Moreover, a contributory system not only does not provide for the most needy, but actually increases the difficulty of the problem of providing for them, because if the provision for the non-contributor is to be adequate, it becomes necessary to consider the danger—a danger which we shall not be allowed to forget—of making his position more attractive than that of the contributor. This question, however, is no longer an open one. Rightly or wrongly we have chosen to adopt a contributory system—probably almost as good a contributory system as could be devised—and what we have now to do is to accept it, to recognise its substantial merits, and, by interesting ourselves in its practical working, to discover the best means by which its defects and omissions may be remedied at the earliest possible moment.

The New Outdoor Relief Order.

The proposed Outdoor Relief Order will probably be issued during the next few days, to come into force on April 1st. It has been amended, and in the process shorn of some of its most oppressive and objectionable features; but it still retains its generally reactionary character, and no opportunity of recording a protest against it by resolution or otherwise should be missed. The Times, in commenting upon the Order recently, remarked that it "will provide for a more intelligent administration of outdoor relief"—a particularly striking example of the general ignorance which prevails as to its provisions. Whether the Order is good or bad, this is precisely what it will not do. Broadly speaking, its main purpose is to substitute hard and fast regulations for the discretion of local administrators. It forces upon Boards of Guardians a policy of indiscriminate deterrence, and thus excludes the possibility of cases being treated on their individual merits according to the circumstances of the applicant and the causes of his or her destitution. When the Order comes into force a large number of persons, especially unmarried women, who are at present receiving outdoor relief, will have to choose between starvation and the workhouse. There will, however, be an opportunity for discussing the Order in the House of Commons before it comes into force.

Our Special Campaign.

The special campaign which we have undertaken this winter for the establishment of Children's Care Committees, School Clinics, etc., is being carried on in a great many districts—with, of course, varying degrees of vigour and success. The accounts which we have received from correspondents show that a great amount of valuable work is being done, and we hope next month to publish something in the way of an interim report on the campaign as a whole. In the meantime, we would direct the attention of our readers to Mr. Greenwood's review, in this issue, of the Report of the Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education.

Lectures at 37, Norfolk Street.

The weekly At Homes at the London office on Tuesday afternoons will be continued during the coming three months, with lectures every alternate week. The first lecture of the series will be held on January 30th, and will take the form of a lesson in "Voice Production," by a professional expert. Mr. Elwin has kindly consented to come in order to give our volunteer lecturers an opportunity of judging for themselves the value of studying what may be called the mechanical side of the art of lecturing. The complete list of lectures, as far as they are at present fixed, is as follows:

- Tues., Jan. 30.—Voice Production. Mr. J. Elwin.
- Tues., Feb. 13.—Nurture versus Education. Miss Margaret McMillan.

The lectures begin at 5.30, tea and coffee being provided from 4.30 onwards.

Mr. & Mrs. Sidney Webb.

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb having visited Canada, Japan, and China, have now reached India, where they will spend about three months before returning to England. In addition to their article on Japan, which we publish this month, we have received a long account of their impressions of China. As they reached China, and spent a fortnight in Pekin itself, during the height of the revolution, this communication is of very great interest, and we shall publish it as soon as we can find space—probably next month.

The Social Crisis in Japan.

By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB.

We do not presume, in these words of "greeting from afar" to the members of the National Committee, to give any full or detailed account of our impressions of Japan. Who could adequately describe the extraordinary charm of that wonderful country, which we have found far more beautiful than we had ever imagined? Japan is wonderful in its profusion of picturesque mountains, which are scarcely ever mentioned in England; wonderful in its primeval forests of giant cryptomerias; wonderful in the ubiquitous intensity of
the cultivation of its irrigated plains, out of which the hills always rise so abruptly, and which are surprisingly rich in rice and mulberry and beans and millet, with here and there maize and tea and grapes and oranges; wonderful in its ancient palaces, with their wealth of carving and painting, and in its multifarious temples, embodied in groves of immemorial trees; wonderful, indeed, in the charm of its ancient civilisation. If anyone is tired of the complexity and ugliness of modern industrialism, we can imagine no holiday so complete and so restful as a walking tour in Japan away from the ports and the very few inland places in which the tourists and missionaries congregate. We shall never forget our own ten days' walk in the August sunshine, with clothing reduced to a minimum, and luggage to the basket that one coolie could carry, from Nikko to Nagano, over mountain passes up to 7,000 feet above sea level; through forests, climbing up to the very tops of these heights; with a semitropical vegetation full of new delights to European eyes; by rushing rivers and silent lakes and bubbling waterfalls; along the narrow paths connecting the innumerable villages with each other; past countless shrines and tombs and temples of century-old piety; across endless smiling plains of rice, in little patches, at different levels a few inches higher or lower than each other to permit of irrigation; and through one populous village after another, each with its own individuality, but always swarming with babies, and really seeming at last to differ from all the rest of those seen throughout the day, chiefly in its totally unrememberable name!

