INDUSTRIAL RECREATION

——Problems of Leisure and Recreation Among the Working Classes in the Florescence of Capitalism in Japan——

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I

This paper attempts to investigate the problems of recreation which existed in our country from about 1900 to 1910, and to consider especially the conditions of the working classes, together with the problems of leisure and recreation which were full of capitalistic contradictions, during the periods of germinations and growth of modern capitalism.

It is extremely important for us to consider first of all how we should grasp today's recreational activities which, though highly distorted, show a certain tendency nevertheless, in other words, decide in which direction we should orient those recreational activities. Accordingly, we must try to understand where the germ of recreation is to be sought in our country, and what are the processes from which its characteristics have resulted. Which also means that we should try to find proper answers to such questions as: What is man? What is culture? Where, in our conception of man and culture, should we place the recreational activities with which we are now concerned?

Today, the words "leisure" and "recreation" are being used popularly but somewhat indiscriminately in the newspapers, magazines, and in TV. As things stand today, there are to be found no well-organized governmental institutions of recreation, nor any well-equipped communal recreation facilities, through the use of which people are made to realize that leisure and recreation are part of their everyday experience. The reason why such words as "leisure" and "recreation" are so rapidly finding their way through the so-called "mass media" into the vocabulary of the people is because "capital transforms pleasure into a means of acquiring credit, that is, of accumulating capital, in the form of demonstrative collective or social consumption."[1]

On the other hand, there is a growing tendency to stress the importance of what is variously called as "recreation in the enterprise" or "recreation for the employed" more emphatically than that aspect of pleasure above mentioned, that is, the function of pleasure to quicken consumption. The new attitude towards pleasure in the name of recreation has been brought about by the fact that with the progress of technology in the enterprises, especially in the bigger ones, various sorts of mental fatigue caused by technological innovations have resulted in the attenuation of the desirable human relationships among the workers. Researches are being conducted to make clear the implications of this phenomenon, and practical suggestions are being made to remove the evils which the changing conditions

[1] Takeshi Sato, "Human Alienation in Leisure," *Thought*, Iwanami Shoten, Oct., 1962, p. 88.

of the workers have produced. The very fact that even the capitalist managers have come to realize the importance of recreational activities in the enterprise would seem to suggest that the problems of welfare and recreation which were once thought of as self-contradictions have now come to be definitely brought into that system of capitalism which aims, by accommodating the workers to the ever-growing processes of mechanization, to make its pursuit of profits all the easier.

As long as the system of capitalism continues to exist, however greatly its appearance may change, the fundamental view of man which underlies it will remain all the same (though the attitude towards re-production of labor may be seen to change little by little). From this standpoint, it may be argued that the problems of leisure and recreation in the industrial world which existed in the earlier periods and those which still exist today are essentially the same. Even so, it must be admitted that the problems of leisure and recreation seen as *phenomena* have changed considerably, just as the attitudes of those who look at them have.

It follows therefore that if we are to grasp the nature of what is going on at present, and to anticipate at the same time what will happen in future, we shall have to know exactly what historical as well as social realities have brought about the characteristics of today's industrial recreation in our country.

However, the study of recreation—especially that of physical recreation—has, in our country, been largely neglected, and the result is, regrettably enough, that the level of scholarship in that particular field of study still remains comparatively low. Perhaps, this is due to the fact that a great deal of emphasis has been placed in our country upon the so-called "school physical training" which was once conducted under the political slogan: "Let Us Make Our Country Enriched And Strengthened."

> N.B.1. Physical education, after World War II, come to be considered to help develop through sports a "democratic" personality, rather than build a "robust" constitution, as was generally the aim of physical training before the War. The post-war ideal of physical education, however, does resemble the pre-war ideal of physical training, in that both look upon bodily exercises as means, not an absolute end in themselves. Contrastingly, there is an idea which regards sports as a set of cultural assets and which encourages the pursuit of "sports culture" as having a value in itself. From this standpoint, it will be argued that the field of physical education and that of recreational education are practically the same, and that differences between the two, if any, are to be sought only in the method of learning or enjoying the activities involved.

The implication of this fact is that recreation has never been considered in our country as a form of culture, but merely as a means of killing time, or at best, of getting diversion or entertainment, with the belief that "the devil finds mischief for idle hands to do" deep in the minds of the people. Now, this popular belief itself is a historical outcome of the past in which the policy of "thrift and diligence" has exclusively and extraordinarily been emphasized, on the grounds that "labour and leisure are made to occupy two distant places to form two seperate circles of different kinds, between which circles each individual is continually driven back and forth, while ideally they ought to exist as two homogenious circles occupying one and the same place and fitting in with each other."[2]

[2] Ibid., p. 85.

Studies in leisure and recreation which have become fashionable in recent years seem to tend to give attention exclusively to analysis of the recreational activities as phenomena, and to discussion of the methods involved. It cannot be denied that recreational activities are closely related to the fundamental desires, the biological desires of the human beings. But that is only part of the whole matter. Therefore, if we seek the roots of recreation only in such natural sciences as physiology, anatomy, psychology, kinesiology, etc., we shall inevitably miss some of the essential problems of recreation, and the existing fundamental problems will forever remain unsolved. If recreation is to be uuderstood as a form of culture, it ought to be one which contributes to the total development of each human being. If recreation is to take shape as a form of culture, it ought to follow its inherent law of self-movement, but at the same time, it will necessarily be conditioned by the substructure of the society. Any recreational activity is a historical-social phenomenon in that its existence cannot be conceived without presupposing history or society behind it. There is no sense in merely analyzing recreational activities as such, in being only concerned with the methods involved therein.

Along with this view, there goes still another one: the view which maintains that recreation can exist nowhere but at the very point where the demands of the industrialists (the management) and those of the workers (the labor) meet. In view of the fact that opportunities for recreational activities at workshops were once provided only by a small number of "understanding" managers, we may safely conclude that this latter view represents a great advance in the field of recreation. It ought to be expected, however, that the opinions of those who rule and of those who are ruled, as to what kinds of recreational activities are to be desired, demanded, and aimed at in the enterprise, will differ widely. Any attempt to lay the foundation of industrial recreation upon the possibility of compromise between the two opposing parties essentially incompatible to each other will eventually fail, for such an attempt obviously rests upon the possibility of the impossible.

Therefore, if we are to study industrial recreation activities in our country, taking into account all those views which have so far been examined, we shall have to pay attention to the special relation between those recreational activities and the characteristic development of our industrial world. The topics which have hitherto been most frequently discussed in historical studies of physical education in Japan are those which concern physical training activities in schools. There are indeed a handful of studies on how modern sports were first introduced into our country, how these sports have continued to be enjoyed, and how they have fiinally become so popular as they are today. Some of these studies, however, seem to have fallen into the error of treating the vogue of sports as if it had penetrated through all the different levels of population down to the lowest, while the fact is rather that sports enthusiasm has simply been spreading, as it were, horizontally over the different parts of the country. It was only those happy people who were "walking along a sunny path", people such as leisured students, highest-tax payers and the like who in most cases were well-bred, well-educated gentlemen generally regarded as belonging to the so-called "privileged" classes, that sports found an increasing number of enthusiasts. People belonging to the working classes could hardly have been expected to share in the benefits of modern sports.[3]

[3] Toshio Nakamura, "Amateurism. Part I: Development of Amateur Rule in Japan," Bulletin of Tokyo Kyoiku Daigaku Fuzoku Kotogakko III, 1959.

There can be no doubt that even the laborer should not be denied the rights to pursue culture and to achieve his total development as a human being. Hence, the laborer "needs time for satisfying his intellectual and social wants, the extent and number of which are conditioned by the general state of social advancement,"[4] while that "blind unrestrainable passion, as it were, wolf-hunger for surpluslabor" which is called "capital" oversteps "not only the moral, but even the merely physical maximum bounds of the working day."[5] It is for this reason that working-class people do not only find it beyond hope to participate in recreational activities, but they must content themselves with asking for just so much as would make it barely possible for them to support their lives.

