Region of Dissent: Wakayama at the Turn of the Century

Brij TANKHA

University of Delhi

Introduction*

The history of a region offers an opportunity to examine the way institutions and policies are realised through the interlocutory actions of individuals and social groups so that by restricting our focus we can actually broaden our understanding of the social forces at work in society. The history of Wakayama Prefecture in the late Meiji period is an occasion to reflect on the forces shaping Japanese society. The purpose here is not to present a regional or micro-history but rather through the stories of four individuals and their experiences and aspirations to consider the style and manner in which they sought to transform their world. This allows us to consider the way Meiji government policies sought to refashion the fragile and fluid boundaries of existing communities and at the same time to take into consideration the action of these communities in re-fashioning themselves.[1] Their individual stories suggest a sense of community and self not yet enmeshed in the centralising policies working to create a homogeneous Japan of "one language, one people, one history," functioning far more independently of the official ideology than one would expect. It points to the vitality of regional cultures that provided the intellectual and social milieu for debating the national agenda and suggests the need to integrate this understanding in plotting the trajectory of Japan's transformation.

In the late nineteenth century the policies of the Meiji state were directed to creating a bureaucratically rational religious institutional structure that would provide physical and cultural security against the dangers posed by Western expansion to the integrity of Japan. Religion was seen as an integral and vital part of this project and the subsequent unification of shrines grew out of the fundamental concern with incorporating the individual and community within the central order. This modern discipline that would ensure civilisation was not however, universally accepted as local institutions and groups were still in ferment and capable of articulating alternatives based on fundamentally different principles. The unification of shrines touched the core of this problem. It is true that in many parts of the country the unification of shrines did not evoke great opposition as it did in Wakayama and Mie Prefectures.[2] However, in Wakayama the move generated opposition not merely because it was carried out very severely but also because there was a sense of regional consciousness. The move generated opposition for a range of reasons: it violated local customs, offended

sentiments, undermined autonomy and degraded the environment as shrine forests were opened to commercial exploitation. The opposition these moves aroused is most clearly articulated by the naturalist and comparative folklorist Minakata Kumagusu.

Minakata Kumagusu: A Pioneer Environmentalist

Minakata Kumagusu (1867-1841)[3] has emerged in recent scholarship as a man ahead of his time, an eccentric set apart from his contemporaries by his genius as much as by his stubbornness. His adventurous life took him to many parts of the world and opened him to diverse influences but it would be wrong to think that his ideas and thinking were merely the product of these influences. Even before he left Wakayama he had articulated the core of his concerns and these he shared with his contemporaries. Minakata's major work was as a scientist but his wide ranging interests and travel led him to work on comparative ethnology, folklore, and religion. As a naturalist he was one of the pioneers in the fight to preserve the environment.

Minakata Kumagusu did his intial schooling in Wakayama and after graduating went to Tokyo in 1883, as many were doing then, to study further but quickly abandoned this goal. In 1886, again like many of his contemporaries, he went to the United States. He was 21 years old when he left Japan. While in the United States Minakata travelled to Central America and the West Indies. In 1892 he went to England where, on the basis of a prize winning essay, he was given a job in the Far Eastern section of the British Museum. He wrote extensively and much of his professional work was published in British journals, such as *Nature* and *Notes and Queries.* In England Minakata made friends with Sun Yat-sen, then a struggling revolutionary working to raise funds and support for a republican China. Clearly, even though much of his writing was about his professional work his concerns were with larger social questions as well.

In October 1900 Minakata returned to Japan and settled down in Tanabe, Wakayama. Unlike many of his Meiji contemporaries Minakata had, till then, written extensively in English journals and magazines. He had also never held a permanent job because of he believed that would bind him down. He had refused permanent employment in the British Museum because he felt that would compromise his humanity. Minakata preferred to live by his skills rather than seek the surety of a regular job and for a while he and a friend had sold *ukiyoe* in London to support themselves. Minakata would write the explanations but, as he said, this only gave him drinking money.

Minakata settled down in Tanabe, Wakayama and then hardly ever travelled outside the area. He continued to write in English journals but from 1908-9, he published annotations and comments in professional Japanese journals like *Jinruigaku zasshi, Shokubutsugaku zasshi,* as well as in *Taiyo, Nihon oyobi Nihonjin,* and *Muro Shinpo.* He also became a firm and vociferous opponent of the government's policy to merge Shinto shrines.

Religion: The Meiji Government's Policy

The religious policy of the Meiji government is bound up with a number of questions starting with the very definition of religion. The word *shukyo* is a Buddhist technical term used to translate religion in the Western sense but it has a different genealogy when compared to the English word religion. In the case of Shinto a variety of terms, *honkyo, hongaku, kyoho, kyori, kyogi* were used by its adherents to describe their belief system. In the early Meiji period Shinto, it was argued, was not a religion but a rite of state, an argument supported by Shinto priests seeking inereased state support. They also distinguished it from Buddhism. As Helen Hardacre suggests, during this period as the idea of religion evolved rituals, festivals and other practices were devalued and *shukyo* or religion in the Western sense was privileged.[4] It is important to distinguish the two varieties of Shinto that existed one, shrine Shinto, or the complex of religious beliefs and two, state Shinto, which was defined as a rite of state and not a religion. In January 1882 Shinto was defined as a rite of state but the formation of this state system was as a much a creation of government efforts as of the pressure of priests and the people.

The Great Promulgation Campaign (1870-1884) sought to unify the doctrine and link reverence to the Emperor and obedience to the will of God. An Office of Shinto Affairs was established in 1875 and this was combined with the Office of the Chief Priest of Ise so that Shinto could serve as a state religion. In 1869 the Meiji Emperor had gone to Ise, the first Emperor to do this since Emperor Jito (686-697). The supporters of state Shinto included a variety of groups united by their opposition to Buddhism and Christianity. The government had begun a system of shrine registration in 1871-1873 (*ujiko shirabe*). The Ise shrine began to receive state support and from 1871 branches were established as spiritual bastions protecting the nation. The idea of *bunreishiki* or dividing the spirit led to the building of Ise-Yama Kotaijingu at Yokohama because,

> "This port is the site of mixed residence and commerce if peoples and thus a place where it is most necessary to unify the hearts of the people (*sadame jinshin oketsu suru*). if this [unification] is not accomplished, there will come a day of great calamity. . . [The shrine must] proclaim the rites and government to the people and be a witness to the divine authority of the Imperial nation to the outside world." [*Ise Yama Kotaijingu yuisho*][5]"

Shinto, as Kuroda Toshio points out, as understood in the modern period has three elements. One, it is taken to represent the underlying will of Japanese culture. Two, it includes conventions which precede or transcend religion, defining its "secularity" and three, it represents the miscellaneous character of Japanese religion, the unchanging qualities that are most Japanese: expendiency, irrationality and non- intellectualism. The uses of these aspects as elements in the construction of the ideological contours of the Meiji government indicate that its notion of social order, public morality and even morality were not more secular in a Western sense but defined by other concerns.

