, had spent four years in London during the world war in order to study international complications at close quarters, and who, in consequence, was completely accustomed to intercourse with Europeans, concluded an oil contract with the Soviet authorities which was extraordinarily favourable to his country.

Today he is one of the oil kings of Japan, just as until eight years ago he was a shipping magnate. His priceless collection of European pictures and Japanese carvings he has thrown open to the public, although he is by no means an idealist nor a whole-hearted advocate of social innovations among the working classes.



JAPANESE MALE PRIMA DONNA

He was the first big employer in Japan to introduce the eight-hour day into his shipyards, which employed 20,000 men ; on the other hand, he prohibited the formation of a co-operative society, on the ground that such an institution was bound to injure private trade in the town of Kobe in which the shipyard was situated.

All in all, Kojiro Matsukata is an excellent example of the best type of Japanese employer, promoting the social welfare of his employees, backing his enterprise with all his resources, having sufficient education of the earthquake variety to enable him to make a rapid recovery from the heaviest blows of fortune, bold in conception and sure in execution, cultured and having a close insight into the peculiar structure of our economy and our social life—a living exemplification of *Kasoku-Seido*, the family feeling in economic life.

The Tanaka Family at Home

When the day's work is over, Mr. Tanaka jumps on a tram and travels to one of the suburbs. His house is situated on the fringe of the city. It is small, one-storied, built of new, unpainted wood, with a garden behind, a gate in front, and a fence all round. The fence, which entirely surrounds a house, is the goal of the little man's aspirations, as this circular structure makes his dwelling a property and assures him a modicum of seclusion, which the Japanese needs in order to feel completely comfortable.

Mr. Tanaka opens the gate. Through the window his return is noticed by Mrs. Tanaka, who hurries, with the servant girl, to the door, where she falls on her knees, curtsies and whispers : "*O-kaeri-nasai*" (Return home); Mr. Tanaka nods briskly and answers : "*Tadaima*" (Just). The girl assists him to remove his shoes, the children come, curtsy, and greet him. He enters the house in his socks and steps across the inch-thick, beautifully smooth, wonderfully soft, restful, cream-coloured mats. The master of the house is home.

As soon as he arrives, the first requirement of the Japanese is a bath. Mr. Tanaka undresses with the assistance of the maid, divests himself of the Western ready-made suit, the vest, socks, collar, and shirt and dons the *yukata*, the light, informal, Japanese house-jacket of coloured cotton. Disrobing and re-dressing may proceed in Japan with perfect decency, even in the presence of a member of the opposite sex, for we have no clothes into which you slip from below, such as shirts, or from above, such as trousers. You simply draw the kimono around you and slip the arms easily through the wide arm-holes, so that a man or a woman may calmly undress in the presence of another, merely turning the face to the wall.

This is the practice in the large common sleeping-cars of our railways, which have no separate sleeping-compartments. Men, women, and girls undress in the same compartment quite close together, and no one sees more of the others than their backs, which are always covered. Moreover, we Japanese are not prudes. Every day we gaze upon nudity : the nakedness of the fisherman who wades into the water up to his breast

or of the worker, peasant or craftsman, who removes his clothes because he finds it too hot to work in them.

Consequently, Mr. Tanaka accepts as a matter of course the assistance of the servant girl who accompanies him into the bathroom. She tucks up her kimono so that the gaily coloured hip-cloth, which all Japanese women wear, is revealed, vigorously lathers Mr. Tanaka, and pours over him several buckets of hot water. Not until this ritual is completed does the master step into the bath.

The floor of the bathroom is cemented and intersected with a lattice-work grating. The water poured out immediately flows away. Splashing is not merely permitted in a Japanese bathroom—it is essential. The bath itself is a wooden tub about the size of a European bath and about 32 inches high. At one end, protected by a board, an iron stove pipe runs through the water. By the side of the pipe a portion of the bath is usually divided off, and from this section is taken the water used for pouring over the body or washing the head. When the bather sits in the bath, the water comes up to his chin. It has a temperature of no degrees Fahrenheit, rather more than less. It is so hot that a European can scarcely keep his hand in it, but a Japanese enters the water without hesitation, remains there for some time, and enjoys the warmth which takes all fatigue and flaccidity from the body. He does not regard a bath as a special treatment, nor as a means of becoming clean, but as a pleasure, without which he could scarcely live ; it is as important to him as eating and drinking.

After a while he steps out of the bath and pours

over himself one or two buckets of cold water, in order to close the pores of the skin. He dries himself with the *tenugui*, the narrow, patterned cotton hand-towel about a yard long, which he also uses when washing. The *tenugui* is, of course, damp, but a Japanese contrives to dry himself with a wet rag. Bath-towels are a most recent innovation.

Slipping once more into the *yukata*, and loosely girdled with a light belt, Mr. Tanaka leaves the bathroom. He is steaming, and after the heat of the bath a pleasant coolness steals over him.

After the father, the other members of the family step into the bath, the wife and the children, according to age. They all use the same bath-water, because they are already soaped and clean before stepping into the tub. The water therefore remains clean and the stove keeps it hot, and thus the whole family can bathe in it one after another, the servant girl coming last of all.

In the meantime preparations for supper are going forward. From the kitchen comes the smell of frying fish and pickled vegetables ; an aroma which not merely stimulates appetite in a Japanese, but excites a real nostalgia.

Mr. Tanaka walks barefooted upon the beautifully polished but unpainted boards of the veranda, which divides the rooms from the garden. The veranda, which is a long balcony, protected by a roof but without railings, is three feet wide. The sliding partitions which separate room from passage are three feet wide and usually no more than three feet high. One half of their surface is pasted over with Japanese transparent paper, one quarter is glazed, while the

bottom quarter is made of thin wood. The sliding doors which separate room from room have the same measurements, as also the wall-cupboards, which are three feet deep and are closed with sliding doors of which each is three feet wide and six feet high. Likewise, the lofty alcoves, within which a few ornaments—a vase, a bronze, a tapestry—are displayed, are three feet deep and six feet long.

Our Dwellings are Standardized

Wherefore always the three feet? Japanese houses are standardized. If one collapses or is burnt, everything that survives the catastrophe—the doors, the valuable alcoves, the pillars of fine woods—can be used again.

The *tatami*, the thick mat which imparts its cool, habitable character to our rooms, is always twelve feet long and three feet wide. It is a miracle of accurate weaving; the measurements are exact to a hair's breadth, as may be taken for granted with all Japanese handicraft, and it is a real enjoyment to move across its smooth surface bare-foot or in stockinged feet, or to lie down on it for an hour on a hot day. The *tatami* remains cool in summer and warm in winter. It is the arbitrary architect of our dwellings, for it is not really our houses and our rooms that are constructed according to standard measurements, but it is the *tatami* which determines the proportions of the rooms and therefore of the houses. We never say that a room is sixteen feet by twenty, but we call it a six-mat room,

or an eight-mat room. The first is nine by twelve, the second twelve by twelve. There are also half mats, and very convenient four-and-a-half-mat rooms.

Such are the commonest sizes of rooms. Ten- and fifteen-mat rooms are only found in very large houses. Japanese rooms are small in comparison with European, and also less lofty, being about eight feet in height, but the measurements represent the effective dwelling space as our apartments are not cumbered with any kind of furniture. They are empty and every square foot is available. And as it is the Japanese habit to sit on the floor, we are not unduly inconvenienced by the diminutive height of our rooms. In consequence of our sitting on the floor, the space between head and ceiling is not less than in modern Western dwellings.

On festive occasions, receptions, or whenever a larger room may be required, the sliding-walls between the various rooms can be removed, and by this means it is often possible to use the entire cubic space of the house as a single chamber.

The mat has not been arbitrarily designed as the unit of measurement for the house and its appointments. It actually contains the space which a person needs for sleeping—three feet by six feet—corresponding to the dimensions of a bed ; and it is just as if in a European house the dimensions of the rooms, the doors, the walls, the passages and the cupboards were all determined by the size of the bed. It will be appreciated that such a standardization facilitates, accelerates, and cheapens the building of houses very considerably; consequently it is an essential feature of Japanese domestic life. The monotony that is thereby occasioned

we strive to relieve by many kinds of decorative artifices, by variegated walls, by picturesque windows, and by artistically painted doors. On the other hand, monotony does not press on us so hardly as on Europeans, nor are we conscious of a feeling of vacancy in our bare rooms. The mats are bound along the sides with strips of black or brown material, frequently with brocade, and the various patterns in accordance with which they can be laid down in a six-mat room produce an agreeable effect with their alternate play of colour and design.

In the failing light, Mr. Tanaka, now wearing large wooden garden sandals, descends the stone steps, which are often carpeted with moss, and strolls round the garden.

A World in Itself

Our garden is in many respects the antithesis of the Western garden. There are no geometrical lines and figures. We are strangers to close-shaven lawns, circular or quadrangular flower-beds, rows of flowers or any kind of symmetrical arrangement. Our garden is a landscape garden, a minute replica of Nature, and at the same time it is a world within itself. Within an area of three or four square yards, lakes, rivers, islands and woods are represented. Respecting the arrangement of the garden there are, of course, many "schools", such as the classical, the naturalistic, the Chinese, and the Buddhist, but the school which finds the widest acceptance prescribes something like the following rules :

The centre of the garden is graced by a rugged rock about a yard or a little more in height, which is the guardian stone. In the background is a hillock of about the same height, which is the "distant mountain". On the left rises the "middle mountain" ; while more in the foreground is the "side mountain", and on the right is the "near mountain". The "side mountain" shelves precipitately into the lake, which laves the guardian stone and is fed by a stream which tumbles over cascades at the foot of the "middle mountain". Over the precipice of the "side mountain" gurgles a miniature waterfall, which descends into the lake, which frequently contains gold or other ornamental fish. In its centre an island emerges from the water, the "middle island" ; on the left a peninsular juts out into the water, the "master's island" ; on the right is a neck of land just as long, "the guest's island", behind which a second stream receives the flowing water. The nearest edge of the pond forms a "broad strand" of fine, bright sand, upon which rests a large, flat stone, the "prayer-stone", the special spot from which the garden should be contemplated, in order to perceive its proportions properly. A similar beach extends as far as the base of the guardian stone, but this remains untrodden, as stepping-stones are scattered over the whole garden, so that the ground may be spared. The mountains and rocks are neatly covered with moss, in the "lake" water-plants are growing; shrubs are so arranged as to look like forests, and the garden must be tended in such a way that the hand of man is nowhere visible, nor any sign of the work of shears, broom, or rake.

At any rate, all this is what is prescribed by the "naturalistic school", which is the true Japanese school. Under the influence of Buddhism and the cloister gardens, we have also had domestic gardens which exhibit more rigid conventions and more disciplined arrangement.

In the corner of every garden, however, beside the covered alley which connects the dwelling and the separately built lavatory, is a hollowed, shapely, usually moss-grown stone, which contains water for washing the hands. A wooden dipper is kept above ; while, hanging from a tree or the roof of the alley is a patterned hand-towel, fluttering gently in the breeze—a charming effect.

Larger gardens often contain a pavilion, the "tea-room" for the ceremonial preparation and enjoyment of tea, especially if the owner has aesthetic inclinations. In front of this structure is also a hollowed stone with water for laving the hands.

By diverting running water into his garden, or, where this is lacking, marking out a "stream" by means of a river-bed strewn with sand or pebbles, the Japanese remains ever conscious of being in contact with the greater world outside, and of forming a part of the whole. When Mr. Tanaka stands on the prayer-stone in the evening, stars and moon are reflected in the water, just as they are outside in the great sea ; the wind sighs through the dwarfed trees ; the bamboo bends like the bamboo thicket outside, and the purling water of the "stream" of the waterfall and the cascade sings its eternal song.

This assimilation of the garden with Mother

Nature is vividly illustrated by the example of the famous aesthete and horticulturist Rikyu, who laid out his garden in Sakai in such a way as to conceal the adjacent sea by a screen of trees and bushes ; only when one stooped in order to carry a dipper full of water from the stone fountain to the tea pavilion would one catch a glimpse through a gap of the great, shimmering ocean waves beyond. Then one would reflect : this little dipper full of water is an integral part of the great ocean outside ; I myself am a miniature part of the world without.

Mr. Tanaka, who is a little man and not a prosperous aesthete, cannot lay such flattering unction to his soul, but his modest garden most certainly has a "higher meaning", even if it only mimics one of the famous landscapes of the Japanese islands.

Night falls, and, having refreshed his spirit and shaken off the cares of the working day in the contemplation of the garden, Mr. Tanaka goes into his house.

"Our Daily Rice"

The family sits down to its evening meal. There is no dining-table, as the food is handed to each person on lacquered trays or tiny low tables, which contain the three or four courses in their small bowls. There are also the rice-bowl and the chopsticks. The members of the family sit on cushions in a circle or in each corner of the room, and soup is served. No meal, whether breakfast, dinner, or supper, is complete

without soup, with which one begins, although it is not finished before the other courses. Raised to the lips in lacquered bowls no bigger than one's closed fist, the soup is drunk, or rather sipped. To sip noisily is no offence against good manners in Japan ; if we may not sip with relish soup, wine, or tea, our enjoyment is only half what it should be, and we think that a part of the aroma is lost, just as European connoisseurs maintain that wine must be sipped in order to taste its "bouquet" properly. The solid materials in the soup—fish, mushroom, or vegetable—we fish out with the chopsticks. In addition to soup, three, or at least two courses are served during the evening meal, usually fish and vegetables, more rarely poultry, and meat seldom. Even the poorest Japanese would be dissatisfied if he did not have two courses, apart from rice, at the chief meal of the day, of which one is the *ko-no~mono*, the "odoriferous thing", the preserved vegetables, Japan's mixed pickles.

After the soup the serving girl brings in the rice in a keg of snow-white wood with copper bands ; in doing which she does not forget, when opening the door, to drop on her knees, and to make the like obeisance when closing it, for it is regarded as a breach of propriety to open a door in a standing posture when another person happens to be in the room. When the maid offers rice or a second portion of soup, she also does so kneeling.

She offers the tray to the master, who places his rice-bowl upon it. The girl fills the bowl with a wooden scoop from the rice keg, and replaces it on the tray. The remaining members of the family are

then served in the same manner. The rice-bowls are held in the left hand and retained there during the whole meal-time. At festivals, in the restaurant or when guests have been invited, rice is not eaten until late ; the later, the more genteel, and, most genteel of all, at the end of the meal. In domestic life, however, as rice is the principal food, this dish is first served, and one eats two, three or four full bowls of it, according to appetite. In no case, however, no matter how ceremonious the repast, is one bowlful only consumed, for this is considered unlucky ; a diner will offer his bowl for replenishment for the second time, for the sake of appearances, although with a most minute supply.

The last bowl of rice is often taken, and in Tokyo without exception, with a strong infusion of tea ; the typical citizen of Tokyo even places two or three slices of pickled radishes over the rice—a somewhat strange mixture—which causes foreigners to shudder, but without this concluding observance, no meal seems to us complete.

As it is supper, Mr. Tanaka drinks a small glass of warmed *sake* wine as a supplement, but the other members of the family do not share in this.

Tea of the strong, brown variety terminates the meal, which does not last long. It is not considered becoming to prolong a repast, unless it be a banquet attended by guests. Eating is necessary to sustain life, therefore it should be made as brief a business as possible. Children, especially the boys, are not, as in Europe, urged to eat slowly, but are encouraged to eat as quickly as possible. To sit long over a meal is regarded as rude and effeminate. No grace is said

either before or after the meal, which also indicates that eating is not regarded as an act of any importance.

The Evening Stroll

While the servant clears away and takes her own supper, the family prepares for an evening stroll. With his face to the wall, Mr. Tanaka changes the cotton *yukata* for a thicker silk kimono and a silk scarf, and Mrs. Tanaka has also to give a few finishing touches to her toilet. From the chest of drawers she takes a beautifully folded kimono and slips into it, winding the *obi*, the beautiful but expensive broad sash, artistically about her waist. The *tansu*, or chest, consists of two, three, or at the most four drawers above each other, which fit exactly into the wall recesses. Where the latter are not sufficient, a special room is set apart for the numerous chests of drawers, which contain the whole of the family's possessions. Well-to-do people who own a *kura*, the earthquake-proof and fire-proof warehouse to which reference has already been made, keep most of their cabinets there.

The *tansu* can be taken to pieces, as one which has four drawers can be converted into two *tansus* each comprising two receptacles by the loosening of two pairs of iron clasps which are attached to the side. Similarly it is possible to transform a *tansu* with two drawers into a cabinet of three drawers by placing the third drawer on top and then fastening with two clasps.

In our *tansu* is anticipated some of the most up-to-date Western furniture, which may be expanded or

contracted according to the user's requirements. Its great advantage consists in its easiness of transport. If a fire breaks out or the house threatens to collapse during an earthquake, it would be an impossibility to remove chests of several compartments with all their contents, so we simply loosen the clasps, and the component sections, which are completely closed in themselves, are not so heavy that they cannot be carried by a man or a couple of children. Thus, the clothes, at least, which are probably the most valuable possessions of a Japanese household, are saved.

We also have *tansu* of which the lower sections of two drawers each contain a small compartment for valuable trifles. The foregoing considerations also apply here. When removing or going on a journey, these separate compartments serve as trunks or cases, and this practice solves the problem of packing.

Beside the *tansu*, or chest of drawers, rush-baskets are kept in the wall recess, and these articles are so made that the cover always fits closely over the lower part of the basket. These baskets are precursors of the "never-full" "Revelation" trunks, as they appear full when they contain little, but, on the other hand, possess an almost limitless holding capacity. At all events, no article of clothing can be thrust into this holder without being pressed, and all Japanese clothes, even when being worn, show the resultant creases at the places where they have been folded together. The Japanese, who is ever an expert in the art of making a virtue of necessity, has acquiesced in everything which renders his property portable. His clothes, for instance, do not hang from hooks in cupboards which cannot be

removed. Instead, they rest in drawers and baskets, always at hand to be carried away at a moment's notice.

In the cloak-rooms of theatres and other pleasure-resorts the same principle is observed. There are no hooks or hangers. Overcoats are neatly folded by the cloak-room attendants and kept on shelves. If a European should hand over his mackintosh or rain-coat, especially if the garment should show the effects of our very frequent showers, a surprise is in store for him. He receives his coat folded into a square and pressed into creases which were never expected, and which linger for a week. For when a cloak-room attendant receives a coat from a white guest, she starts with dismay : "Good gracious, not a single crease in it ! How untidy Europeans are, to be sure!" So lovingly, and to please the foreign guest, she folds the coat up and presses the finest creases into it. She beams when the guest, on calling to redeem his garment, rubs his eyes. "You have never seen your coat look as beautiful as that! How pleased and surprised you are !" Such are her unspoken thoughts.

They leave the house—Mr. Tanaka, Mrs. Tanaka, and the children. In addition to his kimono, he wears a light, European felt hat; for, as we have never known a hat of our own, the European trilby has taken firm root with us, and no Japanese is ever seen today, even in native clothes, without a felt hat.

The family proceed along the street, behind the hedges of wooden palings of which stand the houses of the more superior citizens, and enter the broad business streets of the district. The shops are still open,

as there is no general time for closing. The small shops remain open until late in the evening, the shopkeepers sitting in front of their wares or their dwelling, smoking a pipe or drinking tea. Acquaintances and customers pass, needing this or that. There is gossip and laughter. In every house the radio is turned on. The curio shops, which offer bargains in vases, bronzes, the products of art and handicraft, are pervaded by a high trading ability, and the excitement and disinterestedness in whose atmosphere the Asiatic is so thoroughly at home.

Steam rises from the public baths. There is a continual sound of buckets of water being poured over naked men and women, and an everlasting buzz of conversation among the hundreds who are waiting their turn in the steaming water. Through lattice windows they can be plainly seen, but no one dreams of peering in, as in Japan it is not regarded as shameful to go naked, while it is considered disgraceful to stare at a nude person. I provoke no public censure if, like yonder lean fellow, I return home from the baths with kimono thrown aroiid me but otherwise quite naked, through the busy main streets, while I cool myself in the breeze which lifts up the kimono behind me like a page holding a train. A woman is subjected to no social ostracism if on a warm evening she drags the bath-tub into the garden, and then steps into the water in full view of all the neighbours and passers-by. But I create very keen social resentment if I look and perchance linger over the spectacle. Which is a most satisfactory solution of the problem of prudery and propriety, or so it seems to me.



How this can be reconciled with modern revues, where I pay to gaze upon semi-nude dancing girls, who make every effort to display all their charms, is by no means clear.

Passing billiard saloons, beer-halls, cinemas, and dancing-rooms, the Tanakas reach the leading street and promenade of the capital: the Ginza. Every considerable town in Japan possesses a similar thoroughfare : Osaka has its Dotonbori, Kobe its Minatogawa ; but when the Japanese dreams of the city, longs for the city, it is of Tokyo's Ginza that he is thinking. It represents to him what the Tauentzienstrasse and the Kurfurstendamn mean to the German what the Strand and Piccadilly appear to the Englishman, and what the grand boulevards are to the Frenchman.

A Golden Stroll along the "Silver Street"

Everybody in Tokyo who has two legs and an hour and a half to spare strolls in the evening along the Ginza, the main artery of the city. Ginza means the Silver Street, which name recalls the fact that the Mint for coining silver money was once situated in this thoroughfare. Today the Ginza is a cosmopolitan thoroughfare, flanked by lofty stores, luxurious cinemas, cafes, restaurants, and elegant shops. It might be situated in Chicago or Berlin, and yet it would be out of place there, for it possesses a number of peculiar features which it shares with no other street in the world,

One of these features is the *To-Mist*, the "evening business". Scarcely has the opalesque twilight descended upon this busy, populous and, in extension, largest city in the world, than the pavements of the Ginza are animated by innumerable little booths, and traders who display their wares on carpets spread on the ground. There are novelties of all kinds, umbrellas, shaving apparatus, mechanical toys, patent knives, the latest matchbox—much rubbish, old books, carvings, nick-nacks ; but also a sprinkling of choice and costly articles—it is a variety of Christmas market, but not Christian, not European, but typically Japanese.

It is not an uproarious scene, however. The criers are silent; (Japanese criers are usually the most efficient and certainly the loudest !) ; the stall-keepers are immersed amidst their treasures, silent and unperturbed, smoking a small pipe or sipping their tea from a little cup. Sometimes they move an article from one place to another, or flick off a grain of dust, and are seemingly unconcerned whether buyers appear or not, whether they sell their goods. Nevertheless, they are observing the onlookers. They infer from the manner in which a prospective customer looks at an article or takes it up and lays it down, whether it is the article he is seeking ; and if the trader negligently pushes an article further into the light, quite mechanically it would seem, the customer is captured, for it is the precise article he is seeking.

Between the rows of stalls, slowly, smiling, and with very superior mien, stroll the *jeunesse dorée* of the city. Yet this appellation is not quite fitting, for in recent

years the *jeunesse dork* of the cities have certainly not been golden and only occasionally young. The term fits even less the strolling youth of the Ginza, inasmuch as they mainly consist of office employees attired in ready-made American suits and students from the Bohemian quarter of Kanda, who vie with each other in presenting a shabby and dilapidated appearance.

Besides this gildless youth one may see small business people, with their numerous families, such as the Tanakas, the Moris, or the Nakamuras, or one may see a sporadic foreigner, or—sensation indeed !—a famous film star, attended by two or more elegant gentlemen, flitting through the thoroughfare, by way of personal advertisement for her films.

The doors and windows of the cafes are wide open ; the strains of music steal upon the ear, mingled with the laughter of careless folk. In front of the Lion Cafe and of the Tiger Cafe, which face each other, stand the pretty little waitresses. They are the decoy ducks who display all their charms to entice a goodly company to enter. This practice, it is true, is forbidden by the police, but who is going to prove that the winsome girls did not step outside for a breath of air or that they were not escorting a valued client to the door?

In *Mon Ami* you may order a dinner in the French fashion ; opposite are restaurants that specialize in Chinese cookery, served by Chinese girls. Farther on is a Korean restaurant with Korean waitresses, next door to a shop which serves only eels and snakes. Here one can eat fish-rice prepared in the Osaka way ; there fish-rice according to the recipes of Tokyo.

Yonder one is waited upon by a girl from Osakam who speaks the dialect; at another place one may be provided with a genuine Tokyo "dumpling". Should a German be suffering from homesickness, he can drink a glass of Franciscan or Dortmund, and consume lentil soup with sausages—but in front of this establishment stand native hostesses. This custom of pretty, luxuriously dressed serving maids, who exercise their arts, entertain the guest, and even sit with him at table, yet withal quite innocently and without the least suggestion of impropriety, is thoroughly Japanese and is a marked feature of the Ginza.

Another character comes within this category. I mean the "walking-stick girl". How shall I define this complex, apparently ambiguous and almost unique personality?

Imagine yourself a solitary young fellow who happens to find himself in Tokyo. The evening is alluring and you are insensibly attracted to the Ginza. The parade is in full swing, and you have to join it. Verily there is no escape.

But can you wander up and down the animated street alone, when everyone else is happily coupled, or forms part of a happy group? You find this thoroughly disconcerting, and finally intolerable. Well, at the upper end of the Ginza, where the Shinbashi Bridge marks the beginning of the fashionable parade, you "hire" one of the laughing, highly apparelled, well-bred girls (attired in European or native dress according to choice) to accompany you up and down the promenade for a specified fee. She chats with you, and if you are a foreigner points out

the sights and celebrities of the Ginza parade—and then intimates that the fee is now exhausted, and you must renew it if you wish to proceed. You are at liberty to invite her to a tea or an ice ; you are permitted to dance with her, but that is the limit. And because she loyally remains at your side and keeps you company, and because, too, you may leave her at the nearest corner, she is called the "walking-stick girl". She is, it must be confessed, a very hybrid character, inconceivable anywhere but along the Ginza.

