Social, Economic, and Cultural Transformations
Early Shift of Industries

- Agriculture was the almost only industry at early Meiji. It accounted for about 80% of tax revenue.
- Then silk industry emerged. Japan exported silk products to Europe. Soon it accounted for 42% of Japan’s exports.
- The upper crust of agrarian society played a crucial role in building a capitalist economy in Japan.
Inflation

• The huge costs to put down the Satsuma Rebellion left the Meiji government faced with a drastic revenue shortfall in 1878.
• To finance expenditure the government printed money, which caused inflation.
• It made farmers prospering temporarily, because the land tax was based on the area, not on the price.
Matsukata Deflation

- In 1881 Finance Minister *Matsukata Masayoshi* took a draconian fiscal and monetary policies to stop inflation.
- The government sold unprofitable government industries.
- Matsukata shut down the printing presses to return to a silver-backed currency.
- Agriculture commodity prices crashed down by 50% by 1884.
- Many small landlords lost their wealth and fell down to tenants.
Industrial Revolution

- Japan started a rapid growth in early 1880s, which even outpaced the US.
- Industrialization was led by the textile industry. Output of silk quadrupled by 1913.
- Cotton thread industry was another driving exporter. Cotton was exported to China and Korea.
Coal and Metal Mining

• After textile mills, mines were the nation’s major employers of wage labor.
  – Coal from Kyushu and Hokkaido
  – Copper from Northern Kanto (Ashio)

• Along with industrialization, railway lines extended over 3400 miles by 1900, cutting the cost of sending finished goods to domestic markets and to harbors for export.
Boom and Crash in Stock

• A boom in private railroad investment led to a stock market bubble.
• The stock market crashed in 1890.
• But railroad remained as infrastructure for further industrialization.
Zaibatsu

• *Zaibatsu* is a distinctive feature of Japan’s emerging capitalism.

• *Mitsui* and *Sumitomo* had roots in merchants houses dating back to the Tokugawa Era.

• In early Meiji the Mitsui founded a bank and a general trading company.

• Their founders exploited long-standing close ties to the government.

• For example, Mitsui had an exclusive contract for sale of coal from the government’s Miike mine.
Zaibatsu 2

- *Mitsubishi* put emphasis on heavy industries such as shipbuilding and railroads.
- Zaibatsu owners delegated management to able young men to separate ownership from management.
- Monopoly is not unique to Japan. But Japan’s Zaibatsu is unique in that it spanned business over all industries (trade, shipbuilding, finance, manufacturing, etc.)
- Compare them with Vanderbilt, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Duke, Morgan in US.
A Latecomer in Capitalism

• In late developed countries, only large organizations could mobilize resources in new industrial endeavors in the global competition.
• Although Zaibatsu was crucial to the rapid industrialization of Japan, other factors are also important.
  – Widespread entrepreneurial and manufacturing skills.
  – Sophisticated network of finance and coastal transport.
  – Slow population growth, enabling agricultural revenues shifted to other industries.
Government Intervention to Heavy Industries

- G funded to found the Yahata Iron and Steel mil.
- G nationalized almost all intercity railroads.
- G placed tariffs on competing imports.
- G’s support was complemented by entrepreneurship in private sector.
Shibusawa Eiichi

• The entrepreneurs in Meiji such as Shibusawa drew on Confucian Language to put forward a philosophy of “not selfish but selfless” profit-seeking.

• He said “The secret to success in business is the determination to work for the sake of society as well as for future of the nation, even if it means sacrificing oneself.
Labor Force for Textile

- In 1902, 32 (thousand) men and 236 women worked in textile mills.
- In 1911, 67 men and 408 women worked in textile mills.
- 80% of textile workers were women, who worked under harsh working conditions.
- Women worked for 12 to 14 hours a day.
- Poorly ventilated mills were incubators of disease, especially tuberculosis.
- If they stayed in villages, they had to put up with equally or more demanding (but lower paid) farm labor.
Education

• Early education was used by commoners to held reading newspapers and signing petitions that criticized the government.

• Education Minister Mori Arinori replaced liberal and practical contents with conservative and state-centered ones.
  – Control on textbooks.
  – Promotion of Confucian ideas of loyalty
  – Military drills.
 Imperial Rescript on Education

• This was the declaration by the emperor based on the idea that the goal of education is learning to serve society and state.

• The Meiji officials had an idea that the early Meiji education system betrayed this goal by stressing individual initiative.
教育ニ関スル敕語

• 朕惟フニ我カ皇祖皇宗國ヲ肇ムルコト宏遠ニ徳ヲ樹ツルコト深厚ナリ
我カ臣民克ク忠ニ克ク孝ニ億兆心ヲ一ニテ世世厥ノ美ヲ濟セルハ此レ我ガ國
軀ノ精華ニシテ教育ノ淵源亦實ニ此ニ存ス
爾臣民父母ニ孝ニ兄弟ニ友ニ夫婦相和シ朋友相信シ恭儉己レヲ持シ博愛衆ニ
及ホシ學ヲ修メ業ヲ習ヒ以テ智能ヲ啓發シ徳器ヲ成就シ進テ公益ヲ広メ世務ヲ開
キ常ニ國憲ヲ重ジ國法ニ遵ヒ一旦緩急アレハ義勇公ニ奉ジ以テ天壌無窮ノ皇運
ヲ扶翼スヘシ
是ノ如キハ獨リ朕カ忠良ノ臣民タルノミナラズ又以テ爾祖先ノ遺風ヲ顕彰スルニ
足ラン
斯ノ道ハ実ニ我カ皇祖皇宗ノ遺訓ニシテ子孫臣民ノ倶ニ遵守スヘキ所之ヲ古今
ニ通シテ謬ラス之ヲ中外ニ施シテ悖ラス
朕爾臣民ト倶ニ挙挙服膺シテ咸其徳ヲ一ニセンコトヲ庶幾フ