In 1871 the *Dajokan* categorised Shinto shrines into five groups with the Imperial Shrine

at Ise at the top of the hierarchy. It was subsequently argued that there were too many neglected shrines and this state of affairs reflected badly on the image of the country therefore, it was necessary to reduce the number of shrines. It would then be possible to properly look after the remaining shrines as well as provide adequate support to the Shinto priests. The first laws to unify Shinto shrines and bring them under government control were promulgated in April and August 1906 by the Home Ministry and by May these laws were passed in the Wakayama Meeting of the Prefecture Bureaucrats (*chihokankaigi*) and the Meeting of the Heads of Towns and Villages (*Toshichokaigi*). Subsequent legislation, particularly in 1908, gave the governors the right to open shrine land to cultivation. The Governors in turn authorised the *guncho* (*head of the ward*) to implement this policy. The Governors of Wakayama, Kiyosumi (June 1903-January 1907) and Sata Zenno (January 1907-July 1909), were assiduous in implementing these policies.

The shrines were divided into a number of categories but the fundamental division was between government shrines (*kansha*) and "civic" shrines (*minsha*), as Helen Hardacre notes. There were also special shrines (*bekkakusha*) which were for national heroes or the war dead. The government shrines were further divided into Imperial (*kanpeisha*) and national shrines (*kokuheisha*) In the civic shrines were Prefecture, District, Town, Village, and unranked shrines (*kensha, gosha, chosha, sonsha, mukakusha*).

Year	Government	National	Pref.	Dist.	Vill.	Unranked	Total
1900	3	2	10	15	664	5,191	5,885
1901	3	2	10	15	664	5,191	5,885
1902	3	2	10	15	664	5,189	5,883
1903	3	2	10	15	662	5,169	5,861
1904	3	2	10	15	662	5,161	5,863
1905	3	2	10	14	655	5,152	5,863
1906	3	2	10	14	649	5,141	5,819
1907	3	2	10	14	551	2,437	3,017
1908	3	2	10	13	457	1,437	1,922
1909	3	2	10	13	393	670	1,091
1910	3	2	10	13	342	239	609
1911	3	2	10	12	373	326	726
1912	3	2	10	13	335	106	468

Source: Wakayama Kenshi[6]

The government's policy of shrine unfication led to a drastic reduction in shrines and if the table given below is compared with the growth in government shrines the reduction in civic shrines becomes easy to understand. In 1879 there were 54 government and 176,722 civic shrines in Japan. In 1889 government shrines increased to 81, in 1899 to 93, in 1906 to 95, 1909 to 95, 1919 to 102 while civic shrines decreased by 1919 to 115,016.[7]

Minakata and Shrine Mergers: Seven Types of Objection

Minakata Kumagusu began to write against shrine unification arguing that shrines were

not just of religious significance but repositories of nature and tradition; he called them, open air museums (*yagai hakubutsukan*).[8] He had in *Muro Shinpo* taken up cudgels against the sale of a park to an Osaka businessman and this focus on a holistic view of culture and the environment under girded his objections to the government's policy and the type of changes it was encouraging. His ire was aroused as he felt that these policies were totally wrong and injurious to the country and its people. He saw the shrine unification as the destruction of what he had sought to preserve for the future.[9]

Minakata first began writing against the shrine unification in *Muro Shinpo,* a newspaper edited by Mori Saian, in September 1909, and the following year, August 21, 1910, he was arrested for trying to hold a meeting on this issue and imprisoned for eighteen days. In August 1911 he wrote A Remonstrance Against the Unification of Shrines (*Jinja gappei hantai ikensho*) and sent it to a botanist friend, Matsumura Ninzo and this was later published by Yanagida Kunio.[10] This *Ikensho* was used by the Wakayama Diet member Nakamura Keijiro in February 1912 to speak against the legislation in the House of Representatives.

In March 1910 the Kashima shrine, a shrine revered particularly by the fishing communities on a small uninhabited island of 3 hectares that had invaluable flora and fauna, was merged with the Daisekisha to form the Daishoson. The following year the sale of the forests of Kashima was permitted. Minakata began a protest against this and fought with the local fisherman to protect the forests that were being sold at a nominal price. Minakata and the fishermen's struggle proved effective and the Kashima Island, was declared a protected area in 1911.

Minakata Kumagusu stated seven major objections to shrine unification in the *Ikensho.* He said that the prefecture bureaucrats had argued that the unification of shrines would raise resources but in fact this would merely allow private interests to exploit and benefit from the sale of public resources.[11] Second, the policy would damage the local autonomy of institutions. The central government did not understand the local situation and the prefecture bureaucrats and rich businessmen were exploiting this to suit their private interests.[12] Third, this would lead to increased poverty in the regions (*chiho*). This was because the bureaucrats have narrowly interpreted wealth to mean money whereas it includes all the natural resources of land and trees.

Fourth, shrines were an important institution that gave solace and comfort to the people and their destruction would lead to a collapse of the value structure of the region. He argued that this was a part of the rush to westernise everything. Japan was destroying its national polity (*kokutai*).[13] Minakata argued that many people claimed a longer lineage for their ruling dynasty than the Japanese but what was special about the Japanese Imperial House was that right from the Emperor to the *Eta* and *Hinin* all believed in the same deities.[14] Fifth, the destruction of shrines would destroy the love for the locality (*aigyoshin*) which is the basis for patriotism (*aikokushin*).

Sixth, the destruction of shrines and their forests would disturb the management of land and lead to a decrease in profit. Seventh, the government was destroying historical buildings

and old remains. He added that unlike the "Eastern country" (*higashi kuni*), that is the Kanto, the *Kansai* area had a richer collection of historical buildings and a superior tradition so that its destruction would do unimaginable damege to Japan's heritage.[15]

The moving of local gods would lead to a decline in religious feelings and ultimately endanger social values as local shrines provided individuals social solace and comfort. No one, he wrote, would go to the shrines and then they would either become mired in superstitions or follow religions such as *Tenrikyo.*[16] The shrines and the forests attached to them had become repositories of all manner of flora and fauna and cutting the forests for timber would destroy this rich resource and would be an incalculable loss not only to Wakayama and Japan, but to the world. At one stage he even wrote that it was more important to preserve the shrine forests than build new shrines.