Darkness descends. Millions of lamps light up, the stands and booths being installed with electric light, which is made compulsory owing to the risk of fire from other forms of illumination. There is no early closing, and the stalls are lit up from top to bottom. Sales are effected until far into the night. Search-lights sweep the starry heavens with their glow and project advertising slogans upon the nocturnal sky. If one likes one may ascend by the lift to the roof-gardens of the stores, where the animated scene below may be quietly witnessed ; or one may walk neat* caged animals or watch the children on the swings and roundabouts, for as is customary in Japan, children remain up until late at night.

It was along the Ginza promenade that the novel phenomena of the *Mobo* and the *Moga* first appeared. *Mobo* is short for the modern boy, who finds all Japanese traditions effete, and affects the American style of dress, wide trousers or knickerbockers and horn-rimmed spectacles. *Moga* is short for the modern girl, pronounced "gal" in Hollywood Americanese, who

dresses exactly like Margot, Lottie, or Jane. Her hair is waved exactly like the hair of Yvonne, Lizzie, and Inge. She smokes, plays, and has a ready retort, but she is also a shrewd, industrious, modest female who bangs a typewriter from nine o'clock in the morning until six in the evening in order, for a brief two hours, to enjoy life along the Ginza.

The Ginza promenade shows what happens when American fashions jostle Japanese traditions without any mediating influence to lessen the force of the contact. Like every other street, the Ginza has its sunny side and its shady side. Between the lofty houses which confine it on both sides, the shady side seems bigger and broader than the sunny side.

When Mr. Tanaka has bought a new cigarette-holder, inspected a collection of cheap carvings, turned over the pages of a few second-hand books ; when Mrs. Tanaka has tried three hair ornaments without buying one, and the children have been given new toys, the Ginza promenade is at an end, so far as the family is concerned. It is time to return home. Even the traders are beginning to pack up their medley of goods, and the lights are being extinguished in the stores.

Nocturnal Repose

Meanwhile the maid-servant at home has been preparing the night-quarters and spreading the mosquito nets. We have no bedrooms in the sense of special chambers set apart for sleeping ; any room

which has the right temperature, which is airy in summer and can be shuttered in winter, is arranged in the evening to serve as a sleeping-chamber. On the floor are spread the two thick silk or cotton mattresses which form the under-bed. The mattresses are standardized, being three feet wide and six feet long, the shape of the mat. A thick, padded silk or cotton quilt shaped like a kimono is used for covering (which can also be used on rising as a morning coat) and another coverlet, also well-wadded, which is larger and falls well over three sides of the under-bed. Both, this, as well as the padded, kimono-shaped quilt, are edged with velvet at the upper end, where they come into contact with the sleeper's face.

The pillows are different for husband and wife. Mr. Tanaka has a fairly hard bolster some twenty inches in length and about eight inches in breadth, stuffed with bran, which is enclosed in a white case. Mrs. Tanaka may, in reality, rest her head nowhere, for contact would ruin her coiffure, which, being artistically arranged and requiring the assistance of experts, must last several days, if not a full week. Her pillow, therefore, is a small lacquered or wooden case, one foot long and half as broad, which narrows above and supports a quite small, thin bolster. She rests her neck or her chin on this "box pillow" and so spends the night, her head remaining entirely free and exposed to the atmosphere.

Whether this kind of pillow be considered convenient or uncomfortable is mainly a matter of use and wont. The essential thing is that the head does not sink completely into the pillow and get thoroughly

heated as happens in the case of European pillows; it is quite conversely played upon by the air, remains cool, and consequently promotes sound and dreamless sleep. At all events, we Japanese who travel abroad find it impossible to rest on the downiest of pillows, because they heat the head and we get insufficient air. We therefore try to roll the pillow into a bolster, such as the one we are accustomed to. In the hot weather, at any rate, our head-supports are much to be preferred. The woman's wooden pillow contains a drawer in which a few toilet articles are kept.

In the summer we sleep without any quilt, merely donning cotton sleeping-kimonos or using a very thin coverlet.

Although we have no special-sleeping chambers, it is customary to spend the night in specific rooms. Husband and wife sleep in the "best room"; the youngest child with its mother, the other children in an adjoining apartment. The maid-servant, who has no room of her own, sleeps in the compartment next the kitchen; the "house student" or young relative reposes in the outer chamber. Usually the living-room is not used at night, as it is the only apartment that contains one or more pieces of furniture, a writing-table for adults and for the children's home-work, a cupboard for domestic utilities, the receptacle in which a small charcoal fire for preparing tea and for warming the hands is always burning, and the radio set.

Above the bedrooms, and filling the whole upper part of the chamber, hangs the mosquito net of green-coloured hemp, beautifully edged with patterned material, sometimes brocade. It is suspended by brass

rings fixed to hooks in each corner of the apartment, and is really a room within a room which, in view of the plague of insects which infest Japan, is much in request in the day-time.

It is the mosquito net, a sea-green veil vibrating over the beds, a phantom-like moving screen above a room in semi-darkness which, after the odour of *sake* wine, most excites our nostalgia. This is quite natural, for its rustling folds which enclosed our infant couch was the first wonder of which we became aware ; through its soft green texture we first observed the world, while the clang of the brass rings, when the net was hung or withdrawn, was the first music that we heard. Innumerable painters have depicted the mosquito net : innumerable poets have sung its praises. It figures on the stage as an important property in many of our plays. In fact, we have even endowed it with supernatural powers and believe that it wards off lightning. Nervous mothers creep under it with their children during storms. When sheltered beneath its netting a feeling of absolute security steals over us. There we feel completely at home, doubly safe and secure. Under the green veil which floats above us like a dream, within the paper-covered doors and wooden shutters which the maid-servant slides along the veranda and encloses us as in a box, we gently fall asleep.

The closing of these shutters, which are made to correspond with the mats—three feet wide and six feet high—and which run along a groove on the edge of the veranda, is the last sound of the evening. Their opening is the first sound which wakes us in the early

sees only the shady side of the garden, of the trees, shrubs, and rocks. He can only view the world in subdued semitones. Different considerations move the man who is prepared to abjure what is physically pleasant, and he lays out his garden and builds the rooms opening on to it to face north. He sees the sunny side of the garden all day long : he views the world in full light. A real aesthete will endure the winter's cold and the summer's heat unperturbed, if only he can view the world serenely in its truest and clearest light.

In connection with the education of the higher daughter and her initiation into the several "schools" of tea-making, of the flower-cult and of horticulture, I have already stated that she is unlucky if her husband happens to be an adherent of a rival school. It may happen that a young wife, who has been accustomed to rooms that are warm in winter and cool in summer in her father's house, is suddenly transplanted into rooms that are icy cold in winter and stifling in summer, her husband being a follower of the "North Garden School" ; and her only consolation is that the trees of the garden at least reveal their sunny side.

Next to the south the best direction to face is the east, as the east wind from the Pacific Ocean exerts a cooling influence. The west is proscribed, as in winter the west wind conveys all the coldness of the snow-covered mountain ranges of Central Japan, and in summer the scorching rays of the setting sun fill the rooms with unbearable heat. Worst of all is the northern aspect, whence comes no sun in winter and in summer no breeze.

These, then, are the circumstances that have to be

taken into consideration by the builder of a Japanese dwelling. In passing, I may mention that architects are unknown in Japan. The builder notes the peculiarities of the plot of land, the vicinity of a hill, a wood, or a stream. His reflections and conclusions may be determined by superstition ; but either fortuitously or otherwise those quarters in which evil demons lurk do happen to coincide with those very directions whence light and air exert little influence, whereas those directions whence sun and breeze prove beneficent are, in his honest mind, peopled with friendly elves and kindly spirits ; and, so it befalls, as it so often does in the East, that the dictates of superstition may be safely followed, because they are nothing else than custom completely sanctified by an experience that assumes this mysterious form.

The builder and his assistants have to delete unlucky days for the initiation, the execution and the completion of house-building ; but as the foreman builder so contrives to select periods which include the greatest possible number of work-free days and the building operations last quite a long time, this superstition, too, may claim its justification.

The craftsman in Japan is the stern dictator that he is in other parts of the globe. He knows that without his skill and workmanship the world would find it difficult to endure. He has all the pride of the guild craftsmen, who in the Middle Ages carried arms and who cut a big figure in life. The Japanese master-builder in his own realm is little less than an uncrowned king ; for it is he only who directs the building operations.

We appreciate the power of the craftsman ; nay, we as a nation are proud of these clean, capable, self-conscious, tradition-soaked men in the dark blue costumes of their calling, displaying on their jackets in large letters the name of the employer, the arms of the firm, or the designation of a favourite geisha ; who lead their own lives, in some cases speak a language of their own, celebrate their own festivals and have also figured largely in fiction and drama.

Japanese house-building is unique and seems almost an indigenous product. The scaffolding, which consists of clean, finely-planed beams, simply rests upon a few hollowed-out foundation stones, which are arranged to correspond with the plan of the house and are driven into the earth as neatly as possible. The beams and rafters must be clean, and the carpenters must exercise the utmost care so as not to damage or soil them, as they will remain when the house is completed, unpainted, unstained and showing the fine natural grain of the wood. The roof is then quickly erected, which again leads superficial observers to remark : " In Japan they do everything topsy-turvy—they begin building a house from the top instead of the bottom !" The real purpose of constructing the roof first is to shelter the work and the workmen from showers of rain and to ensure that the building is executed in the most perfect manner possible. After this the flooring is laid down, upon which the mats, the unit of measurement of the Japanese house, must fit to the millimetre. Then come the grooves for the many sliding doors, the proper execution of which presents a very onerous and precise task to the

carpenter ; for if they are the slightest fraction of an inch too wide the doors tumble down when the strong Japanese wind blows or anyone outside props a curved bamboo stick against them. The walls are made of a framework of bamboo poles and straw ropes, covered with lime or mortar and smoothed with plaster, with which colour or mica, or some other decorative ingredient is mixed.

Painting and paper-hanging are unknown. The work must "set" at the first stroke, the materials used must be prime in quality and clean and true to measurement. The wood for the raised ornamental alcove, which is not covered with a mat; that for the ornamental board beside the alcove ; for the partitions which separate the room from the alcove ; for the door-frames and the floor of the veranda, which is the pride of the Japanese housewife—all arrives carefully packed and must be handled like the proverbial egg. The master-builder himself superintends operations at this point and the greatest care is essential. No blemish or scratch must be left, as no paint or stain can be used to cover it, and the only polish is that which time and the elements impart to the wood.

The garden, which is always tended with exceptional care, is laid out with due regard to its natural surroundings, plots of grass, bushes and trees. Nature and art go hand in hand. The craftsmanship of the inner doors or sliding walls, pasted with fine paper, beautified with bronze ornamentation and usually decorated with hand-paintings, is perfect art.

This question of perfect workmanship does not so

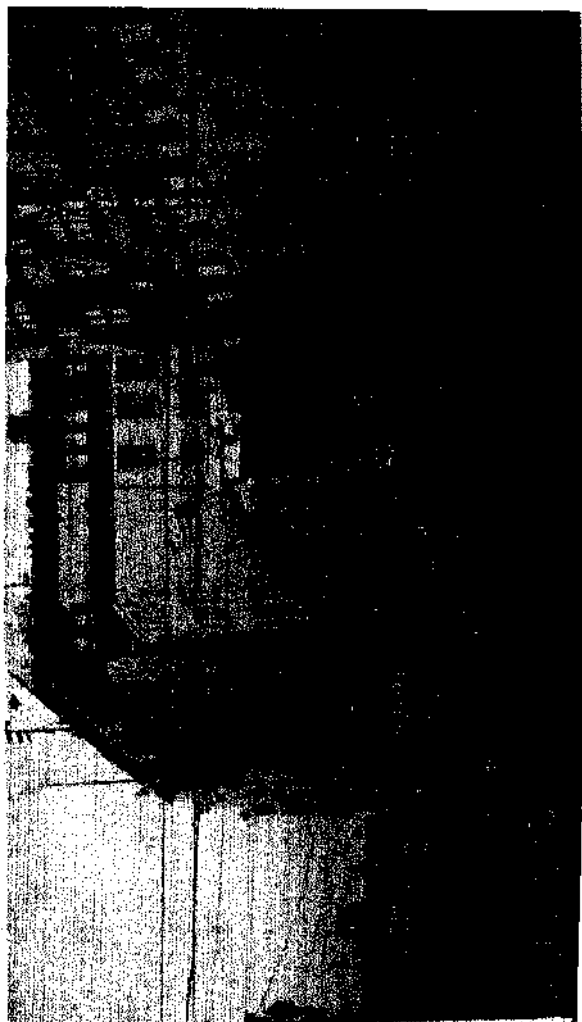
greatly denote a difference in quality between the craftsmen of the East and of the West as prove the fundamentally different requirements for buildings in temperate climes from those in bleak climes. Still, for all that, it cannot be disputed that in Japan the necessity for simplicity and even primitiveness in house-building has evolved the virtue of a rare conscientiousness. The country that is celebrated for its lacquer work is a complete stranger to paint.

Even lacquer itself, however expertly it may be manipulated by the Japanese, is a foreign substance, introduced from China. It is used chiefly to decorate the splendid Buddhist temples and ceremonial vessels, and in arts and handicrafts. Original and native Japanese style demanded coarse wood, unpainted, unstained and unvarnished. Consequently our greatest sanctuaries, the Shinto Temples, in which the Emperor prays and holds communion with his divine ancestors, are erected of rough wood ; and so that age shall not impart a patina or coating to them we demolish them at regular intervals and build them anew—again of rugged wood. And precisely because of their simplicity and "roughness" they produce an awe-inspiring impression. "Not temples which man has built for his own sojourn" says a German author, "but abodes of the gods".

The abodes of men are no plainer and no more ornamental than these temples to the divinities.

The Days Work Begins

The cool, smooth planks of the veranda serve in the morning as a place for ablutions. Mr. Tanaka, on



THE EMPEROR DRIVING THROUGH HIS CAPITAL

rising, finds there the copper bowl full of cold water, next to the children's water-bowl. By the side of each are placed soap, towel, tooth-brush and coarse salt as tooth-powder. The veranda is the toilet-room of the Japanese house, where the family take their morning wash on the coldest days of winter just as in the height of summer. There is, however, a recent tendency to make use of the bathroom, where a wash hand-basin is often built into the wall.

When Mr. Tanaka and the children have completed their toilet and donned European clothes for work and school, breakfast is served. This consists of rice, soup made of fermented beans and pickled vegetables. This series of dishes for breakfast remains the same, year in and year out. The injury which the everlasting rice may inflict upon the digestive organs is repaired by the fermented bean soup.

Mr. Tanaka and the children leave home for business and school. Mrs. Tanaka and the maid clean the house, which, in view of the absence of furniture and knick-knacks, does not involve much labour. The beds are packed away in the wall-cupboards, the mats are swept and also the veranda. A moistened cleaning cloth is applied sparingly, as damp would destroy the surface which the wood accumulates through actual wear and tear. Twice a year, under police supervision, there is a "spring-cleaning", carried out in conjunction with rat-catching and extermination of other vermin, the renewal of the paper windows and the renovation of the mats. Whatever is old or not absolutely necessary is removed and burnt, and a complete renovation of the

house and its amenities is effected under official surveillance.

Mrs. Tanaka goes Shopping

Shopping does not play the important part in the life of the Japanese housewife that it plays in that of the European. Hawkers and itinerant traders call from house to house and offer for sale anything that may be wanted. In the course of the morning the fishmonger knocks at the door and proffers live fish, which he carries on his shoulders in two bowls of water. Like everything else, the trade of the fishmonger is specialized. The first man sells nothing but sea fish, the second only fresh-water fish, the third only eels or river-lamprey, or herrings, the fourth the delicate gudgeons, no longer than one's finger, which are found in the rice-swamps. The fishmonger does not merely scale the fish, he guts it, bones it if required, fillets it, in a word makes it ready for cooking. He is recognized by the peculiar cry of the Japanese fish-dealer which he emits at regular intervals.

The fishmonger is followed by the greengrocer, with his barrow full of fine radishes, gherkins, egg-plants, asparagus and sweet potatoes. Then, crying "Tofu ! tofu !" comes the vendor of fermented bean cakes or bean cheese, called *tofu*. He sells his product raw, or roasted, or fried in oil. Following him comes the fruiterer with apples, mandarines and *kaki* fruits, and then the man with pickled vegetables, and so on throughout the forenoon.

But, as a good housewife, Mrs. Tanaka is likely

to have a keg full of various vegetables in rice bran standing in the kitchen ; nor will she rely upon the traders with their limited selection, but, accompanied by the maid, she will visit the shops of the neighbourhood, the many modern and model covered markets and bazaars or the large stores in the centre of the city.

As a consequence of the guild system and of the regulations of the authorities, which in the past restricted certain localities and streets to separate handicrafts, even today there is still a tendency for trades and crafts to congregate together. There are 'porcelain streets' and bookshop districts, fish quarters and vegetable markets. This traditional method of segregation, of course, is in conflict with the modern tendency to escape the competition of similar businesses and the inclination to open shops in the busy city centres. The capital of Tokyo, with its five and a half million inhabitants, consists, like every other city, of many quarters with their own definitive characteristics and their own local life. There is the petty bourgeois *Shita-Matji*, the "lower town" of the small tradespeople ; there are the old residential areas and the new prosperous suburbs ; there are the poor quarters of the old style and the modern, large-scale working-class districts. Further, there are quarters specially favoured by foreigners, and frequently each nation has its own region. Thus the Germans in Tokyo mostly dwell in the hilly suburb of Omori, which has a purely Western character, and in many streets of which one hears more German spoken than Japanese. Each of these districts has, in course of **time, developed a** business centre, with stores, bazaars,

shops, restaurants, cafes and places of amusement, all of which compete with the real centre of the city, to the right and left of the Ginza.

The old concentration of trades in particular streets is yielding to the new decentralization. Nevertheless, if she wants to shop to the best advantage and with the fullest enjoyment, Mrs. Tanaka will be unable to resist the allurements of the Ginza, with its up-to-date stores and, together with ten thousand like-minded sisters, will betake herself thither by tram, bus, or tube. And this again is only a recent kind of concentration.

The streets teem with the animated, even feverish, life so characteristic of Japan. The Japanese seem best able to transact their business at double pressure ; the pace of taxicabs, delivery vans, and the many bicycles is of a record-breaking pace bordering on the murderous.

As already intimated, the male business world goes forth attired in Western clothes, in addition to which rubber boots, reaching to the knee, are worn in wet weather, while in windy conditions, and when influenza is prevalent, black masks covering nose and mouth are worn. Thus a busy Japanese city crowd, in ready-made clothing, indeterminate head-gear, influenza masks and bespattered rubber boots is anything but an agreeable or aesthetic spectacle. In fact, it is well calculated to shock the foreigner. The Japanese, however, when they are concerned with practical affairs, display a supreme contempt for appearances which occasionally approaches the heroic. Once it is realized that influenza is a dangerous

ailment, which benumbs working activity, then without further ado everyone dons the hideous influenza mask, not caring in the least that they then resemble frightful spectres without noses. Rather than get wet shoes and wet feet in the rainy weather and run the risk of catching cold, a Japanese will step into the ugly stove-pipes of rubber boots and go about like a scavenger. In front of all the larger business premises, banks, offices, theatres, and stores hang brushes as long as one's arm which are fed with water from tanks and serve to clean one's dirty boots before entering the building. In summer the water-brushes are replaced by horse-hair and feather brushes, which are used to flick the yellow dust from one's shoes.

The Stores

Mrs. Tanaka enters one of the stores, which must appear to her like wonderland, as they likewise must even to Europeans or Americans who have not been surfeited by such sights. Today Tokyo has over a score of these five- or six-storied premises. The leading firms possess one in every district. The management contrive to convey customers in their own autobuses from the railway stations to the stores free of charge. Mitsukoshi, Matsuya, Shirokiya, and Matsusakaya are their names in Tokyo ; but Osaka has almost as many stores, which are nearly as perfect in organization, the largest and latest being probably the Daimaru.

Following the American example, perpetual sales take place in the basement, where the housewives

rummage among immense heaps of cheapened commodities, such as materials, household utensils, hats, and soaps. Lifts conduct the customers to the various floors, where one can buy the exquisite silks and brocades of Japan, which are veritable pictures of colour and design. Here are basket contrivances, ridiculously cheap and very modern ; close by are lacquered goods which seem to be unduly expensive. A trifle, the size of a cigarette-case, suitable for nothing more than holding visiting-cards, is marked 600 *yen*. The pretty saleswoman—painted, powdered, coiffured with painful exactitude, in the bright, becoming uniform kimono of the house—will explain that the case consists of twenty layers of lacquer and that the designer toiled three years to produce it, and that its price is, therefore, not really unreasonable.

There stand models, draped about in kimonos of the latest fashion of the year. The change from that of last year is trifling, nearly unnoticeable. From the kimono hangs a girdle composed of tickets which grows appreciably longer. As soon as a purchaser orders one of the kimonos the saleswoman attaches a ticket and from the number of these tickets Mrs. Tanaka can calculate how frequently the kimono has been sold. A number of models may have girdles three or four yards in length, each containing from fifty to a hundred tickets, and the Japanese shopper, unlike her Western sister, does not select the dress from which the fewest tickets are suspended, but that which is obviously the most popular. She does not faint, or suffer from "brain storm" if at a social gathering or even in the street she meets another

woman wearing precisely the same model. On the contrary, she is delighted to discover that someone else has appreciated the design selected by herself; the two "rivals" exchange a smile and pass on.

In a country which is committed to the principle of standardization it is not considered meet that women should indulge a feminine fondness for individualism in dress, and Japanese women have taken this silent instruction seriously to heart.

In all departments, whether the purchaser has bought clothes, furniture, materials, fruit, food, or lacquer-ware, the shop assistant will always inquire at the termination of the business whether the goods were bought for one's own use or were purchased for presentation to another.

If an article is for personal use it is packed in paper and tied with string ; but if it is intended as a present—and gifts, as we have seen, amount to an appreciable percentage in the budget of every Japanese—the style of packing is distinctly different. The present is placed in a case and covered with fine Japanese paper, and tied with gold-and-white, or red-and-white paper tape which is looped into a complicated knot. A rosette made of paper, white on the surface, red within, and wound about with gold paper, which contains a strip of dried flesh from a luck-conferring sea-animal, is inserted in the wrappings. The rosette is called *noshi*, and if one wishes to make a present in a hurry and such a rosette is not immediately available, one must at least write the word *noshi* in Indian ink on the parcel to indicate that it is there "in the spirit".

On all the principal floors of the stores are tea-rooms where customers may drink, without charge, the thin, green, unsweetened tea which encompasses the life of the Japanese from early morning till late at night. Here one is served by dainty young girls in short European dresses and stiffly starched aprons adorned with huge bows.

On the landings are found tables with every necessity for the baby ; wherever the Japanese woman goes the baby goes also, and the emporiums make arrangements for its comfort as well as for that of its mother. This is one instance of the loving care which is lavished upon the Japanese child, an integral part of the infant cult. Quite unconcernedly, in full view of the passers-by, the mothers disrobe their little ones, make them comfortable and then wrap them up again in their swaddling clothes.

On the upper floors there are recreation rooms and restaurants with Western or native cuisines and, close at hand, are halls for plays, lectures, and the exhibition of films. In the modern emporiums there are skating-rinks, which are open all the year round ; also swimming-baths and gymnasia. The roofs are spread out like parks, with trees, foliage, gold-fish aquaria, and fountains. Some of these resemble zoological gardens. All are provided with a children's department containing swings, roundabouts, slides, and sand-pits.

Here the customers rest after their exertions in the bargain basement; they stretch or rest their legs, add up their bills and probably conclude they have spent far too much ; or they move to the railings and

look down upon the teeming activities of the city, in the centre of which, but invisible behind groves of pine trees, reposes the Imperial Castle, peaceful, stately, and antique; or they gaze into the distance where on clear days the splendid outline and the bright snow of Fuji are clearly visible.

These great trading establishments have become an integral part of Japanese life. One does not enter them merely to make purchases, but to study the crowd, to meet acquaintances, to drink tea, to visit the exhibitions of paintings (especially those latest Western pictures of nude girls), the display of painted fans, embroidered rackets, artistically dressed dolls, of flowers and dwarfed trees, which are regularly held at various seasons of the year ; to meet a suggested wife, as already mentioned, or to pass a pleasant afternoon in the fresh air and sunshine on the roof-gardens, among gold-fish, peacocks, apes, and other interesting organisms.

The neat young employees of the stores—girls who are engaged for their pretty faces, and are costumed uniformly if tastefully—form an essential feature of the life of modern Japan. These females' praises are sung in popular songs : they figure as heroines on the silver screen. On the eighth, eighteenth and twenty-eighth of every month, which are the holidays of Japanese workers, who know nothing of the institution of a work-free Sunday, crowds of these girls are to be seen making for the country or strolling in the parks and amusement centres; young, picturesque, and delicate, the spectator hardly knows which to admire most: these industrious, poorly paid

but care-free and extremely charming creatures, or the cherry-blossom under which they disappear.

The maid-servant whispers to her mistress, whose rapt gaze is intently fixed on a brocaded *obi* adorned with shimmering carp, that it is time to return home. The hairdresser will arrive at eleven o'clock and dinner must be served at halfpast twelve. Whereupon she reluctantly turns away from the fascinating brocade, quickly purchases what food is needed, and returns home.

While the maid is busy in the kitchen Mrs. Tanaka resigns herself into the hands of the hairdresser, who has just entered. She is an older and experienced woman, with a great respository full of the implements of her profession.