• 明治ニ十三年十月三十日
御名御璽
教育ニ關スル勅語

・・朕（ちん）惟（おも）フニ我（わ）カ皇祖（くわうそく）皇宗國（うわそくに）ヲ肇（はじ）ムルコト宏（くわう）遠（あん）ニ二徳ヲ樹（た）ツルコト深厚（しんこう）ナリ

・・我（わ）カ臣民（しんみん）克（よ）ク忠ニ克（よ）ク孝（かう）ニ億（もつ）テ智能ヲ啓発シ徳器ヲ成就（じやうじゆ）シ進（すすん）テ公益ヲ広メ世務（せいむ）ヲ開キ常ニ國憲ヲ重（おもん）ヒ一旦（いつたん）緩急（くわんきふ）アレハ義勇公ニ奉（ほう）ヒテ天壌（てんじゃう）ノ皇運（くわううん）ヲ扶翼（ふよ）スヘシ

・・爾（なんじ）臣民父母ニ孝（かう）ニ兄弟（ていけい）ニ友（いう）ニ夫婦相和（あひわ）シ朋友（ほういう）ニ信（あひしん）ニ敬（けい）ヒテ我（わ）カ國體（こくたい）ノ精華（せいくわ）ニシテ教育（けういく）ノ淵源（えんげん）亦（また）実（じつ）ニ此（ここ）ニ存（そん）ス

・・是（かく）ノ如（こ）キハ独リ朕（ちん）カ忠良（ちゆうりやう）ノ臣民（しんみん）タルノミナラス又以（もつ）テ爾（なんじ）祖先ノ遺風（あやま）ヲ顕彰（けんしやう）スヘキ所之（これ）ヲ古今（ここん）ニ通シテ謬（あやま）ラス之（これ）ヲ中外（ちゆうぐわい）ニ施（ほどこ）スヘシ

・・朕（ちん）爾（なんじ）臣民ト倶（とも）ニ拳々（けんげん）服膺（ふくよう）シテ咸（みな）其（その）徳ヲ一（いつ）ニセ

・・斯（こ）ノ道ハ實（じつ）ニ我（わ）カ皇祖（くわうそく）ノ遺訓（あくくん）ニシテ子孫臣民（しんみん）ノ倶（とも）ニ遵守（じゅんしゅ）スヘキ所之（これ）ヲ中（ちゅう）ニ通シテ謬（あやま）ラス
…invoking core Confucian values

• 尻臣民父母ニ孝ニ兄弟ニ友ニ夫婦相和
シ朋友相信シ恭儉己レヲ持シ博愛衆ニ及ホシ
  – Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all…
...invoking a spirit of allegiance to the state, common to the Western nationalism

• 進テ公益ヲ廣メ世務ヲ開キ常ニ國憲ヲ重ジ國法ニ遵ヒ一旦緩急アレハ義勇公ニ奉ジ
  – ...advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the law; should emergency arise, offer yourself courageously to the State…
...linking the values to the emperor and his ancestors

• 朕惟フニ我カ皇祖皇宗國ヲ肇ムルコト宏遠ニ徳ヲ樹ツルコト深厚ナリ
  – Our imperial ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue...
The function

- The copy was enshrined in every school and all children were expected to memorize the Rescript.
- Even young students could understand the main message:
- *The Imperial Institution made Japan a special place and subjects should obey authorities ranging from parents all the way to the emperor.*
Higher Education

- The spirit and structure of higher education were rather different from that of the Rescript.
- Beginning with the First Higher School in Tokyo, most prestigious higher schools were founded between 1886 and 1901.
- They admitted 5300 male students per year.
- At the pinnacle of the system, stood seven imperial universities all for men only.
Schooling beyond elementary

• Three conditions:
  – Student must pass the entrance examination.
  – Parents could afford the tuition.
  – Parents could afford the loss of a working child’s income.

• The higher schools and universities gave the students autonomy, and encouraged them to read in Western philosophy and political thoughts.

• The government’s goal was to nurture an elite of patriotic future leaders, full of initiative and responsibility.
Culture

• Introduction of Western music.
• Prose fiction comparable to Western novels (Natsume Soseki, Mori Ogai).
• Reforms in Kabuki and traditional music.
• Ernest Fenellosa and Okakura Kakuzo in their appraisal of Japanese culture.
Religion

• The Meiji state promoted Shinto as the institution for the observance of national rites.
• Instead the state persecuted the Buddhist priesthood and worshippers.
• The Buddhism was deprived of its semiofficial status since Edo era and the Shinto replaced it.
• Many temples and relics were destroyed by people.
The Symbolic Management of the Emperor

• On one hand, the Meiji oligarchs desperately wanted to keep the emperor above politics, in order not to turn him against the government.

• On the other hand, they were using the emperor’s image (the portrait) and words (the Rescript) to ensure political order.