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### THE SOCIAL POLICY OF JOHN STUART MILL.

W. W. McLAREN.

Social policy is one of the greatest domestic interests of every modern nation. The growth of democracy since the French Revolution has created a universal interest in the welfare of the laboring classes. The organisation of industry upon modern lines, with organised capital on the one side and organised labor on the other, has served not only to intensify social problems, but to popularise their study. The gradual political enfranchisement of the laborers has not only had an educative effect but has brought the question of social policy into the domain of practical politics. In times of peace national parliaments occupy much of their time in the discussion of these questions. Publicists at all times write books, magazine articles, and newspaper paragraphs to throw light upon the different phases of the social question. Trade unions, especially since they have been dominated by their socialist members, demonstrate both by strikes and political agitation the claims of labor. Socialist organisations, such as the Fabian Society, the Independent

Labor Party in England, the Social Democratic Party in Germany, and the Syndicalists in France urge forward their policies on behalf of the masses. The social question is always before our eyes in every modern country in one form or another.

A glance at what has been going on in the different countries of the world in the past few years and at the present time may help us to visualise the situation. A radical government in England enacted in 1907 an Old Age Pensions Law, and that example has been followed by France. A bill providing for the compulsory insurance of all working people earning less than £ 160 a year, against sickness and accidents and in certain industries against unemployment, has been passed into law by the British Parliament this year. In Germany the Social Democratic Party organised a monster demonstration in Berlin, at the very height of the Moroccan embroglio, to protest against the possibility of war, because war jeopardises the welfare of the laboring man. Beginning with the 1st. of January 1912 an extension of the Insurance Laws of Germany went into force, by which one third of the cost of insurance in cases of sickness, one half in cases of invalidity, and the whole in cases of accident falls upon the employer. In Portugal and Spain the new industrial

masses have overthrown one monarchy and threaten the other as a prelude to enforcing their claims. In the United States an unprecedented Socialist vote was polled at the last general election, showing that even in that most individualistic of all modern countries the reign of privilege and big interests is threatened by the laboring man. In China a popular rising has broken out, and has resulted in the over-throw of the dynasty and the establishment of republican institutions. Even in Japan, a country which the world has been led to believe almost perfect, morally and socially, a Factory Law\* and a great National Charity have been created during the past year, obviously in the interests of the poor.

## II.

In the face of this recital, which might be extended *ad libitum* by drawing upon the recent history of almost any civilized country, it seems pertinent to consider the thoughts of one of England's greatest writers upon the problems of social reform. But before proceeding to an examination of Mill's social, policy some preliminary considerations might help to prepare our minds for the reception and application of his ideas. Social policy is always relative to the time and national

\* This law has not yet been promulgated.

circumstances in and to which it is to be applied. Social philosophy deals with principles of universal application, such as justice and liberty, but even these principles are susceptible to change, though not to such rapid or radical change as are the specifics, which constitute the stock-in-trade of social policy. Principles underly and give form to the practice of social policy, but as principles develop in the course of civilization, practices must develop also, in order to translate the new ideas into action. Thus, if the welfare of the masses is considered as depending upon wholesale alleviation of their hardships, social policy will consist mainly of setting up various charities. Moreover in different nations and at different times, the bestowal of charity will assume different forms.

Before the destruction of the monasteries in England, the Church undertook to alleviate the sufferings of the poor by offering hospitality to all in need. With the beginning of the 17th century the public authorities in England established the Poor-Law system of relieving the indigent. In this country under the old régime charity was the business of the local magnates, and still more of the family. In the present era, with the disappearance of the feudal system at the Restoration, and the gradual breaking up of the family since that event, the need for charity has

increased and new forms of bestowing it have made their appearance. One great municipality has established a local poor-law, a rich banker in the same city has set up a private poor-law system, various local charities have been created, and within a year a national organisation, the purpose of which is to give free medical treatment to the poor, has grown out of an act of Imperial benevolence. If, on the other hand, the welfare of the people is considered to depend upon self-help, an entirely different set of specifics is required. Dependence is placed upon education, insurance, trade-unionism, and even socialism.