Timber had been a major product of Wakayama Prefecture but during the Edo period there were restrictions on the felling of six varieties of trees.[17] However, by the time of the Sino-Japanese war the price of timber had risen and the felling of trees had increased with many of the earlier restrictions removed. The Meiji government began a modern policy of forest protection in April 1887 with the enactment of a Forest Law.[18] Forests were divided into five categories and the felling of trees regulated. Wakayama Prefecture established a Regional Forest Council the following year under this law. The central government gave was giving well over half the total expenses for afforestation programmes by 1907.

The total forest area in Wakayama was 301,095 tsubo and 70 per cent of this was private land. The timber industry was concentrated in East and West Muro-gun and Hidaka-gun and a few major landlords controlled the vast forest areas. In East Muro-gun, for instance, in the mid-Meiji period, Sato Nagasaemon owned 100,000 tsubo Shingu was a major collection centre serving the area around the Kumano River and so timber from Mie, Nara and Wakayama prefectures came to Shingu. In the beginning of the Meiji period Shingu handled 41,700 m^3 but by 1907 the quantity of timber passing through Shingu had increased to 166,800m^3.

Minakata saw these policies as epitomising the power of local prefecture bureaucrats and business interests, who saw a way to increase their control and profit by opening shrine forests to commercial exploitation. The role of sub-leaders is important in understanding the thoroughness with which the shrine unification was carried out. The Governor said that shrines must be unified without exception (*more naku seiri seiyo*). The role of the Wakayama Prefecture Office for Managing Priests and the Shrine Management Board also needs to be examined.[19]

Minakata saw this as a short-sighted policy that played on the peoples greed rather than worked to create a spirit based on a strong sense of individual identity as a country. Minakata's critique of Meiji policies was often stated in terms of an industrialised centre exploiting an undeveloped region. He even compared Meiji policies towards Wakayama with the relationship between Great Britain and South Africa.[20] He was, however, hesitant to appeal to the international community when fighting the shrine merger policy even though he

considered this step on a number of occasions.

Minakata's thinking was besed on the need to preserve the community of the region (*chiiki*) and this was grounded on a faith in the ability of the *shonin* or the common people. For Minakata it was not just rulers who had genealogies but the common people. Everyone had a past to preserve. He also argued that development could not be based on the import of foreign technology but rather on the *jiryoku-kosei* (success through personal effort). Moreover, technology must not harm the environment that was an inheritance that had to be preserved. His perspective was global for he saw region (*chiiki*) as part of a global ecological system rather than a political division (*chiho*).

Minakata is an early user of the word ecology, Tsurumi Kazuko writes that he used it twice, but he approached the problem in the wider sense of how environmental degradation damages man's life and social environment. In this sense his very strong sense of local autonomy was grounded in a patriotism for his country that worked together with, and as a part of, a sense of the community of man on a global scale.

Minakata Kumagusu had read George Parkins Marsh *Man and Nature* (1863) and had been exposed to influences in both the United States and England. However, he was equally shaped by the concerns and thinking of his contemporaries.[21] Minakata while still in school had been extremely interested in the violent incidents (*gekka jiken*) of the people's right's movement (*jiyuminken undo*) and had many friends who became socialists. While Minakata was in the United States he helped to bring out the *Dainihon* a paper with liberal leanings. His friends involved in that enterprise, such as Ozawa Masataro, were also active with the *Aikoku yushikai* a gathering of people's right's activists in San Francisco. In a letter to his friend Mori Saian he wrote that right from the age of 16 or 17 he had been interested in freedom and independence and since leaving school till today he had pursued a course of independent study.[22]

Mori Saian: Defending Freedom of Speech

Mori Saian (1871-1938), the editor of the *Muro Shinpo* was an early advocate of freedom of speech but like Minakata he sought to refashion his community and Japan to ensure social justice and strengthen the moral and spiritual basis of society. Mori Saian was born into a *shizoku* family in Shingu but since his parents died at an early age he was given to the Takayama Temple in Tanabe. After finishing school Mori went to Tokyo and worked for the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* for two years and there became friendly with the leading members of the *Rikken Seiyukai* (later *Kenseito*) such as Itagaki Taisuke, Hoshi Toru and others. He came back to Wakayama to finish his university and after graduating he became a priest in the Takayama Temple. The temple belonged to the Shingon sect of Buddhism.[23]

Religious questions were a crucial part of the debates in Japanese society. The entry of foreigners and Christianity added urgency to the need to formulate a proper response to the entry of people and ideas that might pose a threat to the social order. Buddhist organisations

were agitaing for the recognition of Buddhism as a state religion. The question on the freedom of religion was also being debated and this was finally guaranteed in the 28 Diet. A movement among the Buddhists, the New Buddhism or Shinbukkyo movement, also worked to support the government while arguing for freedom of religion.[24] Mori Saian became a defender of regional autonomy even before Minakata Kumagusu re-appeared in Wakayama. The core of his thinking was formed around the idea of toleration (*kanyo*) and the freedom of learning.[25] These ideas and this understanding led him to a greater involvement with the *Shinbukkyo* movement as well as socialism and this in turn helped him to further develop his ideas. Meiji socialists newly exposed to sicialists literature were weak on doctrinal understanding but they were aware of the need to end economic inequality and create a basis for democracy. Mori Saian found that a mixture of socialism and Buddhism allowed him to deal with both social problems as well as the questions of religious life.[26]

Mori opposed to state interference in religious matters but was also against the temple system that isolated priests from daily life and society. He wanted to end sectarian differences and see Buddhists more active in improving the social and economic existence of the people. Mori argued that the only way economic inequalities could be reduced and poverty eradicated was through the national ownership of industries and the public distribution of the goods they produced.

The *Muro Shinpo* began publication from April 1900 with Mori Saian as the editor. Though Mori since he had returned from Tokyo continued to maintain relations with the *Seiyukai* he was careful not to bind himself to any one group. He distanced himself from all parties and allowed those who disagreed with him to publish in the paper as he firmly believed in the freedom of speech.