Under such circumstances, the laborer can hardly be expected to achieve his total human development, however desirable this may be. For him to pursue culture is out of the question. Hence,

> Time is the room of human development,[6]

and,

> The shortening of the working day is its fundamental premise.[7]

Let us quote a passage here which points to the same truth:

> A man who has no free time to dispose of, whose whole lifetime, apart from the mere physical interruptions by sleep, meals, and so forth, is absorbed by his labor for capitalist, is less than a beast of burden. He is a mere machine for producing Foreign Wealth, broken in body and brutalized in mind. Yet the whole history of modern industry shows that capital, if not checked, will recklessly and ruthlessly work to cast down the whole working class to this utmost state of degradation.[8]

The heart of the whole matter is thus quite plain to see, and it cannot be denied that the working classes in our country suffered for quite a long time under the pressure of "longer hours, lower wages"; they were forced to live in a world where they were deprived of all liberties, where they had no chance of having their intellectual and social wants satisfied, where they were denied the right to live the lowest of lives any human being could bear to live. This of course is not to say that there was no longer any room for recreational problems worth consideration. The present paper proposes to analyze the problems of leisure and recreation in the early industrial world which existed among the working classes, with a view to offering some material for further studies in the field of industrial recreation.

II

The aim of this chapter is to make clear the actual conditions as well as the characteristics of leisure and recreation in the period when industrial capital established itself in

[4] K. Marx, *Capital*, trans. from the fourth German Edition by Ernest Untermann, p. 256.
[5] Ibid., p. 291.
[6] K. Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*, New Edition, National Executive Committee, Socialist Labour Party, 1919, p. 62.
[7] K. Marx, *Capital*, trans. from the first German Edition by Ernest Untermann, p. 955.
[8] K. Marx, *Value, Price, and Profit*, p. 62.

our country.

To begin with, it will be necessary to take into account the existence of female and juvenile workers at the time when Japan's modern industries were in process of growth.

Table 1 *Cotton Mill Workers Classified by Sex and Age (1910)**

Age	Male	Femal	Total	Percentage
Under 10	7	9	16	0.06
〃 14	298	2,200	2,498	10.11
〃 20	1,006	8,045	9,050	36.63
Over 20	4,057	9,090	13,147	53.20
Total	5,368	19,344	24,712	100.00
Percentage	21.7	78.3	100.0	

* *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, Seikatsusha, Vol. I., p. 6.

Table 1, which is based on the data obtained from an investigation of 16 cotton mills in the Kansai District, shows that 78.3 percentage of the workers are female. It tells us what a large number of female workers were employed in the cotton industry. It reveals also that the percentage of workers under 20 years of age is as large as 46.7. Furthemore, if we take into account the fact that about 60 percentage of the total number of workers at that time were female, we can easily understand why we cannot ignore the existence of female, as well as juvenile, workers in considering the general situation of the early industrial world.

Table 2 *Workers Classified by Sex (1894—1908)***

	Male	Female	Percentage (Female)
1894	141.9 (1=1,000)	239.4 (1=1,000)	62.7(%)
1896	173.6 (〃)	261.2 (〃)	60.0(〃)
1899	158.8 (〃)	264.4 (〃)	64.8(〃)
1902	185.6 (〃)	313.3 (〃)	62.8(〃)
1905	240.3 (〃)	347.6 (〃)	59.1(〃)
1908	248.8 (〃)	400.9 (〃)	61.7(〃)

** Kiichi Mori, *Nippon Rodosha-kaikyu Jotai Shi, or A History of Conditions of the Working Classes in Japan*, 1961, p. 71.

(1) From 1894 downward, factories which employ more than 10 workers, whether those factories are owned by a company or by an individual, are referred to. The number of workers per day who work regularly is given here.

(2) From 1902 downward, the factories referred to are those which employ more than 10 workers including apprentices.

We must further take into concideration what kinds of industries these workers were doing their jobs in.

Table 3 *Distribution Ratio of Workers in Non-governmental Enterprises Classified by Industries**

	Sum Total	Spinning Industries				Food	Ceramic	Metal Working	Sundries	Mining & Refining
		Total	Silk Reeling	Cotton Spinning	Sundries					
1889	100	67.1	42.2	8.6	16.3	1.9	18.4	4.4	8.2	(25.9)
1894	100	64.4	35.0	13.6	15.8	7.8	16.7	5.1	6.0	(13.4)
1899	100	70.1	32.3	18.9	18.9	6.7	10.0	6.7	6.5	(14.3)
1904	100	59.3	28.7	14.6	16.0	10.5	11.3	9.7	9.2	(11.9)
1908	100	63.0	28.1	13.5	21.4	7.4	11.2	9.1	9.3	(9.6)
1913	100	64.7	25.9	16.0	22.8	5.2	9.6	11.2	9.3	(9.8)
1918	100	55.2	22.1	12.2	20.9	4.8	11.3	20.7	8.0	(0.0)

1889.....Workers in factories capitalized at 1,000 yen or more.
1894.....Workers in factories which employ more than 10 workers.
1899.....Workers including apprentices in factories which employ more than 10 workers.
1908 downward ...Workers including apprentices in factories which employ more than 10 workers including apprentices.
Workers in the mining and refining industries are excluded. Figures in brackets represent rates of the excluded to the total.
* Kiichi Mori, *Nippon Rodosha-Kaikyu Jotai Shi, or A History of Conditions of the Working Classes in Japan*, p. 72.

Table 3 reveals that the fiber or textile industry was Japan's leading industry. The problems of workers, and especially those of female and juvenile workers, in the cotton and silk industries must therefore be the greatest concern of the present paper.

Each worker, as has already been pointed out, has his own right to live a life worthy of a human being and to pursue culture so that he may achieve his total human development. This ideal cannot be realized until he finds himself time, and that free time. It is only too natural that some should have regarded the shortening of working hours as a matter of urgent necessity. (There are of course many factors other than time, which contribute to making pursuit of culture realizable.)

Utsumi characterizes the state of working hours just before the Meiji Restoration as follows:

> First, there was a group of "guild" workmen, all skilled in their "traditional" arts. Some of them (called "i-shokunin") worked at their own workshops, others (called "de-shokunin") at their clients'. They were all men. Normally, under the "portal to portal" 10-hour principle, they were expected to work 8 hours actually, but whenever they found themselves short-handed, they often worked overtime, and even did some night work. They usually took their holidays twice in a month.
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> Secondly, there was another group of workers who engaged themselves in manual trade, or in "manufacture", especially in the fiber industry. Many of them were females, and even minors. Except when asleep, they were always at work. In fact, they worked as long as 16 hours a day. Night work was the rule, and in busier seasons their sleep hours, wihch they felt as the only property left for them, were ruthlessly cut short. No regular holidays were allowed them. In this respect, they resembled the peasants very closely.[9]

[9] Yoshio Utsumi, *A History of Working Hours*, 1959, pp. 188-189.

This is where Utsumi thinks the prototype of the working day after the Meiji Era is to be sought.

With the progress of capitalism, however, the general aspect of things including the problem of working hours presents itself rather differently. According to *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, the "11 or $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours (exclusive of the rest hours)"[10] on day-night shifts was the rule in cotton mills. Moreover, in cases where a considerable number of workmen on night duty absented themselves from work, those who were on the day turn were often made to work double shifts. When there was a great amount of work to do, it often happened that "the night workers were made to stay at their places of work 6 hours longer than usual and the day workers to get to work 6 hours earlier than usual, to do so many hours of extra chores, so that they were forced to work practically 18 consecutive hours in a day."[11]

> N.B. 2. *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, a survey which was completed by the hands of bureaucrats of the despotic Meiji government, depicts the miserable conditions of the contemporary workers as they were, without distorting the facts that existed at the time. A group of investigators from the Industrial Affairs Bureau of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry had temporarily been appointed to go into the actual conditions of workers in the various kinds of industries of the day. These investigators went on an on-the-spot inspection tour from factory to factory, interviewing factory managers, engineers, clerks, workmen, workwomen, apprentices, and private employment agencies, and asking them questions concerning the conditions under which they were doing their jobs. Thus, in 1903, the survey came out, entitled "Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers." It contains results of inquiries into such a variety of industries as: cotton spinning, filature, drapery, iron working, glass, cement, matches, tobacco, printing, cotton carding, plaiting, electric bulbs, splints, brushes, fancy matting, straw plaiting, and so on. The survey goes over the categories of workers, working hours, holidays, employment relationships, wages and savings, rewards and penalties, superintendence, sanitation, habitation, public morals, compensations for diseases and injuries, educational and charitable institutions.
> (See Takao Tsuchiya, *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers: An Explanatory Bibliography.*)