The form which the social policy of any particular country will take depends, therefore, upon the slowly changing principles of social philosophy, which in turn are fashioned out of that complex of ideals, passions and interests, which dominate the national mind for the time being. In such a *milieu* we must always consider every writer on social policy. His guiding principles are liable to change, and his specifics are still more likely to be cast over one after another as time goes on, not only because new principles have been adopted, but also because the specifics have proved futile or have accomplished their purpose or that purpose has been accomplished by other

means. To this rule Mill is no exception. We shall see him in middle life shedding the specifics of his youth. These changes have been called "inconsistencies" by his critics, but viewed in their proper light they must be regarded as so many proofs that his eyes were open to the perception of new facts and his mind capable of assimilating those facts. It is to such qualities of mind that the world owes its progress; to the opposite qualities must be attributed the slowness of the rate of that progress.

While Mill was painfully ridding himself of what he considered worthless in the old, and adopting the new ideas of his age and harmonising his traditional views of social policy with his new light, other great writers in England were demanding a return to an older and what they considered a happier organisation of society. Carlyle, viewing the lamentable change which had come over the lot of the English workman during the progress of the agricultural and industrial revolution, could see no other hope than in speedily returning to the domestic system of production and a feudal organisation of society, the spiritual principle of which was to be "hero-worship." \* The wage system, "the cash-nexus," was to Carlyle the cause of the workman's misery, therefore,

\* *Past and Present*, pp. 29 and 30, *et passim*.

get rid of it, by going back to the earlier relations of masters, journeymen, and apprentices in the small-scale system of production. Carlyle neglected to take into account the impossibility of such a course both on psychological and practical grounds. A nation cannot go back over its tracks without giving up much that is valuable, nor without doing violence to the ideals and interests of its more progressive elements. Furthermore, in this particular case, a reversion to the eighteenth century organisation of society would have brought on a national famine, for it was only by the greater productivity of the factory system and the "enclosed" agriculture, that the increased population of England was supported. Mill was not deluded by Carlyle's proposals. He profoundly distrusted a feudal régime, the rule of the upper classes, whether aristocratic or plutocratic, and the submission of the masses, because nowhere in history were to be found rulers capable of discharging efficiently the great responsibilities involved in their role of guiding and protecting the poor. \* He also knew the meaning of the increased productivity of industry under the new organisation, and recognized the necessity of ever greater productivity, if the nation was to be

\* *Principles*, Bk. IV, Chap. VII, §1

adequately supported as it became more populous. His policy, as we shall see, conformed to the necessity of going forward; it permitted and encouraged an ever greater production, but sought to introduce into the distribution of the product *a principle of justice*,\* by the operation of which all must produce before they eat, and all must share equally in the benefits of the combined product. The magnificent mysticism of Carlyle blinded him to the sacrifice of liberty which his social regimen involved; to obtain security he was willing to forego liberty. The equally magnificent optimism of Mill enabled him to believe in a solution of the problems of the poor, which was consistent with both individual liberty and social progress.

### III.

Mill's life covered practically the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. His period of greatest intellectual achievement lay between 1830 and 1859. The problems of labor which he knew were those of the second quarter of the century and a little later. His purpose in life was to do something to increase the sum of human happiness. That purpose he originally derived

\* *Autobiography*, p. 133.

from Benthamism and subsequently fortified by his contact with Comte's philosophy. His social policy, however, came to him from other sources, from Malthus, the Socialists and his wife. In philosophy he was an empiricist, in religion an agnostic, in economics a member of the Classical School with an admixture of socialism, and in politics an independent radical. Before all and through all he was a social reformer. With the sufferings of the poor he had the profoundest sympathy. To raise the masses to a satisfactory condition was the first of his two chief aims, to enfranchise women and place them upon a footing of equality with men, the other. To accomplish these ends he was willing to make use of every resource, whether of the individual or the state, so long as men were left their individuality.