In 1901 he opposed the government's bill on religion (*shukyo hoan*) which sought to introduce government recognition of religious groups. Mori argued that the government should not interfere in religious matters but he also thought that religious men must contribute to society by acting outside the temples. In this his position was different from many Buddhist groups but resembled the position of the *Shinbukyo* movement. From 1899 the government had begun to counter the possible problems that increased foreign residency and missionary activities would cause and in these efforts they were supported by many religious groups who therefore, welcomed government support and involvement.[27]

Mori Saian went a second time to Tokyo in 1901 and it was then that he met Tanaka Shozo and became involved in the agitation against the pollution caused by the Ashio copper mine. It was through his involvement in the agitation that Mori came to know socialists and socialism. The petition, written by Kotoku Shusui, was presented by Tanaka Shozo to the Emperor (*tenno*) on December 10, 1901. The next day over a thousand students went to the affected area and Mori went along with others like Uchimura Kanzo, Abe Isoo and others. Mori went on to speak about socialism from a Buddhist perspective and by 1903 had declared himself a firmly committed socialist.[28]

Mori returned to Tanabe and began writing under the name of Marx from the May 6,

1903 issue where he defined Japanese socialism as one that would resolve the problem of income disparity between the rich and poor, bring about equality and peace.[29] Socialism for Mori, was compatible with Buddhism because the fundamental aim of both was to remove social and economic inequalities. The central problem for him was the need to remove economic inequalities and in this religion could not play a direct role. In this Mori was very much a part of his times as he, like many others, sought to devise ways to ameliorate social conditions and remove economic inequalities.[30]

The divisions over Japan's policy to Russia led Kotoku Shusui, Sakae Toshimichi and other socialists to break away from the *Yorozu choho* and establish the *Heimin Shinbun* in November 1903. Mori however, even though he remained a socialist, refused to condemn the war but rather argued that it was a patriotic war and that Japan had the right to attack Russia. Mori saw the war as an attack on Asia and Japan as defending Asia against the West. He formed a group to help the families of those killed in the war.[31] However, bucause of his ideas of toleration, he allowed those who opposed the war to continue to write in *Muro Shinpo*. Thus a socialist, Oda Mikozo, who opposed the war wrote a twenty-three part article on socialism and ended by calling for an end to the war.[32]

Kanno Tsuga: Christianity, Socialism and Women

After the Russo-Japanese war Arahata Kanson, then eighteen and Kanno Tsuga, then twenty-four, were introduced to Mori Saian by Sakae Toshimichi. Arahata began writing for *Muro Shinpo* in 1905 and Kanno Tsuga. Kanno Tsuga (1881-1911) was born in Osaka. Her father was a mine operator and her mother, or whom little is known, died early so Kanno was brought up by a step-mother. Her early attempts at becoming a novelist failed and she even turned to prositution to support herself. She discovered Christianity which helped her to change her life. She was given a job in Doshisha University, Kyoto and then she gradually began writing on women's right in the *Osaku Choho* from 1902-3. Kanno was sensitive to the plight of women. The use of female dancers in opening ceremony of an exhibition in 1903 led her to point out how women had become mere objects of male entertainment, *shugyofu* (prostitutes), as she called them. She opposed the use of female dancers in such situations calling such displays a national shame. She was supported in these efforts by Christian groups and people like Kinoshita Naoe wrote in her support. These activities brough her to national recognition as a leading socialist and it was through an introduction by Sakae that she came to *Muro Shinpo*.[33]

In Osaka, Kanno's writings had been largely centred around middle-class women but her journey to Tanabe opened her eyes to the plight of poor women. She describes the prostitutes she saw soliciting customers at the harbour and began to see their problem as part of a larger social problem.

The Russo-Japanese war was a turning point for the Japanese economy but this period was also marked by the transformation of social mores and customs. Westernization during the

"civilisation and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) period, epitomised in the *Rokumeikan*, had, together with rapid economic development, made materialist values socially acceptable. The wide acceptance of a Darwinian struggle for existence was used to justify the single-minded pursuit of economic wealth. Socialists and Christians found common ground in fighting the break-up of values and the imposition of a philosophical system based on greed, profit and self-aggrandisenment.

The pace of economic growth had begun to alter the face of the country and, in Wakayama as well, the growth of factories and manufacturing, accompanied by increasing literacy, created a working and professional class of people. Newspapers and magazines increased in number and circulation. Discussion focused, during the late Meiji period, largely on questions of economic inequality and the plight of the working classes. Bureaucrats in government as well as intellectuals in society at large wrote and debated measures to tackle these issues.

In Wakayama economic development was proceeding at a good pace and by 1907 there were 80 factories employing more than ten workers most of them producing flannel. Working conditions were hard and the hours long. The normal working day was twelve hours but in the spinning and weaving factories it varied between 13-16 hours. According to one survey of Wakayama City there were 1,371 workers under 14 years of age in 1907. Other surveys in the city showed that 160 workers had not done compulsory education which was six years after 1908.[34]

The Wakayama labour movement began in the timber industry, which was the main source of employment and revenue in the prefecture, with disputes over the use of cheap prison lobour in 1882 but it took till 1900, when a lobour club was formed in Gunka-gun, for the movement to establish an organisation. The lobour leaders were inspired by Miyazaki Minzo and interestingly they held their meeting in the local shrine. In 1907 the first worker's union was formed in the timber industry in Shingu and while strikes and agitation's had been limited till this period now they began to increase. Shingu became the centre of labour disputes when the coal transport ship workers went on strike demanding an increase in wages. One of the leaders in this action was Naruishi Heijiro.[35]

Local Autonomy and Taxes

The Russo-Japanese war had imposed a financial burden on the government but it continued to follow an aggressive policy expanding into Manchuria, Korea and Karafuto. The government nationalised the railways and expanded public utilities like electricity and telephones but expenses on the military increased as well and these increases could only be financed by increased taxes or by increasing the public debt. The twentieth Diet in March 1904 had approved two large tax increases on tabacco, petrol, flannel and other items. The government also took measures to cut expenditure and stressed hard work and saving (*kinben chokin*) among the public. The war debt was over 19 billion yen and this huge burden meant

that the construction of new schools, hospitals, and other public projects was stopped or postponed. It was suggested that local shrines and temples could be used to house schools and hospitals.

The process of limiting the power of local bodies to tax and increasing the scope of their responsibilities had begun earlier with the Law Regarding Administration of Local Bodies in 1900. This placed the management of primary and middle school education, river control and other such activities on local bodies. These measures led to increasing distress and non-payment of taxes so that by 1906 non-payment of taxes had reached nearly 40% posing a national problem. It is in this context of an increasing tax burden on the public that the Russo-Japanese war burden must be seen. Hence even as the government sought to control and contain local power it was faced with the problem of alleviating distress and stilling discord.