On the other hand, the resting hours were practically non-existent. Most factory regulations provided that apart from the lunch period (i.e., 30 minutes at noon for the day workers, and 30 minutes at mid-night for the night workers) only two 15-minute resting periods be allowed to the workers, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. But, on account of the fact that "even in the resting hours, the machines were kept in operation,"[12] it was inevitable that the workers take rest by turns, and if they happened to be paid under the efficiency-wage system, work without interruption, so that they might earn extra money. Their poverty, in short, was such a conspicuous phenomenon. For the fact that they often had to work without rest, there were of course reasons other than that. The competitive spirit on the part of the workers, who were made to work under the "reward" system, and

[10] *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, Seikatsusha, Vol. I, p. 19.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

the inevitable discipline, strictly and severely enforced upon them by their ruthlessly rigorous, or simply ambitious-minded superintendents, are only two of many such reasons. In short, under such circumstances, the resting hours existed only "in name" but never "in substance".[13]

In the case of the silk workers, things were even worse than that. The management went so far as to shorten the length not only of the periods of rest in the morning and in the afternoon, but even of the lunch-time resting period. As one report has it, "in the premises of a certain factory, there is a set of workship regulations to be seen on every notice-board, one of which regulations provides that all the workmen finish up their lunch within 5 minutes. Workwomen are required to eat as their lunch rice-balls which have been prepared and distributed to them before-hand, not in the dining hall as they ought to, but at their several places of work, so that, instead of "wasting" time by eating their lunch together in the dining hall, they may economize time by getting to work the moment they have finished their lunch, or even by eating their lunch while working."[14] Such indeed was the way how they were exploited. The pursuit of profits left the workers completely deprived of their human rights and the sad sight of the workers being so brutally treated was continually to be seen.

Despite the fact that there were certain hours of rest as well as work prescribed for the workers in those days, they were obliged to accept fettering conditions simply because they did not know how to make use of those hours of rest for themselves. This is nothing to be wondered at, for the terms of employment they were forced to accept were quite one-sided, and under such terms they simply could not stand on their rights. Here is an example of how such terms of employment read:

1. Those who are employed by this company shall not demand that they be discharged until the present term of employment expires, no matter what accidents may happen during that term.
2. Those who would be discharged in defiance of the preceeding clause, viz., during the present term of employment, shall not only pay their debts off immediately, but their reserves as well as arrears of wages due to them shall be forefeited at the same time.
3. Those who have broken the present contract shall give five times as large a sum as that deposited.
4. This company on the other hand shall reserve a right to dismiss its employees whenever it thinks fit to do so.
5. Those who are employed by this company shall be paid just so much as it thinks fit, according to the circumstances.

Of such very unfair contracts of employment, even the government at the time could not help declaring with amazement that "they impose upon the workers the most rigorous obligations imaginable, not allowing them any rights due to them, and satisfying almost exclusively the needs of the factory proprietors and operators."[15] This whole matter, it is clear, cannot be discussed fruitfully, apart from the amendments of land-tax and the processes of primitive accumulation of capital in the early years of the Meiji Era. The deflationary policy

[13] Ibid., p. 20.
[14] Ibid., pp. 175-176.
[15] Ibid., p. 260.

and its related industry-protection measures which the government at the time took brought about semi-proletarianized peasants and their sons and daughters, who detached themselves from land and flooded into towns and cities, providing thus an abundant supply of labor. And the fact that cheap and plentiful labor was so easily available led to the miserable conditions under which those newly employed had to work. It must be pointed out that the employment of female workers in particular had a great deal to do with the prevailing custom of the so-called "flesh trade" which originated from the seller's borrowing of money in advance from the buyer, and this in part at least explains the existence of the gloomy dormitories in which those poor female workers were confined. Moreover, workers, say, in the cotton industry did not necessarily have to be skilled workers, so the management could either dismiss or employ or re-employ them quite nonchalantly as occasion arose, without running the risk of their strength being gradually weakened as the inevitable result of their purchase by a long-term contract.

From the fact that labor contracts at that time were characterized by their onesidedness and the harsh exploitation of workers they must necessarily bring about, which indeed found its typical expression in that notorious policy of "longer hours, lower wages", it will be quite easy to understand why the exhaustion of labor power was less seriously taken than it ought to have been, and why the problem of the worker's welfare could have been made so little, or rather, nothing of. This implies that the workers could not find any leisure, or if they could at all, that leisure meant for them nothing but the time during which they could only hope to prevent their physical strength, by sleeping, from being exhausted. It must not be forgotten that even their time for sleep had to be not infrequently sacrificed. Such then was the way the workers were exploited, and how they were deprived of their liberty. Nevertheless, the usual way to collect the required number of workers was "to explain to prospective workers what pleasurable lives they might be able to enjoy once they were employed, and never to mention the miserable conditions of work that await them." It was emphasized, for example, that "there is a definite limit to their working hours, beyond which they may enjoy seeing, for example, theatricals and other stage shows given on holidays (which are to be given once in a week) for their entertainment."[16]

> N.B.3. Workers were not collected in the vicinity of the factories concerned, but from farthest places, especially from the farming villages where collectors went around to fetch prospective workwomen. These agents were sent forth from the companies and factories and received commissions from them, which varied according to the number of the workers thus collected. Dirty tricks such as swindling and kidnapping were often resorted to by those agents.

The grim truth, however, is that "the workers thus collected were never allowed to go out even on their off-days during the first several months after their entrance into the factory premises, and if after that period they were allowed to go out, it was usually on the day before their pay day, and that on condition that they go out accompanied by some responsible person, and during the several days after their pay day, patrolling guards were posted round the dormitory fences to see that there are no runaways."[17] In cases where leave time was

[16] Ibid., p. 52.
[17] Ibid.

restricted within two or three hours after work, only those of them who were least likely to run away were given leave to stir out. Those who were habitual runaways were often locked up in their dormitories.

N.B.4. To give an instance of this, 31 female workers were burnt to death in 1899, when a fire broke out in the dormitory of a cotton-mill; they could not escape death because they were, as it turned out later, confined in a locked room. (See Inoue and Suzuki, *A Modern History of Japan*, Vol. I, p. 172.)

How then did the workers make use of leisure, when they happened to find themselves freed from harsh work, that is, in the sense in which they were temporarily exempted from working face to face with the machines? It should not be forgotten of course that the workers had lost their physical as well as mental abilities as the result of hours of harsh work, and that the managers by their onesided will had forced the workers to labor in the hours which ought to be employed as leisure. As might be expected from these circumstances, workwomen in the cotton industry did in fact spend most of their money, which they had earned by working day and night without sparing themselves, in buying confections and other eatables to make up for their scanty meals, in seeing cheap shows and entertainments, or else in indulging in indecent love-making.

N.B.5. Judging from their income, leisure, and culture, it would seem almost inconceivable that they should have frequented theaters and music halls. But, according to *Orimono Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers in the Fabric Industry*, the workers "took the greatest pleasure in going to play houses and variety halls." The book, however, gives us no further information. Gennosuke Yokoyama in his *The Lower Social Stratum of Japan* tells us something about the shows enjoyed by the lower classes at that time. He says:

Ichikawa Danjuro, whose market price is 50,000 yen a run (=40 days), is a talent. So are Encho and Hakuen. Storytellers at street corners, *Kappore* dancers, *Chobokure*-chanting mendicant priests, and *Kadotsukes* who live in their communities around Shin'ami, Shiba, and in front of the Tenryuji Temple, Yotsuya, are all talents. Danjuro and Kikugoro will have their performances appreciated by higher-than-the-middle-class people. Artists from Shin'ami will display their performances on main roads, and though they are sometimes despised by the public at large, they have their patrons too. Actors and actresses will enact phantasmal as well as riotous scenes before the enthralled spectators, transporting men and women, laddies and lassies, alike with ecstasies. Artists from Shin'ami are generally disdained by critics, but they chant at street corners of the way of the world upon the *shamisen* guitar to the masses and tell the small children of the poor classes, thus performing the function of a kind of popular teacher.