It is in his economic writings that Mill's social policy is mainly to be found, though to some extent the *Autobiography* and the essays *On Representative Government*, *On Liberty*, and *On the Subjection of Women* must be consulted. In economics he was frankly a disciple of Ricardo and Malthus. The labor question was essentially one of wages, and the solution of that question lay primarily in an increase of wages. But he believed that an increase of wages would merely

result in an increase of population, and the subsequent decline of wages to the old level or below it, if the prudential check were not exercised as a matter of duty. Similarly he had no faith in a minimum-wage fixed by law, unless a limit upon the increase of population could be imposed by the same sanction or an equally effective one. The Allowance-System\* he thought "worse than any form of poor-law abuse yet invented." The Allotment-System he believed did not essentially differ in its results upon wages from the Allowance-System. Any increase of wages not the result of a diminution of the supply of laborers in proportion to the *fund* for the payment of wages, could not permanently raise the standard of living of the laboring class. It was the increase of population that kept wages at their existing low level, and only by a limitation of that increase through prudence and foresight could any betterment be expected. This fundamental view of the matter did not depend upon his adherence to the strict doctrine of the *wages-fund*, for in his recantation of that doctrine in 1869 he was particular to point out that "the population principle and its consequences are in no way touched

\* *Principles*, Bk. II, Chap. XII, § 3.

by anything that Mr. Thornton has advanced."\* If the rate of wages could not be determined by the ratio between the *fund* and the number of laborers looking for hire, it was still incontestably true that the rate of wages could not increase except as the price of labor, *caeteris paribus*, was affected through the supply.

To Ricardo, as to his great disciple, to increase wages was a matter of the greatest import. † Both, accepting the principle of population, found that the excessive increase of the laborer's family was the chief cause of low wages. To Ricardo the checks upon population were mainly Malthus' positive checks, for he considered the preventive checks as almost inoperative among the lower classes. Hence Ricardo concluded that wages were permanently fixed almost at the minimum of subsistence of the working man. Nevertheless, even Ricardo included in this minimum not only the necessities but "the conveniences become essential to him [the laborer] from habit." ‡

Mill was more optimistic than Ricardo. What Ricardo saw the necessity of but despaired

\* *Dissertations*, Vol. IV, pp. 24 seq.

† *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (Gonner Edition) Chap. V § 38.

‡ *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (Gonner Edition) Chap. V § 35.

of ever seeing accomplished, Mill believed could be achieved by making foresight and prudence, if not continence in marriage, a moral obligation binding upon all classes of society, and by making women more than mere breeders of men. "Let them cease to be confined by custom to one physical function as their means of living and their source of influence, and they would have for the first time an equal voice with men in what concerns that function." \*

In order to introduce and make effective these opinions among the laborers it was necessary for the upper classes, especially the clergy, to believe in and teach them. For so long as the leaders of thought in the country, and especially those who had most to do with forming the opinions of the poor, continued not only to reject the Malthusian principle and its implications for the wages-question, but to reiterate the Hebrew injunction, "multiply and replenish the earth," there was small chance for the masses to understand the necessity of limiting their increase. The ordinary attitude of the Church and the upper classes to the question of population he considered uncivilized and brutish. Writing in 1865 he found it possible to say that the opinions

\* *Principles*, Bk. II, Chap. XII, §2.

of the leaders of thought upon this question had become sensible and enlightened. But not only was it essential that the educators of public opinion should entertain correct views as to the dependence of wages upon population; it was equally necessary that such views should be held by the laborers themselves. The difficulties of this latter task were not insurmountable. Ignorance and poverty were the chief obstacles to be overcome, therefore the laborers must be educated by the establishment of schools in sufficient numbers to admit of universal education, and of such excellence as to impart not only the elements of reading and writing, but common sense and the capacity to form sound judgments; at the same time poverty must be removed by a national emigration scheme, and by setting up, upon the land to be *enclosed* in the future, a class of peasant proprietors.\* The franchise at the same time should be extended so as to permit the laborers to take an active part in politics, for such interests would widen their views, hitherto confined to personal or at most family affairs. †

\* *Principles*, Bk. II, Chap. II, §§ 3&4.

† Dissertations, vol. III, "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform."



Such was one side of Mill's social policy. His specifics were education, emigration, and a limited amount of ownership of land in small holdings. By these specifics he thought to rid the poor of their ignorance and poverty and thus create an opportunity for the inculcation of the prudential check upon population strengthened by a moral sanction. At the basis of this plan lay the theory that wages depend upon population, and can be permanently raised only through a voluntary limitation of population, although temporarily other devices might be efficacious.\* No other contemporary writer made so much of the *population* as Mill, but since that day the emphasis upon mere limitation of population has almost entirely disappeared. Nowadays the attention of students of labor problems is being called more and more to the defects of the present organisation of industrial society, by which a body of permanently underemployed as well as temporarily unemployed is created, even where the growth of population is not outstripping the means of employment. † The trade unions work upon the principle that the distribution of the

\* *Principles*, Bk. II, Chap. XI §4.