But Japan is not all country. Large towns of fifty to a hundred thousand inhabitants, of which European geographies do not give even the names, are numerous; each with its schools and temples and manufactories; and there are also half a dozen giant cities as large as Manchester or Liverpool (but oh, how different!), with Universities and palaces, and "sights"!

We have found travelling in Japan unexpectedly easy, pleasant, and (in spite of a never-ending rise in prices) cheap. It is, to begin with, so "civilised" a country that one goes everywhere, even in the most lonely forests and the slums of its great cities, without the slightest fear of molestation by man or beast. Then, it is a country in which everyone seems always to be travelling—immense concourses of pilgrims and holiday-makers and business people are everywhere on the move—so that everywhere there is accommodation and provision for travellers' needs. Add to this that the so-called "lower orders," the common lump of men, are, in Japan, perhaps more civilised than those of any other country that we have seen—clean, elaborately well-mannered, "common schooled," if not educated, kindly and polite to a degree that leaves far behind the English labourer, town or country—whilst the officials and rich men are eager to be friendly to the wandering Englishman; and it does not need any special introductions to make travelling pleasant. But the traveller makes a great mistake who, through shyness or modesty, or mere lack of foresight, does not provide himself with "pilgrim's scrip" in the form of letters of introduction of one sort or another. They are easy to get, they are almost always effusively honoured on presentation, and they add enormously to the charm and interest of travel. We have ourselves lived so entirely with the Japanese officials, statesmen, bankers, professors, priests, and business men to whom we brought or obtained introductions, that we have had hardly any time to see the European and American residents.

But this sort of travel involves getting hold of a good interpreter. We were fortunate, through friends, in engaging, actually before we left the steamer, an interpreter of education and refinement, to whom, in our two months' intercourse, we have become personally much attached, and by means of whose skill we have been able to conduct long intellectual discussions with our Japanese friends, on all sorts of subjects, from economics to Buddhist philosophy, from agriculture to art. And all our expenses in Japan, including first-class travelling and this interpreter, have come easily within twenty-five shillings per day for each of us.

Now, of Japan to-day, there are two aspects, the old and the new, agriculture and manufactures, the country and the town. Of the charm of rural Japan we cannot speak too highly. Imagine an intelligent and essentially civilised population of millions of families, settled in closely contiguous villages, on fertile plains, between picturesque mountain ranges from which descends abundant irrigation water; each family with its own series of plots of highly cultivated and copiously irrigated garden land, on which, by incessant hand labour, minute care, and abundant manuring, huge crops of rice, millet, beans, mulberry, maize, buckwheat and barley are raised under the sub-tropical sun; the families often owning as well as cultivating their little plots, which hardly ever exceed in extent the amount cultivable by the members of the families themselves, so that there is no class of agricultural wage labourers; or, if not themselves the owners, being tenants on a customary rent of about one-half of the rice crop, and enjoying, in practice, virtual fixity of tenure; and whether owners or occupiers, having often been in occupation of the same land for five or ten generations. Where non-cultivating landlords exist, having numerous tenants, the relationship seems to be one of friendly mutual co-operation, the landlord exercising a sort of paternal supervision and direction of the village affairs; and obtaining, as rent, such proportion of the rice crop as the harvest allows. And intermingled with
THE CRUSADE

these millions of agricultural families—often coincident with them—there exist apparently no less numerous families of petty handicraftsmen and retailers, supplying all the household wants of the countryside. In short, rural Japan represents the perfection of "la petite culture" and "la petite industrie." In no country of Europe or America that we have seen is there so large a proportion of the population in the position of being "their own masters"; owning themselves the instruments of production, working for their own profit, occupying their own little houses, worshipping at their own family shrines, and consuming very largely the products of their own labour. Here, at any rate, is the "proprietary state," with the family group as the economic unit, which Mr. Hilaire Belloc finds so attractive. And, certainly, nowhere is this society more alluring than in rural Japan.