In the Hands of the Hairdresser

The Meiji Restoration of 1870 brought an outward change in men's appearance, which proved a real liberation when that by no means simple hairdress, the top-knot, which had been worn for hundreds of years, was discarded. Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese have never worn long pigtails. The hair was allowed to grow to the level of the shoulders and was plaited and bound into an artistic knot at the lower part of the head ; the fore part of the cranium, as well as the chin, lips and even the whole face, was closely shaven. Today the male Japanese wears his hair after the Western fashion, unless he has it cropped quite close, or even shaved right off, just as he finds it

more convenient for practical purposes. The woman, on the other hand, has usually remained loyal to her intricate, old-fashioned style of hair arrangement, and is consequently under the tyranny of the hairdresser, whose energetic assistance is indispensable in the beautification of her tresses.

So the hairdresser calls at the house and is generally accompanied by an assistant. The maid brings in a large basin of hot water. Mrs. Tanaka's braids are loosened ; the padding, ribbons and pins are removed. The assistant combs her locks, which are usually long, and very carefully and briskly massages the scalp. Then the hairdresser herself intervenes. She rubs and polishes the hair with a cloth, which is repeatedly dipped in the hot water, until it is thoroughly clean, straight and without curve or crimp. Nothing in Japan is deemed more unsightly than curly hair.

Then the hair is combed for the second time with long, powerful strokes with a small tooth-comb, after which it is greased, commonly with oil extracted from the camelia plant, which promotes the hair's growth. Then come the more involved processes and the most important part of hairdressing : the arrangement of the tresses into "front hair", "middle hair", "back hair", and the two side-plaits. However the complete coiffure may appear, these five divisions of the hair are indispensable.

Upon the arrangement of each separate plaiting the hairdresser must concentrate her entire art, ingeniously contriving to banish physical blemishes and make a plump face look oval and a thin face

appear full. First of all the side-plaits are laid close to the head and drawn rather tightly across the temples and the ears. The side-sections are drawn out with a steel comb so that they protrude over the ears like wings. The back hair is enticed well into the nape of the neck so as to completely cover it ; the Japanese woman wears the neck hem of the kimono lower at the back than at the front—the geisha wears it very low—that is her only décolleté. From the nape of the neck the back hair is brought up again to the rear of the skull and neatly fastened with the ends of the side-plaits. The front tresses are combed by the hairdresser to make them fall a little over the forehead, and are then formed into a hillock of about eight inches in height. The ends are then drawn through a narrow, many-coloured band over to the back of the cranium, where they are bound up with the back hair and the side-plaits into an artistic knot, which is supported by padding and false hair, and adorned with ribbons, rosettes, a flower, or a hairpin.

That, at all events, is the normal technique of hairdressing ; there are deviations from this in the various styles which denote the age and status of women.

Small children usually run about with shaven heads. Girls are usually allowed to grow a fringe of hair at an early age, like a monk's tonsure or the familiar Japanese doll; this is followed by a semi-hairdress with "ponies", the forerunner of the bobbed head. At ten years of age the girl begins to adopt the complicated coiffure and the services of the hairdresser become necessary. The hair is bound with a

broad gold band in one or two knots to the back of the head and the hillock in front also rises gradually. The pupils of the daughters' schools, however, have recently introduced the custom of letting the hair fall down the back after the Western style and binding it with slides or braiding it into plaits. Thus, today, among the *O-Jo-San*—the flappers—this style of head-dress is almost universal, the only variation being bobbed hair, or a Japanese adaptation thereof, a distressingly uncomely coiffure probably derived from the Aino. In this style the hair is parted in the centre and drawn tightly round the head to the back, where it is held together over the nape of the neck with clasps, and forms a kind of irregular brush, spread out fanwise, which is in perpetual conflict with the kimono collar, so that the girls are compelled to hold their heads down and maintain an unnatural quietude.

The Japanese woman who adheres to the old native customs receives, when fourteen or fifteen years of age, the fine black coiffure, the "ebony helmet", about which foreigners are so enthusiastic, and which is again enjoying an ever-increasing popularity with us, as it suits our women better than anything else.

The unmarried girl wears the *shimada* coiffure ; the "higher *shimada*", a hair-dress of classical beauty, is worn by daughters of the aristocracy ; the *Tu-taka shimada*, the half high, by the daughters of merchants of the *Shita-Maji*, the lower town. Authorities on Japanese coiffure assure us that this head-dress, which we so much admire in the wood-cuts, the one so **broad**, full and lofty, like a ship in full sail, is the

finest ; it imparts to the features not the formality and haughtiness of the aristocratic high *shimada*, but grace, charm, and beauty ; although in these respects it falls short of the flapper's *shimada*, with its ornate adornment of shining bands, gold lace, and pins, as also of the adolescents *momo-ware*, the "split peach", which is confined to girls between thirteen and seventeen.

On her wedding day the Japanese girl wears the *shimada* for the last time and then adopts the *marumage*, the round chignon, which is the coiffure of the married woman and combines dignity with elegance, With this head-dress only a few partly hidden ornaments are worn—a metal hairpin with coral head, or a square lacquer pin, which protrudes less than a quarter of an inch on both sides of the head.

Many married women, however, prefer the *ijo gaeshi*, the reversed ginko leaf, not merely because this coiffure is suitable to all ages and is worn by the maiden of fifteen as well as by the widow of fifty, but also because of all head-tires it is the simplest, needs no artificial hair, and is complete without added adornment.

The ginko coiffure, named after the ginko tree, which has two corresponding leaves, displays on the back of the head a bipartite chignon, or knot, while the front tresses are worn low. It is plain and easy to manipulate, for which reason it is worn in summer, to keep the head cool and light, and it is also convenient in the home. It suits slender women admirably.

The coiffure of the Japanese woman is powerfully influenced by tradition. Nevertheless, or perhaps for

this very reason, in no realm does such unbridled anarchy reign as in this department today. At the time of the Russo-Japanese War, when our women began to wear Western clothes, they also had their hair dressed in the Western manner. A style of hair-dressing was gradually adopted which was popularly called in Japan "Hill 600", after the hill of that name near Port Arthur which was the scene of bloodily contested battles.

Other occidental coiffures were also imitated, but Japanese women soon realized that, on the one hand their perfectly straight hair was utterly unsuited to Western styles, while on the other hand it suffered from the dry European process in which no oil is used, lost its softness and was no longer amenable to Japanese methods of treatment. And so by skilful adaptation of European fashions modern Japanese coiffures were evolved. In every one of the newly established hairdressing-saloons the hairdresser experimented with the new fashions, into the midst of which crashed with devastating effect the bobbed head, which does not suit Japanese women in the least. With their smooth, stiff cropped hair they look like animated broom-sticks. The very boldest even venture one step further and have their hair permanently waved, and thus flout the tradition of thousands of years, which prescribes that, however rich she may be, the girl with curly hair will never secure a husband.

It is, however, to be hoped that this chaos will hasten the return of the Japanese coiffure. Western hairdressing, which leaves free the ears and the lower **half of** the face, does not suit our women. The plump,

somewhat pendulous cheeks and the protuberant mouth of the Japanese female requires a coiffure which covers the sides of the head and frames the features. European clothing accompanies the European coiffure. The Japanese kimono harmonizes with the Japanese head-dress; for, as the kimono effectively conceals every physical grace under the array of material and ornament, all attractive womanly qualities must find expression in the face and hair. If the elaborate, individual and becoming head-dress were abandoned the Japanese women, for better or worse, would have to discard the kimono in an endeavour to develop her physical beauty—and this would seal her doom, for her sincerest admirers cannot pretend that her figure will compare with that of European women.

Is the Japanese Woman Beautiful ?

Should you see Mrs. Tanaka flitting to her toilet-case, after she has escaped from the hour and a half's ordeal at the hands of her hairdresser, you might not be disposed to concede that she is at all good-looking. When you observe her dabbing powder on face, neck, back, and breast, colouring her lips a bright red and pencilling her eyebrows, you would regard her as an artist in make-up ; but when she rises from the low toilet table with the tiny mirror, you would have to confess that she is charming, gracious, bewitching, and truly beautiful.

In Japan, a poor people, with scanty resources



TEMPLE DOOR AND PAGODA AT NIKKO -ONE OF THE GREATEST
SHRINES IN THE LAND

restricted to a sterile soil, have created a high, and in many respects, an incomparable civilization ; similarly, in her own sphere of feminine life, the Japanese woman has created out of raw material, hardly abundant and not very malleable, a very striking example of womanly charm. However highly born and nurtured, she presents no high ideal of classic beauty. European and Chinese women have better figures than she and also more finely chiselled and characteristic features. The Korean woman is unsurpassed in symmetry of face and form. How is it, then, that everyone, native and foreigner alike, succumbs to the charm of the Japanese female, and that the geisha, the most popular of our women, has become the prototype of charm and delight throughout the world, before whose allurements the attractiveness of Chinese ladies fades into insignificance ?

The female Japanese of the small towns, the country-side, and the lower classes of the cities, indeed, wherever she is revealed in her natural, unpainted self, is really ugly. Her legs are bandy, owing to her habit of squatting on the ground ; her calves are unshapely ; her wrists are thick ; her cheeks are pendulous ; her chin is weak ; her eyes are small ; the jaw-bone protrudes ; and, in addition, her features are almost invariably irregular. Her posture is bad : it is bent forward, and her womanly outlines are hardly discernible. The yellow-brown complexion, which may seem greatly attractive to some foreigners, is not so considered by the Japanese male. In fact, he encourages his women and girls, from the tenderest age, to paint their faces with an impenetrable plaster

of white paint, and the beautiful young heroines of the film and the stage are always represented in chalky white, in contrast to the villains and adventuresses.

Here, then, resides the secret of Japanese beauty. It is preserved in tiny paint-boxes, conjoined with the perfectly appropriate coiffure, which has already been described, with the additional art of Japanese cloth-weavers and kimono tailors.

It should not be forgotten that fashions with us have scarcely changed in the course of centuries. The belt slide may be worn a little higher or a little lower, the pattern of the material may be varied, but that is all; the cut of the kimono remains the same. Therefore we have no feverish competition every spring concerning the latest fashions, which deviate as much as possible from all previous modes. There has been a constant steady evolution which eventually produced the dress that best suits the Japanese woman, and to which she instinctively clings.

We have, indeed, historical costumes which were worn some 500 or more years ago ; but these belong to the museums, the temples, and to the Imperial Court, where they are worn on festive occasions. Just as "unparalleled new" fashions do not disturb us, neither do "historical reminiscences" appear in the fashions of today. Everything that was useful and beautiful in the clothes of ancient or medieval times is preserved in our modern kimono, which is, in fact, the quintessence of the fashions of 2000 years, and to the making of which generations upon generations of painters, weavers, dyers, cutters, and silk producers have laboured. The apotheosis of a great and worthy

continuity—this is what our costumes mean to us ; and such is the meaning we ascribe to whatever of the historical or traditional survives in our manners or fashions.

The immense wealth in materials and patterns provides a guarantee that in the matter of fashions the Japanese woman can exercise considerable choice, and this gives her something to occupy her pretty head and on which she may indulge her little vanities. Over the loin-cloth, which is red for girls, patterned for young women, and white for old women, she wears a chemise and two, or on festive occasions even three, kimonos, which have no buttons or other fasteners, and are held together by the *obi*, the sash made of heaviest silk which is five yards long and twelve inches wide, and which is twice wound firmly round the body and tied with a bow on the back.

Kimono and *obi* are richly patterned ; for girls and young women gaily coloured, for older women more quietly shaded. In summer the women wear designs, suggesting waves, or fish in water, or bamboos bending to the breeze ; in winter, pine trees under snow and fallen leaves, but effects are also obtained by contraries. For example, on the very hottest day of summer, wintry patterns may be worn in order to suggest cool weather, and in the depth of winter patterns which remind one of spring, such as falling cherry-blossom, the iris in water and mandarin ducks on the river. Abundant, too, is the choice among stripes, squares, and peculiar geometrical patterns, which are produced by a simple dexterity in colouring or weaving.

Every district in Japan has its weaving or colouring speciality. If, therefore, the shape of the kimono is standardized, the choice of material is almost illimitable.

The beauty of our women is a question of "make-up". For this reason the only beautiful women are found among the fairly well-to-do, who have time, money, and inclination to cultivate their appearance ; apart, of course, from the women who must make themselves attractive in order to earn a living. I mean the geisha. A primitive or racial charm is unknown in Japan. We have no unsophisticated "country roses", nor beautiful daughters of the people.

At a time when the fine baths of the Middle Ages were forgotten in Europe, or were even prohibited for hygienic or moral reasons, when the most eminent men of the Renaissance and the ladies of the enlightened Rococo went about dirty and verminous, when a washing-bowl of the size of a cup was regarded as sufficient for toilet purposes, the Japanese woman of the Court or city practised a simple and rational physical culture. The daily bath was even then a matter of course in the towns ; the complicated head-dress necessitated the co-operation of the hairdresser ; consequently the treatment of the hair was thorough and systematic. It is significant that the hair of the Japanese woman was quoted in the markets of the world at the highest figure, and, owing to its quality, was bleached and dyed and used for every purpose for which hair is required throughout the world.

As a child Mrs. Tanaka learnt from her mother and grandmother to wash her face with a bag of

bran instead of with soap, to use cucumberjuice as a lotion, and to employ cosmetic aids with dexterity, methods which are being adopted in Europe and America today. At the early age of fourteen she was accustomed to the use of paint and powder. Her soft, almond-shaped, black eyes gleamed and the cinnamon red painted tiny mouth smiled in a mask-like white face. During the years of girlhood and adolescence, and even after she becomes a bride, her knowledge of the art of make-up is increased. The old geisha, from whom she has taken lessons in *koto* and *shamisen* playing, has taught her many a useful artifice, such as how to look younger, how to make the eyes larger and the mouth smaller ; how to freshen a care-worn and tear-stained face, so as to appear serene and charming when the husband comes home.

This latter attribute really belongs to the chapter upon the harmonious and disciplined personality, which constitutes the peculiar charm of the Japanese woman, a quality that is not so easy to learn as dressing the body or the hair or painting the face. The discipline of the family system, the school and pre-marital education has transformed a lively, by no means naturally virtuous or shy, creature into just the woman that the family system needs for perpetuation. By virtue of her nature and position the woman makes a greater sacrifice to the system than the man : that she makes the sacrifice and suffers the limitations imposed upon her with gentleness and grace is what constitutes her outstanding charm.

The Japanese woman is beautiful *because* she has been denied physical charm. She has made a virtue of

necessity; her assets are kimono, ebony coiffure, make-up, and a modest mien. She would be unwise, indeed, to abandon them.

As soon as Mrs. Tanaka has completed her toilet and coiffure she puts on a kind of white overall, which fastens behind and has narrow armholes, and repairs to the kitchen to help the maid prepare the midday meal.

The Japanese have their midday meal between twelve and one o'clock. The rice is already cooking in a large, heavy iron pot with a wooden lid ; the fish is simmering in the soya sauce ; the vegetables are cooked, mashed, and seasoned. From a keg in the corner the maid takes radishes, gherkins, and egg-plants and cuts these vegetables into thin slices.

A noise in front of the door announces that the children have already returned from school, the afternoon being a holiday. Mr. Tanaka himself is also there, because it is his free time, and he has, therefore, come home for his midday meal, which he would otherwise take in the canteen of his works for ten *sen* or in one of the cheap restaurants for fifteen *sen*.

The maid takes off the rubber boots, which are much worn by our people, as no one may enter the house in his footwear, and the frequent putting on and taking off of laced boots is a nuisance. Quickly he divests himself of the *yoh-fuku*, the Western attire, slips into the cotton house kimono, fans himself, drinks a cup of green tea and takes a turn in the garden, where he casts a rapid eye over the newspaper before lunch.

"The Morning Sun of Tokyo"

In Japan, newspapers are no more a modern institution than they are in European countries. News-sheets which contained the decrees of the Government, accounts of battles, or ordinary happenings, existed as far back as the Middle Ages ; although the Japanese cannot boast of such an ancient organ as the Chinese journal which is now in its thousandth year of issue.

We can trace the printing of books as far back as the year 770, but it is probable that it dates back to an even earlier period. In the year 700 a large edition of the Buddhist Dahrani Bible was printed by copper plates. "A million small pagodas were erected throughout the country, and one volume of the Dahrani Bible was produced in each pagoda", so runs the story in an old chronicle, but the "million" must probably be regarded as an example of credulous exaggeration. At all events, about 40,000 specimens of this Bible are supposed to be in existence even today, and, consequently, they are 1165 years old. They can be seen in the Horyu-Ji-Temple in Nara.

The art of printing with movable type was already known in the Far East before it was invented for Western nations by the German Gutenberg. Five hundred years before his time, that is about 950, we were printing with wooden type ; about the year 1600 we began to use copper type, which came from Korea.

An idea of the degree of skill which we had

acquired in this art may be obtained from an examination of the well-known coloured wood-cuts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which as many as twenty plates are printed over one another with a precision that has never been surpassed at any time.

From the Dutch we learnt engraving and etching, and these arts were applied to the printing of bank-notes, novels in small volumes, pamphlets and brochures with descriptions of events at home and abroad, the precursors of the modern newspapers.

Nevertheless our daily papers, in the modern sense, are later than their European counterparts ; thus the *Osaka Asahi* (The Morning Sun of Osaka), which is the leading daily journal of today, was established fifty-six years ago, or just about the time when Japan opened her eyes and stretched her limbs in order to take an active part in the progress of the age, which is maliciously but significantly dubbed the "paper age".

The adaptation of Japanese printing to the demands of a modern newspaper which is published twice a day, contains the latest information, and is supposed to be still damp when it reaches the reader's hands, was by no means easy. It needs only to be remembered that simple Japanese writing requires three to four thousand characters and necessitates an entirely different and much more elaborate arrangement of type-setting than the twenty-six letters of the English alphabet. The type is not kept ready to hand in convenient cases, as in Western printing-offices, but fills up whole walls, which, in the case of book

printing, where more letters are required, reach so high that the compositors are obliged to climb ladders in order to reach them. And, of course, the letters are not alphabetically arranged; but, in accordance with the nature of Japanese writing, are classified according to ideas. Thus "strength", "field labour", and so on are found with the sign for "man" ; with the sign for "woman" are the signs "noise", "gossip", "adultery" ; but also "love" and "tranquillity".

The printing-press itself is not markedly different from similar machines used in the production of European and American journals : rotary printing-presses of great rapidity, conveyors to take away the finished copies—all this and the further necessary technical equipment exists to ensure that the news is disseminated amongst the people at the earliest possible moment.

The *Osaka Asahi* and her sister paper for the capital, *The Morning Sun of Tokyo*, publish eight morning editions and three afternoon editions. Apart from the difference in characters and the fact that Japanese newspapers are perused from back to front (the back page being the title-page), the make-up of the paper differs in no way from newspapers elsewhere in the world ; there is the political and the economic section, the entertainment pages and a serial story (usually illustrated) : there are Sunday supplements in thick type, and so on.

The important journals, *Asahi*, *Mainiji*, *Hoji* and *Jiji* have recently striven to copy American models, which they already surpass in several respects. *Asahi*

has a fleet of twenty aeroplanes at its disposal for the news service, while another paper has ten. Flocks of carrier-pigeons convey urgent reports and interviews from the reporter (who carries a pigeon-basket) direct to the editor. Editorial offices are connected by private lines with the post-offices and railways, and by teleprinters and short-wave stations with branches in other places. Between Osaka and Tokyo, which are 230 miles distant, photographs are exchanged by wireless transmission. The transit of a picture takes ten to twelve minutes on an apparatus of Japanese manufacture, while the copies can hardly be distinguished from the original.

Where labour-power is still cheaper than machinery there is certain to be an army of reporters and other representatives. During the Manchurian dispute the *Asahi* despatched more than a hundred representatives to the Front; the reporters were assigned to detachments of troops, with whom they shared the exertions of the marches and the dangers of the fighting. Several of them were killed by the enemy. Outside Shanghai, in Manchuria and in the province of Jehol, films were taken which were displayed in special weekly exhibitions. It goes without saying that all the important papers maintain permanent correspondents in all the capitals of the world. Usually they are men of education, with academic degrees, and often authors of repute. In Japan itself the *Asahi* alone maintains a staff of 1200 correspondents. This makes it possible to add a local supplement of two pages to every edition, which publishes an account of what has been happening in fifty different districts. *

In this respect, that is, in the close grip upon all parts of the country exercised by the great central newspapers of the capital, the European journals have already been surpassed. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Tokyo Asahi* together have a circulation which has been reached by no other newspaper in the world : over three million. The Tokyo edition pays greater attention to political questions, while that intended for the commercial centre of Osaka is more concerned with economic and financial problems. The *Osaka Mainiji* and its sister sheet the *Tokyo Nijiniji* (Day by Day) have a circulation of over 1,500,000, in addition to an English edition for foreigners and an edition in Braille for the blind.

Apart from its proper function as a newspaper, the *Asahi* plays a great part in the cultural life of the nation. It possesses its own halls, for example, in which modern concerts, exhibitions and lectures are arranged. It was also the *Asahi* that financed the first Trans-Siberian flight from Tokyo to Berlin, and thus contributed to a closer approach of the two nations. Many famous European artists have made their first appearance in the lecture-halls of our great newspapers.

Differing fundamentally in one respect from most newspapers of Western countries, Japanese organs almost without exception avoid party politics, and are not connected with any of the political parties.

A newspaper which supported the policy of any one of the parties would, in Japan, find few readers, as the reading public would no longer credit it with the impartiality and objectivity essential to the

treatment of political and economic questions. The Japanese, who is at bottom a non-political person and only on rare occasions adopts a party attitude, does not wish to be reinforced in his political proclivities by the leading article in his daily paper. He prefers neutral guidance from that quarter. He welcomes criticism of the measures of the Government when this seems called for, and consequently the political articles are candid and pungent to a degree that is only found in revolutionary journals elsewhere. The independence of our Press is also manifested in its finance ; for instance, not a single share of the *Asahi* is in foreign hands. All the shares are owned by members of the firm, and most of them belong to the Murayama and Uyeno families, which founded the undertaking in the year 1879. Thus we observe the patriarchal principle in financial matters, which has a beneficial effect on the social and economic life of our country.

Although our Press does not actually pursue party politics, it has, of course, a certain tendency. The *Asahi* represents the interests of trade and industry, is politically "liberal", to employ a well-worn, but often apt word ; while the *Mainiji* rather advocates the aims and interests of the military caste, the nobles and the bureaucracy, and might be termed "conservative".

In Japan the newspapers chiefly provide reading matter for the men, but innumerable periodicals or magazines, which appear monthly and sometimes weekly, cater for the requirements of Mrs. Tanaka and the children. Indeed, there are eight periodicals

for women, thirteen for boys and girls, eleven of a general character, while for small children we have more than thirty suitable publications. It has been estimated that periodicals and magazines in Japan constitute seventy per cent of the entire output of printed matter.

Most of the periodicals are in the hands of Seiji Noma, the "magazine king", a self-made man with the wide outlook of an American and all the drive of a Hearst or a Northcliffe, who exercises immense influence in modern Japan. About twenty years ago he started a small periodical devoted to elocution and public speaking. Today his undertaking, the *Kodansha*, publishes nine magazines, which with their total circulation of five and a half million copies monthly comprise eighty per cent of all the periodicals of the country. The most important of his publications is the *King*, with a circulation of more than a million, which is so-called in allusion to Noma's dominant position in the publishing world. Then there is *Fuji Fuji Club* (Women's Club) *Gendai* (New Age) and others, some of which possess a circulation of approximately a million.

Seiji Noma's publications are "food for the masses". His maxim is : "Print what everybody is able to read". The public term his enterprise "the private Ministry of Education". The spirit which he diffuses is, as he himself says, "the traditional Nippon spirit based upon the *Bushidoh*" ; in other words, the system of practical ethics that guided the conduct of the old warrior caste. Recently his son, Hisashi Noma, won the national fencing championship with the two-handed Japanese sword, in a contest which was held in the

Emperor's presence to celebrate the birth of an heir to the throne. To such events the Japanese attach great importance.

Seiji Noma is steadily amalgamating the title of Magazine King with that of Stores King, as he owns a chain of mail-order businesses, with which he is launching out in new directions and promoting the common welfare as well as augmenting his own fortune, which is already considerable.

When Mrs. Tanaka peruses her magazine, she is not merely an attentive reader who is persuaded by exciting serials to renew her subscription or to buy the next number ; she also belongs to a huge circle, a closed family of readers, who look to the periodical for advice and support and silently commune for the consideration of all kinds of topics that interest them, or study problems incidental to the emancipation and enlightenment of modern Japanese women. She finds cookery recipes, household hints, instructions for dress-making and the rearing of children in her favourite journal, and she is thus guided in every movement of her daily round.

Taken on the whole, it is a petty bourgeois repast; high-brows or lovers of real literature would look there in vain for intellectual nourishment. The Japanese people is essentially lower middle class in outlook and character.

But that which has burgeoned into real blossom in Japan, that which has ascended to classical heights and developed into an art that shrinks from no comparison is the theatre, and next to it, the theatre's youngest child, the cinema.

And when, after finishing their meal and completing their toilet, Mr. and Mrs. Tanaka have bought tickets for the theatre or the much cheaper cinema, they can command, ordinary little people though they be, the possession of a romantic realm of glorious beauty.

No> the Noble Theatre

In the inception of our civilization, in the seventh century and earlier, dances and festival plays were performed in front of Shinto shrines, which were called *Kagura*, or "Joys of the Gods", and were therefore plays intended to appease and enliven the divinities. Demons appeared therein, both good and evil, with bland or fearsome masks and enormous white or red manes. From the *Kagura*, which has survived to the present day in its original form as a temple festival play, a Court Theatre developed during the Middle Ages. The princes maintained families of actors who collected, adapted and performed old-time folk- and special cult-dances, also pantomime and vaudeville, which the priests and the people had produced. The actors by exquisitely appropriate gestures express abstract ideas such as parental love, loyalty, and ancestor worship. The Asiatic's shyness of "play-acting", his shrinking from self-expression created the mask, to which great carvers imparted such perfection that they could simulate all the emotions of joy and sorrow and appeared more pliable and expressive than the human countenance.