† Beveridge, *Unemployment*, Chap. I.

product as between labor and capital is unjust, and do not emphasise directly the necessity of limiting population. On the other hand the union policy of "making the work go round" would seem to presuppose, if not actually, to encourage over-population.

Whatever has been the fate of Mill's theory of the dependence of wages upon population, it is certain that he saw no sufficient reason for giving it up. In a concluding paragraph to the chapter entitled—"The Remedies for Low Wages Further Considered," added to the 6th. edition, 1865, Mill formally acknowledged that the specifics he had advocated in 1848 were no longer necessary. Cheap transportation by land and sea, and rapid communication established with all parts of the world, had resulted in a spontaneous emigration movement. Moreover, the wonderful development of manufacturing industries consequent upon free-trade had given employment to nearly all who desired work. But this "temporary breathing-time" would soon pass, provided it was not made the occasion for the introduction of "those moral and intellectual improvements in all classes of the people, the very poorest included, which would render impossible any relapse into the over-peopled state."

But to understand Mill's whole social policy it is necessary to turn to another of his economic theories which had important implications for this subject. For just as Mill saw the difficulties into which the laborers had come during the transition from the domestic system of manufactures to machine industries, and from the *common-field* to the *enclosed* scientific agriculture, he also saw the vast increase of wealth which had resulted from those improvements in the technique and organisation of industry. Could this rate of increase be kept up indefinitely? Was there room for the investment of ever increasing supplies of capital without a gradual decline of the rate of interest and profits? How would the realisation of that state, in which there would be no further increase of capital or population, affect the laboring class? Mill looked upon the approach of that state with complacency, even with the eagerness of a religious zealot for the approach of the millennium. For the "Stationary State" implied no cessation of human improvement, mental, moral, or social. "Even the industrial arts might be as earnestly and as successfully cultivated, with this sole difference, that instead of serving no purpose but the increase of wealth, industrial improvements

would produce their legitimate effect, that of abridging labor" \*

The perfection of the "Stationary State" Mill describes with an ardor not equalled in any other part of the *Principles*. Society would then enter upon its final stage of development. The universal lot would be improved and elevated. The "life of drudgery and imprisonment" of the masses would be at an end. The increase of mankind being under the deliberate guidance of judicious foresight a state of population would be ensured which would permit to each individual that solitude and leisure essential to the cultivation of character, as well as all the social intercourse necessary to obtain those undoubted advantages to be derived from coöperation and the interchange of thoughts. Food and clothing could be obtained by all in abundance. The fever of the struggle to get on would give place to the calm of contented plenty. "While no one is poor, no one desires to be richer, nor has any reason to fear being thrust back by the efforts of others to push themselves forward." †

\* *Principles*, Bk. IV. Chap. VI. §2.

† " , Bk. IV. , VI. §2.

To bring about this new order of society was an object worthy of any friend of humanity, and Mill with his usual optimism sets himself to the task of making it intellectually possible. It was while occupied in this way that he came nearest to Socialism. He was willing, if humanity could be permanently benefited thereby, to give up the institution of private property, except as the right of every man to the product of his labor made it necessary; to modify *laissez-faire* provided that men were not subjected to the tyranny of the State; to adopt profit-sharing and coöperation if by such means wages could be augmented. The complete subversion of individual liberty, implied in all those forms of Socialism which permit the State to control the destiny of men, Mill thought no more desirable than the ancient forms of despotism based upon force. The Socialism to which he objected was the communistic schemes of Fourier and Cabet, but even toward those schemes his opposition was tempered by a large degree of sympathy. "I agree, then, with the Socialist writers in their conception of the form which industrial operations tend to assume in the advance of improvement; and I entirely share their opinion that the time is ripe for commencing this transformation, and that it should by all just and effectual means be aided and

encouraged. But while I agree and sympathise with Socialists in this practical portion of their aims, I utterly dissent from the most conspicuous and vehement part of their teaching, their declamations against competition."\*

Whether or not Mill was a Socialist is difficult to determine. That he was in entire sympathy with their aims is beyond dispute, that he thought himself one is certain.† But the precise answer to that question each student of Mill must give for himself. It is of more importance for our purpose to note that he allows himself to describe "specific institutions" and declare that time was ripe for their introduction in England. Profit-sharing and coöperation he was confident were the forms of economic organization under which the working classes of the future would live, and what was more, they were compatible with that ideal state of society which he described as the "Stationary State." Such an organization of society would serve the purpose both of increasing the share of the product allotted to labor, and of fixing attention upon

\* *Principles*, Bk. IV, Chap. VII, §7.