N.B.6. *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, also reveals that there were, in some factories where low moral standards prevailed, a certain number of workmen who received some money from his fellow workmen and workwomen in reward for the trouble they took in finding them their mates. The book also reports that there were what might be labeled as "assignation" houses in the neighborhood of almost every factory. Such houses were called "bon-ya" in Osaka. Ostensibly, they sold

confections and other eatables for workmen and workwomen. It was not only in the so-called "bon-ya" that those workmen and workwomen met; they enjoyed their rendezvous in boarding houses and in rooms to let as well.

Workmen, as contrasted with workwomen, did not form a large majority in the industrial world at that time, but they also tended to indulge in "fast living and gambling."

It was generally held in former times that the reason why the workers amused themselves in such an unproductive and depraved manner was because "they (i.e., workmen in the cotton industry) were generally so vulgar in character as well as in taste, and took the greatest pleasure in eating and drinking, and gratifying their lusts."[18] To ascribe their indulgence in dissipation and debauchery merely to their low character will be to miss the kernel of the whole question. It must also be taken into account that "the conditions under which they had to work and live did not allow them to spend their time in cultivating themselves spiritually."[19]

Anyway, it cannot be denied that the workers were driven into the situation where there remained nothing for them to do but to give way to their animal passions, where they could hardly be expected to engage themselves in healthy recreational activities. The prevailing view at the time was that "among the workwomen, there are some who take delight in such arts as flower arrangement, ceremonial tea-making, and music; the attitude of such workwomen is not to be commended."[20] This view itself had much to do with the whole system of production at the time in which the workers could not even dream of participating in cultural activities so that they might totally develop their human possibilities, and in which even their lowest lives could not help being destroyed. With this fact in mind, we can fully understand why they had to seek pleasure in spending their pocketmoney on sweets and other eatables, or in indulging in sensual pleasures.

Such was the case not only with unmarried workmen and workwomen, but with married ones who ought to support their families. Here are some data upon the family finances of the workers at the time, through which will be seen how much, or rather how little, they cared of their problems of leisure and recreation:

Table 4 *Family Finances of Workmen in the Machinery Industry (1898)*

(1) The Case of Lathe Man A:——

Family Members	3 persons, made up as follows:—— Husband.....36 years old Wife .....28 years old Child ..... 5 years old
Wages	65 sen
Working Hours per Day	10 hours
Working Days per Month	25 days
Total Income	16 yen 25 sen (This man gets no miscellaneous incomes.)
Rooms for Use	3 rooms
Total Expenditure	20 yen 54 sen (including miscellaneous expenses), made up as follows:——

[18] Ibid., p. 154.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., p. 207.

	House Rent .....4 yen Rice .....7 yen 60 sen Fuel .....2 yen 50 sen Vegetables .....1 yen 50 sen Fishes .....1 yen 60 sen Wine .....1 yen (5 sho) Bean Paste and Soy .....50 sen Kerosene .....19 sen Hair Dressing .....35 sen Bath Taking .....30 sen Personal Expenses for Child .....1 yen Miscellaneous Expenses .....3 yen Clothing Expenses for the year.....6 yen Clogs and Sandals .....3 yen

(2) The Case of Finisher B:——

Family Members	5 persons, made up as follows:—— Husband .....24 years old Wife .....20 years old Child ..... 2 years old Husband's Father .....67 years old Husband's Mother.....64 years old
Wages	63 sen
Working Hours per Day	10 hours
Working Days per Month	26 days
Total Income	16 yen 38 sen (This man gets no miscellaneous incomes.)
Rooms for Use	2 rooms, made up as follows:—— a 5-jo (=8.3 centiare) room a 3-jo (=5.0 centiare) room
Total Expenditure	19 yen 60 sen, made up as follows:—— House Rent .....1 yen 65 sen Rice .....7 yen Fuel .....1 yen 50 sen Vegetables .....1 yen 71 sen Fishes .....1 yen 80 sen Wine .....1 yen 20 sen Bean Paste and Soy .....1 yen 40 sen Tobacco.....40 sen Soup .....75 sen Sugar .....20 sen Kerosene .....18 sen Hair Dressing .....38 sen Bath Taking.....1 yen Personal Expenses for Child .....30 sen Membership Fees .....20 sen Miscellaneous Expenses Subscription to Newspaper .....20 sen Expenses needed for Paper.....15 sen

(3) The Case of Iron Worker C of a Small Arms Factory:——

Family Members	3 persons, made up as follows:—— Husband.....38 years old

	Wife .....33 years old
	Child .....12 years old
Wages	32 sen (10 hours)
Working Hours per Day	12 hours
Working Days per Month	28 days
Total Income	25 yen 96 sen, made up as follows:——
	Fixed Pay ..... 8 yen 96 sen
	Piece Wages (one month).....15 yen
	Extra Income from Wife's Job ... 2 yen
Rooms for Use	2 rooms
Total Expenditure	17 yen 16 sen, made up as follows:——
	House Rent .....1 yen 75 sen
	Rice .....6 yen 50 sen
	Fuel .....1 yen
	Vegetables .....1 yen 50 sen
	Fishes.....50 sen
	Soy and Bean Paste .....90 sen
	Tobacco.....50 sen
	Kerosene .....30 sen
	Hair Dressing .....35 sen
	Bath Taking.....80 sen
	Personal and Schooling Expenses for Child .....1 yen
(Additional Items)	Debts to Pawnbroker .....21 yen 65 sen
	Loans .....12 yen

(4) The Case of Lathe Man D:——

Family Members	4 persons, made up as follows:——
	Husband.....35 years old
	Wife .....27 yeors old
	Child ..... 4 years old
	Husband's Father .....67 years old
Wages	75 sen
Working Hours per Day	14 hours 30 minutes
Working Days per Month	28 days
Total Income	61 yen (including Husband's Father's income of 40 yen)
Rooms for Use	3 rooms
Total Expenditure	29 yen 4 sen, made up as follows:——
	House Rent .....3 yen 70 sen
	Rice .....8 yen
	Fuel .....2 yen 50 sen
	Vegetables.....1 yen 50 sen
	Fishes .....4 yen 50 sen
	Wine .....1 yen 50 sen
	Soy and Bean Paste .....1 yen 30 sen
	Tobacco.....60 sen
	Kerosene .....36 sen
	Hair Dressing Expenses .....86 sen
	Personal Expenses for Child .....1 yen 20 sen
	Miscellaneous Expenses .....1 yen 65 sen made up as follows:——

(See Kiichi Mori, *A History of Conditions of the Working Classes in Japan*, 1961, p. 114, and Gennosuke Yokoyama, *The Lower Social Stratum of Japan*, pp. 227—231)	For Dried Bonito .....50 sen For Sundries .....80 sen Payments to Shrines and Temples .....20 sen Payments to Night Soil Men ..... 6 sen General Expenses .....2 yen 50 sen

Let us listen for a while to what Gennosuke Yokoyama has to say about the wages of the iron workers at the time. He remarks:

> The majority of them, under the 10-hour system, whether they were paid by the day or by the job, earned 30 to 35 sen ordinarily, while at the very start they had been paid an average of 20 to 35 sen. Even the skilled workmen got only 50 sen. When the ordinary workmen worked overtime till, say, nine o'clock at night, their wages averaged only 40 to 50 sen; the skilled workmen could only get 70 sen even if they worked overtime. This was the level of wages earned by the majority of the iron workers in Tokyo or in Osaka at that time.[21]

He goes on to argue:

> Let us suppose that here is a workman who earns 60 sen. Now, this man may well be said to stand neither very high nor very low in his economic status as a workman in Japan. But then, what are his actual conditions of life? Does he earn enough money to meet the expenses needed for feeding his parents and wife and children, for sending them to the barber's shop or the beauty saloon to have their hair cut or dressed, for having them take their baths, buying them the necessities of life such as rice, vegetables, fishes, spirits, soy, tobacco, kerosene, and medicine?[22]

It would be impossible for such a workman to support both his family and himself without earning some extra money by overtime work, without, so to speak, overstepping his bodily limits. It would be inconceivable for such a workman to enjoy leisure; he would be forced to spend his whole time merely in earning his livelihood, and satisfying his physical needs, and could not possibly enjoy a social and cultural life.