Whether such a social order could, in the twentieth century, ever be created anew—whether, even in rural Japan, it can long be maintained in existence—we need not now discuss. What must be noted are several concomitants not usually remembered, which rural Japan forces on our attention. In the first place, it is a community of superstitions of all sorts, wedded to the old ways, with a tremendous binding force of national sentiment. Perhaps as the other side of this feature this community of small peasant cultivators and village retailers is practically devoid of political democracy. Absorbed in the incessant toil that their fields and handicrafts demand, their horizons bounded practically by their family, or at most their village, concerns, these thriving millions of rural families are plainly incapable of organising, controlling, criticising, or even intelligently comprehending the large enterprises characteristic of a community of the size of twentieth century States. What disables such a community from wide political interests, and from that active personal participation in "movements" having no direct bearing on their family concerns—and it is these that make effective political democracy possible—is not merely the incessant toil in which their lives are spent. It is also the fact that (as with the indoor domestic servant and the working mother of a young family) there is no division of their lives between work and leisure. They have no "working" hours. Their work is never done. From waking to sleeping they are never free from its presence, never able to take their minds off its perpetual insistence on an endless series of petty details in which their own personal concern is paramount and all-absorbing.

In Western industrial States two new classes furnish the material for political democracy. We have the growth, on the one hand, of an "intellectual proletariat" of teachers, clerks, lawyers, doctors, and journalists—in Switzerland the hotel-keepers—with leisure to think; and on the other hand, of a class of hired artizans and labourers, in whose lives the hours of work, few or many, are sharply marked off from the rest of their lives, so that their waking day is not wholly taken up with an endless series of petty personal affairs requiring all their thought. In a universally "proprietary State" of agricultural peasants and petty retailers, the railway and postal service, the telegraphs and telephones, the conservancy of the rivers, the construction of main roads, the organisation of an educational system from the kindergarten to the University—not to mention international relations, the army and the navy—inevitably become, if they are to exist at all, the sphere of an expert bureaucracy, without any effective supervision or control from the people at large. For a community of petty artisans and petty handicraftsmen, scattered over the countryside, the only alternatives are to confine the State to the small size contemplated by Aristotle and Rousseau, like the Forest Cantons of Switzerland, foregoing such essentially large enterprises as railways and Universities; or to leave all the public affairs transcending the family and the village to a bureaucracy outside and above the village life.

The latter is the position of rural Japan. The Government officials seemed to us as a class admirable. They were everywhere on the most friendly intimate terms with all classes. They appeared to be taking the keenest interest in their work and eager for the public welfare; to be full of intellectual curiosity about it, open-minded and curiously unprejudiced. But they were (and were recognised as being) so superior in knowledge and ability to the rural population that what they did and decided was practically beyond all effective check or criticism. We do not see how, in a rural community of small cultivators and handicraftsmen—if it is to have large enterprises at all—such a bureaucratic administration of those enterprises can be avoided. In the twentieth century State, peasant cultivation and rural handicrafts are, to the extent that they make up the community, incompatible, beyond the affairs of the family and the village, with effective political democracy. This, at any rate, is our comment on rural Japan.