Such was the origin of No, the choicest bloom of Japanese art. It, too, has survived into our own day unimpaired, and is called the Japanese opera. The same families that performed it in the Middle Ages under the protection of princes, continue it today with the support of very exclusive associations, which were formed to ensure its preservation.

The No is accompanied by music ; its vocal expression is a solemn, monotonous chant. The stage is open on three sides, a plain background being its only decoration. The properties are simplified to the utmost: two or three bamboo poles represent a ship, a bridge or a house.

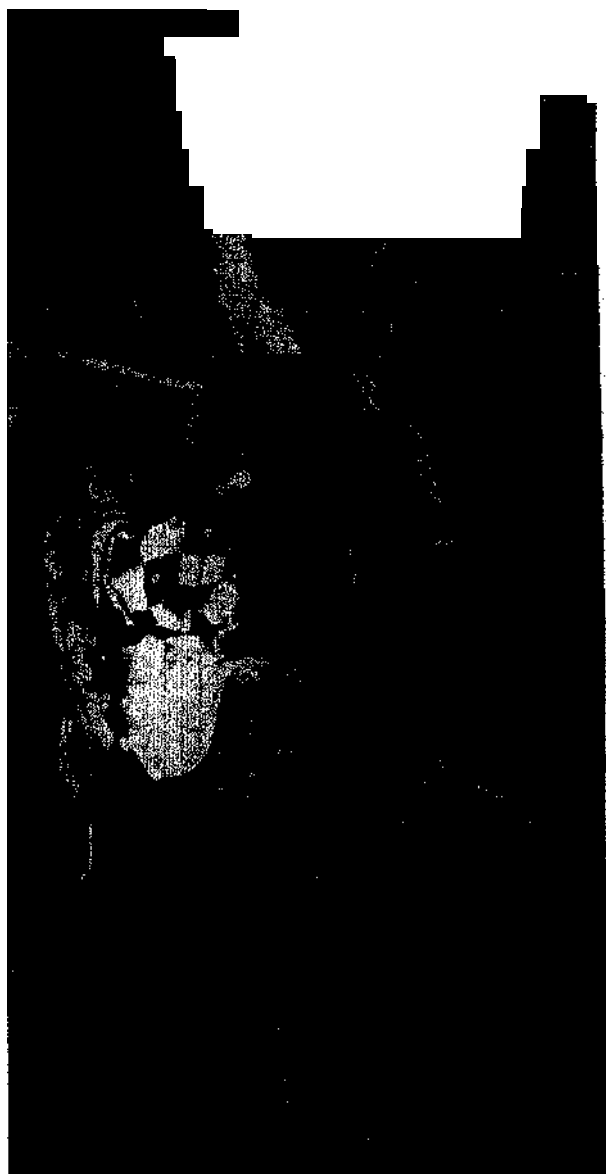
The acting of the No impersonator is an art almost religious in its adherence to the highest standard. His concentration and absorption in his part borders on the uncanny : it is a condition of voluntary trance. "Weeks before a performance," says Ivao Kongoh, the head of one of the impersonator families, "I hang the mask before my eyes, so that I may familiarize myself with its character."

"No," says Friedrich Perzynski, a German authority on Japanese art, "is one of the purest and noblest things which have survived from long-past centuries into our age of the motor-car and aeroplane."

Recently the great newspapers, worthy successors of the princely patrons, have shown a keen interest in No, and have rendered it accessible to the general public.

In No, one-act pieces of ethereal charm, lyrical dramas, are played somewhat in the following manner:

Hagoromo, or the robe of feathers. *Hakuryo*, a young



fisherman, lands one morning in spring on the pine-studded coast of Mio. As he stands entranced by divine music and an ineffably delicious perfume which seems to emanate from nothing, he perceives a beautiful and costly dress on the branch of one of the pine trees. He takes it in his hands : it is no ordinary garment, but such as goddesses are wont to wear. And, behold, a divine maiden appears, who had disrobed, in order to bathe in the sea. She implores the fisherman to return to her the garment, which may not belong to any mortal: if it is not restored, she will be unable to return to her celestial abode.

The fisherman hesitates. Should he keep the precious garment, or return it to the supernatural beauty ?

His sympathy goes out to her who begs so piteously and he says : " I will give you the dress, if you will dance for me."

She promises to do so, but adds that she cannot dance without the dress.

The fisherman hands it to her and slipping into it, she begins to dance for him ; and in rhythmic sway of the feather dress, in a cloud of precious perfume, she soars away from his sight.

Shojok, the red-haired demon. Kofu, an honest young man, lives in the village of Yosû. It is revealed to him in a dream that he will become prosperous if he moves to the city and opens a wine store. He journeys to the town, opens a wine business and becomes rich. Every market day a stranger calls, who drinks innumerable tumblers of wine, without betraying the least sign of intoxication. One day Kofu

asks him who he is ; the stranger answers that he is Shojoh, the red-haired demon, who lives in the sea. He must come to meet him in the bay of Shinyo, where he rises from the waves.

One night Kofu repairs to the appointed spot. In the East, where the sun rises in the morning blood-red from the sea, Shojoh appears with bristling, flaming mane. He comes striding over the waves, seizes a huge beaker full of wine, gulps it down, and performs a drunken and mirthful dance. Then he fills a wine jug with spring water and hands it to Kofu, remarking that the the jug will always be full of wine. Thereupon Shojoh falls into a drunken sleep. Kofu takes the jug home, and however much he pours out of it, the jug always remains full.

Kabuki, the People's Theatre

In the year 1603 O-Kuni, a simple priestess from Kisuki, in the province of Isumo, journeyed to Tokyo, in order to collect donations towards the rebuilding of her temple, which had been destroyed by fire. To interest people and enlist their generosity, she performed sacred dances and impersonated scenes from Court life, and achieved great success. Donations poured in, and she was soon able to engage assistants, a small troupe of dancers and actresses. The dress which O-Kuni wore during her performances was called Kabuki, and today the whole of the magnificent drama of Japan is called Kabuki in recognition of O-Kuni and her earlier activities. The leading theatre of the

capital, externally a fine example of Japanese architecture and provided internally with every conceivable technical appointment, with a revolving stage that is probably the largest in the world, is termed the Kabuki Theatre—an excellent example of the continuity of the drama in Japan and of the kindly sentiments entertained towards those who blazed the trail.

The Englishman Cocks, who travelled from the port of Hirado to Yeo (Tokyo) in 1616, or thirteen years after the first appearance of O-Kuni, describes several "Caboqui" performances at which he was present. The new and popular dramatic art blossomed rapidly, and soon attained to great distinction, which, however, was not without its darker aspects. Cocks describes the Kabuki artistes as "Caboqui whores". Moral considerations prompted the Government, in 1646, to prohibit the presence of women on the boards, and so down to our own day neither the No stage nor the Kabuki stage has permitted the appearance of actresses.

In 1868 this embargo was raised, and today there are numerous talented actresses, and there even exist theatres upon whose stage none but female impersonators perform ; but the Kabuki and the No still remain closed to women. The female rôles are played by males.

Piety and perpetuity—reverence of the old and the faithful development of inherited beneficence—are nowhere manifested so strikingly as in the Kabuki, which has its own style of dancing, based on the movements of the marionettes, the prototypes of the

later artistes ; its own plays, its own scenery, and its own costumes. Even the gestures and expressions of the actors are transmitted from father to son. Great family dynasties, such as the Nakamura, the Ijimura, the Morita, and the Kataoka, have for two and even three centuries furnished the stage with impersonators. It is, as suggested, this continuity but still more the natural fidelity with which the son serves the same art as his father that impresses our people. When he is about four or five years of age the budding Kabuki actor is made to walk on. In mute parts or as stage-worker he watches his father's deportment and that of other great mimes, one of whom undertakes, conjointly with the father, the boy's tuition. The boy plays at first in children's pieces, learns to fence, to dance, and the rules of deportment. If he wins his spurs, he is, while yet a youth, introduced and recommended to the public in various ways. He must be able to play the part of a maiden, a hero, a sweetheart or a cavalier with equal facility ; must talk and sing in the falsetto of female parts, in the gruff tone of male parts, and must be a capable dancer.

Ganjiro, of the Nakamura family, the most eminent impersonator of modern times, who played the fervent, youthful lover up to the time of his recent death at the age of seventy-five, harked back to the great actor Tojuro (1645-1709), whom he strove to emulate in all things. He studied the profession of wood-carving in which his prototype was represented and thus endeavoured to learn the peculiarity of his posture. He imitated him in his costume and masks down to the minutest detail. To closely resemble his ancestors

is the supreme objective of the aspiring Japanese. Ganjiro's son, the young Jojiro, who is today acting in the films as a modern man, plays his parts in the style of the Kabuki, with face painted a chalky white with a few crude grease lines which make it resemble a mask.

The Kabuki impersonator of today, although he may appear in civic life in European dress and drive his Buick or his Chrysler, submits, the instant he enters the theatre, to the imperious canons of his art. If he plays the passionate lover, he wears a coloured band round his head ; if he personates the tragic hero who is ill-starred in love, he wears a black satin robe with golden clouds and lightning flashes ; when he plays the part of a dashing cavalier and *habitué* of the *Yoshiwara*, he dons a sky-blue kimono with embroidered swallows in flight. He will never permit a love scene to pass into realism, but dissolves it in two or three dancing attitudes, an exchange of glances and expresses a heart-breaking farewell in a head-shake.

To the Japanese actor his part is no flexible garment into which he slips, in order to give sharper emphasis to his own form. It is rather an inflexible, if splendid robe, which he must sustain to the best of his ability. If the actor is big enough, the garment rises from the floor, stalks, and acts, but it prescribes the manner in which he must deport himself. When he succeeds in liberating his personality from the stiff, heavy folds of the robe, he is simply a genius.

The Japanese people are a dancing folk with the delirious delight of pagans in masquerade; they therefore produce highly-talented actors. From their demon-

haunted forbears they have inherited a wholesome fear of masks and disguises, and therefore form an excellent public. The Japanese enters into the spirit of the performance with a vigour and passion that the European no longer knows. For him the traditional acting on the stage, which looks like pantomime or dancing to the stranger, is not art, but reality. He engages in violent partisanship on behalf of the hero and against the villain. The illusion which grips the spectators does not proceed from the stage, which is disillusioning, but is evolved in the vision, perhaps dives deeper, into the minds and hearts of the spectators. In this the Japanese will allow nothing to disturb him. He is not only a sound sleeper, but a real dreamer. When the curtain is up and tragic action is developing, the scene shifters flit across the stage and remove properties that are no longer necessary, place in order the cushions for the actors, or arrange the folds in the rich dresses. Behind a cloth which is held before him the slain hero springs up and vanishes within the wings. In olden times the stage-hands even directed candles to the features of an actor to call attention to dramatic triumphs or to the remarkably splendid costume of a female impersonator. They wore black clothes and caps, and were supposed to be invisible.

The Japanese spectator simply failed to see them !

Monzaemon Chikamatsu (1653-1724) wrote the best plays for our theatre ; what has been written since does not approach his supreme standard, even as Shakespeare remains England's greatest dramatist. Consequently we call Chikamatsu the Japanese Shakespeare. His plays are characterized by a refined

simplicity—they were originally written for the marionette theatre, but they contain the elements of genuine drama and today form the shining peaks in the repertory of the *Kabuki*, and are the favourite plays of our people.

These plays' usual themes are allegiance unto death, conflict between love and duty, and episodes from Japanese history, precisely those ideas and events that never fail to appeal to the audience. Our theatre is not merely a place of amusement, but also an animated lesson in history, and, in a country which has few museums, an animated temple of the Muses.

The presentation of our plays is more dramatic than that of the No, but more lyrical and epical than those of Europe. Some of our plays were originally ballads, which were recited with musical accompaniment and a little dancing. The actor recited the dialogue in varying tones, and at intervals reported the progress of the action. As a natural development the distribution of the character parts took place with the filling of the roles by actors or marionettes. The reciter declined from actor into accompanist and finally became part of the obbligate orchestra. There he would sit, sometimes visible on the stage, sometimes concealed behind bamboo curtains, in a row with the musicians, who played the *samisen* lutes, flutes, and three kinds of drums ; and even today he intones in a singsong chant the connecting text between the dialogues, as well as the stage directions. The ballad-like features are therefore still preserved ; the imitative music of the orchestra provides an impressive background before which the action takes place.

Some of the plays are dramatized novels. No Lessing has ever appeared in our country to define the boundaries of epic, lyric, and dramatic art, or set up a standard of taste of a permanent character.

In the drama *Kanchin cho*, or the Crossing of the Frontier, Yoshitsune, the Siegfried of our history and letters, is discovered in flight from his ambitious brother, Yoritomo, the dictator of Japan, who is attempting his overthrow. Benkey, a priestly swash-buckler, accompanies the fugitive. The frontiers are closed ; the guards are advised of the approach of the young prince and his unruly companion ; a breakthrough seems impossible. Then Benkey loads up his young master with all the luggage, and pretends that he is his bearer. When the officer of the frontier-guards is still inclined to distrust them, Benkey beats Yoshitsune with a stick, while inwardly begging his forgiveness. The frontier official is still sceptical concerning the character of the bearer, but he is touched by the loyalty of Benkey, which extends so far as to permit him to beat his superior, in order to save him. He lowers the barriers, and allows the fugitives to flee.

This is a typical Japanese piece, in which the intellectual core reposes not in the psychic, but in the moral region ; it is a problem specifically Japanese. The fidelity of Benkey conflicts with itself, inasmuch as he is constrained to humiliate his master, in order to preserve him. The magnanimity of the frontier official conflicts with his Samurai psychology, with his trustworthiness, when he lets Benkey and the young prince escape despite the orders of his own master.

There is here sufficient plot to fill half a dozen Japanese tragedies.

A markedly lyrical or purely emotional piece, in which the action is reduced to a minimum and which would have no meaning whatever in the absence of the mode of representation essential to the Japanese theatre, is *Hisayoshi and Goyemon*. Let me epitomize the play, without commenting upon it.

The season is spring and the cherry trees are in blossom. Goyemon, a bandit famous in his day, son of a general, is seated on the balcony above the temple door of Nansen-Chi in Jyoto, enjoying the prospect. Whereupon a falcon flies thither and settles on an adjacent door. Goyemon notices that the bird is clutching in its claws the torn sleeve of a kimono. He throws his heavy tobacco pipe at him ; the bird flies away and Goyemon picks up the remnant. Some words are written on the material in blood—it is a message to Goyemon from his father.

/ must die [writes the father], the general Hisayoshi insists on my execution, because he blames me for certain intrigues against him. I am innocent; and you, Goyemon, and your brother, if still alive, must avenge my death. You do not know your brother, nor has he ever seen you ; but if you both carry the rare perfume of Ranchatai, which I gave you in remembrance of me, you will recognize each other.

Goyemon, infuriated by his father's letter, vows a terrible atonement; while he is still swearing his oath of vengeance above the temple entrance, his father's murderer, Hisayoshi, appears before the same door below.

Hisayoshi is attired as a pilgrim ; as he bends over a well to fill his beaker with water he sees the reflection of Goyemon in the pool. He starts and thus reveals that he has recognized the son of his victim.

Then Goyemon recognizes him ; he draws his javelin from the sheath of his sword and hurls it at Hisayoshi, who catches it with his beaker. The two antagonists stare at each other, and the curtain falls.

Thus all the visible action consists in the one actor sitting on the arch of a door, reading a letter and vowing vengeance, while the other actor peers into the basin of a fountain and avoids a knife that is hurled at him. Nevertheless, and although the performance is perfectly familiar to the Japanese public, so that it cannot give rise to the slightest feeling of tension, the play always excites us and stirs us to enthusiasm.

Why ? First, because we live, so to speak, *enfamille* with our historical and legendary figures ; because they live in us, and every one of our children knows their character, their features, strength, and weakness. Goyemon, son of a Chinese general and a Japanese mother, a dangerous if noble bandit—is to us a living personality, enshrined in a hundred legends. Hisayoshi, a general in the Army of the terrible Nobunaga Oda, he, too, conveys a definite idea to us. These figures excite and convulse us even as figures, before they begin to act at all ; they plunge us into a state of agitation and fret our romantic blood to fever-heat. By way of analogy I need only refer to the unconscious pleasure, the excitement and secret delight which an ordinary person in a Western community experiences

in a wax-works show, exhibiting celebrated or notorious characters from history and tradition. Something of the same feeling prevails in our theatre, although in such a sublimated form as to impress even the most sophisticated European, and this, characteristically enough, without his ability to interpret our language.

Our actors in their more than splendid costumes, with their excessively painted masked faces, and stiff expressive gestures, and long pregnant pauses, are grandiose marionettes, teeming with energy and enveloped in a baroque romanticism.

In the second place, the Kabuki has substituted another and a nobler sensation for the truly febrile tension which is produced by action. Hisayoshi and Goyemon are dynamic forces, the former in his princely tranquillity, the latter in his volcanic rumblings, punctuated by eruptions. The costumes that are prescribed for this piece are designed adequately to portray these conceptions. Hisayoshi wears a sky-blue, close-fitting silk robe and a cap that covers the head ; Goyemon, however, wears a thickly-wadded, red embroidered garment of black satin, on which golden ornaments glitter ; his hair is gathered up into a large, sweeping coiffure. This inevitably reveals a conflict of forces altogether independent of action or "story".

While Goyemon is uttering his oath of vengeance and Hisayoshi's entry is expected every moment, the fiery-red, barbarously painted door which fills the whole stage is raised by means of an ingenious piece of machinery, and it is a tense moment when the first storey, which hitherto stood level with the stage

floor, slowly and menacingly ascends from the earth. Goyemon is elevated with the door ; his oath ascends, as it were, to Heaven and remains recorded.

At this moment the foe-man appears : Hisayoshi. The play with javelin and beaker is nothing more than dramatic exuberance, in order to render the antagonism quite obvious ; strictly speaking, it is superfluous. Of final significance is the fixed stare which the enemies exchange and upon which the curtain falls.

A Japanese audience will at times fall into a frenzy and fill the theatre with piercing shrieks.

Our theatrical performances start at three or four o'clock and end towards eleven ; with long intervals for strolling through the corridors and passage-ways which belong to the theatres. The entertainment lasts eight hours and usually comprises three plays and two dances. Frequently, however, the plays are not completed, only one or more especially fine acts being shown. But as the public knows the plays by heart, this is immaterial; the play is like a good book that can be perused again and again, no matter on what page.

Certain plays are connected with special families of players, who pride themselves on their ability to assign all the characters exclusively to their own members. Other plays, again, are performed at particular seasons. Regularly in the New Year the drama *Chuchin-Gura* is played, or the *Treasure House of the Faithful*, which is not only one of the most popular dramas in our literature, but is also our national performance.

In the year 1748 three authors, among whom

Isumo Takeda is the most notable, put on the stage, in the shape of an eleven-act drama, an historical play that culminated in an episode which occurred in the year 1703.

On New Year's Day 1701, as always at this time of the year, an ambassador of the Emperor had arrived from the capital of Kyoto to Yedo (Tokyo), the seat of the Imperial Viceroy, in order to offer the latter congratulations and to inquire into the state of his health. The Viceroy has this year chosen two young princes, Asano, Duke of Ako, and Date, Duke of Yoshia, to receive the Imperial Ambassador, and has appointed Kira, the Master of the Ceremonies, an influential, adroit, but intriguing and ambitious prince, as an adviser. Date, who knew Kira's character, secures his services with a large monetary gift; Asano, who is an honest man without courtly experience, omits this benevolence. Besides, Kira is in love with the latter's beautiful wife, and thus a tense relationship arises between the two.

The Master of the Ceremonies takes advantage of every opportunity to humiliate the young prince and to picture his conduct as questionable. He even prompts him, by false counsel, to act indecorously in the presence of the whole Court—until Asano can endure it no longer and, drawing his sword in the sacred area of the Viceroy's palace, wounds Kira in the forehead.

Asano is overpowered, and as he had insulted the Emperor's majesty by his conduct after he had been officially appointed to receive the Imperial Ambassador, he is condemned to death.

On the same day he commits suicide, after composing a farewell poem ; his property and castle of Ako are confiscated ; his vassals are dismissed. Under the leadership of the steward Oishi, about fifty of them, however, remain in secret communication with each other, firmly resolved to avenge the death of their master on Kira.

But Kira has foreseen this, and surrounds himself with a strong bodyguard. The avengers find it impossible to approach him, for he has them constantly watched. Oishi and the other lieges then abandon themselves to an extravagant mode of life, in order to deceive the enemy. After many kinds of tragic interlude, spread over a period of two years, it seems that the hour of reckoning has at last arrived. Having been lulled into a sense of security, Kira had dismissed a portion of his bodyguard, but he still remains entrenched in his fortified palace at Yedo. One of the avengers, however, has married the daughter of a builder, whom Kira had employed, and by this means has obtained a plan of the palace. Rihey Amanoya, a merchant, who had formerly attended to Asano's business, has supplied the avengers with arms, at great risk to himself. This Amanoya, who is called Amakawayaya in the drama, because it was forbidden in Japan to put people on the stage under their real names, personifies the ideal of the Japanese little man. Belonging as he does to the trading class, the lowest rung of the social ladder, he is yet inspired by the self-sacrificing spirit of the Samurai and clings to his princely house, although it can yield him no further profit.

"Master Amakawayaya," says Oishi to him in the Tenth Act, "you told us that you would like to accompany us, but could not, as you were no Samurai. Well, then. Your name shall be our battle-cry. Shouting 'Ama !' and 'Kawa !' we will break down Kira's palace doors. He himself shall feel the pain of death's approach, when he hears pealing through the night the shouts of 'Ama' and 'Kawa'."

Such stage figures were the literary pioneers of the civic emancipation of the nineteenth century. Ever more frequently the dramatists placed such personalities in the centre of their plays, or, at least, introduced faithful, upright civilian studies, worthy of all imitation, into dramas of a chivalrous character.

With Amanoya's assistance, the secret plan of the conspirators was eventually realized. In the night of the 20th January, 1703, amid a heavy snowfall and severe cold, forty-seven men, led by Oishi, determined to try conclusions, invaded Kira's palace, overpowered the guards after a fight which lasted hours, and penetrated into the sleeping-apartment of the prince.

The bird, however, had flown ; but as his coverlet was still warm, he could not be far away. He was found hidden in a coal-shed ; the invaders hauled him out, kneeled down before him and implored him to make an end of his life through *hara-kiri*, to avenge the death of their lord. Kira, the weakling, refused. Thereupon they slew him, each of them burying his sword in the enemy's body. Oishi then severed the head from the trunk, and in close formation the conspirators marched to the Temple of Sengaku-Chi, in a suburb of Tokyo, where their feudal lord, Asano, lay buried.

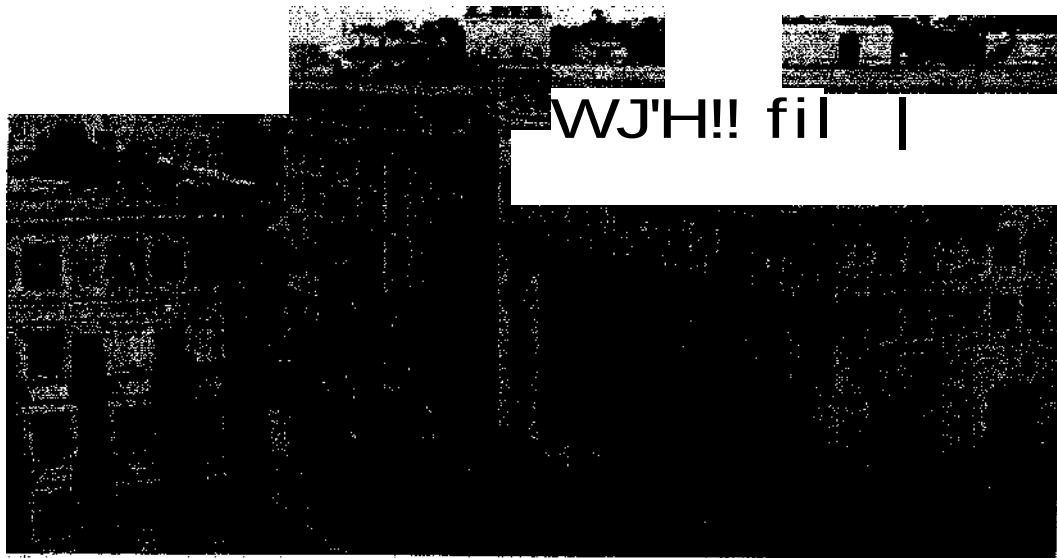
They washed the head and then laid it, amid prayers, upon their master's sepulchre.

Meanwhile, the incident had been reported to the authorities. Oishi and his forty-six men were arrested and condemned to death for invading a princely castle in times of profound peace. For this eventuality they were prepared, and so, on the 10th March of the same year, they died together the death of the Samurai, committing *hara-kiri*—Oishi, his seventeen-year-old son, Rikiya, and the others.

The whole nation revered the dead as heroes ; they were buried in the cemetery of Sengaku-Chi, where they rest to this day, around their feudal lord, as vassals who were faithful beyond death. Today the necropolis of Sengaku-Chi is our greatest national sanctuary. Under ancient, sougling trees stand the tombstones, the larger belonging to the prince, the smaller ones to his knights, in touching uniformity. In front of each tombstone is a stone incense-burner, and the scent of incense never fails in the forest of Sengaku-Chi. Today, trams clang past the portals of the temple ; the feverish traffic from the city's centre to the suburbs, to the pleasure-quarter of Shinagawa, to the villa-studded suburb of Omora, to the port of Yokohama, surges past the forest, but clouds upon clouds of incense are ever ascending from the field of the dead.

There are not, however, 47 stones that surround the tombstone of Asano, but 48 ; yet only 47 lieges died for him.