Table 4 reveals that the family budgets of Lathe-man A and Finisher B are in the red. The fixed income of Iron-worker C will be found to be only 8 yen 96 sen. Sixty-five percent of the total income of this worker comes from his overtime work and his wife's side work. Lathe-man D does not seem to support his family without his father's income, for $14\frac{1}{2}$ hours of work per day brings him only 21 yen.

It will further be noticed that the workers A, B, C and D have one thing in common: that the items which make up the total expenditure of each worker are all indispensable for sustaining his life. All that these workers are doing is to work as hard as they can and to barely satisfy their minimum desires. Leisure in any sense of the word does not find its place in their lives. One might therefore be justified in imagining that it was their sole pleasure to rest their wearied limbs over a glass of alcohol or two, and then go to sleep.

These four workers with whom we have been concerned, however, belonged to the category of workers who were paid comparatively high wages; other categories of workers such as those who were employed in the match-making factories in Kobe were just "paupers;

[21] Gennosuke Yokoyama, *The Lower Social Stratum of Japan*, Iwanami Bunko Series, 1949, p. 220.
[22] Ibid., p. 227.

they had no bedclothes to sleep in even in the depth of winter, so that they often had to flock into their workshops as early as 3 o'clock in the morning, unable to sleep on in their chilly beds till 6 o'clock when they were supposed to get to work." Such were the conditions of their living that "they rushed to the rice-dealer's where they got themselves some rice in exchange for the chits they had received in the morning from the examiners, who, after having examined two or three match-boxes at a time into which the workers had put the matchsticks and arranged them neatly, had handed the workers one chit for one box that had come up to the standard,"[23] and that "the standards of living of factory workers in general were not higher than those of paupers; factory workers, like paupers, simply could not afford to command a wider view of the society than they had so far been able to do."[24] Under such circumstances, the recreation problems were quite irrelevant to the kind of lives the workers were forced to live, and could not have been expected to play any substantial parts in their daily lives.

It was absolutely impossible for each individual worker to seek leisure, and pursue culture, within the purlieus of his own private life. However, some recreational activity or other which formed a link in the chain of the so-called "benevolent" policy was certainly available to him. In spite of the many cases which indicated that expenditure on welfare items was itself a contradiction under the system of capitalism, recreation was considered at this time as a means of camouflaging the employer's ever-increasing desire to pursue more and more profits and to exploit the workers more and more harshly, not by any means in its relations to the human development of each individual worker.

Disguised recreational activities were conducted in such a way that "on auspicious days in spring or autumn such as the Emperor's Birthday, the Factory's Foundation Anniversary, and the like, athletic meetings were held in the factory premises or in the open fields, where the workers participated not only in athletic sports, but also in lotteries, farces, dramatic performances, lion dances, and amateur theatricals were performed in factories in the country, in order to entertain the workers."[25] In the case of the workers in the silk industry, "we find, though very rarely, some factories providing the workwomen with opportunities full of gaity such as the Factory's Foundation Anniversary, so that they may enjoy and divert themselves, and in some cases, enlighten themselves."[26] In the textile industry "we find some factories holding athletic meetings or entertainments in spring and in autumn for the workers, so that they may enjoy performances of professional actors and actresses, vaudevillians, and other artistic talents; we also find other factories celebrating the Festival of Inari and providing the workers with special dishes they could not otherwise have a chance to taste." (For more information on these particular points, it is hoped that the reader will refer to "Factories with Recreational Facilities"[27] in *A Synopsis of Inquiries into Benevolent and Protective Facilities for Workers in Factories,* Industrial Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, 1903.)

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[23] Kiichi Mori, *A History of Conditions of the Working Classes in Japan*, 1961, p. 116.
[24] Ibid., p. 117.
[25] *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, Seikatsusha, Vol I, p. 137.
[26] Ibid., p. 207.
[27] Ibid., p. 312.

Table 5 *Factories Offering Opportunities For Recreational Activities*

Number of Workers	Factories	Details of Recreational Activities	Cost
499	Mie Reeling Establishment	Athletic meetings or garden parties are held for the workers regularly or irregularly one to three or four times a year; the workers, served with drinks and food packed in chip-boxes, may either drink or eat or play at their pleasure; artistic talents are invited to such meetings or parties to display their performances to the workers; lotteries and other amusements are offered.	50 to 200 yen each time.
260	Yonezawa Filature Co.	〃	100 yen
196	Sano Reeling Establishment	〃	
773	Tomioka Reeling Establishment	〃	
250	Osaki Reeling Establishment	〃	300 yen
355	Rokkosha Limited Partnership	〃	
183	Yamanaka Unlimited Partnership's Branch Silk Mill	〃	100 yen
503	Nagoya Reeling Establishment	Furthermore, the workers may peruse newspapers, magazines, and some *desirable* novels in their dormitories; the workwomen may practice flower arrangement and ceremonial tea-making on holidays.	50 to 100 yen.
223	Gunze Filature Co.	The workers participate in competitive sports in the fields near-by at the annual athletic meeting held on November 1, and prizes are given to the winners.	
270	Sanryusha Limited Partnership	Quasi garden parties are given to the workers for recreational purposes twice a year; artistic talents are invited to such parties to display their performances to the workers; groups of 60 to 80 workers are sent in turn on a pilgrimage to the Ise Shrines in the spring time.	600 to 1,000 yen.
	Kusaka Silk Mills	Quasi garden parties are given to the workers for recreatsonal purposes; the workers go flower-viewing in spring, and mushroom-gathering in autumn.	
211	Hakuchokan Limited Partnership	The workers are entertained with theatricals after a long spell of pressing business.	
746	Rokumonsen Limited	Athletic meetings or garden parties are occasionally held for the sake of the	134 yen 58 sen.

	Partnership	workers' recreation.	
1782	Nippon Cotton Spinning Co.	Athletic meetings or garden parties are held one to three times a year for the sake of the workers' recreation; the workers, served with drinks and food packed in chip-boxes, may either drink or eat or play at their pleasure; artistic talents are invited to such meetings or parties to display their performances to the workers; lotteries and other amusements are offered.	130 yen each time.
2801	Osaka Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	800 to 1,000 yen.
3881	Mie Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	200 yen each time.
673	Tsushima Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	Not exceeding 500, 200, or 100 yen.
2069	Hirano Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	380 to 400 yen for one athletic meeting; not exceeding 50 yen for one garden party.
1350	Tokyo Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	
1182	Nagoya Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	1 yen per person for one garden party (including expenses for amusements).
1030	Daiichi Silk Spinning Co.	〃	100 yen each time.
477	Nippon Silk & Cotton Spinning Co.	Athletic meetings or quasi garden parties are held one to three times a year for the sake of the workers' recreation; drinks and food packed in chip-boxes are served, and workers may either drink or eat or play at their pleasure; artistic talents are invited to such meetings or parties to display their performances to the workers; lotteries and other amusements are offered.	
1027	Ichinomiya Cotton Spinning Co.	Quasi garden parties are given to the workers one to three times a year for recreational purposes; artistic talents are invited to such parties to display their performances to the workers.	
1214	Hokkaido Hemp Dressing Co.	〃	150 yen for one athletic meeting; 30 to 40 yen for one garden party.
214	Nippon Thread Plying Co.	Athletic meetings are held for the workers twice a year; cherry-viewing or mushroom-gathering excursions are made and various games are played on such occasions.	
425	Shitano Hemp	Athletic meetings are held for the	

	Dressing Co.	workers twice a year; festivals are celebrated and entertainments are given at the shrine erected to the spirit of the God of Water in the premises of the company; the workers are sent on pilgrimages to shrines and temples; the workers are also sent to playhouses to see theatricals.	
275	Onakigawa Cotton Co.	〃	
1388	Heian Cotton Spinning Co.	Athletic meetings are held for the workers twice a year.	100 yen or so each time.
873	Kanakin Weaving Co.	〃	250 yen each time.
48	Unrin Thread Plying Limited Partnership	〃	70 sen per persen each time.
1427	Meiji Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	500 yen each time.
1467	Tokyo Muslin Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	500 yen
307	Nishijin Plied Thread Re-adjusting Co.	〃	An average of 200 yen each time.
444	Harima Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	150 yen annually.
300	Kooriyama Silk Spinning Co.	〃	150 yen.
57	Maebashi Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	
	Koizumi Unlimited Partnership.	〃	200 yen each time.
169	Kyou Shokai	〃	40 sen per person each time.
842	Daiwa Cotton Spinning Co.	Garden parties are given to the workers one to three times a year for recreational purposes; artistic talents are invited to such parties to display their performances to the workers; sometimes the workers go on hiking tours in the mountains and fields.	100 to 150 yen each time.
	Yokkaichi Cotton Spinning Co.	Entertainments are given to the workers one to three times a year for recreational purposes; the workers go to the mountains or to the seaside; sometimes they go to see theatricals.	350 yen each time.
590	Chita Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	20 sen per person each time.
1370	Aichi Branch Factory, Mie Cotton Spinning Co.	Some of the workers join in choruses, others play band music, in halls once or twice a week; they enjoy other recreational activities.	
3254	Kanegafuchi	The workers are provided with op-	7 yen each time.