And the countryside of peasant cultivators and petty retailers inevitably creates its own destruction. With cultivation already pushed to its maximum of intensity, and with every inch of ground in use on which rice will grow, the village finds itself unable to provide a livelihood for the natural increase of its population. If famine is not to ensue, the surplus of boys and girls must swarm off; and in Japan, as elsewhere, they swarm off to swell the huge cities in which the modern machine industry and capitalist production

(Continued on page 17.)
on a large scale is both creating and demanding a wage-earning proletariat. And this brings us to the other aspect of Japan, with its surprising and rapid development of a native capitalism, reproducing, with minute accuracy, all the features of the industrial England of 1790-1840. Japan has already a million factory operatives, in some 20,000 factories—not to speak of extensively worked mines of coal and copper, oilfields and petroleum refineries as hideous as anything in the United States, and huge capitalist exploitations in timber, fisheries, merchant shipping, and what not. In the cotton and silk mills we found young girls (as young as 9 or 10) and women working (night shifts along with day shifts) for over eighty hours per week, with no Sunday rest, and practically no holidays. We found these girls sometimes working (for such hours!) in insanitary processes which in England are confined to men, and are even then largely mitigated in their evil influences by extremely short shifts. We found the "hands" (just as in the Lancashire of 120 years ago) collected by recruiting agents from all parts of the country—even children of 9 or 10—separated from their families, and boarded and lodged in the employers' own premises, to which (under normal circumstances) they are practically confined—if, indeed, they have any time or energy left for anything but working, sleeping, and eating. Until last year there was absolutely nothing in the nature of a Factory Act, and no restriction on the will of the employers as to the conditions of labour. There was not (and still is not) any effective registration of children liable to attend school; there is no power legally to compel attendance; and moreover, tens of thousands of children of school age are actually exempted from attendance on the ground of poverty! Even now the Factory Law of 1910 resembles rather the English Factory Acts of 1819 and 1833 than a twentieth century law; and some of its prohibitions (as of night work for women) do not come into force for fifteen years. And whilst some of the factory managers are philanthropic men, desirous of doing for their thousands of operatives the best that they can—just as England had its Peels and Greggs and Marshalls and Ashworths—and accordingly some of the boarding-houses are swept and garnished, and there are flowers and amusements and benevolent truck shops where the operatives can buy what they want without leaving the compound, the system remains in all its hideousness. The girls, contracted away by their parents, or entrapped by alluring offers of wages, looked sullen, apathetic, and discontented. It was complained by the employers that they seldom stayed on after their three years' contract service, and that they took every excuse for leaving before the term expired, so that the mill had to be perpetually breaking in new hands! Finally, it was asserted everywhere that nothing would induce a girl living in the city where the factory was situated (and therefore knowing what the life was like) to become a factory operative! Similarly unrestricted conditions of employment prevail in the coal and copper mines, and in the oilfields, where the men seem to be much as were the English coalminers a hundred years ago. And these and similar industries are increasing in Japan by leaps and bounds.

We saw something of the conditions of existence of the poorest quarters of the great cities; and, naturally, we found them pretty nearly as bad as they could be. The Japanese Government has had too much to do, in its amazing task of taking three centuries of social evolution in a stride of forty years, to undertake much in the way of town sanitation, the prevention and treatment of disease, or proper housing requirements. And the Japanese Central Government has not yet learnt how to call to its aid, in administration as well as in finance, the indefinitely expansible force of local self-government. In its eagerness for efficiency, the Japanese Cabinet has adopted a bureaucratically controlled and minutely supervised system of local administration, partly German and partly French in its structure; and it has failed, as yet, to learn from England how to create really independent centres of local initiative and local administration, which would relieve it of some of its gigantic task. The education system is a strange mixture of universal provision and nominal compulsion, with a practical failure to ensure universal attendance; in some places fees are charged in the poor districts, whilst the richer districts have free schools; there is a system of elaborate secondary schools, pretentious and very imperfect, but no provision for enabling the poorest children, however clever, to take advantage of them. There is no general provision for the prevention and treatment of disease, and (in spite of apparently endless charity on the part of the very poorly remunerated doctors, and various "charity hospitals," as they are called) the death-rate is half as much again as in England; with tuberculosis and infantile disorders fatally prevalent; and with the children growing up, untreated, with all sorts of eventually disabling complaints. How quickly the alert and open-minded Japanese bureaucracy will realise the precipice down which capitalist exploitation (by Japanese capitalists, be it noted, not foreigners) is hurrying the nation we cannot estimate; whether they will be clever enough to jump to a systematic application of the policy of the National Minimum in Sanitation, Education, Leisure, and Subsistence, by which, as English experience teaches us, the country can alone be saved, as they have jumped to other things, no one can foresee; finally, whether without the driving power of a politically active democracy, the bureaucrats will be able to overcome the resistance of the capitalists (who declare...
that they are producing the wealth without which Japan cannot make good its position as a first-rate Power) we do not pretend to judge. The moment is, for Japan, perhaps the most critical in its whole national history; and it is one of extraordinary interest to the instructed observer.