The story of the man who lies under the forty-eighth stone is very Japanese ; and father Tanaka, when he



JAPAN S FINANCIAL POWER
THE WHITE BUILDING IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE TOKYO OFFICES OF THE MITSUI, THE RICHEST
AND MOST POWERFUL FAMILY UNION IN THE WORLD

takes the children to Sengaku-Chi on the 10th March, the anniversary of the deaths of the 47, does not fail to tell them this story and extol this man's conduct as a model. When, in fact, Oishi, intent on deceiving the enemy, abandoned himself to an extravagant mode of life and became an *habitué* of the pleasure region, he lay one evening, apparently very drunk, in an approach to the *Toshiwara*. A Samurai coming that way saw him prostrate, recognized him, abused him for his infidelity and unmanliness, and spat in his face. Oishi was constrained to tolerate the insult, in order to preserve the impression of his utter depravity.

When the Samurai later heard of the revenge which the forty-seven had taken under Oishi's leadership, of their heroic combat and manly death, he made his way to Oishi's tombstone, implored the soul of the dead to pardon the insult that he had laid upon him, and committed suicide.

He was buried in the same line of graves as the forty-seven heroes.

Is it surprising that even today, after the lapse of 230 years, the conduct of these men still speaks impressively to the living and that tears flow profusely when *The Treasure House of the Faithful* is put on the stage.

The part of Oishi is the most popular part, but everybody has his favourite character—the young Rikiya, the merchant Amakawaya, the noble Asano, or Amakawaya's brave, unfortunate wife.

If, in contrast to the No stage, whose appeal always remains restricted more or less, to a select circle, the *Kabuki* is real popular art, even this is

"heavy fare" for the little man, because, as already pointed out, it starts in the afternoon, and can therefore be witnessed only on holidays, which in Japan are few and far between. Moreover, the price of tickets is by no means low, as they cannot well be, in view of the programme provided, while a visit to the theatre always entails at least a meal in one of the theatre restaurants. It is quite an elaborate "outing", from which an old-fashioned Japanese does not return without being loaded with gifts for those of his family and relatives who were not in the party, presents in the nature of *Kabuki* souvenirs—handkerchiefs or carvings with pictures of actors, dolls representing historical or contemporary popular figures of the stage, hollow egg-shells in the interior of which a complete stage scene has been constructed—which may be purchased in the arcades of the theatre.

The Greatest Film Production in the World

If Mr. Tanaka wants an inexpensive pleasure, he decides to go to the cinema. Screen play in Japan is developed to an extraordinary pitch, a living proof that our people are swift to adapt the latest technical achievements to their own desires.

On the occasion of the exhibition of such Japanese films as *The Flight to Yedo*, *In the Shadow of Yoshiwara*, *Jakichi the Wood-cutter*, at a time when silent pictures were being shown in European countries, it transpired that Japan had a vigorous film industry, whose productions were not known throughout the world

because they were too Japanese, too indigenous, and because the exchange of cultural and art products was still dominated by the pernicious tendency of exchanging hybrid products, "what the others could understand", rather than what is really popular, and consequently artistic.

In fact, in the years 1927-29 our film industry made twelve films every week, more than even the world-controlling American industry. In the year 1926 we produced the almost incredible number of 790 films, which was more than the entire film output of the rest of the world.

The coming of the Talkies, which revolutionized production in every respect in all the film countries of the globe, at first caused a stagnation in the Japanese industry. No longer was there the enormous production of 790 films, which, be it noted, were utilized entirely at home. The public were waiting for the Talkies, and for the time being the industry possessed neither the recording nor the transmitting apparatus. The Japanese were expectantly impatient; certainly they showed a greater impatience than any other film public on earth, as they have always been accustomed to the vocal film. Films in Japan have never been silent. They have always been accompanied by the dialogue of one or more "explainers", a superior kind of explainer, to be sure, who had been trained in the *Kabuki* school of elocution, and were often highly paid.

Quite understandably our public were delighted at the prospect of at length hearing their favourites speak, instead of listening to some explainer, and they ceased

to attend the silent films. It will be remembered that one of the popular hero impersonators of our films, the son of the immortal Gandjiro, plays his parts in the tradition of the old theatre. It goes without saying that he has not only been trained in the *Kabuki* style of elocution, but is also a fine speaker, and his colleagues of the old, historical Japanese film are likewise experienced elocutionists, so that their transition to the Talkies could not have presented any great difficulties.

In view of the public impatience, the Japanese film companies turned hastily to foreign sound-film appliances—both for recording and transmission—but the quarrel between the American and German producers, which for a long time paralysed even the German cinemas, made it impossible to acquire the apparatus, which, in any case, offered slender prospects of proving remunerative. Among other things, the German firms required an indemnity from the Japanese buyers, or rather renters—for the appliances were only rented, not sold ! against an eventual confiscation of the machines by the American competitors. The other conditions were scarcely less onerous.

The American industry showed itself to be somewhat more accommodating, and so Japan's great cinemas were equipped with American talking mechanism. A great commercial field for the German industry was lost. But even the American apparatus was so expensive, being loaded with all kinds of royalties, especially to European inventors, that the little cinemas and the provincial theatres could not instal it, and continued to exhibit silent films with explanatory

accompaniment. The situation was such that if one of the great film-producers of Japan, who are also theatre proprietors, had equipped all his theatres with talking-apparatus, he would have cut the ground from under the feet of all the others. The other theatres would have remained empty and been compelled to close. Matters did not come to this pass, because none had this advantage over the others. It was a miserable state of affairs. For Japan this momentary drawback proved in the long run a permanent advantage, for our film industry was thrown back on its own resources. Government institutes, scientists, film-experts, and capitalists collaborated and, after a year's research, created their own recording and transmitting apparatus, which was in no respect inferior to foreign productions.

All this has been recorded not merely by way of information, but in order to furnish a convincing rejoinder to those critics who reproachfully inquire why our industry invades all the established branches of European production and who see in this competition nothing save economic hostility and dumping. For it is essential clearly to explain the causes which prompt us to turn to new branches of production and to place our products, which we can manufacture at a considerably lower price, on the markets of the world.

Our film industrialists could not be persuaded that they should pay fantastic prices for appliances which, after a little preliminary trial, they could manufacture equally well and on purely rational principles. They failed to see why—in the important sphere of the film—they should acquiesce and remain dependent upon

foreign industrial groups. We did not deliberately aspire to national self-sufficiency ; indeed, in the special circumstances, we surrendered the Talkies for a whole year. The industry suffered immense losses as a result, for almost its entire production was suspended ; still, it became disciplined pending the time when we should have our own up-to-date film productions.

In film development, Japan remained during this year as hermetically sealed as she was during the 250 years of her self-chosen seclusion. It is no marvel that Soviet Russia proceeded in precisely the same manner and today possesses film mechanism of purely Russian manufacture.

Today we exhibit talking-films in all our big leading cinemas. There are theatres which show exclusively foreign films, theatres which confine themselves to native productions, and those with mixed films. Our cinema fan is in the enviable position of being able to choose among the leading films of Germany, America, England, France, Russia, and Japan for a few pence. Hardly a week passes in Tokyo or Osaka without one film from these countries being shown.

Japan possesses some 1700 cinemas, and as these show two or even three films during each performance, their consumption is enormous, and this can only be met by foreign products. Consequently, the great film-producers of our country have again reached the output level of the silent film period, and now make about twelve films a week, which amounts to about 624 films per annum. To the two firms, Shochiku, which in Kyoto make films of the old type and in

Tokyo those of the new, and Nikkatsu (Nippon Cinema Co.) of Kyoto and Tokyo, which were always progressive, has been added the firm called P.C.L. (Photo-Chemical Laboratory), maintained by industry and finance. The "Takarazuka Cinema" is closely connected with the big theatrical and review enterprise, which started in the well-known select watering-place of Takarazuka, not far from Osaka. Takarazuka is the birth-place of the *Japanese girl*, that curious hybrid, which is exhibited, more or less clothed, in numerous revues.

It is estimated that about 5,000,000 people visit our cinemas every week. The Tokyo cinemas have an aggregate capacity for some 70,000 persons. Splendid buildings in Euro-American architectural style, fire-proof and earthquake-proof, are completed or are in course of construction. The largest, the Nippon theatre, an imposing coliseum, holds 3800 spectators. Osaka, the commercial and industrial centre, has cinemas with a seating capacity for some 60,000 persons. Its finest cinema, the Tokyo theatre, seats 3000 people.

No public exists that is more interested in films, more film-minded, than the Japanese, none that possesses the nerve-power to endure three full-length films in succession. Foreign film-producers find here a lucrative market, and a foreign film possessing a good reputation is as certain of an enthusiastic reception as a first-rate native film.

Since 1926 the film censorship has been a function of the Ministry of the Interior, and both native and foreign producers profess to be entirely satisfied with

its cautious but prompt procedure and the extremely considerate manner with which the censorship exercises its control. Every year about 45,000,000 feet of Japanese films, 12,000,000 feet of American and 1,250,000 feet of European (German, French and Russian) films, making a total of about 60,000,000 feet, pass through the censorship.

I have said that films are made both in Tokyo and in Kyoto, but, strictly speaking, only the offices of the big firms are situated in the cities. The actual shooting of the films is conducted in Japan's lovely landscape, the most brilliant in style of uniform film decoration, and in the modern studios of Kamata, half an hour from Tokyo, and of Shimo-Gama near Kyoto, whose famous temple quarter, shadowed by ancient trees and watered by a romantic river, seems especially created for those exciting films, which inevitably terminate with thrilling fencing scenes from our chivalrous past.

Like everything else in Japan, the production of a film must be cheap. Little more than £250 to £500 may be spent on each film. There is a story that 50,000 *yen*, or £1750, was expended upon a "monumental film", but experts regard this as a publicity device. At all events, the financial aspect of our industry may be estimated from the fact that where the American blares "Production cost 1,500,000 dollars", we more modestly announce : "50,000 *yer*"

The huge earnings of stars are with us unknown, as one might infer. The actors are engaged by yearly contract and receive £20 to £40 per month. Only the greatest actors, whose names have box-office value,

receive £60. And each month usually comprises thirty working days and working nights.

The pace is killing. As studio rents are high when compared with the total costs of production, the work is carried on continuously, while the scenes are set as far as possible in the open air, and this, also, making a virtue of necessity, reacts favourably upon the Japanese film, as it gains in local colour and verisimilitude.

Stifling in glass-houses in the summer, almost freezing in the unheated studios in winter, exposed outside in the open to all the vagaries of the very fickle Japanese climate, our directors, actors, and cameramen work for scanty wages and are positive Spartans in their art. Speaking generally, the production of a film must not occupy more than a month, as every additional week involves the full month's rent of a studio. The pace is so rapid that a film made in the studio near Kyoto is often tossed into the evening express to Tokyo in a completely unprepared and uncut condition. In a second-class compartment of the train, it is cut, pasted, and inspected by the director and his assistants during their nine hours of night travel, and then in the early morning submitted to the Censor in Tokyo. If they are lucky, it is approved ; if not, it is cut again, pasted afresh and once more submitted to the approval of the authorities, so as to be ready for preview in the afternoon. The director and his colleagues, however, sit in the box and snore, unless they are already engaged in preparing duplicates for the provinces.

Yet, Mr. Tanaka, his wife, and the little ones, for

the children are, of course, taken to the cinema, are accustomed to hard work, and are therefore entitled to demand heavy toil from the artists they patronize. The *Kabuki* actor remains five or six hours on the stage, playing, dancing, taking part in three dramas every day. The film-actor has his twenty to thirty twelve-hour working days every month. Nowhere are the salaries excessive, and scarcely any actor holds an advantage over his fellows.

There is one small detail which should prove of particular interest in view of the discussion that has been raging over the question of the inventor of the first film. In the year 1932 Japan celebrated the thirty-fifth anniversary of its cinematograph theatre. In fact, it was in 1897 that the first moving picture was produced and exhibited in Japan. So far as I am aware, Japan anticipated American production by eight years, for it was not until 1905 that a moving picture was exhibited in the United States ; the place was Pittsburgh and the film was called *The Great Train Robbery*. If this assumption is correct, and I have heard of no earlier exhibition of any moving picture, then Japan is not only the largest, but also the oldest film-producer in the world.

Pleasure-seeking

Does the more cheerful side of the Japanese suffer short shrift ?

His family life, his work in the factory, workshop, and shop might easily create this impression, as well as

the intense seriousness which the Japanese attaches to all his activities, even his hobbies. But this gravity itself indicates that he knows how to enjoy himself intensively, as well as to take his hobbies solemnly. Pleasure in Japan, like everything else, is highly organized. The pleasure-quarter of Asakusa in Tokyo, the Dotonbori in Osaka, the Minatogawa in Kobe, the streets of theatres, the geisha quarter, the red-light districts, have existed for centuries.

Both the centre and the zenith of all pleasure-places is Asakusa, the dream of the little people in Tokyo and the provinces. Within a space which would conveniently accommodate an ordinary country town, near to and round about the vast, red-lacquered temple, which was erected over a statue of Kevannon, as tiny as one's thumb, the diminutive image of the goddess of mercy and of love, are serried streets and alleys, with restaurants, tea-houses, theatres, cinemas, music-halls, boxing-rings, exhibitions, cabarets, show-booths, pastry-cooks, and confectioners. All of these display posters or multi-coloured flags, while at night illuminated signs and advertisements are everywhere in evidence. From noon until far into the night a gaily-clad and excited crowd throngs the streets—it is a sight that can be seen nowhere else in the world, and the spectator is bound to acknowledge that if they know nothing else, these people know how to enjoy themselves.

Mr. Tanaka, who wants to spend a pleasant evening, takes the whole family with him to this district. They stroll from show-booth to show-booth, listen to the criers, spend five or ten *sen* upon seats in a cinema,

chew boiled peas or *sembe*, a kind of salt biscuit, drink lemonade, study the theatre bills, enter a *Tose*, which is a Japanese cabaret, where a *hanashika*, or storyteller, is telling innocent stories, alternately moving the spectators to laughter and tears, wander with shudders through a collection of anatomical abnormalities in wax, buy a bag of food with which to feed the gold-fish and fire-carp in the lake of the Kwannon temple. Then, attracted by the clash of swords, they are drawn into the booth of the fencing master, where they can gaze upon painted and powdered fencers of both sexes, clad in ancient costume, who hack at each other with great skill and courage till the sparks fly. We dream of the knightly ages, which the veterans among us can still recall, when men would meet in Asakusa to settle an affair of honour with the sword.

Japanese wrestling is likewise an ancient and traditional custom. Among the slim, even graceful Japanese people, our wrestler the *Sumo*, stands in striking contrast. Usually he is over six feet in height, often prodigiously fat, and sometimes weighs as much as 400 pounds. Special "methods of training", and a special diet have been and still are employed in order to develop this colossos. As in all the other arts and vocations of Japan, future wrestlers are adopted by big, experienced combatants and trained by them. Here, also, are families or dynasties of famous wrestlers. Our taste for prodigies, for something out of the ordinary, is gratified by the corpulence of the *Sumo*. Moreover, great bodily weight is an advantage in Japanese wrestling, as it is not so much a question of being thrown as of being pitched out of the ring.

Small wrestling exhibitions take place all the year round, but the contests for the championship of Japan are held in January and in May in Tokyo, in the vicinity of the temple of Ekoh-In, where they have been traditionally held for more than 250 years, and where a modern stadium, capable of seating 10,000 people, was built in 1909. In olden times a flourish of trumpets from a wooden turret heralded the contest. Today the loud speaker takes the trumpet's place, and the great stores adorn their shop windows with pictures of champions and lists of the matches.

Divided into east camp and west camp, the *Sumo* sit in the ring, which has a diameter of less than 23 feet, is sprinkled with sand and bordered with straw rice-bags. Overhead is a canopy, by the four pillars of which sit four "elders" or judges, who are retired wrestlers. The official referee, in antique costume, summons the pair of wrestlers, who usually have poetical pseudonyms. "Jewelled Brocade", "Flower of the Peak", "Morning Glory", "White Island", are the names of some of the best known today.

The protagonists appear, those of the champion class in richly-embroidered aprons, accompanied by pages, each of whom carries a jewelled sword. The struggle itself is conducted in almost entire nudity. It is essential that the contest should commence with both participants exercising precisely the same rate of respiration ; this indicates the immense importance Japanese sportsmen attach to normal breathing. A contestant who has emptied his lungs is, of course, at a disadvantage compared with one whose abdominal

muscles are expanded by the right quantity of air. Thus, the referee does not give the signal to start until both competitors are respiring with equal rhythm.

The struggle itself usually lasts minutes only, often merely seconds. The loser is he who has been forced out of the ring or touches the ground with any part of his body save that of the soles of his feet. Owing to the short time they last, the contests are of great violence, and the spectators share the excitement. Even to this day enthusiastic onlookers throw hats, tobacco pouches, umbrellas and other things into the ring, which are subsequently redeemed by money payment.

Of late the unsportsmanlike mountains of flesh of the past, such as have been glorified by Sharaku, Toyokuni, and other masters of wood-carving, have not been so prominent as the wrestler who looks more like a sportsman in the Western sense.

Last year's champion, Shimisugawa, has a perfectly normal physique, somewhat resembling that of a boxer. So what the *Sumo* loses in tradition and fat, he gains in the qualities of sportsmanship.

To be sure, the pleasures that are available in the district of Asakusa are of a lower order, but even in these lurks the tradition that we associate with nearly everything in life. There are families of fencers, there are dynasties of acrobats, who have practised their callings for centuries. Not for nothing are our artists famed throughout the world today.

Finally, tired of strolling and viewing the exhibitions, hungry and thirsty, the sightseer turns into a *Ryori-Ya*, an eating-house.

Japanese restaurants, even of the modest and cheap

variety, are never the lifeless, wholesale feeding-establishments that they frequently are in countries like America. Premises of this kind, in response to a general need, have been opened in the centre of the town and the business quarters, and there is nothing to be said against them. In the city of Tokyo, for example, sixteen municipal restaurants have been opened in recent years for the benefit of working men, employees, and others who, for 25 *sen* (6*d.*), enjoy three meals, prepared on scientific principles and fully ample for the sustenance of a working man. A single meal costs about 2*d.* and comprises a portion of rice, soup, a vegetarian preparation, and meat or fish. If, for once in a while, Mr. Tanaka takes his family to dine abroad, he selects one of the old-fashioned Japanese restaurants. However modest they may be, these have always a small cultivated garden around which the rooms are arranged, and an ante-room in which the waitresses fall on their knees and welcome the guests.

Heights and Depths of Japanese Feeding

Large halls, where many people, often hundreds, sit side by side and eat are unknown in the *Ryori-Ya*, the old-fashioned Japanese restaurant. Guests are conducted past the kitchen, of which they may obtain a glimpse, into a small single chamber, where a party remains together. If the place is very busy, screens are put up and the room is divided into two, or at the most, four sections for four parties.

The menu is inscribed in red lettering upon a

224 THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN

black-lacquered wooden board, and indeed, this department is highly specialized in Japan. There are restaurants which only prepare noodle repasts, others which only serve baked fish, others again provide dishes which the guests cook themselves, while yet others supply eels, game, fish, or rice dumplings. The restaurants that provide general fare do not supply most of the above-named special dishes.

The noodle dishes are subdivided into those with *udon*, wheaten-meal noodle, and those with *soba*, buck-wheat noodle. The latter is usually eaten simply boiled down and dipped in little cups of soya sauce and various spices ; the former is eaten almost exclusively in seaweed-broth with various embellishments, either baked fish or fish paste, ducks or beaten-up egg. Over the whole is sprinkled somewhat raw sliced borree, but the broth also contains many surprises, perhaps a ball of seaweed, in which a piece of special fish is entwined. Despite their oddness, our noodle dishes quickly win the favour of the foreigner, and it is not surprising that noodle, which is very popular for light meals taken between times or late in the day, should play as important a part with us as macaroni does in Italy.

Noodle dishes are also delivered from door to door by carriers on cycles, real jugglers with towers of noodle basins on their shoulders. There are special firms which have been famous for centuries for the preparation of the most delectable *udon*. On New Year's Eve, when business is over and the ledgers are closed, all Japan eats *udon* or *soba*, because the more noodle is eaten, the greater is our length of years.



JAPANESE MARIONETTE

THE JAPANESE THEATRE AROSE OUT OF THE MARIONETTE THEATRE

The eel shops serve up this delicacy, which is very popular in Japan, in slices impaled on bamboo spits and grilled over an open charcoal fire, the slices being dipped every now and then in soya juice with sugar. In this simple manner is prepared a dish for the gods, and it is not difficult to understand why wars have been waged to obtain the plain Manchurian bean, which, after being steeped in brine and left to ferment, yields the precious soya sauce. Fried eels are either eaten in the renowned eel restaurants or taken home in lacquered cases with a hot-water interior or in large dishes with rice.

Fried fish is as celebrated as grilled eel. The thousand and one varieties of fish which our seas yield are dipped in batter and fried in oil. We also consume oysters, crabs, cuttle-fish, in short, everything that the ocean contains. Before being eaten, the crisply fried fish is dipped in a sauce of soya, gravy, and sweet sago, in which grated radish has been beaten up. As simple a dish as one could desire. In fact, it is the most popular of our delicacies. It is turned out in large quantities in great eating-houses and costs two or three *sen* per piece—three or four mouthfuls. There are also select restaurants, which accommodate four, or at the most, six parties, and the rooms of which are tastefully decorated and arranged in circular form. In the centre is the kitchen with the great iron vessel full of simmering fat. The host himself fries the fish and his kitchen is a revolving one. When he is serving the guests in room No. i, the guests in the other rooms only see the back wall of the kitchen decorated with mirrors or tapestries. When the first party of guests are

served the chef presses an electric button, the kitchen revolves a stage farther, and then the second party of guests is served, directly from the pot and without much ceremony. The piece of fried fish or polypus, or lobster—three mouthfuls—costs here at least one *yen*, which is about two shillings. This is another characteristic of Japanese life : the dearer the restaurant, the more plain is the accommodation and the more simple and unceremonious is the service.

The same remark applies to the *sushi*, the dumpling no bigger than one's thumb, composed of curdled and seasoned rice, upon which a slice of fish, lobster, egg, mussel, seaweed, or roe is placed. *Sushi* is, on the one hand, a popular food, very convenient when unexpected visitors arrive, or the housewife is too busy to cook, and, on the other, a rare delicacy. In a large kitchen with modern appointments it may cost two *sen* apiece—two mouthfuls. In a greasy, dilapidated, triangular shanty, which is open on two sides and at the most seats three people, it costs twenty or thirty *sen* apiece (one mouthful). The difference in quality is only perceptible to connoisseurs ; at all events, for those who are accustomed to *sushi* at thirty *sen*, but never for those who have been consuming *two-sen* dumplings all their lives. And therein, it seems to me, lies in a nutshell, or in a dumpling, the social structure of our country : that the poor are ignorant of what really constitutes the charm of being rich.

My great-uncle, who was in the service of one of the powerful *Daimio* (Dukes), related that all the utensils in his master's house—tea kettles, pots, cans

—were made of gold, but painted black outside or stained, so that they would be mistaken for ordinary iron.

Elegant Japanese of the old school wear cloaks made of plain black silk, the lining of which consists of the most valuable material, and is often decorated with hand-painting. The wealthiest and most splendid houses of our old villa quarters have the plainest hedges or garden-walls. This is not merely due to the fastidious desire to enjoy what one possesses without anybody else needing to know it, but is also a somewhat sagacious example of social safe-guarding.

To gratify their epicurean tastes, our rich people do not patronize the commodious or well-known establishments in the main streets of the city, but drive out of town for half an hour to a watering-place that is not too much frequented, where, behind the palings and trees of an old park, stands secluded the pavilion of a truly aristocratic restaurant.

The visitor hires a pavilion such as this, takes an ablution in the bathroom which is attached, and leaves it to the chef to serve up what the land, sea, and sky of Nippon can supply. Lightly clad, glancing now and then at the trim garden, fanning yourself, and served and flattered by the pretty, powdered waitresses, you wait with pleasant anticipation for your food, for which, merely to heighten expectation, you are kept waiting a considerable time.

At last it comes, but the dishes never appear all at once. Every five minutes arrives a tiny dish containing two or three mouthfuls—turtle soup, raw, iced fish fillets, with sea-radishes in soya sauce, stewed

lake auricles, the crown of all mussels, a salad of cuttle-fish, a ragout of Japanese asparagus and ginko nuts, a whole grilled, salted fish, smoked salmon pickled in *sake* wine, the roots of white water-lilies, tiny gherkins and other fresh vegetables, if they are the dearest, and lastly, the mixed pickles of Japan, of which every city and province provides some variety: yard-long, thread-like radishes, roots as large as your head, dark blue egg-plants, brown curdled gherkins, and raw ginger radishes pickled in curdles, sweetened rice, foods that smell like a plague and taste like a gift of the gods.

Such a sumptuous Japanese feast does not terminate before the tenth or twentieth course. To be sure, Mr. Tanaka can also indulge in this luscious gourman-dizing in a country restaurant of a more modest class. Perhaps even the same dishes would be placed before him. Rich or poor, luxurious or abstemious, the meal always ends with rice, to which the Japanese cling with almost religious intensity.

In the fish season, that is, when certain fish are fattest, it is the custom to hire a fishing-boat, together with its crew, and consume the fish that are caught immediately on the open sea or by the river. In mushroom time it is usual to enter a field where the fungi are finest, to pick some of the finest specimens and have them fried in a pavilion amid the beautiful surroundings—somewhere a waterfall is murmuring, the breeze is sighing in the hills, and when eating the aromatic mushrooms you seem to be absorbing the spirit of the earth itself.

The *tai*, which is the finest of our fish, and which

we rank even above the trout, has been made the subject of a veritable cult. Pampered gourmets have it grilled quickly on one side while yet alive, and the other side is cut in slices as a raw fish. In this state it is served up—a fish salad and grilled fish in one—a drop of acid soya sauce is dropped into its eye ; the pain causes it to twitch again, and while it is still moving the gourmet devours it.