	Cotton Spinning Co.	portunities for appreciating occidental as well as oriental music more than twice every month.	
3801	Settsu Cotton Spinning Co.	The company reserves seats in theaters for the workers once a year.	
1010	Kibi Cotton Spinning Mills.	The workers from time to time practice singing in classrooms in their dormitories.	
725	Nankai Silk Spinning Co.	The workmen living in dormitories go to places of scenic beauty and enjoy outdoor games; the workers also go to playhouses to enjoy theatricals.	40 yen.
862	Nippon Fiber Co.	Garden parties are given to the workers one to three times a year; artistic talents are invited to such parties to display their performances to the workers; lotteries and other entertainments are also given them.	15 yen per month.
528?	Shinmachi Cotton Mills, Mitsui Drapery Limited Partnership.	〃	Not exceeding 20 yen; 200 yen on the Company's Foundation Anniversary.
1549	Fuji Cotton Spinning Co.	〃	100 to 500 yen each time.
28	Hokuetsu Thread Plying Co.	Athletic meetings are held for the workers once a year; the workers go on hikes in the mountains and fields.	
803	Bizen Cotton Spinning Co.	Antiquities, historic-geographic relics, instruments for picking and drawing tea, and other works of art and science are displayed in show-rooms for the workers to appreciate; music is played every morning and evening for the workers.	
579	Temman Textile Co.	The workers enjoy playing games together once a year.	
279	Oda Weaving Center.	Athletic meetings are held for the workers three times a year for recreational purposes, and various kinds of entertainments are offered to the workers; the workers go on excursions to the mountains and to the seaside in summer.	100 yen each time.
205	Sasa Splashed Pattern Cloth Products Co.	Athletic or play meetings are held for the workers twice a year for recreational purposes; artistic talents are invited to such meetings to display their performances to the workers; the workers also go picnicking and boating.	
200	Giseido Limited Partnership	Food and drinks are served for the workers twice every year on recreational occasions; the workers are encouraged to take exercise.	150 yen.
836	Kyoto Cotton Flannel Co.	Athletic meetings are held for the workers once every year for recreational	800 yen for the athletic meetings; 150 yen for

		purposes; artistic talents are invited to such meetings to display their performances to the workers.	the games.
692	Kagoshima Prefectural Work Center	Athletic meetings are held for the workers once every year for recreational purposes; the workers go shell-gathering at beaches.	20 yen each time.
343	Tokyo Wool Weaving Co.	Athletic meetings are held for the workers twice every year for recreational purposes; artistic talents are invited to such meetings to display their performances to the workers, and lotteries and other entertainments are given to them.	500 yen annually.
1420	Omiya Plant, Nippon Railway Co.	The workers may join an organization called "Koyu or Workmen's Club", which provides them various aids to recreation.	
454	Morioka Plant, Nippon Railway Co.	〃	
	Hayashi Watch-making Plant, Nagoya	The workers go on excursions to the fields near-by once a year.	
749	Seikoosha	〃 They may further play games on the play-grounds in their factory premises before and after work.	400 yen for the excursions; 60 yen for the games.
138	Kuwahara Iron Works	〃	600 to 700 yen.
257	Abe Filature Limited Partnership	Athletic meetings are held for the workers twice a year; prizes are given to winners in competitive games played in such meetings.	

What we may safely deduce from the data given above is that the opportunities for recreational activities, like the contracts of employment, were offered to the workers, or rather granted them condescendingly, by the managers "in recognition of" the services rendered to them by the workers. In fact, "opportunities for recreational activities should be considered as blessings given from above with absolute onesidedness, and never as something the workers could rightfully demand from below." Accordingly, "no matter how poor the things thus given or granted from above may be, they ought to be accepted as unquestionably precious as anything in the world, so that those who are lucky enough to receive such gifts should feel themselves endlessly happy, and therefore make no complaints whatsoever."[28] All this should make itself clearly seen from the survey in question, where such wordings are so frequently to be found as "the workers *may* play games....," "play *is allowed* to the workers....," "prizes *are granted* the workers....," and so forth. (Italics the present writer's)

Another feature which the survey presents to us is that athletic meetings in which the

[28] Yasoji Kazahaya, *A History of Social Policies in Japan*, Aoki Bunko Series, Vol. I, pp. 50-60.

workers took bodily exercises were often concurrently held with garden parties which, it would seem, highlighted those occasions for recreation. Most garden parties were characterized as opportunities for such rather passive, nonproductive activities of recreation as drinking alcohol, eating food packed in chip-boxes and other dishes, and amusing themselves with performances displayed by artistic talents invited. Be the recreationl activities so poor as that, it is quite understandable that the workers passionately welcomed every opportunity for such activities, for it was their greatest pleasure to avail themselves of these opportunities to satisfy their hunger for food and drinks. And this is really nothing to be wondered at, when we just think of the fact that "the workers are known in the factory to eat fresh fish only once in a year on the fête in honor of *Ebisu*."[29]

Nothing definite can yet be said about the effects of those recreatonal activities, but from the fact that such activities cost each worker 10 to 30 sen, we may reasonably suppose that the objectives aimed at were fully achieved at very low cost. In fact, even in cases where athletic meetings and garden parties were not to be held, it so often happened that "one of the effective ways of wheedling workwomen into doing more work than usual is to tell them that if they made another push to get their work done with they should be treated to a bowl of sweet red-bean soup, which they liked most of all the refreshments taken after a spell of work. The unsophisticated women in particular, out of sheer desire to partake of that sweet red-bean soup, would surely quicken their pace of work so marvelously that they would get another feet of cloth or two weaved almost in a minute. A bowl of sweet red-bean soup called "oshiruko" is said to have yielded a profit of many a yen to the manager, to whom no other policy would certainly seem better or advisable."[30] Thus, it is to be fully understood that the so-called "charitable" or "benevolent" policies taken by the management were really nothing but a means of harsher exploitation upon the workers, far from being a means to help liberate the workers from the pressure of hard work and recover their humanity. The words "charitable" and "benevolent" would have meant nothing for the management but that they should bring forth profits.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that spiritually or morally oriented recreational activities for the workers were being energetically conducted.[31] What the workers (and, for that matter, most of the people in general) at the time were required to do was to bear all sufferings and work industriously without making any complaints. Thus, it was possible as well as necessary for the managers to train their workers to obedience and docility easily and smoothly enough. The managers did in fact train the workers into conforming their opinions to those of their superiors in spite of themselves, and never into looking at things in the right light, nor into asserting their rights to claim what they believe they ought to claim. Lecture meetings and magic-lantern shows were held regularly or as occasion arose, to which religionists and educationalists and the so-called "notabilities" were invited to give sermons and speeches in compliance with the wishes of the factory proprietors and managers, telling the workers anecdotes of feudalistic allegiance. The effects of these sermons and speeches upon the workers seem to have been considerable, and how the managers were satisfied with those effects may be seen from such comments they were making as "the

[29] *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, Seikatsusha, Vol. I, p. 312.

[30] *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, Seikatsusha, Vol. II, p. 316.

[31] Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce ed. *A Survey of Inquiries into Facilities for Relief and Other Charitable Activities in Factories*, 1903, pp. 16-22.

workers have come to be on better terms with one another, and work diligently together in perfect harmony," or "the workers are becoming more economic-conscious, and giving up extravagant habits," or "rule-violating workers are decreasing in number year after year." What those sermons and speeches meant for the managers as well as for the workers we can easily understand, when we think of the fact that the general standards of education of the workers were extremely low at that time. What was generally believed to be necessary for the workers was exactly the kind of education which would make them blindly accept authority, the so-called "keep-them-ignorant" type of education, and education in the true sense of the word was conceived as meaningless and therefore unnecessary for the workers, and even dangerous to the interests of the managers.