† *Autobiography*, p. 133. Compare Henderson, *The Case for Socialism*, and Kelly, *Twentieth Century Socialism*.

the relative, not the absolute increase of production. Moreover, since the laboring classes in the most advanced countries are pressing on in the direction of democracy and political enfranchisement, they are likely to demand not only the intervention of the State in their behalf, but a reorganisation of the system of production and distribution in their interests. It is essential that the new institutions to be created in the future, as a consequence of the irresistible demands of labor, should be based upon reason and good sense. They must be compatible with large scale production both in agriculture and manufactures, for history has shown that small-scale industries are relatively unproductive and therefore incapable of supporting the present large population of most modern countries; they must be consonant with the increased independence of the working class; they must be such as to lead to still greater socialisation of human beings, in which the distinction between masters and workmen shall tend to disappear, and the wage system shall be entirely superseded except among laborers of such low moral qualities as unfit them for anything more independent. Such institutions Mill bases upon the principle of association; association either of capitalists and laborers, or of the laborers

among themselves. \*

It is not necessary to dwell upon the various forms of association which Mill described, but it is interesting to note the order of excellence which he ascribed to them. Profit-sharing, in its various forms, he considered as a preliminary to coöperation, the ultimate form of organisation of human society. "Eventually, and in perhaps a less remote future than may be supposed, we may, through the coöperative principle, see our way to a change in society, which would combine the freedom of the individual, with the moral, intellectual, and economic advantages of aggregate production; and which, without any violence or spoliation, or even any sudden disturbance of existing habits or expectations would realise, at least, in the industrial department, the best aspirations of the democratic spirit, by putting an end to the division of society, into the industrious and the idle, and effacing all social distinctions except these fairly earned by personal services and exertions." †

\* *Principles*, Bk. IV, Chap. VII § 4.

† *Principles*, Bk. IV, Chap. VII § 6.

It may well be asked, why have Mill's specific not been more efficacious in bringing about, during the last fifty years, those changes in society which he so confidently expected? The "Stationary State" has not approached visibly nearer, profits have not reached the minimum by any means, the wage-system is all but universal in large scale industries. Democratisation has proceeded apace in many countries, population has been regulated more or less efficiently by human foresight, except among the very poorest and most ignorant. Nevertheless, the working class instead of merging with the capitalist, stands opposed to it in organised hostility. Several reasons might be pointed out, but to fully answer the question would require a complete analysis of modern economic and political development. The "round-about" process of production has made it possible to use, economically, vast quantities of capital, and the decline of the rate of profits has been postponed. Again, the development of the backward parts of the earth has absorbed, profitably, a large share of the surplus capital, and has likewise postponed the arrival of the "Stationary State." Enormous quantities of capital have been and are being used up in national rivalries or actual warfare. Moral improvement has not appeared along with the rising

standard of comfort, and society has not developed the necessary basis for social action.

"Hence the conclusion both from experience and general reasoning is that coöperation is not likely to revolutionise the social order. It may grow considerably in some of the ancillary occupations already carried on with success. But the hopes entertained a generation ago by many economists, that it was only in the first stages of a far reaching development are, now cherished by few."\*

The laborers have sought their interests not through industrial peace but war, and consequently the essentially militant trade-union, or the essentially socialistic labor-party has taken the place of the anticipated coöperative society. Social reformers have been enlisted to labor legislation, public ownership and operation, and socialism, either opportunist or scientific, as the surest means of removing the inequalities and injustice of the present régime.