Other epicures throw the *tai* which is very appetizing when salted, into the reservoir, where the sea-water is evaporating into cooking-salt. The sun absorbs the water, and while still alive the fish is trapped in the crystalline coffin of the salt. It is extracted and eaten grilled. As the salt in the basin has acquired a fishy taste, the value of such salt must be paid for as well, but your genuine gourmet makes no bones about this.

In the search for novel culinary sensations, one often chooses the very opposite of luxurious foods : the *sukiyaki*, a dish which the guest himself prepares, and for which special establishments cater.

Chicken or beef in thin slices is brought to the table in a raw state and is fried in a pan over charcoal or on an electric plate, being basted with soya sauce and sweet rice-wine. To eat fish from the pan is among the greatest pleasures in the world. It is washed down by warmed *sake* wine and the meal is concluded with rice and pickled vegetables.

Then the geisha girls appear. But that requires a chapter to itself.

Before we leave the subject of Japanese meals in

all their ramifications, reference should be made to the efforts of Professor Saiki of Tokyo.

For some decades our Empire has been unable to feed its people from its internal resources ; rice from China and India and the soya bean from the Manchurian plains have become essential constituents of our staple foods. It is, however, in the country's economic interest to liberate itself as much as possible from this dependence upon imported foodstuffs ; this may become an imperative necessity if political complexities should compel the people to subsist on products of their own soil.

With the scientific thoroughness that has distinguished all Japanese undertakings in recent years, Professor Saiki has prepared a gigantic plan which, in his judgment, would induce the whole nation to fundamentally transform the present technique of nutrition, and thus solve the problem of self-subsistence. His Nutrition Institute, which was established in Tokyo with State encouragement, labours systematically at the production of an average meal at the lowest price, fully adequate for the sustenance of the human body, at the establishment of a State monopoly for the staple foodstuffs, at the supply of a "standard bread", and this is extremely important as it signifies the simultaneous conversion of the Japanese people to the custom of bread-eating. The popular preference for rice is, of course, a serious obstacle to all food reformers in Japan, as, owing to the costs of cultivation, rice is relatively dear, while not entirely satisfactory as the chief food of the people. So far, however, it has proved impossible to furnish anything save rice as the

nation's staff of life. The diatetic institute of Professor Saiki has already established a training-school in which doctors and medical students take a two-years' course to qualify them as food experts, later appointed to the several provinces; further, a number of organized kitchens now function in Tokyo and the country towns where our customary meals are served at a minimum price.

Moreover, radio addresses are delivered every Sunday, urging the people to adopt a rational diet, while recommending model menus for the average household which are succulent and satisfying, as well as economical.

In cases of emergency, that is, in the event of war or should the struggle to sustain its economic standing in the world demand the uttermost application of all the national energy, Professor Saiki has prescribed a standard menu which every household can prepare at a cost of 6*d.* for its three daily meals. This course comprises a breakfast of soya bean soup (the morning drink of the Japanese), pickled radishes and rice ; a dinner of fish and vegetables cooked together, radishes and pickled gherkins, soup, rice ; an evening repast of vegetable soup with a slice of meat, fried fish with vegetables, pickled radishes and rice—which is precisely that to which the little man of Japan is automatically accustomed.

For extreme contingencies it is ordained that the same meals, at still lower prices, shall be prepared in large kitchens, from which they can be purchased by the public.

An argument that is often urged against the

Japanese diet and the low prices of food is first that the food is insufficient for hard toil, especially as it contains too little meat, and secondly that a European in Japan, or a Japanese who adopts a European style of living, finds it even more costly than in the great centres of Europe. The second objection certainly had some justification up to a few years ago ; for foreigners, or those who aped foreigners, Japan was a most expensive habitation. A European meal would cost between seven and ten shillings. A room with full board in a first-class hotel could not be secured for less than thirty shillings a day ; often even higher charges were made. The years of transition, during which the few enterprises conducted in European fashion exploited their monopoly power, are now over. Inquiries conducted in the present year concerning Tokyo restaurants of the Western type disclosed the truth that those who at present desire to live in European style in Japan will find it cheaper to do so than in Germany, France, or even America.

A meal in the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, a modern earthquake-proof structure, the most fashionable resort of the capital, with dining-hall, ball-room, two grill-rooms, concert-hall, etc., costs 0.1 yen, or 3⁴ at the present rate of exchange. After the French model, the kitchen is visible from the dining-room ; customers may select the fish they fancy from a revolving aquarium, or the crisply browning chicken from the turning spit.

We have numerous restaurants in the German style which are often named from their prototypes. Thus, there is a "Fledermaus" and a "Rheingold",

where one may drink Rhenish wine or Holstein beer, and sip lentil soup, eat calves' liver and coarse blanc-mange—for 1\ yen each cover. In the *Prunier* of Tokyo, the leading fish restaurant in the European style, a meal costs "no more than the waiter's tip at the *Prunier* in Paris", as a guest at both establishments has remarked.

Snug little restaurants in the French style for the customer who desires quietness and big restaurants of the American type for hustling business people provide meals of three courses for i to [1\yen](#).

In addition there are twenty or thirty establishments in Tokyo where you can obtain your fill of European dishes for 80 *sen* (6d.). The same applies to Osaka and, in limited measure, the other great provincial cities.

In view of the low food prices and the scanty wages of labour, there appears to be no reason why meals in European or American style should command fantastic prices, especially as there are plenty of trained chefs and cooks.

As to the contention that Japanese food is not sufficiently nourishing, it may be replied, on the one hand, that a nation which has kept to practically the same diet for about two thousand years ought to know what food it needs. But in order to decide between the claims of native and foreign cookery for the Japanese, let us cite an impartial, foreign Crown witness, one of the best-known authorities on Japan, as well as one of the most eminent men who has resided there. I refer to Edwin Balz.

Balz, a Swedish doctor, who was born in 1849,

was only twenty-six years old when he was summoned to Tokyo to take up the duties of professor of native medicine, while later he became physician to the Crown Prince, who succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Yoshihito. A man of comprehensive mind and insatiable curiosity, he studied every aspect of Japanese life, including the food problem, respecting which he made practical experiments with Japanese subjects. He outlined his methods and results in the following terms :

I had two powerful young men, who had for years followed the calling of pulling rickshaws. I put out their food ; what they eat and drank was carefully measured, and the chemical constituents of the food were ascertained in the usual way. The men received a specific task. They were to draw me, a man weighing thirteen stone, in a running race of 25 miles a day for a period of three weeks. This seemed to be a pretty stiff performance, but it is less than the men were prepared to do. For my purpose, however, this was quite sufficient. For we considered a tramp of 25 miles as a respectable achievement, but for an adult man to run in the shafts of a rickshaw 25 miles a day in the sunny month of August is somewhat more than is usually demanded of us.

During the experiment, however, these men kept to their customary diet, whose fat content amounts to less than half of the "Voitian percentage", while the albumen content fluctuated between 60 and 80 per cent of the postulated sum. The carbon-hydrates, on the other hand, were present in extraordinarily large quantities in the form of rice and potatoes, of barley, of chestnuts, of lily roots and other habitual foods. After fourteen days I weighed the men. The weight of one was unchanged, while the other had put on half a pound. At the end of this fortnight I offered these men some meat, for which they were grateful, as meat is considered a luxury. I therefore replaced a portion of the carbonhydrates by an equivalent quantity of albumen, not quite so much as Voit required, but a fairly large percentage. The men ate this with enjoyment, but after three days they asked me to cut down the meat again, and give it to them when they

had finished their test, as they felt too tired and could not run as well as before. Then I gave them the original diet until the end of the experiment, and the result remained the same. The weight of one might have varied a few ounces, while the other increased by about half a pound.

Well, for three whole weeks the men performed an admittedly arduous task, upon absolutely insufficient food, according to accepted theories ! They were then, on the 22nd day, prepared to undertake even more exertion than previously, inasmuch as they did not feel at all weakened !

I will record even greater achievements on a similar diet. I describe only what I have myself seen. In summer I used to make a journey from the capital of Tokyo to Nikko, which stands in the mountains about 70 miles away, in a carriage changing horses about six times. Because of the terrible heat we would travel by night from 6 in the evening until 8 in the morning, making 14 hours. Just as we were driving out of Tokyo I saw a Japanese sitting in a rickshaw, and asked him whither he was bound. He, too, was going to Nikko. This man was drawn by a coolie the whole distance. And whereas we changed horses six times, he was only half an hour behind us. This Japanese rickshawman had therefore drawn an adult countryman, weighing about 8 stone, nearly 70 miles in 14J hours—on a vegetarian diet !

I was also the witness of a precisely similar case, when the rickshawman offered to pull the cart another 33 miles on the following day.

I cannot refrain from quoting another passage from the same authority, which seems to be a striking illustration of the theory of educative natural catastrophes. Under the date July 27, 1879, Balz wrote in his diary :

. . . To-day towards noon it began to rain. Thunder and lightning succeeded. Blair (an acquaintance) laughed at the feebleness of the local storms. Soon afterwards came another violent peal. "That's nothing out of the way," said Blair. "But he had scarcely finished speaking before we all jumped from the table. We saw only a vivid streak of lightning, followed by a

crash so violent, so shattering, as to rock the house and cause every nerve in our bodies to quiver. Then it poured in torrents.

About two hundred yards straight in front of us on the sea we saw a small dark yellow smoke cloud appear and vanish. It came from a junk. The mast had been shattered by lightning. Taking brandy with us as a reviver, we jumped into a small boat and rowed across, when we saw something that we did not regard as possible. Around the shattered mast, whose enormous splinters were scattered in all directions, sat the crew, calmly sucking their pipes as if nothing had happened. They were obviously surprised at the strange visit, and manifested astonishment when we enquired if anyone was hurt. "No, but we are frightened." That was all.

Dance, Little Geisha, Dance !

In recent years the interest taken by the foreigner in Japanese affairs has enlarged to such an extent that the geisha no longer stands in the limelight. Nevertheless she dances more frequently in European imagination than at Japanese amusements. She is said to be dying out, to be driven into a corner and outshone by the frivolous girl, and we need not, perhaps, concern ourselves much with her, if she were not in many respects interesting as a national institution, and the hope were not cherished that she, too, will reappear with the restoration of all the good old Japanese institutions.

The geisha is the personification of the aesthetic spirit which the Japanese cultivate in a department of life dedicated to frivolity and eroticism, an abiding proof of the serious manner in which we take the flimsiest of our pleasures and their popularity from time immemorial. In this sphere also a system of

training from earliest youth is practised. Girls at the immature age of five or six are frequently apprenticed to the calling. They receive instruction in singing, dancing, good conduct, conversation, the tea-ceremony, the arrangement of flowers—everything, in fact, that constitutes the completion of the "higher daughter". Even today, half-grown girls from districts where a bad harvest has reduced the circumstances of the peasant population, are sold to the geisha houses of the cities, the market price fluctuating between 400 and 600 *yen* (£40 and £60). This sale of women, characteristically enough, is not regarded as derogatory. On the contrary, when, during the recent famine in Tohoku, in the north of the main island, benevolent societies took steps to prevent these sales, and to encourage the placing of girls in domestic service, these friendly endeavours were indignantly resented by parents and children alike.

The departure of girls to geisha houses in the city is invariably made the occasion of a festival in the village, for very obvious economic reasons. Through the money payment a transient prosperity returns. The girls, for their part, delight in a superior standard of life, in better clothing and in a care to which they were not previously accustomed ; while as to the severe training that waits them, it is by no means so trying as work on the land and life in the country. The return of the time-expired geisha to her home is a joyful occasion, for now the girl, who departed as poor as a church mouse and as ignorant as a radish, has now returned with her savings, is well trained and comparatively

cultured, with a trousseau of fine clothes—an ideal marriage partner.

It is not only the youthful rustics who marry a geisha without the slightest moral or social censure ; many eminent men are wedded to former geishas, who have behaved with perfect decorum in their more exalted sphere. Indeed, it often happens that when a lady distinguishes herself in company by circumspect yet lively conversation, by grace and charm, the whisper goes round : "She must have been a geisha". The pursuit of a despised vocation never occasions censure.

The evening entertainments, apart from the modern main thoroughfares with their cafes and cafe girls, are still almost exclusively under her friendly control, despite all the croakings concerning the geisha's decline. Here the geisha and an assemblage of both sexes—from the geisha house mother to the operators of the geishas' telephone exchange—set the tone.

On the other hand the *Yoshiwara*, with its brilliance, is declining, and the geisha, who was there subordinated to the courtesan, has survived her sister. The interminable attacks of Christian missionaries and the foreign press upon our system of organized immorality have doubtless contributed to the fact that the great *Toskiwara* now enjoys no more than a shadowy survival in proximity to the less harmful resort of Asakusa. What was once the light district of the capital is now its dark area in the true sense of the nocturnal word. The girls are forbidden to sit at the windows as in the olden days, where they displayed themselves in all their finery, powdered and painted, calmly smoking their pipes and proffering them to

those among the festive wayfarers whom they wished to entice. Photographs of the girls are today exhibited in the ante-room, a miserable substitute for the attractions that the talented courtesan was able to display during the window promenade. The visitor turns over the leaves of the album and chooses his fancy, who may, however, prove to be very different in reality from her flattering photograph.

Moreover, the social standing of the *Toshiwara* has fallen. If it was once the hunting-ground of cavaliers and rich merchants who considered it an honour to be known as the "friend" of one of the courtesans, today it is no more than the pleasure-resort of the lower classes. It is no longer regarded as *chic*, as being in the fashion to visit the *Toshiwara*. The rapid, adventitious triflings with the waitresses of the cafes is all the rage today.

Ought we to welcome or regret the disappearance of the *Toshiwara*, which will no doubt be followed by that of numerous other pleasure-quarters in the various districts of the city? An Englishman, who is one of the few who regret its departure, thus wrote :

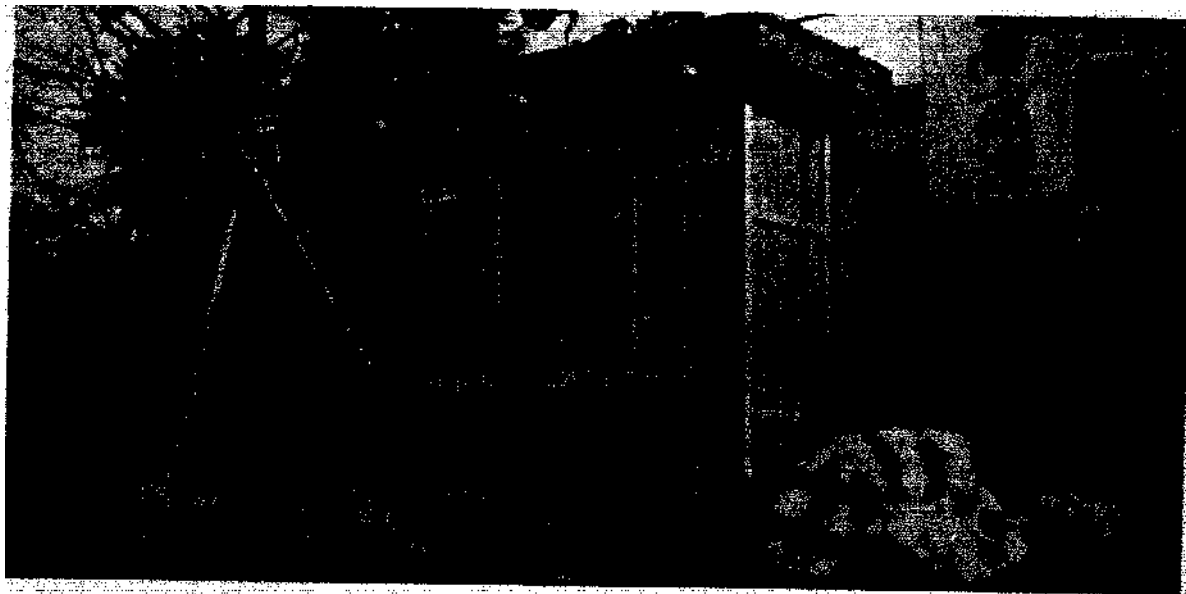
The reflective traveller who visits this famous and infamous resort will not view it as an impudent example of incontinence and lack of control, as these erotic exhibitions are more or less common to other nations throughout the world, but rather applaud it as a noteworthy success in a campaign to banish vice from the streets of the city, to prevent it strolling with us, colliding with us and offering its allurements. In Japan it is not possible for shamelessness and lasciviousness to flaunt themselves in front of those who do not seek them, and are perhaps not even aware of their existence.

It is too late for such appreciation to be effective.

The *Yoshiwara*, with all its brilliance and romance, is gone ; the sole survivors from the abandoned ship are the geisha. It would even appear that in recent years the latter are again increasing in number. In Tokyo today there are forty geisha quarters, with about 9000 geishas and 100 *hokan*, a combination of *maitres de plaisir* and *souteneur*; thus there are still four geishas for every thousand of the male population. In the whole of Japan there are about 75,000 geishas, for even the smallest country town has at least three or four of such girls. The most famous are those of Kyoto, who assemble once a year in cherry-blossom time, in order to dance the Miyako-Odori. This is the great spring festival of the Japanese and continues for a month.

The most famous resort in Tokyo is that of Shinbashi, in the midst of the busiest centre of the town. There you see rows of villas, with extremely poetical names: "Pine-heath House", "Flower House", "Lucky-time Islet", "Jewel Capital", and in each of them lives a geisha-mother with three, four, or five girls, all ready to respond immediately to a telephone call, and enliven a party with music, dancing, and harmless jokes. In the middle of the quarter rises a handsome theatre, seating 1500 people, in which the geishas dance and perform in pantomimes at certain seasons.

If we regard the geisha in a friendly spirit her vocation is scarcely dishonourable. She must obtain a licence, comply with a series of official regulations respecting age, training, parental consent, etc., and she must undergo a formal examination by the police authorities, which is very strictly carried out in



SPORT-LOVING JAPAN
EVERY MOVE IN A REMOTE BASEBALL GAME IS SHOWN ON A LARGE INDICATOR

favourite geisha. When my father wanted to hire geishas he very often took his wife and child with him, in accordance with Japanese custom, and commissioned not only a geisha for himself but also a somewhat older and wittier one for his wife's amusement, and a little elf of seven or eight years old, about my own age, to be my playfellow ; and I must confess that I experienced the brightest hours of my life when I selected from the list Tama-ko, the "Jewel Child", my favourite geisha, who arrived in the freshness of her young girlhood, with her captivating smile and childish charm, which already had a dash of the tempter she would later become.

The host telephones to an exchange, where an operator sits with several instruments and innumerable wooden tablets hanging from the wall. If the order is for "Jewel Child", "Two-Three-Excellencies" and "Little Lustre" from "Pine-heath House", the operator looks under the heading "Pine-heath House" to see whether the tablets bearing the names of the three graces in question are still hanging there ; then he passes on the order to the house, and takes the tablets down. If complete vacancy exists in "Pine-heath House", or if the geishas in request are already engaged, he reports to the host accordingly, and recommends another house in the same vicinity, whose inmates, according to the tablet register, are still available.

The operator in the exchange is a commander-in-chief, a field-marshal of pleasure and delight; on holidays and during week-ends his activity is positively feverish when all the telephones are ringing at once,

orders are raining in, and he needs all the composure, calculation and rapidity of perception of a general staff-officer if he is to prove adequate to all the requirements and equilibrate demand and supply.

In rickshaw or taxi, then, the geisha arrives, armed with the *shamisen* lute and her other blandishments. Usually there is a trio of them : a musician and two dancers. Their measured steps are accompanied by the sound of the lute and by singing ; they also perform stage dances, No dances and the country round dance. The No dance of the doll-maker Momotayu, who calms the stormy sea with the doll of the magician Dokun, is also a geisha gyration.

Or she dances the Urashima-Taro, the fisher-boy who travels on the back of a tortoise into the fairy realm of the marine ruler and becomes the husband of the sea princess ; after the marriage he returns once more to his native village, and finds it completely changed and inhabited by other people. Many hundreds of years have elapsed since he left it, but they seem to him no longer than a day. His lovers are dead ; he opens a little box which the sea princess has given him, a thin vapour ascends, Urashima-Taro faints away, becomes an old man and dies. Or a couple dance the legend of the young priest who, embarrassed by the love of a beautiful girl, flees under the bell of the temple. The bell falls upon him in order to save him, but the girl transforms herself into a dragon, which entwines itself round the bell and consumes the beloved within with the heat of its body.

But the main task of the geisha is to amuse and enliven company, to direct a chamber orchestra of

sociability, but never to play a duet, which does not prevent her having one or even several friends. As in olden times she was summoned to entertain the cavalier and his courtesan, so today she is fetched in order to entertain two or three or more men, sometimes even a family, after the day's labours, and thus graciously relieve the waitresses of part of their duties.

Her working time is measured by incense wands. Formerly on entering a tea-house she would place a slender incense wand in the fire ; when it was burnt out—usually in about two hours—her time would have expired ; the client must "renew" her, or she must return home. Today she regulates her day by the bracelet watch, the gift of an admirer, which she wears on her delicate, slender wrist. But when mention is made of her fees one still speaks of five or *sixyen* "per incense wand". Five or *six yen* for two hours is about the normal rate, which means very little for the geisha, who must share the payment and who spends princely sums on fine clothes, on toilet articles, on the hairdresser and the masseuse, but it means very much for the client, who, when he pays her and discharges the bill, as well as the stiff "tea-money" of the establishment, sees a week's earnings disappear. And it is this circumstance—the cheapness of the performance regarded from the producer's, its costliness from the consumer's standpoint—far more than modern influences, which is drying up the stream of geishadom, that golden river of generous reward in whose absence a vocation such as the geisha's cannot flourish.

Even the proprietor of the tea-house makes financial sacrifices, as a geisha party requires a room

to itself for the entire evening, whereas he might frequently let the room four times in the course of the night. And although the geisha encourages the guests to consume food and drink, Venus is proverbially an enemy of Bacchus, and the client who is greatly pestered takes umbrage, and avoids the geisha and the establishment in his future peccadilloes.

Frail humanity becomes less passionate, less lascivious in a light-hearted, carefree environment. For two to four hours spent with one or two captivating females—hours passed in chatter, singing, and drinking—a man is no longer disposed to dissipate a week's earnings. Perhaps even the geisha, the personification of harmless, carefree eroticism, is also sentenced to extinction with the coming years.

While I am penning these lines I have before me a list of the geisha of the Shinbashi quarter. Framed in elaborate coiffures, their oval faces seem somewhat contemplative and sad, as vice doubtless is in its essence, and I cannot help thinking that when the reign of these beauties ends, a hallowed custom of fine, old, dignified Japan will be swept downstream, never more to return.

When the women of a nation change, then the nation itself is transformed. The complete absorption of the eternal feminine in the life of the male sex, her perfections, her surrenders, the gracious deference of the hand-maiden—in the geisha all these things were exhibited to the highest degree ; and for these reasons she is entitled to the deepest respect and well deserves the interest which foreign visitors to Japan have so long taken in her way of life.

THE "JAPANESE WAR"

The Soldier

JAPAN is a land of conscription. Men are called up at the age of twenty-one in Japanese reckoning, which is really twenty as Europeans compute the years. As more recruits than are requisite invariably present themselves, the tests are very strict as both physical and mental capacity are essential. The casting of lots often decides the career of those who pass such examinations. The man who draws a winning number is entitled to serve.

The tenth of January, the day on which the recruits sifted and selected in the previous June and July are called to the colours, is a national holiday. In town and country flags adorn the streets, while fairy-lamps illumine the evening. In the rural areas the youthful defenders of hearth and home, with bands playing and flags flying, are escorted to the railway station by companies of reservists.

The period of service is eighteen months for the infantry and two years for the cavalry, artillery, and other arms; service in the Navy is voluntary. Since the Meiji restoration the Army has been organized in accordance with European—at first French, later German—models, although the idiosyncrasies of the Japanese soldier have been by no means ignored.

Military service is an obligation undertaken by

the Japanese with little economic advantage. The pay is merely "nominal" ; apart from board, lodging, and raiment, the common soldier only receives 5 J yen per month (say *us.*). Compared with that of the peasant industrial worker, the food is good and is certainly more varied than that which the recruit is accustomed to at home, which accounts in some measure for the enthusiasm displayed for enrolment in the army. Quite a number of the recruits taste meat for the first time in their lives. Breakfast in the army consists, as in the normal Japanese household, of bean soup, rice, and pickled vegetables; dinner consists of fish, vegetables, rice, and tea ; supper consists of meat or vegetables, rice, and tea.

When he joins the Army the Japanese sleeps in a bed which to him is a novel experience ; sixteen men sleep together on iron bedsteads in one room ; a large, common apartment serves for meals, instruction, and rest from the fatigues of service. At no time in his life does a Japanese read so much as during his military service, when he has the run of excellent regimental libraries, whereas in civilian life he rarely has enough cash either to buy books or to subscribe to the few and decidedly inferior lending-libraries.

Drill differs in no wise from that of other first-class armies. Rather more importance is attached to physical training, to Jiu-jitsu, to boxing, obstacle races, fencing, especially bayonet fencing in the medieval armour of the Samurai. The uniform is of putty tint with coloured facings ; the caps are copied from those of the British Army ; helmets are absent. Only on active service is a steel helmet or a helmet

made of *almit*, a new light metal of Japanese invention, worn. With their sovereign contempt for appearances, the Japanese, either as officers or men, do not present a dashing appearance. We have no parade displays nor military pageantry of any kind. A company on the march or in the drill-ground looks anything but smart. It has been clearly demonstrated, however, that military efficiency exists in full measure in spite of unprepossessing appearances ; and this is largely attributable to the strict moral training our soldiery undergoes.

