

Democracy and Constitutional Government

Voices of Discontent

- Former samurai
- Lower and mid-level farmers
- Participation in local and national politics
- Restoration ~~leaders~~ losers



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Itagaki
Taisuke



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Saigō
Takamori

Two Approaches to Resistance

- Armed rebellion (Saigō)
- Freedom and Popular Rights movement (Itagaki)



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The Saga Rebellion

- Etō Shinpei (1834-1874)
 - Saga samurai
- Minister of Justice and councilor (*sangi*)
- 1873 – left gov't w. Saigo and Itagaki
- Jan. 1874 – co-founded Patriotic Party (Aikoku kôtô) w. Itagaki
- Feb. 1874 – open rebellion

The Shimpūren Incident (1876)

- “Divine Wind Alliance”
 - 神風連 - *Kamikaze*
- *Jōi* (anti-foreign) purists
- Opposed to *all* forms of Westernization
- Reaction to sword ban



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The siege of Kumamoto castle



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Members of the Kumamoto garrison

THE CIVIL WAR IN JAPAN.



A SKETCH AT THE JETTY, YOKOHAMA; TROOPS ABOUT TO ENDEAVOUR FOR THE SEAT OF WAR.

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Government troops departing Yokohama

The Combatants

The Battle of Shiroyama



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GOVERNMENT FORCES:

- 65,000 Troops
 - Numerous former samurai—many from Satsuma
 - Artillery, cavalry, infantry, marines, naval supp.
- 10,000 Casualties
- 6,000 Dead

GOVERNMENT ARMS:

- Breech-loading rifles
- 100+ pieces of artillery

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REBEL FORCES:

- 12,000+ troops
- Samurai in combat roles
- Commoners as “beasts of burden”
- Uncertain casualties

REBEL ARMS:

- Muzzle-loading rifles
- Limited artillery and mortars

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The Suicide

The Aftermath

- Clear futility of armed rebellion
- Saigō pardoned in 1889
- Inflation > deflation > rural unrest



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Saigō statue in Ueno Park, 1898

“Freedom and Popular Rights”

自由民権

Chronological Outline

- Phase 1: 1874~ 1879: samurai-movement
- Phase 2: 1879~1881: mass movement (peak)
- Phase 3: 1881~1889: radicalization and defeat

Phase 1: 1874~ 1879: Samurai-led Movement

- Itagaki leave's government > back to Tosa

“Memorial on the Establishment of a Representative Assembly” (1874)