Of destitution in Japan, in the comprehensive sense in which we now use the term, there is already no lack; but it naturally takes different forms from those to which we are accustomed. As in England, however, the greatest number are those who are sick and destitute of medical attendance. The amount of preventable disease, of unnecessary disablement and of premature old age and death is costing Japan to-day more even than its gigantic naval expenditure or its war debt. The lack of any systematic and complete Public Health organisation, which would actually prevent the occurrence of much disease; and of a public medical service (including hospitals) to supply appropriate treatment at the earliest stage, when alone it is really preventive, constitutes, at the present, the most glaring failure of the Japanese Government to bring the nation abreast of the ideals of Western civilisation.

An almost equally extensive section of destitution is represented by the children. A large proportion of the children of Japan are suffering severely from the want of the necessities of healthy child life. There is very little public provision for orphans or abandoned children; in the absence of any supervision of child-birth and infancy, the infantile death-rate (in spite of universal breast-feeding) is very high, implying much infantile disease; as the children do not go to school until 6 or 7, the period during which they escape all inspection or supervision is much greater than in England; and even during the school years there is no systematic provision for ensuring that they are medically attended to. No doubt the Japanese family achieves a great deal: but in the slums of Osaka and Nagoya— even in the mountain villages that we passed through—the "family system" cannot, in the absence of systematic medical inspection and provision, prevent the development and dissemination of tuberculosis and enteric, nor save the children from the sequels of neglected measles. The child destitution of Japan, in this all-important particular, is, of course, not to be compared with that of most Eastern nations— there is no such glaring child-neglect as is seen in the streets of Cairo, or even in those of Calcutta— but what Japan pretends to, and what the world now expects from her, is civilisation of a high Western standard.

Of the destitution of the aged we saw little in Japan. In this particular the nation certainly sets an example to all Europe, and perhaps leads the world. The "family system" makes it a matter of course for the aged to be provided for as honoured guests in the families of their descen-

dants. There must be some not thus provided for; and Tokyo has a "general mixed workhouse" not essentially different from a typical Scottish poorhouse. But the problem is mitigated by the grim fact, not in itself creditable to Japanese administration, that extreme old age is rare. Men and women become old at 50 or 60; and those of 70 or 80 seem very much less common than in Europe. Japan escapes old age pauperism partly because the neglect of health in early life prevents there being many aged!

Able-bodied destitution, or "unemployment," appears also to be rare. Whether this is to be ascribed to the still great prevalence of the hand industry, to the people still having practical access to the instruments of production, to the "family system," or to the low standard of subsistence, we cannot now determine. Certainly, an able-bodied man, even if he indulges in "saki," seems always able to earn the extremely minute sum on which he can live from day to day. There used to be local famines from failure of crop. There are now periods of stress owing to a rise in the price of rice; and a system of poor relief is on the point of springing up. The Tokyo poorhouse, already mentioned, is a semi-philanthropic, semimunicipal enterprise of a generation old, but still an exception. We came across, however, in other places, spasmodic distributions of rice by the public authorities, in order to keep people alive. In Osaka, the second city of the Empire, they were just on the point of establishing a municipal department of poor relief, to deal with all classes of the destitute— once more preparing to repeat the English mistake! The Japanese Government has a great opportunity of avoiding this administrative blunder, which has given England the mournful heritage of a huge pauper class, by refusing to create any special organisation for the relief of destitution as such. It can, if it chooses, arrange for each section of the destitute to be dealt with on preventive lines by the public authority charged with dealing with that section of the population (the sick, the children, the mentally defective, etc.), and thus avoid the creation of any class specifically pauper, with all its demoralising tendency to increase and to become a permanent burden on the community.