To a greater extent than in foreign armies our officers are the instructors of our troops. An Imperial rescript prescribes that the rank and file shall listen to regular lectures from their superior officers concerning general conduct and the military and civic virtues. In addition to bravery, obedience, and patriotism, justice, thrift, and courtesy are regarded as necessary duties. Lessons in the use of arms and military science alternate with records of national achievement, to which general political history is added today. The training which the soldiers receive persists through life ; thrift, simplicity, and courtesy were the leading moral excellencies of the old-time members of the army, and these virtues prove invaluable to the police and the lower officials whose ranks are largely recruited from men who have left the colours.

After serving eighteen months or two years, a career as a non-commissioned officer is open to the soldier who wishes to remain in the Army, and if he displays special aptitude and undergoes a given

course of instruction, he may also embark upon a commissioned officer's career. The majority of time-expired soldiers, however, pass into the ranks of the bureaucracy, and superior or non-commissioned officers, pensioned after about thirty years' service, may find a niche in the administration.

Reference has already been made to the small pay of officers. A non-commissioned officer receives between 9 and 40 *yen* (18s. and £4) per month, according to service, which is no more than an industrial worker earns, when board, lodging, and clothing are included.

The Japanese have no special military oath whereby a recruit solemnly pledges himself to serve his country on sea and land or in the air. These obligations come as naturally to him as the air he breathes ; whether in civilian dress or in uniform he is always prepared to fight for his native land.

In the spring, when the cherry tree, the symbol of the Samurai idea, is in flower, the soldiers are conducted in companies to the Yasukuni shrine in Tokyo, which is consecrated to the souls of those who have died for the motherland. A huge bronze door, cast of captured cannon, guards the shrine, before which the soldiers pray to their glorious predecessors and swear to emulate them.

All military virtues are embraced by the Japanese citizen, while the Japanese soldier is equally animated by the primary civic virtues ; both are inspired by veneration of our ancestors, who, if invisible, are always around us, and in whose spirit we aspire to live—in one word, the Shinto cult.

Way of the Gods : Japan's Religion

Japan numbers about 48 million Buddhists, 17 million Shintoists, and about a quarter of a million Christians. The proportion of Buddhists to Shintoists—about three to one—would naturally convey the impression that Buddhism is the leading religion of the land.

But this is not so. There is no State religion ; complete religious liberty prevails. The Japanese is not as a rule susceptible to profound religious sentiment. In spite of the influence of the moral teachings of Buddhism : animism, paganism in the sense of the old Greek beliefs, crops up in all his religious activities and sentiments ; his attitude to the cult is a primitive one, conditioned by the emotions. As he is a stranger to fanaticism, he is tolerant even to himself. Of the Buddhist sects, the great influence is exercised by that of Zenism, which has no official prayers or exercises, but derives redemption from a pure heart, which cannot be troubled by any acts or omissions. Our tolerance—which is almost indistinguishable from indifference—goes so far that we celebrate joyful occasions according to Shinto rites and sad ceremonies, such as burials, masses for the dead, etc., according to Buddhist rites, because the one faith is distinguished by its simple serenity, while the other is shrouded in world-weary gloom.

Three things are sacred to Shinto, which means literally the "way of the gods" : emperor, ancestors, and rice. And as all our thoughts and aspirations

cluster about the figure of the emperor, as rice keeps body and soul together, and our ancestors, as we think, are always around us, we Japanese cannot be anything but Shintoists. We may be Buddhists, Free-thinkers, or even Christians, but we are always Shintoists at heart. The Englishman, B. H. Chamberlain, who knew old Japan better than most Europeans, describes the case in these words : "Buddhism and Shintoism are so mixed up with each other in practice, that the number of pure Shintoists and of pure Buddhists must be extraordinarily small. The sole exception is the province of Satsuma, from which the Buddhist priesthood have been excluded, since they betrayed the rulers of that region to the dictator Hideyoshi." In connection with this last sentence it is noteworthy that as soon as Buddhism (or any other religion) runs counter to ancestral piety or fealty to the princely house, Shinto is triumphant !

The "way of the gods", by virtue of its origin, is the natural religion of the Japanese ; it is less than a religion and more than a religion : it is the "way of life of the Japanese". It provides him with his moral behaviour, his social system, the organization of the Empire, yet without the positive prescription of these things. Buddhism won over the Japanese only by receiving into its pantheon the *Kami*, the gods and ancestors of Shinto, and declaring them to be atavars, or reincarnations of certain Buddhist sages. The Imperial Viceroy Iyeyasu, who so largely shaped Japan's destiny, is such an atavar and, although one of the brightest stars in the ancestral firmament of Shinto, he is at the same time a saint or divinity of the

Buddhist pantheon. In this way the Japanese really prays to his old Shinto divinities in front of a Buddhist temple, and thereby wanders along the "way of the gods".

Shintoism combines the nature cult of primitive man with the ancestor worship of the civilized Asiatic; it embraces gods and goddesses of fire, of water, of air, of wind, of the forests, of diseases, of mountains and rivers, and not of hills and streams in general, but individual eminences and water-courses, lakes, valleys, trees—in all eight million deities.

Supreme over all reigns Amaterasu, the radiant divinity of the sun, to whom we are attached by a peculiar, almost personal relationship. Her progenitor, Isanagi, the father of gods and the creator of Japan, gave birth to her from his left eye, while from his right the moon god emerged, and the fiery god Susa-no-Og sprang from his nose. According to Shinto cosmology, Japan is as ancient as its primary deities; the sun-goddess Amaterasu is the ancestress of the first emperor, whose family has reigned continuously down to the present day. The reigning emperor, the one hundred and twenty-fourth of his line, is thus a direct descendant of the sun-deity and is himself divine.

The Shrine of he

In the temple of the solar divinity Amaterasu, the Emperor, in solitary state and engaged in prayer, communes with his revered ancestors. The temple of **Ise**—called the Mecca of the Japanese—goes back,

according to tradition, to the year 4 B.C. In the *naiku*, or the inner temple, the sacred seat of the sun-goddess, the ancestress of the Emperor, is preserved the holy of holies, a mirror, emblem of purity and truth, a symbol, too, of the omniscience of the gods, who can divine man's thoughts from his facial expression ; it rests in a wooden receptacle and has a covering of brocade. When this covering commences to decay it is not removed, but a new screen is drawn over it, so that no human eye has beheld the mirror for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years.

The case rests upon a low stand, covered with white silk, the whole being enclosed in a wicker cage with a few gold ornaments, which, on its part, is covered with a piece of silk. When the temple is open during festivals the people may obtain a distant view of this covering, under which reposes the holy of holies. The Emperor only and a few privileged priests may visit the inner temple.

The *geku* or outer temple is consecrated to the goddess of our staple food ; here is again displayed the trinity of emperor, ancestors, and rice.

The architecture of the temple is marked by the Spartan simplicity of Japanese houses, dating from a time when Chinese models still exercised a marked influence. The structures are of rough, unpainted wood, erected on piles, covered with straw, with cross-beams at the gables ; their resemblance to the buildings of Northern Europe in the days of the old deities is marked. According to ancient observance, after twenty-one years the temples are dismantled and reconstructed in precisely identical style and with a

reproduction of the same details at a little distant spot. Consequently there are two temple districts in Ise ; as soon as one period of twenty-one years is ending the building of a new temple is begun. When it is completed the Sengyo, or wandering of the shrine and, therefore, of the gods, is concluded.

The timbers of the dismantled temple are distributed among pilgrims as charms. In the year 1900 the *naiku* was dismantled and rebuilt within the twenty-one year period because water had fallen on its roof during a conflagration and this was considered a desecration of the sacred edifice.

The great antiquity attributed to the temple of Ise does not, therefore, apply to the present building, but preserves a tradition which has been associated with the cult that persisted in the various temples for nearly two thousand years. This hallowed tradition is the very essence of Shintoism, which treasures no idols or proper shrines ; even the holy of holies, the mirror, is not a god, but the representation of divinity.

The white curtain at the entrance of the *geku*, the outer temple, has previously been referred to in another connection. Viscount Mori, Ambassador to Washington and London, then Minister of Education, a typical personage of the Meiji Age, inspired by veneration for all things foreign and filled with contempt for everything Japanese, on the occasion of a visit to Ise in the year 1888, was tactless enough to raise the curtain, which hides the inner temple from all save Imperial eyes, with his walking-stick. On February 11 of the following year, whilst putting on his gala uniform, in order to attend the celebration of

Constitution Day, he was murdered by the fanatical Shintoist, Buntara Nischino. The homicide was immediately slain by the Minister's escort, yet the sympathy of the whole Japanese nation went out to him. His sepulchre in the Yanaka cemetery in Tokyo became the scene of pilgrimages. In fact, it grew into a real shrine, in front of which hundreds of wreathes were placed and the burning of incense never ceased.

Patriots commemorate his act in verse, and a popular belief arose that a prayer which reached the gods through the mediation of Nischino's spirit would most certainly be considered.

Such is the way to divine honours in Japan ; and although the Emperor is, in our view, a contemporary god, he is not thereby entirely distinct from his subjects ; as any of us, by good deeds, heroism, self-sacrifice, or wise living may some day attain divine honours. We are of the same family, we are the Emperor's relatives ; he is simply our sovereign head.

The Divine Emperor

Because the Emperor seeks advice from sacred ancestors and shapes his policy accordingly, Shintoism counsels "Follow thy natural impulses and observe the Emperor's orders". The Emperor's command is the recognized morality of the community.

After the Father of the gods, Isanagi, had created Japan and its island race, other lands and peoples arose on earth, when, by command of the deities, the bed of the ocean was upheaved and the sea-foam consolidated. Japan—properly Nippon—"soil of the

Sun"—however, stood nearest the stainless star. The seed of Isanagi multiplied, quarrels broke out amongst the Japanese, and blood was shed. Then Amaterasu resolved to take the administration of the country into her divine hands. From her necklace she created a son, Oshiho, whom she married to Tamayori-Hime, a grandson of the Father of the gods. The first-born of this union, the god Ninigi, she appointed ruler of Nippon.

When Ninigi bade his grandmother farewell she gave him three trinkets : the mirror, which still remains in the temple of Ise ; the sword of the rugged god Susa-ni-Oh ; as well as a jewel. "Take the mirror," she said, "it is the sign of my presence ; may thy rule of the land be of pure brilliance like unto it ; thou and thy seed shall rule the land for ever. Govern in a mild and clement spirit, like the polished surface of the jewel, but smite the enemy of the realm with the sharpness of this." Jewel and sword are also preserved to this day.

"And Ninigi renounced the eternal throne of Heaven," one of our oldest documents goes on to relate ; "The everlasting portals of Heaven closed with stupendous force when he divided the immeasurable sea of fog, ploughed a path through the drifting layers of cloud, and descended to earth from the high realms of Heaven."

Accompanied by a splendid retinue of gods and goddesses, Ninigi crossed the heavenly bridge of seven colours—the rainbow—but as soon as his feet touched the soil of Nippon, heaven and earth fell asunder and the connecting bridge vanished.



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THE CHARM OF JAPANESE WOMEN LIES IN THEIR DRESS RATHER :
THEIR LOOKS

Jimmu, the great-grandchild of the god Ninigi, was Japan's first emperor and reigned from 660 to 585 B.C.

It would be absurd to say that the Japanese Imperial House is the most ancient dynasty in the world, for in truth we are all equally old, are of one human stock. Our royal line, however, is that in which the dynastic sense, the sense of the ruling tradition, has enjoyed the longest reign, just as our theatre, our painting, and our music, while not the first, are those in which the sense of what is traditional has been most protracted in living and unbroken sequence. And this, in fact, is the quintessence of tradition. Not that it is antique, but that it is alive.

The venerated tradition of the Emperor's divinity is vital in every department of life. The sway of the Emperor is ubiquitous. All schools, offices, and official institutions regard his portrait as their most treasured possession. It is stored in a fire-proof safe, ready to be exhibited on festive occasions, when scholars, teachers, and officials make obeisance before it. We hold an examination festival, when the examinees take an oath to remain steadfast in the service of Emperor and country in the patriotic spirit in which they have trained for this purpose. Behind curtains in all gymnasias and sports' halls an Imperial throne is placed. It is never occupied by the Emperor in person, but he is present in spirit; and before the exercises begin and after their conclusion, all the performers bow reverently before the empty throne, to which they dedicate their lives.

Before the start of an expedition or an ocean

flight, all who are to participate assemble in front of the Imperial castle and make obeisance before the symbol of the Emperor. When the voyage is ended they do the same and also report the course of the j'ourney. Every achievement, every action, serves to enhance his honour and glory as also those of the realm.

Before the Olympic team depart abroad in order to compete with the athletes of the outside world, they march in front of the Imperial Palace, bow and give three *banzai*. After their return from the Olympiad they do the same ; the prowess of the athletes is the property of the Emperor.

The *kimigayo*, the national anthem, is really an imperial hymn, and extols the power and expansion of the Empire. The *banzai*, literally "ten thousand years", wishes the Imperial House a prolonged existence.

No association, no society, can exist in Japan without placing itself covertly or tacitly under the protection of the Emperor, no political party can survive which does not proclaim the supremacy of the Emperor as something entirely beyond dispute.

Neither Socialists nor Liberals, in fact not even Communists, impugn the person of the supreme ruler. For the toiling population he is a permanent guarantee that they will never be exploited for the benefit of private capitalist concerns. This sounds like an empty phrase, but it is something more than that to the Japanese. Consequently, the Imperial House has survived all vicissitudes and revolutions, the introduction of Buddhism, the dictatorship of the Fujiwara family,

the Shogunate of Tokugawa, the restoration of the Meiji, and will likewise ride any storms that may be on the way.

In this connection, it will be appropriate to deal with a question that is always being put by Europeans who are keenly interested in social distinctions. "If you Japanese emphasize the social solidarity of all classes, why is it that you have such opulent men, such huge undertakings, perhaps the wealthiest family associations, the most colossal concerns in the world?"

To be quite candid, the Japanese people, in their heart of hearts, regard large-scale production as something utterly alien and un-Japanese, as something which fits into the system in bourgeois Europe and plutocratic America, but which need not on that account have a place in Japan.

A people that has never cultivated the sense of money nor the craving for money, will never quite understand how a man can permit his capital to work for him instead of working himself. Capitalism and capital were ever our weakest aims. May they continue to remain so !

Discontent amongst the people concerning our capitalists is rightly or wrongly very considerable, and it spreads into ever-widening circles. There is even talk of a "Shogunate of Capital", with reference to the Shogun or Viceroy of the past, who degraded the Emperor's office and established a secondary government. Political efforts are being made to destroy this secondary rule and restore all power, even in the economic sphere, to the Emperor, in other words, to

the nation at large. This movement, which is rather unhappily designated National Marxism, has chosen the motto : "No capitalists, no private property, and the Emperor as the administrator of all commodities and services."

Ikeda, the leader of this movement, was asked by a foreign journalist what he and his colleagues would do if the Emperor declined to associate himself with their desires. He answered : "If the Emperor should decline to take our wishes into consideration, we would bow to his will without one word of contradiction. There will never be a revolution in Japan of the kind that has occurred elsewhere. The revolution will be accomplished by the Emperor, at the instance of his people—or it will not be made at all."

Let no one be perturbed if one day Japan's key industries are nationalized. It will not signify the victory of Communism, but the beginning of the new Nipponism, which is likely to assume the form of an Imperial Socialism.

We know that our captains of industry and finance will rise to the occasion. Just as at an earlier time, in the year 1871, when the abrogation of the feudal principality and of the nobility's privileges seemed essential to the prosperity of our nation, the predecessors of our financial magnates, the powerful feudal princes, placed their estates and revenues at the Emperor's disposal, so when the hour arrives our plutocrats will transfer their industrial and banking concerns to the Emperor and the general community, and will themselves become what every Japanese is fundamentally : faithful servants of the Emperor as

sovereign ruler, appointed, maintained, and guided by his ancestral spirits.

Thus we see today in the Emperor's divine personality the rare and remarkable phenomenon of a legendary deity, who might intervene at any moment in the industrial and commercial life of a modern people, in order to provide a novel direction to the evolution of the nation, and perhaps to world civilization as a whole.

The Sacred Rice

During his spiritual communion with his revered ancestors, the Emperor performs a sacrifice of rice to their memory. At all his meals, however rich and ceremonial they may be, he eats plain, cooked rice, and thus signalizes his close kinship with the soil and with a rice-eating community. This seed is never absent from our table ; however replete we may be with a hundred delicacies, at the end of each meal we invariably take two bowls or two half-bowls of rice. Before we take our first meal a modicum of cooked rice is sprinkled every morning upon the domestic altar, which is present in every house, so that the spirits of our ancestors may revel in its scent.

In the vicinity of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo a model rice-field has been planted, and the Emperor himself takes part in the sowing. The original name of our country was "Midzuho-no-Kuni", "Land of the rich rice ears". The planting, the growth, and the garnering of the rice-plant are commemorated by

Shinto festivals ; all Shinto temples conduct divine service in its honour. The most famous festivals are the "Feast of the Rice Plant", held on the 14th June in the venerable temple of Sumiyoshi near Osaka ; the "Divine Service of the Rice Plant" in the Temple of Ise, the Shinto shrine previously mentioned, takes place on the 24th June ; and the "Feast of the Watering of the Rice Fields" is celebrated on the 1st June in the Monotobe Temple at Shimane.

The cultivation of the rice-plant is a laborious task. The seeds are sown thickly; when the young shoots are about four inches high they have to be dug up and replanted in the great rice-marshes, which are ankle-deep under water, each plant being set at a certain distance apart, in order to yield the heaviest possible crop. Standing in water from early morning till late in the evening, with bent back, and exposed to the rays of the scorching sun and keen winds of Japan, the peasant toils for the sustenance of the people. Then irrigation trenches must be dug, water-wheels must be utilized until the rice reaches maturity and is reaped on the sun-dried fields. The fields ascend in laboriously constructed and skilfully arranged terraces up to the steep precipices. Every foot of land is cultivated and a rice-patch often measures little more than the surface of a dining-table.

The peasant is rewarded for his anxious care by the frequent gathering of two harvests in a season ; sixty-three per cent of our rice-fields may be reaped twice a year. Yet the home-grown crop is not sufficient to feed our people ; we import rice from China, Indo-China and Siam ; our rural inhabitants eat

millet, beans, and rye, either mixed with rice or as a supplementary food.

Could not the rice-crop of our country be amplified? Scarcely, for in spite of all our efforts in this direction the area of Japan's rice-fields has only been increased from 7,246,000 to 7,268,634 acres in twenty years, that is from 1906 to 1926, or by no more than 0·3 per cent. The stubborn fact confronts us that barely twenty per cent of the soil of our country can be used for agricultural purposes, and nothing can remove this disadvantage so long as our mountains remain standing. On the other hand, all endeavours to wean the Japanese from rice as his staple food have hitherto failed ; also, with the rising standard of life, the consumption of rice increases, whereas the consumption of "inferior" cereals diminishes. During the above-named period the cultivation of rye, oats, buck-wheat, millet, and beans in Japan declined, while only that of potatoes increased, which last circumstance is to be attributed to the spread of European cookery and to the consumption of tubers by Europeans resident in Japan. In the Japanese kitchen itself potatoes are rarely seen ; we prefer the batate, the sweet potato, or yams. Even with European dishes we prefer rice to potatoes. It has already been said that our nostalgia's seat is mainly in the stomach. If we relinquished rice, we would feel as if we were parting with our most pronounced national idiosyncrasy. Rice-wine is Japan's most popular alcoholic beverage, rice-cakes our most common dainties.

So that even in modern times rice remains at the

very core of our national life and provides much scope for serious thought. The solution of the rice problem is to a very considerable extent an answer to the Japanese question in its wider bearings.

With the intensive cultivation which rice demands, its price is comparatively low, as a cereal requisite to sustain our poorer people must be cheap. In addition rice, more than any other plant, is exposed to the risk of bad harvests, and our country is the proverbial region of natural catastrophes. The position of our peasantry, which is anything but rosy in normal times, frequently verges on the catastrophic, both in the years of bad harvests, when starvation stalks the country districts, and in seasons of abundant yields, when the rice must be disposed of at ridiculous prices. The Government alleviates peasant distress and checks speculation at the same time by purchasing large consignments of rice at normal prices in bounteous years, and thus steadies prices as much as possible. The grain is stored in gigantic national granaries and sold in periods of dearth without a profit, very largely to the peasant population itself, which otherwise would be compelled to starve or to subsist on inferior cereals, if not upon grass, as sometimes happens, despite all precautions, in remote districts.

Yet, with all the assistance which the peasantry has in recent times received from the Government, its position is precarious, and its standard of living is low. It will be recalled that the peasants were not mentioned as one of the four corner-stones of Japanese life. Our peasantry are still outside society. Their share in civilization, however indispensable in a real sense,

is practically non-existent in an ideal sense. The peasant's time is exclusively devoted to the cultivation of the rice-crop. The product of his labour is too slight to enable him to attain a modest prosperity or even to procure the most primitive comforts of life. He is the mute, nameless martyr, who sustains the whole burden of our civilization, but unfortunately has no part or lot therein.

The ever-widening gulf between town and country, which is a striking feature of all modern communities, has engendered many unfavourable consequences. A government which truly desires the well-being of our country cannot neglect the peasant. Much, admittedly, is being done today to benefit and improve the peasantry ; rural schools and institutes for prospective brides are actively engaged in instructing young peasants in matters which directly or indirectly concern their industry ; Government institutes are testing improved methods of cultivation and harvesting ; the housing and equipment of the peasantry are being systematically improved. In particular the military, who fully appreciate the importance of physical fitness, labour to uplift the poor toiler on the land. The next few years will witness momentous changes in this sphere, and the vexed problem of the food supply will perhaps approach a satisfactory solution.

THE GREAT PACIFIC CONTROVERSY

That Manchurian Adventure !

THE Manchurian experiment has been discussed from many diverse points of view, and is still the theme of violent controversy. Spacious, fertile Manchuria is supposed to serve for the absorption of our "enormous" additional population of about a million souls a year, which in these days of birth-control is felt to be a most remarkable paradox. In this connection our excess of births is almost exactly equivalent to that of pre-war Germany, which in the five years from 1900 to 1905 totalled about 4*3 million more inhabitants; and from 1906 to 1910 almost precisely the same surplus. In the percentages of the entire population the resemblance is still more striking. This, of course, simply serves to show that prejudices and popular phrases conceal the real conditions, and that the problem of a surplus population is not a matter that concerns Japan alone. Everyone who gives currency to the statement that Manchuria is regarded as a colony for our swollen population, overlooks or ignores the fact that Japanese detest emigration ; and it might be said that they scarcely emigrate at all. Out of a total population of about 65,000,000, about 650,000 Japanese live abroad, according to the latest estimates.

The Japanese emigrant differs from most other

emigrants in his firm determination, after working a few years abroad, of returning home, in order to live or at least to die there. Such is his intention when he decides to reside for a season in regions where the climate is more congenial and the environment more favourable than in Manchuria, and it is on this rock that all aggressive or peaceful schemes of colonization seem destined to founder. Indeed, an American statistician has raised a laugh by estimating that the entirety of the Japanese mercantile marine steaming in the Pacific Ocean would not suffice to transport our redundant population from its island home. For national reasons alone there can be no serious intention of stocking Manchuria with Japanese, and it is scarcely necessary to indicate that Manchuria, which absorbs an annual influx through open and secret channels of more than a million migrants from China, is in no position to accommodate more, not to mention the circumstance that our peasants or workers are too "pampered" to enter into competition with the abstemious immigrants from China.

According to another account, Manchuria, with its vast mineral resources, is intended to supply our industries with raw materials. Although this suggestion is more feasible, it will not bear close examination. In the first place, decades of years must elapse before the production of raw materials in Manchuria emerges from the stage in which it only utilizes commercial capital, into one of such economic success as to be capable of nourishing our industry ; in the second place the reserves of raw materials, and of ore

especially, have proved so inferior that it is still doubtful whether they can be profitably exploited ; in the third place all the most important undertakings were already in Japanese hands. Also, the Chinese officials were anything but obstructive and were open to bribery for any good or evil purpose, while, in creating Manchukuo, with its clean and efficient administration, Japan has forfeited a number of advantageous openings that were available prior to her Manchurian adventure. As an independent province of Northern China, Manchuria offered its resources for our exploitation more freely than today, as we now have to deal with a contracting party with equal rights under a new government, in the recently created State, which will soon enter into autonomous relationship with the Powers of the Western World.

The notion of the creation of a military base for Japan in Manchuria is to be rejected out of hand. Applied to Manchurian conditions, the term loses all meaning. What military advantage could an enviably placed island group gain in establishing a base completely encircled by powerful nations, who would of necessity be driven into violent protest and kindled into racial antagonism by the very existence of this military base ? The only safe boundary of this "jumping-off ground" is the frontier that marches with Korea. Consequently, it is a region whose inhabitants' conduct in an emergency would be extremely inimical. However firm the Japanese control might seem to be, the Manchurians are a proud people of about 18,000,000, pervaded with nationalist and communist sympathies, who have scarcely been

reconciled to the loss of their independence, however much they may appear to acquiesce in the prevalent administration.

If the events which have occurred in Manchuria, if our conduct in that country is to be understood aright, the problem must be studied in its widest aspects; special view-points must be abandoned, and every social, economic, geographical, and indeed, every other relevant factor must be taken into consideration.

The question which most deeply concerned Japan was the necessity of squaring accounts with China once and for all. What was at stake was the imperative requirement of an independent China and this desideratum was gravely menaced, and—paradoxical though it may appear—by annexing one of her provinces it seemed possible to preserve her unity and, in consequence, the integrity of our great motherland of Asia. There was, therefore, the advisability of excluding, on the one hand, criminal, and on the other, well-meaning but non-Asiatic influences. Making every allowance for the local progress that had been accomplished, especially in the South, it must be acknowledged that China was drifting into utter anarchy ; the time was not far distant when the European Powers would have deemed it their duty to intervene in Chinese affairs. When Japan invaded Manchuria, there is no doubt that the fatal twelfth hour was imminent.