A national law in March 1906 put a limit on local taxes and these limits are reflected in the declining revenues in Wakayama Prefecture. Declining revenues because of the limit on taxation by local bodies led to either stopping or postponing the building of news schools, hospitals and the curtailment of other public activities. Military expenditure, however, continued to increase. These conditions affected the prefecture. The general reduction on health expenditure from 1898 contributed to creating a situation where 135 people died from bubonic plague in 1906. However, after 1907 there was an increase in educational expenditure.[36]

A Changing World: Legalising Prostitution

Education and literacy rates were increasing and this is reflected in the growth of magazines and newspapers and in their circulation figures. By 1907 the size and format of the newspapers was more or less like the modern newspaper and in the subsequent years circulation also increased so that by 1911 the circulation of the *Kii Mainichi Shinbun* was 1,400, *Wakayama Shinpo* 126,000, *Wakayama Shoho* 360,000 and other papers like the *Muro Shinpo* had a circulation of around 250-380,000.[37] Changes in reading habits and the exposure to a variety of influences was accompanied by changing mores and attitudes. Between 1883-1887 the import of beer and spirits increased to 807,961 yen, when the total value of products imported was 44 million yen, that is 1.89%.

The rapidly changing social and economic situation created a climate of uncertainty and earlier held beliefs and practices were questioned or even abandoned. The governments concern with regulations to ensure public health and productivity helped to create a patriarchal family system and legalise prostitution. These changes are apparent in the concern with the institution of the family. From 1899 the average age for marriage for men had begun to rise from 27.59 to 28.68 in 1910.[38] Registered prostitutes increased by 100 per cent from 28,432 in 1884 to 54,049 in 1916 even while the population increased by less than 50 per cent. If these nembers are added to the number of geisha and registered barmaids then the

total is very high. In 1925 it has been calculated that with 74,348 geisha, 48,291 registered barmaids, and 50,000 registered prostitutes, approximately 1 out of 31 women in the age group of eighteen to twenty-nine was working as a prostitute.[39] The governments attempt, supported by brothel owners and other sections of society, was to end illicit prostitution while increasing the scope of licensed quarters. The subversive character of individual modernity and its pursuit of pleasure as represented by the *ero-guro-nansensu* (eroticism, foolishness and nonsense) of cafe culture was, as argued by Miriam Silverberg, an attempt to de-politicise and trivialise the actual militancy of women. It was a projection of official desire rather than a documentation of social reality.[40] These social changes fuelled demands, both from supporters of the government and by Christian and socialists, for reform and change.

The male dominated patriarchal system that gave legal and social power to the male heads of family was criticised. Women began to demand greater equality and sought to put an end to legalised prostitution. In Feburary 1900 in a judgement on a case filed in Hakodate, Hokkaido by Sakai Futa, the Court ruled that women who had contracted to work as prostitutes could not be bound by contracts as this would limit the individual's freedom. A similar judgement on May 7, 1900 in Nagoya, helped groups seeking to rehabilitate prostitutes. However, prostitutes while free to leave had to return the contract money and this clause proved to be a major hurdle in the rehabilitation of prostitutes.[41]

Popular attitudes and official positions were hard to change. The state's preoccupation with regulating public life and ensuring public hygiene led it to favour the continuation of licensed prostitution. Changing public mores threatened the social order as conceived by the state. After the Russo-Japanese war, for instance, there was an increase in *karayuki-san* (prostitutes going to China) via Dairen to China. The dominant view was still one in which prostitutes were tolerated an necessary. Prime Minister Katsura was involved in a sexual scandal during the war and a survey by the magazine *Kakusei* showed that many leading intellectuals like liberal Yoshino Sakuzo or the constitutional scholar Minobe Tatsukichi were not particularly keen on abolishing prostitution.[42] In April 1911 the Yoshiwara district was burnt to the ground and later in July the Susaki red-light area was destroyed by a *tsunami* and many hoped that these areas would not be re-built and hoped that this would help to end the trade. However, they could not succeed in their objectives.[43] In August 1911 a policeman was fined for writing an article in *Kakusei* against prostitution in which he argued that it was really a beastly (*yabanteki*) business.[44]

The prevailing myth was that the prostitute was a noble hearted woman who was forced to ply this trade to help her poverty stricken parents and after she had fulfilled her obligations she would stop and return to find a place in society. The abolitionists, mainly Christians centred around the Women's Christian Temperance Union, formed in 1886 and the Salvation Army who joined them in 1895, formed the core of the anti-prostitution movement. The socialists were also active in the movement and they two saw their opposition as based on a view of a more democratic family structure than that visualised in the Meiji legal codes. The Christians argued that licensed prostitution worked to suppress civil liberties but they also

worked to change sexual mores along Western values, arguing that sexual relations should occur only within the institution of marriage. The 1870 civil code had guaranteed a concubine the same status as a legal wife but by 1898 this had been changed and even the children of concubines had no legal claims on the father's name and property. Adultery as a basis for divorce was allowed only for men and husbands were only penalised if they committed adultery with a married woman. The penal codes of the government were also being shaped by these views.[45]

The debate on gender equality was carried out in Wakayama as well. It is interesting to note that Minakata's younger brother, Minakata Tsunegusu wrote a book, *Danjo Dojodoken shinron* in June 1889.[46] This was the year that the Meiji constitution had been promulgated and Tsunegusu had sent the text and the provisions of the election laws to Minakata in the United States. Minakata's brother had become the head of the family because Minakata did not want to assume the responsibility. The younger brother Tsunegusu was a successful businessman and in many ways represented the class of people who supported and worked for the very values that were criticised by Minakata.

Tsunegusu defends the existing gender inequality, in his book, saying that the argument for equality between the sexes is fundamentally unsound as it is based on the fallacious doctrine of natural rights. The theory of natural rights, he says, is no longer accepted in academic circles and it has been superseded by evolutionary theory. The struggle for survival and natural selection of the superior is the true basis for establishing rights. Man is superior because he has used his intellectual faculties to rule over women. Women have been suppressed because of their lack of these qualities. It is not possible to change or alter this situation through legal cnange. Women should love and support their husbands and through education they can gradually improve their status. Education will lead to late marriage and this will gradually enable women to improve their position as they improve their skills.