Shueisha Printing Company offers a rather different case.[32] The Company or its management, like some other companies, provided the workers with certain opportunities for recreational activities, but what is unique in the case of this particular Company is that those opportunities were offered according to its workshop regulations, though only to those workmen who were specially chosen. The Company had a set of rules called "Workshop Regulations With Additional Rules Concerning Summer Time Leave," which read in part as follows:

Workshop Regulations

Chapter 7 Reward and Punishment

Article 39: Those workmen and apprentices who have continued to work more than one year may be granted leave of absence, the period of which shall not exceed a week, according to the Rules concerning Summer Time Leave.

Additional Rules Concerning Summer Time Leave

Article 1: Those workmen and apprentices who come within the purview of Article 2 may be granted leave of absence for recreation.

Article 2: Those who come under one or more of the previsions below, and who have been chosen by a committee of examiners are capable of being granted leave of absence.

1. Those who entered the dormitories before June 25 of the previous year.
2. Those who are highly skilled in their arts.
3. Those who are diligent.
4. Those who conduct themselves well and are looked up to by their fellow-workers as their pattern.
5. Those who have performed their work so faithfully for such a long time that they have become weary in body and mind.

Article 3: Those who stand outside the purview of the preceeding articles and yet who are worth considering may also be granded a leave of absence, depending upon the decisions made fiirst by the examiners and then by the supervisers.

Article 4: The period of leave of absence granted shall be one week, provided that this period shall either be prolonged or shortented according to the decisions of the supervisers.

Article 5: Those who are granted leave of absence shall rest at Zushi, Soshu,

[32] *A Historical Record of Shueisha Co., Ltd*, 1907.

provided that the same shall not apply to the workwomen.
(Note: From July 12, 1900 on, this institution of Summer Time Leave came to be extended to the workwomen.)

Article 6: Those who are on leave of absence shall be paid their salaries plus allowances for their meals during their stay at Zushi.

Article 7: The Committee of Examiners shall comprise section-heads, vice-directors, dormitory-superintendents, and be presided over by a superviser.

Article 8: The superviser shall present resolutions of the Committee to the Director for approval.

Very few companies or factories had such an institution as this, and even if we take into account that Teiichi Sakuma, Director of the Company, had a great deal of understanding of the labor movement, and of the workers as human beings (which itself was a remarkable thing at that time), and that he had to deal with those workers called printers who were more or less enlightened at the time, we may still take it worth notice that he should have dared to adopt such a progressive policy under such social and economic conditions as were prevalent in those days. But, if we look into the matter more closely, we shall find many facts which prevent us from accepting all those good things unconditionally. Article 4 of the workshop regulations, for example, forbids the workers to form secret organizations of any kind in the factory, and to become either members or officers of similar organizations, and the movements arising from among the workers were suppressed before they grew too strong to be put down. Authority for control over this Summer Time Leave was in the hands of administrators such as section-heads, vice-directors, and supervisers. Article 9 Clause 7 of the workshop regulations (which concerns the functions of the supervisers) provides that promotion and demotion, as well as reward and punishment be given to the workmen and apprentices by the supervisers upon consultation with the managers, and with approval by the Director. Clause 8 of the same Article provides that wages and allowances for the workers be decided according to the degrees of their improvement in skill and diligence, and that all this be reported on in detail to the managers. It will be clear

Table 6 *Labor Disputes and Participants Therein*

	Disputes	Participants	Participants per Dispute
1897	32	3,517	110
1898	43	6,292	146
1899	15	4,284	286
1900	11	2,316	215
1901	18	1,948	108
1902	8	1,849	231
1903	9	1,359	151
1904	6	879	146
1905	19	5,013	264
1906	13	2,037	156
1907	57	9,855	173

(See Shin'ichi Ogawa, *The Conditions of Workers: A Historical Survey of Labor Movement*, Vol. I, Iwanami Publishing Co., p. 35)

then that the supervisers had in their hands substantial power over almost everything that concerned the workers. The workers, after all, could not regulate their lives by their own free will, but had practically no other means to conduct themselves than by having everything determined by other people, content with what other people gave them. It was for this very reason that the workshop regulations were there simply to forbid the workers to make claims through organizations. It may be understood from this that no matter how progressive a manager Sakuma might have been personally, he could not have been expected to break through his inevitable limitations as a capitalist manager. Here, it may be perceived, was one of the limitaions of the very system of capitalism at that time.

Despite the fact that "the value of labor power involves that of the commodities necessary for the reproduction of workers (or the preservation of the working classes,)"[33] labor in the early years of the period of fully grown capitalism was intensified as well as expanded under the low-wage principle to such an extent that the workers were obliged to pass their physical limits. On the other hand, from 1897 on, trade unions such as "Giyukai, or Workmen's Righteous Friendship Society" (1897-1904), "Association for the Realization of Trade Unions" (1897-1907), and so forth sprang up in rapid succession. (These trade unions are mainly what workmen formed and belonged to; workwomen even in the fiber industry, the basic industry of Japan at that time, had no such trade unions to join.) And disputes arose frequently between the management and the workers who demanded that they be emancipated from beastlike labor and living. In most cases, the workers, whether they were members of a trade union or not, merely asked for higher wages; it was still nothing more than a dream of theirs to make claims to cultural assets such as recreation, or demand shorter hours.

> N.B. 7. Ogawa in his *The Conditions of Workers: A Historical Survey of Labor Movement* gives a full account of the labor disputes that arose in companies from 1897 to 1907, of the participants in them, of the content of the demands made, and of the whole processes of the disputes themselves. Here are some of the disputes that took place in the fiber industry in 1897:
> (1) 100 workwomen of Temman Cotton Spinning Company went on a strike in Osaka on August 16. The strike was occasioned when the workwomen, all of them from Ishikawa and Okayama prefectures, happened to hear that the workers from Ishikawa and the neighboring prefectures in the company might well be exploited most and paid least of all, because their ancestors originally belonged to the lowest class called "Kaga-kojiki, or Beggars in the province of Kaga." The strike broke down at 11:00 p.m as the exasperated strikers were reprimanded by the police.
> (2) About 230 Yuzen-dye workmen walked out on September 27 in Osaka, demanding higher wages. Their demands were granted.
> (3) 120 workmen of Shimmachi Cotton Spinning Company, Gumma, staged a strike on August 3. They fought for higher wages for two days, but in vain. 11 leaders were dismissed.
> (4) 40 silk-reel workwomen in Yamanashi walked out on September 6 in protest against the lay-off system. The workwomen next day were argued by the mill owner

[33] Yasoji Kazahaya, *A History of Social Policies in Japan*, Aoki Bunko Series, Vol. I, p. 167.

into coming back to work.

(5) 98 workmen of Shitano Hemp Dressing Company in Tochigi went on a strike on October 19. They demanded higher wages, for three days, and were promised a raise in their wages.

(6) 44 workwomen of Takatsu Filature Company, Shimane, went on a strike on October 24. They fought for higher wages for 25 days, and were promised a raise in their wages. The leader of the strike was dismissed.

It is quite understandable that the workers had to demand higher wages to meet the ever-increasing expenses for maintenance of their lives. The silk-reel workwomen, for example, had to protest against the lay-off system, and did in fact go to the length of starting a strike, in order to prevent their wages from being cut down. No one can deny that economic security was indispensable for the workers to improve their living conditions, and to fulfil their cultural desires. Did the extra wages, which the workers won through the strikes, contribute greatly to the improvement of their living conditions? Obviously no. In view of the fact that workers as far as they would remain human beings should not be denied the right to live like human beings, nor should they give up that right themselves, the workmen and workwomen now in question ought not to have merely demanded higher wages, but ought to have also fought for more cultural values and demanded, say, shorter hours. The fact that the workers nevertheless had to continue economic strife in the form of strikes was perhaps due to two factors: first, that their wages had long been low in the extreme, and second, that the majority of the workers, illiterate and ignorant, had little or no consciousness or sense of life. It is therefore quite easy to imagine how such workers were subject to the influences that the lecture meetings and magic-lantern shows, which were held forcibly and repeatedly by the management, exercised upon them.