The wide territory of Outer Mongolia, with a large area of Inner Mongolia, was completely at the mercy of Bolshevist agents, and as completely under Bolshevist control as at the present moment.

However advantageous this may be for Mongolia itself, it is unquestionably highly detrimental to Chinese integrity. The remote province of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), which is very rich in mineral wealth, shared the same fate. Bounded on two sides by Russia, on the third almost hermetically sealed by the K'unlun mountains, separated from China proper by thousands of miles of desert, it was drawn into the vortex of Bolshevik intrigue in Asia and was lamentably torn by party dissension and civil strife. The South of China had become, more or less openly, an independent communist Soviet Republic. We need not discuss the part played by the American Famine Assistance Committee in the Hoang-Ho region, whose activities trespassed far beyond its appointed task of relieving sufferers from famine and the floods.

In the Manchurian provinces the misgovernment of the "Generals" was too flagrant to be tolerated. The land was scourged by the sanguinary regime of the uniformed scoundrel, whose endless feuds never permitted the country a moment's peace, and who regarded its resources as a means of enrichment, to enable him to squander money abroad, in Shanghai, or in a modern Japanese bathing-resort with doubtful women. Here, where great China was most sorely beset, where her manpower was being most recklessly sacrificed, was Japan's opportunity to establish order, to exploit the country's resources in the most rational manner, to guarantee the people peace and security. No doubt we were also largely influenced by selfish considerations. Our industries, our trade, our compatriots in

Manchuria had to be protected, but ideal aims are best achieved when combined with realist aspirations.

The English are an order-loving nation, and may be expected to understand one's sensations when a respectable family dwells for decades on the same floor as a thoroughly disreputable family, both necessarily using the same entrance and exit. In the latter family the father beats the mother, the mother nags the father, and the children combine to beat their parents—in full view of all the neighbours and in the hearing of passers-by in the street. Let it also be generally known that the rowdy family is related to our respectable family. Would it not be perfectly in order for sober citizens to intervene and restore something resembling peace. Although we may not possess legal justification for our action, we may rightly claim a moral one. Our justification for intervention is the prosperous state of our own family, and the full conviction that we can firmly establish the same harmony elsewhere. In support of our contention, we can point to the present state of Manchukuo and its future possibilities.

Taking a long and comprehensive view of the matter, let us say from the position of an observer in the year 1945, Manchuria is the experimental stage upon which we are demonstrating to the whole world our ability to evolve orderly government and progressive tendencies where chaos and confusion have unrestrainedly prevailed for decades past; a stage upon which we are proving to our neighbour, China, how much she stands to secure by being friendly with us while trusting herself to our guidance.

For we are thoroughly convinced that, as a **matter of** historical inevitability, the leadership of Asia, at any rate during the next two or three generations, devolves upon us, both for Asia's and our own advantage. The natural course of things, of which China has such profound understanding and upon which she has relied in her many vicissitudes, will detach us as soon as our political mission has been fulfilled, to be succeeded by another and a greater power. The entire world knows what this power will be : Asia as a whole.

That all this might come to pass in peaceable fashion is surely a gloriously worthy objective at which China might fairly aim. Doubtless, this demands of China the superman's self-denial, a superb grandeur, but China has frequently displayed this supreme virtue. From China the broad outlook, from us the noble achievement—for Asia's lasting benefit.

We are firmly convinced that the observer of the year 1945 will not regard the Manchurian occupation as the aggression of an imperialistic, "sabre-rattling" people against a defenceless and prostrate community, so much as a first step towards tranquillity in China, a Sino-Japanese alliance, which nothing in this world will break, and the opening of a new historical era, destined to exert a beneficial influence upon the future of the human race.

Foes to a Policy of Prestige

Who is likely to disturb the peace of Asia by military operations ? Certainly not China, who is



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manifestly quite defenceless and utterly incapable of militant activity in the modern meaning of the term. War has always been a hated weapon in China, and coming time will witness no modification in this attitude.

The two other Great Powers involved are States which, like Japan, attach little importance to the term "prestige", a word surviving from a long-departed age of chivalry, when men were constrained to draw the sword over trifles magnified into matters of momentous issue. This old concept crops up again where one might least expect to meet it—in politics. Although the Marxists may exaggerate in reducing everything in the world to an economic determination, we are living in an age in which political economy is the chief controlling factor. Ours is an economic policy, seconded by civilizing ideals, which forms the true method for securing prestige—and this is pacific.

Neither Soviet Russia nor the United States pursues a policy of prestige ; neither of them would willingly become involved in a conflict concerning prestige. This was amply illustrated by the United States on the occasion of the Manchurian conflict. When Japan established the new State of Manchukuo, and naturally enough reserved a number of favours for herself in that region, everybody expected a collision between America and ourselves, as the former was alleged "to see her vital interests in China threatened". America, however, merely made a rough estimate of her business relations with China, concluded that her interests in that quarter had been immensely exaggerated, inasmuch as her investments

there all told amounted to a hundred and sixty million dollars only out of foreign investments totalling fifteen milliard dollars, and therefore only amounted to one hundredth part of the whole. The United States estimated that the maintenance of consular authorities, warships, and garrisons on the Asiatic coast of the Pacific cost more than was yielded by the whole of the China trade, and so declared herself disinterested in the matter. A few opponents of Japan protested, but the American Government adopted an entirely neutral attitude. No one in Japan would dream of regarding this as a sign of weakness.

We admire America's magnanimity and cherish the hope that, in similar circumstances, we should behave in the same gracious manner. By its gradual withdrawal from the Philippines and its promise to grant the Philippinos independence within ten years, the United States has again shown its disregard of a policy of prestige. What a fine field for rampaging prestige politicians the Philippine problem would have created. In sight of the greatest Asiatic people of today, to the knowledge of all colonial Powers, America possessed an important group of islands with an Asiatic population. She had developed these islands into a model residence for men, and for their safety she had erected fortresses which were among the strongest in the world ; and now—when the retention of these islands proved unremunerative ; when she realized they might become an apple of discord among the nations, she surrendered them. This is a marked sign of practical generosity, and what we have ever admired among Americans is their generosity of heart.

For some years past the great American naval manoeuvres have been regularly conducted in the Pacific Ocean, midway between the Asiatic and the American continents. And all who are haunted by the nightmare of armed conflict in the Pacific immediately exclaim : "There it is—the war, the opening of the great struggle between the races! The U.S.A. fleet is once more manoeuvring at the very gates of Japan !"

We, however, are of the opinion that the United States, which has a large share in the commerce of oceans, is perfectly within its rights in exercising its naval evolutions within the Atlantic or within the Pacific. If America has recently decided for the larger sea, it simply signifies that the exploits of Spanish and English *conquistadores* are past and that the centre of gravity has been transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

Soviet Russia, with its Far-Eastern Army, under the command of a marshal with the suggestive name of Bliicher, is constantly placed against us in warfare—thank goodness only on paper, and not on the Manchurian battle-fields. These prophets of gloom completely forget that the prestige of a Communist State, if it has any prestige at all, precludes it from engaging in warlike adventures beyond its legitimate frontiers. The expanding ambitions of Communism are entirely misconceived if it is imagined that they are to be materialized in terms of the traditional Imperialist methods of the Great Powers. The policy proper to Communism consists in the peaceful penetration of misgoverned bourgeois countries, where economic conditions are insupportable, by Communist ideas and

technical achievements, just as Nipponism today signals the peaceful penetration of the world by means of our industrial products. In fact, Soviet Russia ignores the principle of prestige, and this was adequately shown when she surrendered the East Chinese Railway, a transaction which, with a knowing nod, was termed a "sale".

When a State pursues no so-called prestige policy, it is seriously concerned with its *true* prestige, that is its reputation in the world at large. With the cheerful relinquishment of this Russo-Japanese apple of discord, Russia showed that her intentions in the Far East are pacific, and that her outstanding desire is to carry out her various five-year plans in peace. Russia's disinterestedness in the Manchurian question was strengthened by the circumstance that her trade with China is insignificant. Moreover, a prosperous Manchukuo may one day become a better customer than the whole of sick and insolvent China at the present moment.

We Japanese have a maxim to the effect that war should only be risked for the sake of that which only a war can give, and this proverb might equally apply to our Russian neighbour ; for the consequences of a lost war (and what war of tomorrow will not be lost) is likely to lead to the appearance of Communism in a bourgeois society and the triumph of reaction in a Communist State.

For us Japanese the maxim is no empty phrase ; today less so than ever. It will probably be conceded universally that we are nothing if not the appreciators of stubborn fact, and as such we have the least possible desire for a war today. Paradoxically enough, it may

still be said that we Japanese are not afraid of war, and yet we dread it. For hostilities with air squadrons, with armoured cruisers and poison gas would incommode us in the prosecution of what we regard as far more important than anything else : in our *own* war. We are plunged in the midst of our national enterprise which is :

The scientifically organized reconstruction of industry.

The conquest of new markets.

The education of youth in the service of the State.

The assimilation of the family cell within the social organism.

The concentration of the entire community in a single national effort—this is our campaign, that is—the Japanese War.

Organized Peace

Our strength resides in the organized peace in which we live; the bloodless battle-fields on which we are fighting today, where we are achieving successes and where still greater victories are assured us ; these are our real battle-grounds. Our industrialists point out that they can reduce the prices of their products by a further twenty to forty per cent if such reductions prove necessary. Our Government asserts that were it to impose an income tax upon the industrial community, which, contrary to the custom of Western Governments, it refrains from doing, the revenue of the State could be increased by twenty **per** cent.

Japan has Never Displayed her Real Power

We have never yet exhibited the whole of our strength. We stand at the foot of a mountain, and we are confident that we shall reach the summit. Why, then, should we wish our own domestic struggle disturbed by an onslaught of bayonets and shells ? We need not only the unimpaired energy of our inhabitants, but also the unimpeded national energy of our neighbour, with whom we desire to live on the friendly footing of economic and cultural exchange.

The Pacific Ocean will remain the Pacific Ocean ; we shall not disturb its repose. We trust that the days of armed conflict are over and that the world has made a powerful advance towards armed or organized peace. Whoever resorted to arms today would commit a grave crime for which atonement could never be made.

As to our old Samurai spirit, it has now passed into our soldiers in the schools, our soldiers of labour and our soldiers of the office. Something of the spirit of the Samurai will always remain active in our scholars, craftsmen, officials, and toilers. If this were not so, then the national discipline that is required of us today would be impossible. That in all that we have hitherto achieved the Army has been our chief instrument; that our continuous progress and our organized peace have only been accomplished and guided by its spirit, we frankly acknowledge. If China is one day convinced **that her** natural place is by our side, that we ought to **be united** by the closest ties of friendship, the main

influence that will have led to this conclusion is undoubtedly our Army. In this sense our military power is a factor making for peace. We are grateful to our Army and proud of it; we can count on it more confidently than on a State Bank crammed with gold; it is our sterling capital.

In this sense—but in no other—we are militarists.

We are no sabre-rattlers. Our swords cannot be rattled, for the Samurai swords, which our officers wear today in the identical spirit in which our forefathers wore them, are noble works of art, encased in finely lacquered sheaths. And the enormous responsibility the Samurai assumed in drawing the sword for the benefit of their descendants, the soldiery of today, was too frequently impressed upon them to permit them to become mere fire-eating militarists.

Count Ujida, who was our Foreign Minister, before the young, lively, optimistic Hirota took over the direction of foreign affairs, defined his foreign policy in the pithy sentence: "Japan will rise and fight for her rights like one man—even if this should reduce the whole country to a heap of smoking ruins." Now, that would in fact have been a sabre-rattling procedure. We Japanese call it the "smoking ruins policy" and unanimously reject it. We are too well acquainted with smoking ruins from our earthquake experiences to permit our Ministers to include them as part of their programme.

A politician who can contrive no other escape from a dilemma in foreign policy than "smoking ruins", seems to us the wrong kind of man entirely to conduct our foreign affairs. Our repudiation

of this statement led to the fall of the Saito Cabinet, to which Count Ujida belonged; Kōti Hirota, who has ever since been Foreign Minister, enjoys not only the confidence but the affection of our people. He helped to engineer the Manchurian enterprise and to pacify the newly-created State ; he removed causes of friction between America and ourselves and established almost cordial relations. He conducted the negotiations concerning the East Chinese Railway to a peaceful and friendly termination and thus materially improved our relations with Soviet Russia. In fact, he was really appointed to his position because, as former ambassador in Moscow, he paved the way to a better understanding of the attitude of Russia and to the composing of the differences between the two countries. If he thoroughly succeeds in making China our friend, the first step towards which has already been taken by both countries, he will indeed be a Foreign Minister after our own hearts, a real politician in the Japanese meaning of the word.

Look back into our "warlike" past and confess that our 250 years of absolute peace would have lasted yet longer, had it depended on us alone. Both the beginning and the end of the period were marked by conflicts with foreigners or with Japanese who were influenced by them : at the beginning, the outbreak of the Christian rebellion of 1610 against the State power, and at the end the cannonade with European squadrons in 1864. Study the history of our most recent experiences : the origins of the Sino-Japanese campaign of 1894 and of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, seeking information from Western sources and

not from Japanese documents, which may appear prejudiced, and you will be driven to admit that "our" conflicts have always been forced upon us, and that we have always been humiliated and dragooned almost beyond the limits of endurance before we resorted to arms. Both in the war against colossal China and in that against powerful Russia, we embarked with the slenderest prospects of success ; a failure, most certainly, would have spelt the ruin of our national life.

We do not pick quarrels.

So long as the fiction of a "warlike" Japan is accredited, no just judgment of our people and their intentions is possible. Before the term "militarist" is applied to us it must be interpreted in a Japanese sense, very much as such appellations as "Fascist", "National-Socialist" and "Bolshevist" must be modified before they can be applied to Japanese conditions.

Inasmuch as we feel ourselves to be the legitimate descendants of the great Nippon of the past, much as the Fascists of Italy feel themselves to be the heirs of old Rome, we are Fascists, with this distinction, that the Italians have but lately reawakened to a perception of the grandeur of old Rome, whereas we have always been conscious of ancestral glory. Young Japan does not simply feel herself the heir of ancient Japan. We combine both classic and modern Japan ; for 2500 years there has been no break in the continuity of our native development.

Inasmuch as we value private property as little as we treasure private life and are prepared to sacrifice the former ; as previously in the course of our history, we are Bolshevists ; except that our possessing class—

yesterday the feudal princes and today the capitalists—are not necessarily constrained to make monetary sacrifices by an insurrection of the property-less class. Perhaps we are Bolshevists in the sense that we are prepared, in an emergency, to place the sustentation of the people upon a communal basis, even as we do not shrink from surrendering private life ; and as we are completely cognizant of the standard of living due to us in stated circumstances, we comply with it unrepiningly.

To the degree that we deal with such difficulties as the grievances of labour and with social and educational problems in a national spirit, we may be considered National-Socialist. Only, in our case there is no need to fashion the family as the primary cell of the multicellular nation, as our family has always occupied this position.

Japan's Symbol: Pine, Bamboo, Plum

It was a chronic complaint of the Meiji people, those Japanese who suffered from constitutional pessimism that : "It is Japan's misfortune that she has no mission to fulfil." Yet, we are now convinced that, compared with other nations, our country has no disadvantage in this respect; it has a great mission to accomplish.

It is ever invidious to parade one's own virtues, or even repeat what others might esteem in oneself. I should be pained if this book conveyed the impression **that** the good qualities of our people were extolled to **the** skies, their attractive aspects only being stressed.

But much as a mechanic when describing an engine, ignores the sixty per cent of energy which is dissipated in the course of its conversion into motion, and only speaks of the forty per cent which performs effective work, so I feel justified in ignoring the less attractive features of the Japanese when discussing their virtues and beneficent activities in my attempt to explain how their "engine" operates.

The virtues of the Japanese are memorialized in the trinity—Pine-Bamboo-Plum, and it would appear to us that in this connection Japan can make some sort of modest return to the West for the many benefits it has in recent generations bestowed upon us.

The endurance which is symbolized by the pine is not confined to our customs alone, but is also manifested in our modes of intellectual life, in art, in thought, and in statesmanship. We are firmly convinced that sound morality and proper dignity can only emerge from the soil of persistent endurance. The constant alternation of diametrically opposed fashions as systems of thought appears to us unreal. At all events, if the one be true, the other must be false ; and ethics must inevitably become degraded when a people or their manner of thought remains for years under the dominion of the mendacious or perverse. Consequently, our domestic policy, our parliamentarianism, dispenses with the powerful forces that tend to neutralize each other, but it becomes a united and ceaseless energy, which is irresistibly advancing towards one desirable goal.

The flexibility of the bamboo signalizes our ability to survive the natural calamities which overtake our

islands from time to time. Just as the slender and seemingly fragile bamboo always recovers from the hardest blows, so it is our ingrained habit to upraise our beaten heads. The lesson that a stranger might learn from this is never to judge by appearances alone. We are a homely people with precious little talent for propaganda. We are perhaps the homeliest people in all Asia—and that is saying a great deal—and we are delighted to be able to demonstrate that in matters of high policy it is not fine words, not the semblance of power, not "prestige" that counts, but that success is made up of a complex mosaic of small and even prosaic achievements. Endurance and fidelity in the minor undertakings of life constitute genuine heroism.

The plum which blossoms while the snow is still whitening the earth symbolizes the persistence of life in precarious circumstances. Inasmuch as we have created a culture exclusively our own with a high level of civilization upon a poverty-stricken soil and with none too-promising human material, we believe that we are unique. It is not a matter of being opulent; the consummation of Japanese civilization will remove riches from without to within. Only the outwardly modest man is inwardly self-assured.

The smiling face of the Japanese masks a profoundly serious disposition, just as the beautiful blossom of the plum, which blooms under snow-flakes, testifies to its powers of endurance. Japan has never had two faces ; ever and always one face. If you form your conclusions from appearances alone, you will never unravel her secret.

INDEX

A

Acting, 191
Aestheticism, 136
Amaterasu, 252
America and Japan, 274

B

Balz, Edwin, 233
Bathing customs, 131
Baths, 180
Betrothals in Japan, 88 *et seq.*
Birth ceremonies, 56-57
Breakfast, 161
Buddhism in Japan, 37
Builder's craft, 159
Building system, 155

C

Capital and Labour in Japan, 111
Careers for boys, 104
Careers for girls, 105
Character, formation of, 69
Chiang kai Chek, 52
Chikamatsu, N. (Japanese Shakespeare), 198
Children in Japan, 65
Cinemas in Japan, 214-215
Close, Upton, 35
Cocks (English traveller), 195
College life, 77
Communism in Japan, 111 *et seq.*
Confucianism, 51-52

Confucius, 51
Crafts in localities, 163
Craftsmen, 157
Crossing the frontier, 200
Culinary sensations, 229

D

Dahrani Bible, 183
Dietetic experiment, 234
Dietetic reform, 231
Domestic habits, 161
Domestic life, 73, 132
Domestic service in Japan, 72
Dumping by Japan, 119 *et seq.*
Dwellings, 133

E

Earthquake of 1923, 42
Earthquake, influence of, 47
Earthquakes in Japan, 39 *et seq.*
Education in Japan, 60 *et seq.*
Emperor, divinity of, 257
Emperor of Japan, 255
Employees, 169
Engels, 80
Entertainments, 118

F

Family life, 61 *et seq.*
Fashions, 166
Fashions in hairdressing, 174
Female accomplishments, 76
Film production, 210 *et seq.*

Film stars, earnings of, 216
 Fish, varieties of, 225
 Flowers, arrangement of, 74
 Food, varieties of, 226
 Fuji, 9
 Fujiwara family, 258
 Furniture, 141

G

Ganjiro (Japanese actor), 196
 Garden, 74, 135 *et seq.*
 Geisha, the, 236 *et seq.*
 Geisha : her accomplishments,
 241 ; her earnings, 244
 Gemmys (Japanese Empress),
 101
 Germany and Japan, 123
 Ginza, 145
 Girls, traffic in, 237

H

Hagoromo, 192
 Hairdressing, 170 *et seq.*
 Hara-kiri, 49
 Hearn, Lafcadio, 13
 Hidetada, 31
 Hideyoshi, 24 *et seq.*
 "Higher Daughter", the, 70
 Hirota, Count, 279
 Hisayoshi and Goyemon (clas-
 sical play), 201 *et seq.*
 Home life, 130
 House room, 116
 House students, 83
 Houses, character of, 154 *et seq.*

I

Icmitsu, 33
 Ieyasu, 27 *et seq.*
 Ikeda, 260
 Inouye, J., 85
 Insurance against sickness, 109
 Ise, shrine of, 252
 Itsh, 32

J

Japan and Germany, 122 *et seq.*
 Japan, books about, 11, 12
 Japan, foreign writers on, 14, 16
 Japan in 16th century, 31
 Japan in 17th century, 23
 Japan, modern tendencies in, 21
 Japan, wrong ideas about, 12,
 24
 Japan's Double Face, 9, 17, 22
 Japan's peaceful ideals, 280
 Japan's symbol, 282
 Japanese acting, 197-198
 Japanese army, 246
 Japanese at home, 135 *et seq.*
 Japanese castes, 102
 Japanese child, 58
 Japanese contrasts, 20
 Japanese diplomacy, 49
 Japanese economy, nature of,

121

Japanese education, 84
 Japanese faiths, 52
 Japanese fathers, 65
 Japanese films, 210
 Japanese foreign policy, 276
 Japanese gardens, 74, 135 *et seq.*
 Japanese girls, 150
 Japanese houses, 154 *et seq.*
 Japanese housewife, 72
 Japanese mother, 55
 Japanese newspapers, 185
 Japanese periodicals, 189
 Japanese railways, 10, 125 *et*
 seq.
 Japanese society, 51
 Japanese students, 78 *et seq.*
 Japanese traits, 45, 46, 48
 Japanese, types of, 48
 Japanese universities, 78
 Japanese weddings, 91 *et seq.*
 Japanese woman, the, 100
 Japanese women, 17 *et seq.* ;
 charm of, 177
 Japanese worker, 119
 Jimmu, 257

K

- Kabuki, the People's Theatre,
194 *et seq.*
Kimigayo, 258
Kimono, 176
Kimono, patterns of, 179
Kiyomasa Katsh, 25
Kongoh, L, 192
Korea, Japanese conquest of,
25 *et seq.*
Kubla Khan, 28
Kura, 44, 45

- Lacquer-work, 160
Langegg, F. A. von, 34
Leadership of Asia, 272
Love and marriage, 97 *et seq.*

M

- Make-up, 178
Manchuria, Chinese, mis-
government in, 270
Manchurian adventure, 266 *et seq.*
Marriage brokers, 85 *et seq.*
Marriage ceremonies, 91 *et seq.*
Marx, 80
Matsukata, K., 127
Meals, 139
Meiji Age, 21
Mendez Pinto, 31
Military virtues, 249
Morning Sun of Osaka, 184 ;
of Tokyo, 185
Mosquito nets, 153
Murasaki Shi Kibu, 101

N

- Nakohdo, the, 85 *et seq.*
Natural catastrophes in Japan,
x T⁴³
Newspapers, 183 *et seq.*

- Night life, 149
Ninigi, 256
Nischino, Buntara, 355
No, nature of, 192
No, the Noble Theatre, 191
Nobunaga Oda, 29
Noma, Seiji (Press magnate),
189
Noodle dishes, 224

O

- Obi, 179
Officers and men, 248
O-Kuni, 194

- Peace of Portsmouth, 49
Peasantry, position of, 264
Perry, Commodore, 23, 34
Persecution of Christians, 33
Perzynski, F., 192
Philippines, 274
Pine-Bamboo-Plum, 283
Plays, production of, 199
Pleasure-resorts, 219[^] *et seq.*
Post-marriage customs, 93
Prestige policy, 273
Press and politics, 188
Printing, antiquity of, 183
Purchasing power of wages
114, 115

R

- Racial characteristics of Japan-
ese, 36
Relations of sexes, 97
Religions of Japan, 250
Restaurants, 147, 223, 232
Revolutionary ideas, influence
of, 80
Rice, cultivation of, 262, 263
Rice, the sacred, 261
Robe of feathers, the, 193

Rooms, sizes of, 134
 Rural depopulation, 103
 Russia and Japan, 273, 275

S

Saiki, Professor, 230, 231
 Sake wine, 228
 Samurai, 51, 102, 278
 Schools in Japan, 71
 Shimoniseki, 10
 Shinbashi (pleasure - resort),
 240
 Shintoism, 250
 Shopping, 166
 Sleep, Japanese addiction to, 60
 Sleeping arrangements, 151 *et seq.*
 Social solidarity in Japan, 126
 Social welfare, 108 *et seq.*
 Soldiers, pay of, 247
 Specialization in Japan, 84
 Standards of life, 113
 Standardization, 133
 Stores, 165 *et seq.*
 Stores, arrangement of, 168
 Street scenes, 146
 Studio work, 217

T

Tansu, 142
 Tea ceremony, 75
 Temples, 253-254

Tokugawa, 27, 28, 29
 Tokugawa family, 259
 Tokyo in A.D. 1200, 54
 Tokyo University, 78
 Town and country, 265
Treasure House of the Faithful
 (classical play), 204 *et seq.*
 Tradesmen, 162
 Tsushima, Straits of, 10
 Typhoons in Japan, 43

U

Ujida, Count, 279
 Urashima-Taro, 243

W

Walking-stick girl, 148
Way of the Gods, 251
 Wooden pillow, 151
 Women in industry, 106
 Wrestling and wrestlers, 220,
 221

Y

Yamato-Dake, 37
 Yedo, 37
 Toshiwara, the, 238 *et seq.*
 Yukinaga Konischi, 25