In 1905 Wakayama Prefecture was debating the question of whether to permit red-light areas or not and the vote close. In December the Prefecture assembly approved the existence of red-light areas by a margin of six votes. The following year Governor Kiyosumi permitted three such *kosshosettchi* (public brothels). They were in Hidaka-gun Yamazaki mura, Itotani Higashi Muro-gun Ojima, and Shingo-cho Aisetsu. Arahata Kanson, using information supplied by Oishi Sennosuke, wrote in the *Muro Shinpo* of a secret understanding between the Governor Kiyosumi and Tamaki, a man who owned the red-light area in Shingu.[47]

In fact Wakayama had been one of the few prefectures to abolish red-light areas in 1872 when many regulations were passed ending what were considered as unacceptable practices in a civilised world. The *Muro Shinpo* launched a massive campaign to oppose the measure. Organisations opposing the move were created and meetings organised. Arahata Kanson, for instance addressed a gathering of 100 people opposed to the measure. Kanno Tsuga campaigned vigorously and was critical of the Governor. However, they were unsuccessful and Mori, who was accused of insulting government officials, was jailed from March 13 to April 27, 1906. Kannno left *Muro Shinpo* and went back to Kyoto after Arahata Kanson left for

Tokyo because of his exposure of the Governor. Mori also began moving away from socialism.[48]

Mori Saian went on to become a member of the City Council and later of the Prefecture Assembly but this did not end his campaigns for the defence of regional interests. He fought the increase in taxes and continued to work for the *Shinbukkyo* movement. In 1909 a public park was sold to raise money to build a girl's school. The park was to be converted into a petrol storage facility. Mori, along with Minakata campaigned against this because it was environmentally unsound. It was because of this campaign and the support that he received that Mori became a member of the city council in April 1910. Minakata wrote against the sale of the park in *Muro Shinpo* in September 27, 1909. Mori went on to oppose the shrine mergers as well and in the 1911 election he became a member of the Prefecture Assembly where he spoke out against the government's policy of one shrine for one village.

Tne *taigyaku jinken* (*lese majeste*) of 1910 when Kotoku Shusui and ten others were implicated in a plot to kill the Meiji *tenno* was a major watershed for the socialist movement. The government came down heavily on what they considered as dissidence and for the next decade the socialists were dormant.[49] Six of those implicated in the case were from Wakayama the best known of them Oishi Sennosuke was a doctor from Shingu, Wakayama who had studied in Tokyo and the USA and then returned to his home town to set up practice in 1895.[50] The case of lese majeste led the police to question those who were friends or had even come in contact with the accused. Mori was questioned and though it was noted that he was a person who should be watched, he was released. Yet Mori went on, in that charged atmosphere, to write a critical article in *Muro Shinpo*. Mori, however, was not critical of the Emperor or of *kokutai*. For him the authority of the bureaucrats was the real danger. He castigated the Katsura cabinet as a "detective government" (*tantei seiji*) and noted that in each district and ward special police had been appointed to watch the people. Mori was an earlier and perhaps, more dramatic defender of regional autonomy against the centralising momentum of the Meiji government.[51]

Equity and Justice, The Buraku Movement

Even as socialists, Christians and women were seeking to realise social equity and reform society *burakumin* were also organising and working to change discriminatory practices that continued despite legal reform. The Meiji *ishin* did not mark a liberation for *burakumin* as discriminatory practices were legally abolished only with Buraku Liberation Decree in December 1875. In Tanabe the event was marked by a great purification ceremony *misogiharai* in which a Shinto priest spent five days purifying the *burakumin*. Yet the realisation of legal rights came slowly, particularly during the *jiyuminken* period.[52]

Okamoto Wataru (1876-1955) was a leading member of the buraku movement to realise equity and justice.[53] Born in a wealthy family he became headman (*soncho*) when he was eithteen but the realisation of his socially inferior position in society came only when he was

refused entry to the local high school. He went to Kyoto in 1888 where he became involved in Buraku activities, as the Kansai was the area where Burakumin were concentrated. In April 1899 Okamoto was the only one from outside the Prefecture involved in the agitation protesting the discrimination against a Buraku priest in a Nara temple. This type of discrimination created an even bigger furore in September 1902 when Ryuge, a Buddhist priest from Nishi Honganji said that *buraku* and *eta* were like ants and their presence polluted temples so they should be excluded. The furore lasted three months and speread to areas in Kyushu such as Oita where organisations were formed demanding that the Nishi Honganji expel the priest, give a message that all were equal in Buddhism and that more buraku priests be employed. The temple acceded to the expulsion of the priest and apologised.

This was one success but there were other incidents when they were not as successful. On June 25, 1903 Okamoto and six other men from Wakayama helped to establish the *Dai nihon doho yuwakai.*[54] Their objectives were to promote social harmony so that Japan could oppose (*taiga*) the West. They argued, on the basis of the Charter Oath and the Educational Rescript, that discrimination was a restriction on a people's natural rights and they sought to do this in two ways. One, by raising the *burakumin's* awareness and consciousness and two, through increased and better education, health and sanitation programmes, and the encouragement of saving and industry.

At Okamoto's insistence the Wakayama police carried out a *buraku* survey in 1900 and another was conducted by the Home Ministry in 1907.[55] The results of the survey were published in the *Kii Mainichi Shinbun.* The government was encouraging such efforts at reform and had begun in 1909 a regional improvement movement (*chiho kairyo undo*) to re-invigorate the economic and social life of the regions which had been under severe strain with the collapse of their financial systems. The Home Ministry organised meetings and lectures. The *Boshin Rescript* issned October 13, 1908 illustrates the governments desire to fight individualism and link the people through patriotism to the Imperial House (*chuken aikoku*). A *Jikkyokai* (Society of Strenuous Effort) was set up to help the *burakumin.* The name is taken from a phrase in the *Boshin Rescript.* The Society sought to improve and cultivate the character of the people and it financed its activities by using the interest it received from donations. By 1910 there were twelve such societies in the district.[56]

Governmetn policies to alleviate hardship and improve conditions were balanced, as it was, by high-handedness as well. The disturbance (*sodo*) in the village of Okamachi shows the tensions experienced by the villagers.[57] On 21 July 1908 a young girl who died was diagnosed as having acute intestinal pneumonia. The government worried about the outbreak of cholera sent a medical quarantine team. The parents refused to give their permission for an examination as they wanted a quick burial not wishing to have the body fester in the summer heat. The villagers having been quarantined the year before had suffered economic hardships as business had come to a stand still. The medical team was accompanied by a police force and as negotiations progressed a crowd gathered and tension built- up. The medical team refused to give permission for burial till they were allowed to carry out their test. The

physician maintained that it was not a case of dysentery. As tension escalated village leaders who were trying to mediate in the dispute managed to get the medical team out of the area but the police panicked and charged the crowd with drawn swords wounding many. Later at night a reinforcement of fifty policemen came and arrested twenty-four villagers. The newspapers sensationalised the incident writing that the "mob yelled to kill the police, beat them all over and when they fell they were stabbed deeply in the back with a knife used to cut beef."