But the greatest blot on the civilisation of Japan is in its treatment of women. We do not here mean simply the "subjection" of the wife to the husband, a position compatible with a very real "equality" in practical life, and one which we need not here discuss. But the subjection of the wife in the family is one thing; the subjection of the young woman to the factory owner, the geisha-master, or the "licensed quarter" is quite another. Japan is trying the most extraordinary experiment on the health and character of its whole population: an experiment, as it seems to us, fraught with the greatest possible danger.
There may be something to be said for taking about 40 per cent. of all the young men and making them serve for two years in the army; with results, good and bad, on health and character, which are evidently considerable. What is remarkable, and, we think, peculiar, is that in Japan a very large proportion of its young women—a proportion which seems to run up to some proportion of boys among the United States—of girls to be trained as geishas. And there is the still darker shadow of the passing into the almost hopeless bondage of the “licensed quarter” (which exceeds in horror and cynical bestiality anything that we could have imagined) of literally thousands of young girls every year. This subject of the girls of the nation to a period of what is really involuntary servitude, under conditions making neither for health nor for character, is of ominous portent. It is not the way to bring up the mothers of a great race. And it is, for the most part, a new evil which it is quite possible to stop. We cannot believe that, if it is allowed to continue, Japan can permanently “make good” its position among the great world Powers.

But, in such a period of transition, it is unlikely that anything, bad or good, will long remain unchanged. In our own analogous period of transition—in the England of 1790-1840—social conditions were, so far as we can judge, considerably worse than in the Japan of to-day. Japan to-day has the advantage, which England a hundred years ago had not, of facing its problems with an instructed and highly intelligent civil service, and with the mass of the common people, in their own way, essentially civilised. It has the further advantage over the England of a century ago—perhaps even over the England of to-day—of being open-minded, eager to learn, and intellectually modest. It has before it the results of a century of experiment by other nations; and in social organisation, as in military and naval matters, it may well learn to improve even on those whom it takes as models. In short, it is a land full of hopefulness. We believe it is still the land of the Rising Sun.

**RECENT PUBLICATIONS.**

Annual Report for 1910 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education. Cd. 5925. 1911. Is. 3d.

On the very first page of this important volume occur two passages which statesmen and others might well learn by heart: “Every step . . . in the direction of making and keeping the children healthy is a step towards diminishing the prevalence and lightening the burden of disease for the adult, and a relatively small rise in the standard of child health may represent a proportionately large gain in the physical health, capacity, and energy of the people as a whole. As a general proposition it may be said that a State cannot effectively insure itself against physical disease unless it begins with its children.” The last sentence is commended to the promoters and supporters of the Insurance Bill, as is also the following passage: “Many of the diseases and physical disabilities of the adolescent and the adult spring directly out of the ailments of childhood. For example, Malnutrition, “Debility,” Dental Caries, Adenoids, and Measles in childhood are the ancestry of Tuberculosis in the adult. They predispose to disease, and are, in a sense, both its seed and soil; and thus it is that Tuberculosis in the adult—which may be taken as a type and example of preventable disease—is in large part the direct development of disease in the child. The problem both of preventing and of treating the defects of children discovered by medical inspection thus assumes an import both more extensive and more serious than that of curing the individual child. It is true that the prime necessity is to fit the child to receive the education which the State provides. But the child’s future must also be considered as a unit in the future of the State, and the whole business both of inspection and treatment of children must be viewed as an undertaking of absolute necessity, if the health and physical fitness of the nation is first to be secured and then maintained.”

According to the last report the school medical service in England and Wales now consists of 995 doctors, of whom 79 are women, and 335 school nurses (203 whole time appointments, 132 part time). So far only 176 local education areas (out of a total of 322) have appointed nurses, and even in those towns the number is usually inadequate. This enormous increase of “officials,” engaged in searching out the physical defects of school children, and in some cases treating them and taking steps for the prevention, costs the local authorities probably less than a quarter of a million pounds per year.

One of the main facts this school medical staff has discovered, and one which needs insisting upon with all the force at our command, is that “defective nutrition stands in the forefront as the most important of all physical defects from which school children suffer.” The report goes on to relate the sorry tale of large numbers of children who are unclean, who are suffering from defective hearing and eyesight, from adenoids, enlarged tonsils and glands, from ringworm, and from tuberculosis.

The steps that are being taken to deal with these evils vary enormously from district to district. During the last year 70 local authorities provided...