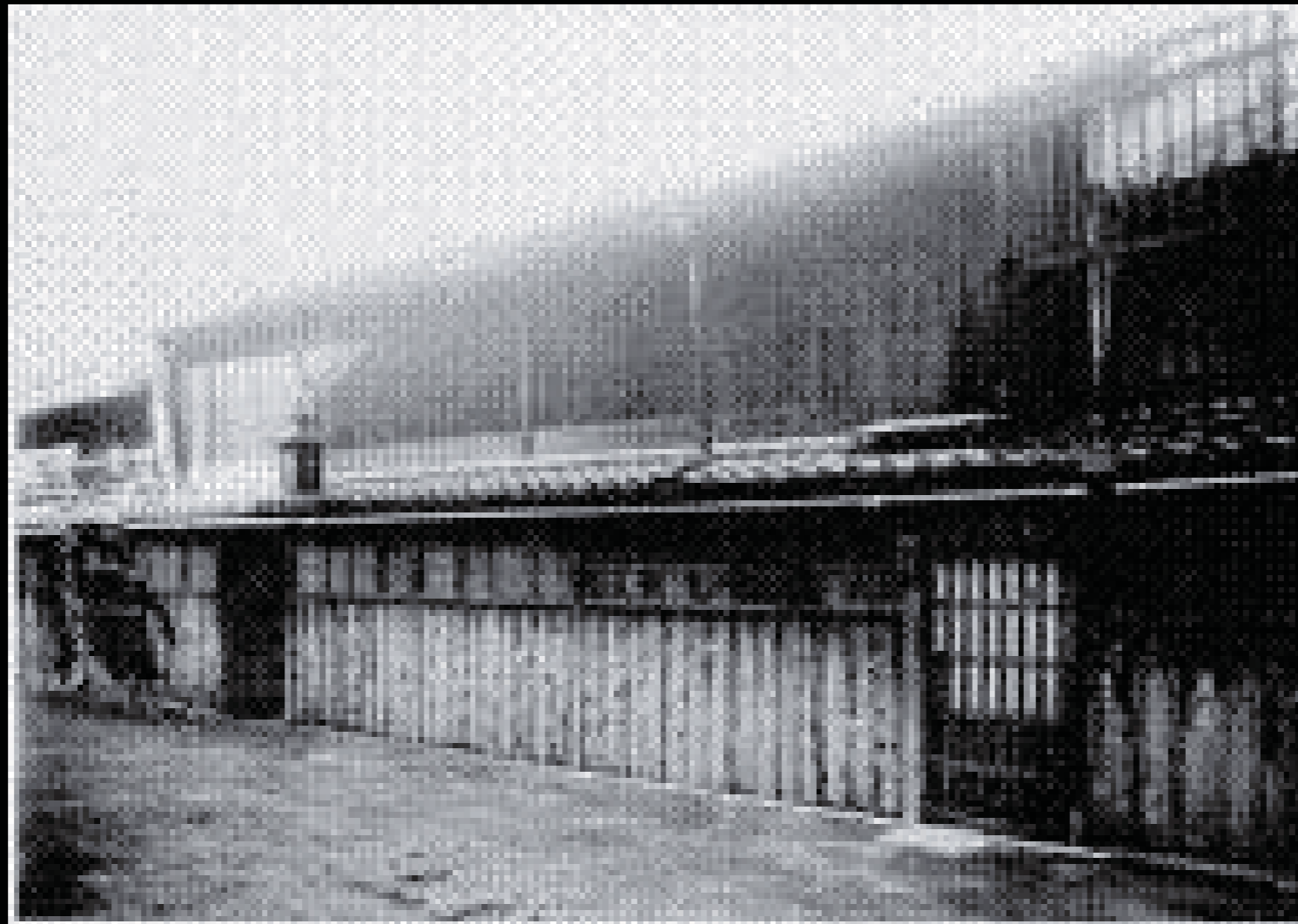
- “The object which our government ought therefore to promote is by the establishment of a council-chamber chosen by the people to arouse in them a spirit of enterprise, and to enable them to comprehend the duty of participating in the burdens of the empire and sharing in the direction of its affairs, and then the people of the whole country will be of one mind.”

“Patriotic Public Party” 愛国公党

- “Everyone *equally* entitled to life, liberty, property, livelihood, and the pursuit of happiness.”
- Lectures and talks: Locke, Mill, Rousseau, etc.
- Mutual-help society for former samurai
- 1875, *Aikokusha*, a national “Association of Patriots”

First Betrayal

- A meeting in Osaka...



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Itagaki Rejoins the Government

- Imperial edict promising “progress”
- Prefectural assembly (enacted in 1878)
- Leaves government again within the year



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Phase 2: 1879~1881: Mass Movement

- 1879~1881, hundreds of study/debate groups
- Participation of local notables, village headmen, along with urban entrepreneurs, intellectuals, journalists, and local assemblymen
- Petition drives: 250,000+ signatures by 1881

Draft Constitutions from “Below”

National Parties

- 1881, Liberal Party (自由党) led by Itagaki
- 1882, Progressive Party (改進黨)



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Phase 3: 1881~1889: Defeat and Radicalization

- Government's response
 - 1881, Imperial edict promising constitution and national assembly by 1890
 - Press and libel laws (1875, 1877)
 - Ordinance on Public Meetings (1880)

Radicalization

- Fukushima Incidents
- Suppression of local Liberal Party
 - Violence and mass arrest
- Kabasan Incident (1884) >terrorism

Chichibu Incident (1884)

- Mid/low level farmers
- Poor People's Party (困民党)
- 6,000+ militia

Defeat

- 1884, dissolution of Liberal Party
 - Progressives also face demise
- Protest continues
 - 1886 treaty revision draft
 - Tariff autonomy and jurisdiction over ports
 - Japanese law subject to Western review
 - Foreign judges for cases involving foreigners