The investigation and subsequent trial on October 28, was a major event with a few hundred coming to attend the Wakayama Local Court Public Hearing. The sides were divided with the villagers angry over the prejudice and manipulation of facts to show them in a bad light. They disputed the report of the events and the under trials rejected the preliminary report putting their own case forward. The Court refused to summon the medical leam or the policemen who had drawn their swords. In the jedgement given on November 14, three ring leaders were fiven six years penal servitude, eight were imprisoned for periods ranging from 2-3 years, eighteen were fined 10-15 yen and four were found not guilty. One of the so-called ring leaders had actually helped a fallen policeman and had protested his innocence in vain. The policemen were given special promotion to the second rank and 15 yen from the Governor and 10 yen from the Police Chief.

Wakayama Prefecture had immense problems with floods and diseases. In fact it was known as *saigaiken* (disaster prefecture) and plague had come to the area in 1899.[58] The practice of that time meant that the affected area was cordoned off and traffic forbidden entry so taht for all practical purposes all activity was literally stopped. The doctors and nurses almost totally covered by their white gowns, spectacles and rubber boots must have been a fearsome sight. Yet the treatment of the police indicates the distance they had to go before ordinary people began to be treated as citizens whose rights had to be protected.

Concluding Remarks

The stories of Minakata Kumagusu, Mori Saian, Kanno Tsuga and Okamoto Wataru are interwined not because they all new each other but because they were seeking to develop their region and Japan in similar ways. Their public activities led them to engage critically with the official policies of the Meiji government. Their positions cannot be dismissed as either traditional or blindly opposed to the idea of development and change. Their arguments were alive to the limitations and ambiguities of the Meiji project and they sought directions which were based on the idea that the people, the *jiei no ryomin* (self-supporting and law abiding people) so often talked about in the official statements, could decide their future. The robust sense of self and region that emerges from their writings and activities divides them from the official discourse that sought to subsume the individual and community and this would suggest that notions of individuality, community and nation need to be re-examined. The forces which were generated as Japan began to encounter the Western world from the late eighteenth century altered the existing social and intellectual boundaries. The history of

Wakayama at the end of the Meiji period points to the need to look at these developments to understand the evolution of regional and national identities and the peculiarities of Japanese nationalism. Integrating regional and national history provides the possibilities of a richly textured history alive to the nuances and ambiguities of social processes.

Notes

* I would like to thank the Japan Foundation for a fellowship (April-July, 1992) which made it possible to do much of the research for this paper as a visiting fellow at the University of Tokyo. While many people were generous with their time and advice I would like to thank, in particular, Prof. Mitani Hiroshi for help and hospitality.

1 A thoughtful essay examining the role of language in shaping indentities is Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation,* (Cambridge, U. K.: Polity Press), 1993.

2 This needs to be studied further. I am examining Meiji religious policies in Hokkaido where the problem was one of establishing shrines for the immigrants who came form other parts of Japan and of creating a sense of community.

3 The following accoun of the life of Minakata Kumagusu is gased on Tsurumi Kazuko, *Minakata Kumagusu — Chiho shiko no hikakugaku,* Kodansha Tokyo 1978., Kasai Kiyoshi, *Minakata Kumagusu,* Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1993, *Minakata Kumagusu senshu,* Heibonsha Tokyo, 1992 and *Minakata Kumagusu zuihitsu,* Chikuma shobo, Tokyo, 1968.

4 See Helen Hardacre, Shinto and the State 1868-1988, (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1989, particularly pp. 61-65 for the priviliging of the western sense of religion and Nakashima Seno, "'Meiji kenpo taisei' no kakuritsu to kokka no iideorogii seisaku" in *Nihonshi kenkyu,* No. 176, April 1977.

5 Quoted in Helen Hardacre, op. cit. pp. 188.

6 Wakayama kenshi hensan iin kai, *Wakayama kenshi — kingendai 1.* Dai nihon insei kabushiki gaisha, Wakayama, 1988, p. 417. Hereinafter cited as *Wakayama kenshi.*

7 Helen Hardacre, op. cit. pp. 85.

8 Aoki Nori and Uchikawa Takashi, "Minakata to kankyo hozen undo" *Kuchikumano.* No. 83., 1990. 10. 20, *Kishu bunkazai,* p. 86.

9 Ibid. pp. 85 in Letter to Yanagida Kunio 25 May 1911 in *Minakata Kumagusu senshu bekkan — Yanagida Kunio Minakata Kumagusu ofuku shokan,* Heibonsha, Tokyo, 1911, pp. 21-37.

10 Yanagida Kunio published it at his own expense as "Minakata ni sho" it appeared as "Jinja pappei hantai iken" in *Nihon oyobi nihonjin* in the April, May and June issues in 1912. This is the text reproduced in Tsurumi Kazuko. op. cit. pp. 347-390. It is cited hereafter as *ikensho.* Tsurumi was the first to clearly show Minakata's ecological perspective. She notes that he used the word ecology twice, once in a letter to the governor Kawamura Takeji and once in a letter to Yanagida Kunio.

11 He writes, "ki no kuni mo moto no kuni narazu tsuchi kowase, yama kowase, kosui fugai motte joji to nasu ni itari" *Ikensho* p. 363.

12 Thus eight of the fishermen who opposed the unification of the shrine to Ebisu in Kobo city were jailed. *Ibid.,* p. 363.

13 Minakata writes that it is even more important to preserve the shrine forests than to build shrines. He refers to kokutai as "banko fuhen no kokutai" *Ibid.,* p. 369.

14 *Ibid.,* p. 389.

15 *Ibid.,* p. 387.

16 Letter to Yanagida Kunio May, 11, 1911.

17 *Wakayama kenshi,* p. 505.

18 *Ibid.,* p. 506.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 416-419 and *Ikensho*, p. 358.

20 See Tsurumi, op. cit., p. 352.

21 Takeuchi Yoshinobu, "Minakata Kumagusu to jiyuminken o musubu mono" in *Kuchikumano* No. 83., p. 70-75 for an account of Minakata's early life and relationship with Ozawa.