V

Having completed this analysis of Mill's social policy, it remains only to ask, are these

principles and specifics capable of any useful application in this country? It is hardly necessary to advocate his general principles. His object was social betterment, and his methods, while not purely opportunist, nevertheless acknowledged the value of opportunism. He was willing to support any effort in the direction of reform, provided it was just and promised to be effectual. Social reform was an instinct in him, not a mere sentiment. His religion was the cause of humanity, and that cause was to be furthered by following the great precept of utilitarianism, "the greatest good to the greatest number." Logically, therefore, he identified his religion with the cause of the laboring class, for in that class was to be found ninety percent or more of the people of England. What other logic obtains at the present time, in this or any other country? There is no escape from it, except through the subversion of the social in the purely selfish individual interests. To advocate the cause of any individual, class, or superstition as against society as a whole is to do violence to the cause of humanity.

But to answer the question which we have already propounded it is necessary to analyse the economic and social condition of modern Japan, and particularly of the common people.

Japan is in the midst of an industrial revolution. The transition from the domestic to the factory system of manufactures is in progress, and will continue for many years. The difficulties of the situation for the laboring man are very great. Under the most favorable circumstances the problems of adjustment, the losses and uncertainties of which mainly fall upon the poor, must be very great. No modern country has as yet recovered from the effects of its industrial revolution. In Japan the unavoidable difficulties of the transition are aggravated by the pressure of extremely heavy taxation, the result of war-debts and militarism in general, and by the total lack of legislation for the protection of labor, or organisation among the laborers for that purpose. On the other hand capital is strongly entrenched in a system of guilds. The conditions, therefore, exist which will inevitably produce a maximum of inequality as between the rich and idle and the poor and laboring-man, unless some effectual preventive measures are immediately adopted. There is the utmost need that the Government, the capitalists, and the laborers themselves, with the experience of the whole world before them, should turn seriously to solve this problem of labor in relation to the factory system.

A state of transition is likewise to be found in the social organisation of the country. The patriarchal-feudal condition of society is no longer possible. The family organisation has been weakening as the result of the movement of population to the industrial cities, and the removal of the jurisdiction of the head of the family by the Civil Code. In another generation this element of stability shall have completely disappeared from among the poor, at any rate. The breaking down of the old religious system has already occurred, and the want of anything to take its place has left society without one of the most powerful forces making for stability. So far the most conspicuous results of the loosening of the purely social bonds has been to give rein to the selfish instincts of the people; a carnival of the crudest kind of exploitation of society by its more unscrupulous members, curbed only by the police, is going on.

The political rights of the common people, guaranteed by the Constitution, have been reduced by law practically to zero, while their duties have been rigidly exacted. The franchise is loaded with property and other qualifications, which effectively prevent the masses from voting at any kind of an election, whether for members of Parliament or the Local Assemblies. The powers of the representative bodies are so limited as to prevent even the enfranchised few from exercising any effective control over the Administration. The discussion of the affairs of State is generally prevented by police regulation. The press is not free to discuss topics of current interest, if the police censorship deems such a course inexpedient. The education which political discussions furnish in a democracy is denied to the laborer in Japan. The stability which comes from the consciousness of the possession of political rights and responsibilities is lacking, for without rights there can be no responsibilities that are spontaneously recognized.

Moral anarchy is usually the concomitant of unsound social and political conditions. Political absolutism, the rule of the privileged over the masses, whether under constitutional forms, a phenomenon which has become common since 1850, or not, militates against the growth of a free educated public opinion, and without such a body of opinion there can be no moral sanction controlling human conduct. Patriotism and filial piety may be sufficient as guides for the individual in his outward relations to the State and the members of his own family, but they furnish little or no direction for conduct towards outsiders. Where patriotism and filial piety are elevated to the point of

neglecting the homelier virtues there is bound to be moral anarchy.

Generally speaking, the present state of Japan, *mutatis mutandis*, is fairly comparable to that of the England which Mill knew and for which he wrote. The problems of Japan today are practically those which Mill recognised as requiring solution in his day, viz., the problems of the common people:—material improvement, social and moral stability, and political enfranchisement. Those problems are certainly existent in modern Japan. How are they to be solved? Certainly not by any negative policy of perpetuating the old forms of absolutism, under no matter what new institutions, but by a positive policy of progress in every department of national activity. Material betterment can only be hoped for by making the productive processes more productive, by increasing the social income. Large-scale production must be extended into all industries which permit of the use of machinery. If the people are to consume more, more must be produced, and if an increasing population is to be sustained upon an ever rising plane of comfort, not only must the absolute production, but the product per unit of labor and capital, be increased. Still further, if the improvement in the arts is to result in anything but an augmenting of the possessions of

of those already rich, and greater inequality as between rich and poor, there must be introduced into distribution a "principle of justice." Left to the free play of competition, upon any sensible analysis of human nature, distribution will not be regulated by justice, but by the interest of the stronger, the capitalist. The State must, therefore, intervene and do what it can by means of legislation to strengthen the struggling cause of the poor.