Endgame: Constitution of 1889

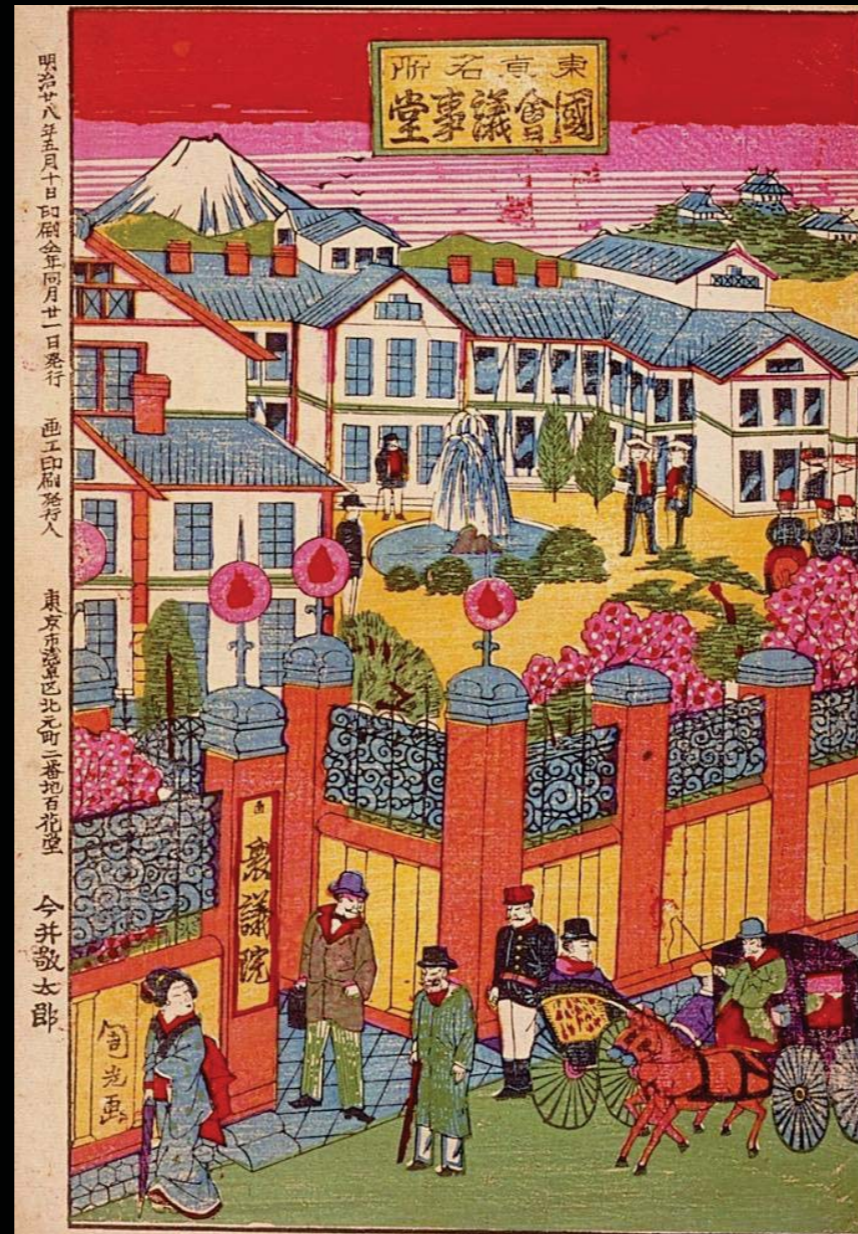
- **Article 1.** The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.
- **Article 3.** The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.
- **Article 4.** The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.
- **Article 11.** The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.
- **Article 19.** Japanese subjects may, according to qualifications determined by laws or ordinances, be appointed to civil or military offices equally....
- **Article 23.** No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished, unless according to law..
- **Article 27.** The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.
- **Article 28.** Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.
- **Article 29.** Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations.
- **Article 55.** ...All Laws, Imperial Ordinances, and Imperial Rescripts...require the countersignature of a Minister of State

Constitution of the Empire of Japan

- “maximize the power of state and minimize that of the people”
- Emperor: sovereign, sacred, and inviolable
 - Exercise power through the cabinet
 - Supreme command
- Popular rights within limit determined by law

National Diet, 1890

- Institutionalization of Political Opposition



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