22 Quoted in Takeuchi, Ibid., p. 75. The letter was dated February 19, 1919.

23 The material for Mori Saian's life is largely based on Takeuchi Yoshinobu, "Shinbukyoto Mori Saian no shiso to kodo" in *Doshisha hogaku dai 19380* (Vol. 37, No. 5), 1986, pp. 588-9. The standard works on Mori Saian which deal with him as an enlightened socialist are Sekiyama Naotaro, *Shoki shakaishugi shiryo — Muro Shinpo sho*, Tokyo, 1959, and Sato Jin, *Mori Satan — aru shakaishugi bukyosha no hansei*, 1978. Monna Naoki examines his contributions as a defender of free speech in "Meiji chiiki shugi genron no ninaite — Mori Saian to 'Muro Sinpo'"in *Minshu janaristo no rekishi jiyuminken kara senryoka Okinawa made*, Sanichi shobo, 1983.

24 For the *Shinbukyo* movement see Akamatsu T., "Kind ai tennoseka ni okeru seikyo ron no kozo — Shinbukkyo no baai" in *Zoku Kokka to shukyo. Kinsei kindai hen, Nihon bukkyo shi kenkyu 4.* p. 195-232.

25 Mori Saian's relationship to the *shinbukkyo* movement and his ideas about tolerance are treated in Takeuchi Yoshi, "Shinbukkyo to Mori Saian no shiso to kodo". *Doshisha hogaku dai. 193 go*, Vol. 37 No. 5, 1986.

26 For instance in *Muro Shinpo* January 1, 1903 in the editorial Mori writes that some people work like slaves while others get 52 Sundays, 10 national holidays, 3 at the end of the year and 7 for the new year: a total of 72 in the year. He goes on to say thast a country that does not respect labour will collapse. An excellent analysis of Meiji socialism is Matsuzawa Hiroaki, "Meiji shakaishugi no shiso" in *Nihon seiji gaku nenpo*, Tokyo 1968. I have dealt with this in greater detail in my unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Nationalism and Socialism; A Study of the Ideas of Kita Ikki, Delhi University*, 1988.

27 As pointed out in Nakashima Senno "'Meiji kenpo taisei' no kakuritsu to kokka no ideorogii seisaku" in *Nihonshi kenkyu* No. 176, April, 1977, between 1881-1894 the Meiji government had taken steps to establish State Shinto and make its logic, that Shinto was not a religion but a rite of state, acceptable among the priests as well as the laity. See particularly 178-185.

28 See *Wakayama kenshi*, pp. 585-586

29 *Muro Shinpo* May 6, 1903. It is interesting to see that the reader response to this declaration in the issue of May 11 was that it was necessary to look at the problems concretely, particularly at the question of socialist organization and not merely put forward a general thesis.

30 Mori returned to Tanabe in April and in May convened a meeting where he spoke on "Shukyo to shite mitaru shakaishugi hassei no genyu". That such ideas were considered subversive is apparant because the second meeting was banned on the grounds that it would disturb the peace. See *Wakayama kenshi*, pp. 586-7.

31 *Muro Shinpo* March 6, 1904 where he wrote "'Yori oinaru heiwa' no tame ni"

32 Oda, from Yamaguchi, was introduced by Sakae Toshimichi to Mori and he started working for *Muro Shinpo* in February, 1904. There were others like him on the staff who wrote against the war. *Wakayama kenshi*, pp. 589-591.

33 There are few books which deal with the life of Kanno Tsuga in any detail. The following material is from the *Wakayama kenshi*, pp. 592-596.

34 The data and the surveys quoted are from Ibid., pp. 565-572.

35 Ibid., pp. 572-574.

36 Ibid., pp. 370-384.

37 Ibid., pp. 643-647.

38 Sheldon Garon "The World's Oldest Debate? Prostitution and the State in Imperial Japan 1900-1945", *American Historical Review*, June 1993, p. 721.

39 Ibid., pp. 713-714.

40 Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant" in Gail Lee Bernstein, (ed.), *Recreating Japanese*

Women, 1600-1945, (Berkeley, Calif, University of California Press), 1991, pp. 239-266.

41 Takemura Tamio, *Haisho undo,* Chuo Koron Sha, 1982 pp. 22.

42 Ibid., pp. 25-34.

43 Ibid., pp. 35-39.

44 Ibid., pp. 42-46.

45 Sheldon Garon, op. cit., pp. 717-720.

46 The following account is based on Goto Masato, "Minakata Kumagusu no haikenshugi hihan", in *Kuchikumano,* No. 83., pp. 77-98.

47 See Takeuchi, op. cit., pp. 606 and *Wakayama kenshi,* pp. 593-596.

48 Ibid., pp. 607, and *Wakayama kenshi,* pp. 596 Kanno Tsuga wrote an article "Mugen no namida" which was highly critical of Governor Kiyosumi. Arahata Kanson and Mori also wrote equally critical articles. However, because the Governor was a noble Mori was sentenced to jail for insulting the government.

49 There is a vast literature on the subject. See for instance Itoya Toshio, *Nihon shakaishugi undo shisushi 1853-1922,* Hosei daigaku shuppan kyoku, Tokyo, 1979.

50 The most comprehensive work on Oishi Sennosuke is Morinaga Eisaburo, *Rokutei Oishi Sennosuke,* Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo 1977. See particularly pp. 57-72 for his ideas on socialism and pp. 140-298 for his involvement in the *taigyaku jiken.*

51 Takeuchi, op. cit., pp. 608-610.

52 The purification ceremnony was carried out for five days but it took much longer for burakumin to actually realize equality. In 1876 in Shiga village, Hidaka-*gun burakumin* tried to enter the forest and acquire part of the land. During the *jiyuminken* period they gradually gained some of these rights. *Wakayama kenshi,* pp. 604. On the history of the early phase of the buraku movement see, Ian Neary, *Political Protest and Social Control in Pre- War Japan: The Origins of Buraku Liberation,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 1989, particularly pp. 30-46.

53 The following information is largely based on the *Wakayama kenshi,* pp. 606-614 as well as Okamaoto Wataru, *Tokusho buraku no kaiho, Buraku mondai shiryo bunken gyosho dai 2 kan,* Seikai bunko, Tokyo, 1968, particularly pp. 1-11.

54 The buraku movement was centred around Osaka and hence the headquarters were established there. Representatives came from Okayama and Nara as well. *Wakayama kenshi,* pp. 612.

55 The survey was carried out by the Wakayama police on the suggestion Okamoto and published in *Society,* a journal of the *Shakaigaku kenkyukai* in 1901 on the recommendation of Kato Hiroyuki who had been an early advocate of ending discriminatory practices against *eta* and *hinin. Wakayama kenshi,* pp. 613.

56 Ibid., pp. 619-620 Many burakumin societies were formed using phrases from the Boshin Rescript.

57 The following incident is taken from Ibid., pp. 614-617.

58 Ibid., pp. 383-384 and p. 626.