The purely opportunist features of Mill's policy, emigration and a limited peasant-proprietorship, do not appeal to students of Japanese economic and social problems. Emigration has been tried, and in so far as the stream was directed toward America, it became a cause of friction between the two nations and had to be stopped; in so far as it was directed into the island of Formosa, it has proved a failure mainly because of the subtropical climate of that colony. In so far as it is being directed into Korea, it is too early to judge of results. The Japanese laborer, however, does not make a successful colonist; he cannot forget his native land, and looks upon emigration as an exile, to be endured only if it holds out the prospect of sufficient gain upon which ultimately to retire to and live at ease in Japan. He is in reality an exploiter, not a genuine emigrant. Nor does



peasant-proprietorship hold out any promise of better things in the future. In fact it is generally admitted that such a form of land tenure has already developed to an extreme in this country. Agriculture in Japan is not relatively as productive per unit of labor as in western countries, and some students maintain that the explanation is to be found in the predominance of small-holdings and *petite-culture*. \*

Where then is the remedy to be found, if not in these specifics? In a national poor-law, or in a series of municipal poor-laws, following the example of Osaka? Not if the results are to be the same as in England. In a National Medical Charity? Not if that means that the laborer has to become a pauper before he can enjoy its benefits. Such expedients do little or nothing to solve the problems of poverty. Charity of all kinds is rather a cause than a preventive of chronic poverty. Whatever measures are adopted, they must have as their ultimate consequences an increase, not a diminution, of independence and self-help in the people. To prevent the necessity of helping any man by enabling him to help himself was Mill's ideal of social reform. To supply

\* Sale, *Some Statistics of Japan*, Part IV, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. April, 1911.

the conditions for a rising standard of living was the aim of his social policy. To give the laborer a chance to make his life not only more comfortable but more productive; to increase his activity by more food, more leisure, more education, more optimism, and more sense of his usefulness to the nation, that must remain the ultimate purpose of all social policy as well as the essence of rational living. The "productive life" is the ideal, and that ideal is to be attained not through charities of any kind, but by making ignorance and poverty impossible.

To realize or to begin the process of realizing this productive life for the people of Japan, a new policy must be inaugurated. Since the basis of human life is economic, the first item of such a policy must be a greater national income, which may be secured by improvements in the technique and organization of industry. That the increase of the national income may result in a rising standard of living among the masses, the proportion distributed to the laborers must be increased. Distribution may be improved by legislation; not only adequate factory laws with provision for their enforcement, but laws providing for insurance against sickness, accidents, old-age, and even unemployment, and laws procuring a legal status for organized labor. The Government

assisted by organised labor could secure such a distribution of the national income as between capitalists, business managers, and workmen as would enable the great majority of the people to live well above the poverty line and independent of charity. But to secure the proper use of this increased proportion of the national income, the cumulative effects of which are so important, still other measures would be necessary. A broader basis for education must be secured. A system of education should provide the masses of the people not only with the elements of useful knowledge, but with an ethical standard, of which not only loyalty and filial-piety, but honesty, courage, and public spirit should form a part, for such virtues are essential to social and national stability. Again, in order that the great mass of the people may become fitted for the exercise of the highest civic virtues, it is necessary to bestow the franchise upon an increasing number, until every citizen, except the mentally and morally unfit, shall have a voice in the government of the country. Not only must the franchise be extended, but the organic laws, which determine the powers of the representative bodies in the Central and Local Government, should be revised so as to bestow upon those bodies the control of the Administration, and thus repose in the electorate the responsibility for

government of the country. At the same time, in order that such responsibility may be reasonably borne, complete liberty of holding meetings and discussing political questions, both on the platform and in the press, must be granted. Such political reforms would create a nation of citizens educated beyond the fears and follies inherent in ignorance, living the productive life and consequently beyond the reach of poverty and its long train of hardships and vices, possessing the essentials of social stability, and enjoying widely dispersed political responsibility as a guarantee of national power and dignity.