The Meiji government, which had so energetically and bravely been pushing forward its policies of industrial protection, was amazed at the miserable conditions of the working classes, and felt it a matter of great urgency to build and consolidate labor power in line with the national enrich-and-strengthen-our-country policy. Opinions sharply divided between the government and the management concerning the advisability of the establishment of the Factory Law, which aimed officially, but not essentially, at the protection of the workers. Two of the reasons for which the capitalists in the cotton industry in particular were opposed to the establishment of the Law are these:

(1) It is by no means right to regard the present conditions of the workwomen as extremely miserable. Their standards of living are in no way lower than those of the poor peasants or of the poverty-stricken townsfolks among whom they were born and bred.

(2) Japan's industrial world is sure to grow less active if the working hours are to be restricted, or if night work is to be abolished, in consideration of the workers' welfare. Are the workwomen to be protected at the cost of the prosperity of the nation?[34]

It was in 1911, 30 years after the government had first set about collecting materials such as the factory regulations, that the enactment of the Factory Law took place, and it was 5 years still later, that is, in 1916 that the Law was put into operation. In the course

[34] Yoshio Utsumi, *A History of Working Hours*, 1959, pp. 204-205.

of these years, however, the Law had lost much of its original spirit, viz., the protection of the workers. When, for example, the 8-hour working system came to be under discussion, a manager voiced the following warning:

> We cannot but conclude that not only is it unadvisable to adopt the 8-hour system at this moment, but it will still be too early to start this new system, even in a few exceptional cases, after another two years has elapsed. The proposed system should therefore not be thought little of, for it is sure to check the growth of industries, and further to cause serious social problems.

When this manager said that "the proposed system should therefore not be thought little of," he doubtless meant that "the want of workable facilities which could fully be made use of by the workers" who obtained leisure out of the shortening of working hours must needs drive "the majority of them to sensual pleasures and gambling" and cause the workwomen to seek pleasures outside their dormitories thus incurring dangers of various kinds, with some of the workers falling victims to temptations of one kind or another."[35] Thus it becomes clearer and clearer that the workers were deceived by the sweet words of the managers into working hard only for the sake of pursuing profits, that is, at the cost of their owe leisure and recreation.

III

The working as well as living conditions of the working classes in the 1900's, as may be seen from *Shokko Jijo, or The Conditions of Workers*, were dire and disasterous. The out-and-out exploitation of the workers, the general tendency towards dehumanization of the workers, and the politics which justified the sacrifice of the workers' human rights to the interests of only a small portion of the population for the sake of the body politic or its supreme ruler by the name of the Emperor——these were exactly what contributed to the dire conditions of the workers in the period with which we are concerned.

It is true that before that period there had been in our country a long period of feudalistic government. But it is also true that our country, after the Meiji Restoration, could adopt and absorb Western civilization, and bring forth fruits of the Industrial Revolution, achieving so rapidly her own modernization, that is, in appearance at any rate. What then was the cause of such a remarkable development? Surely we cannot ignore the relations of our country's modernization, which is very Japanese in character, to the problems of leisure and recreation.

One of the characteristics of the problems of leisure and recreation at that time is that those problems were hardly ever dealt with in their relations to the actual life of work of each individual worker and to the goal of his supposed life of culture. All there was for the workers at that time to hope for was just that negative, inactive, and unproductive kind of activities which consisted either in satisfying such animal-like desires as eating and drinking and sexual desires, or else in seeing cheap shows and talking smut and sleeping. All this, however, is not to be considered simply a matter of each individual worker, but it should be regarded rather as one of the many contradictions of the nation which had to

[35] Ibid., pp. 224-225.

achieve her own modernization within a very short time. This will be explained in part by the fact that the achievement of capitalistic development in our country did not result from a movement arising spontaneously from among the people, nor was it brought about in the form of a civil revolution properly so called, and that the government had to put forward its policy of modernization in such a hurry that the Industrial Revolution was largely a matter of technical innovation. It must also be taken into account that the traditional ethics of Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism prevented the achievement of what might be called spiritual revolution. It must further be pointed out that those traditional ethics were taken advantage of by the shrewd managers with the purpose of spiritually controlling the workers.

That the problems of work and leisure, of work and participation in cultural activities, were not grasped in their totality in that period is an indisputable fact. But then, why is it necessary for us to grasp the pursuit of culture in the totality of work and leisure? As everything gets more and more mechanized and automatized in the industrial world, work tends increasingly to be a series of repeated simple actions which involves neither muscles nor brains, and the amount of work tends more and more to be controlled by the will of a particular person or persons. You turn a switch on your television, and the pictures that appear on the screen will be found all nasty and standardized. You don't have to be one of those spectators in a stadium to see outdoor games; all you have to do is to watch pictures of them sent to you through the Brown tubes. In a life like this, you inevitably find yourself denied both subjecthood and spontaneity; you just cannot help it. And when one comes to think of it, this must necessarily be so: otherwise, you will be left behind the times. There is no denying this very fact.

On the other hand, one cannot be content with being forced others' opinions upon one; nor can one force one's own opinion upon others. Man's subjecthood is all sacred, and therefore should not by any means be violated. It matters a great deal, therefore, how a man should keep his life always human, in the midst of the surroundings which tend more and more to destroy his humanity. Man's happiness, which consists in living the kind of life which is really worth living, cannot be achieved by producing goods alone, but at the same time by pursuing culture in general. It may be said that one of the profits of sports culture lies in the variety of situations in which each man can develop his own subjecthood and spontaneity in a very characteristic way.

Production of goods and pursuit of culture are two seperate activities, indeed, but we can grasp them synthetically. Otherwise, we could hardly expect a man to achieve his total development, nor could we conceive of restoration of his humanity at all. This becomes even clear when we come to think upon the view prevalent in the 1900's, the view, that is, of man, labor and leisure. There can be no doubt that it is a noble and sacred deed for each individual to engage himself in producing goods. But it is also beyond doubt that in the social and productive system where each individual produces goods not for his own sake but for the sake of others, and that the more he produces, the more it detracts from his human value, labor and leisure tend to be seperated from each other, with the result that the thought that labor is itself good, and leisure evil, tends increasingly to gain justification and general support. Under these circumstances, it will easily be seen, the masses, that is the working classes must necessarily be impoverished. It is not surprising therefore that there was nothing spectacular to be seen in the recreational activities among the working

classes in our country in the 1900's. It must not be overlooked that the harsh exploitation of the working classes by the privileged ruling classes between the periods of primitive accumulation and establishment of capital, was seconded with the compulsion of morals and control of thought effected by the Imperial Rescript on Education and that notorious Law for Maintenace of the Public Peace. With those factors in mind, we can properly characterize and orient the recreational activities at that time.

This paper does not conver the Taisho Era and its subsequent periods when popular amusement came to be much discussed. The present writer, however, is well aware of the necessity to make a full investigation into the problems which those periods raise. In order that we may have a proper understanding of industrial recreation as it stands at present and, at the same time, what it will be in future, we need to be familiar with what successive phases it has gone through during the past, and what were the coditions of workers at each consecutive period.

The development of capitalism in Japan cannot fully be understood apart from the development of industrial recreation in which the conditions of workers at each consecutive period played so important a part. It is not enough, however, to try to point out only those peculiarities of industrial recreation in Japan; it is also necessary to seek for features inherent in the general development of industrial recreation in all countries. It is for this reason that in studying Japan's industrial recreation it is often thought necessary to pay constant attention to researches being conducted in the United States, where remarkable progress has been made in recent years in this particular field of industrial recreation.

There is no doubt that researches in industrial recreation should be conducted in an extended range of mental visions, and from all angles. Regrettably, however, researches in that particular field have largely been neglected in our country, where, as we have already seen, welfare and recreation have long been held in the management to be just a matter of "fringe benefit."

It will be necessary for us to make our further studies in this field of industrial recreation more scientific and at the same time more closely connected with the conditions of life of the people, than ever before. It will be our burden to push forward, on the one hand, those studies which concern themselves with problems peculiar to Japan, and, on the other hand, to conduct comparative studies of problems existing both in Japan and in foreign countries.