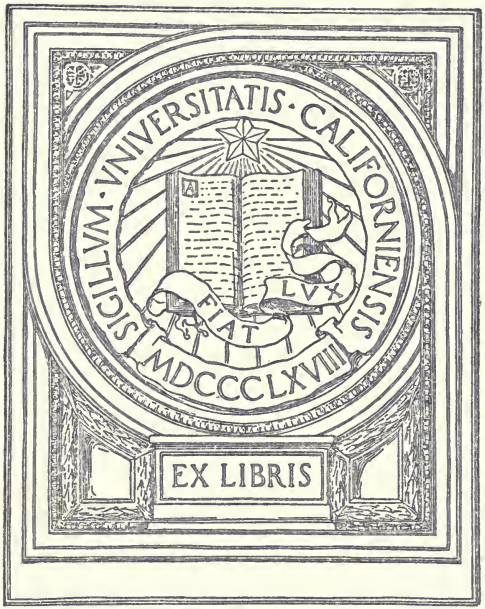
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HIS MAJESTY, EMPEROR MEIJI

Who gave the Constitution to his people.
Died July 30, 1912.

—This photo was taken Oct. 1911—

EVOLUTION
OF
POLITICAL PARTIES
IN JAPAN

A SURVEY OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS

By

HENRY SATOH

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"The Steel Bible of Bushido," etc.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

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14. Count Taisuke Itagaki.

PREFACE

AN apology is due to the readers of this little book for the boldness of the author to publish it in the present form without first submitting the copy to be read by any of his friends with whom English is the mother tongue. The publisher's wish had to be consulted which left no time to get an assistance from any of the author's English or American friends who are all very busy in their respective lines of profession.

The author humbly ventures to hope, however, that whatever etymological or idiomatic violations he may be guilty of, may not seriously affect the sense to the extent of making it totally unintelligible.

The book aims at giving only a bare outline of the developments of modern political thoughts and ideas in this country, and if it should be found to be of any assistance, however slight, to those following the course of political evolutions in Japan through the

medium of the English language, the author's task will have been amply repaid.

With the most sincere apology, again, for the violence the noble language in which this book is written has suffered at the hand of the author, this little volume is humbly presented to the public.

Tokio THE AUTHOR.

June 1914

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EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN

A SURVEY OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS

FIRST PERIOD

PRELUDE TO THE NEW REGIME.

When the last of the Tokugawa Shogun abdicated and returned the ruling power to the Throne in 1868, the new Imperial Government popularly known as the Meiji Government, with the young Emperor at its head, and inexperienced crowd of officials newly invested with authority, found itself very badly equipped for the great work expected of the new regime. Those political agitators from the clans of Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa and Hizen, who had some

political ideas, being men of ordinary Samurai class were entirely deficient of social standing sufficient to command respect in those days when birth counted most. Those who could claim high birth like the upper class of the Court Officials and the Daimios, were entirely ignorant of requirements of the new order now introduced by the restoration of ruling power to the Throne. Among the Court Officials, however, such names as Prince Sanjo and Prince Iwakura were found, who though not possessed of administrative experience were men of superior mind, and this was also true of Prince Shimazu of the Satsuma clan. Around these men was gathered a group of intelligent politicians principally from the four clans above named. A sort of Cabinet was organized in this manner, and when they began to set the flywheel of the government in motion, they found that the organization was still deficient of dignity and power; and in order to give weight to the political measures which were well nigh subversive of the old order, and consequently required a very great influence to support them, they hit upon

a plan to secure national confidence in their work. The plan was the publication of Imperial oath promising to place the government upon basis of public opinion. This was the precursor of the constitutional form of government for the Empire.

THE IMPERIAL OATH.

The Imperial oath when translated is as follows :—

1. Assembly for wide representation shall be organized, and the state affairs decided by public opinion.

2. People, high and low, shall unite their efforts to promote the national welfare.

It shall be necessary to make success attend the work of civil and military service and of people in general, so that the public may keep their confidence undisturbed.

3. Of old customs such as are objectionable shall be expunged and everything shall be based on the principle pervading through the Heaven and the Earth, while the principle pervading throughout the

universe shall constitute the foundation of the state.

4. Wisdon and Knowledge shall be sought of the countries of the world and the Imperial foundation shall be strengthened thereby.

5. In effecting the reformation unprecedented in our country, we hereby set the first example before the public, and take an oath before the Deities of the Heaven and of the Earth, thereby expecting to establish firmly this national polity, and realize complete protection for the people in general. We command and expect our subjects to unite their efforts for the accomplishment of the objects herein indicated. (Dated the 14th day of the 3rd month, 1868).

ORIGIN OF THE OATH DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN.

Judging by the political writings of those days, it is very difficult to find any trace of political ideas from which one could conclude that this famous oath was initiated by a foresight clearly anticipating the necessity of the representative form of government for

the new Japan. The idea of representation existed in the mind of the politicians only in a very vague manner, the popular sentiment toward the Emperor in those days was very different from what it is nowadays. The Emperor was a personage too exalted and sacred to concern himself with the work of the lower nature such as that of the government. Theoretically all authority emanated from the Throne; but practically for hundred of years the country was ruled and governed by the most powerful to whom the Throne had to endow its sanction to administer the government. History shows also that the person to whom had been delegated the ruling authority used to be one of high birth, of one possessed of strong military support, or one provided with both of the above qualification. None of the Meiji politicians except Sanjo, Iwakura and Shimazu could boast of a high birth.

The followers of the retired Shogun consisting of the Daimios and of his direct followers, the Shogun Guards, were a forminable military power ready to rise against the new Government, if there be a leader

sufficiently influential to unite them under one banner. The Imperial Councillors were only upstarts in the eyes of the Daimios and of the Samurais in general. Confronted with such obstacles, it was only natural that they would resort to every means whereby the new excutive could safeguard itself against opposition. The fundamental principle underlying the Imperial authority in Japan is autocracy, pure and simple. The action of the new Government in persuading the young Emperor to take the oath above refered to, might be treated as an act of treason when judged only by the stern principle embodied in the heaven-born authority and prerogative of the Emperor.

In the midst of the great confusion attending the transfer of the administrative authority, and at a time when the whole country might be involved in a great civil war, no measure was illegal or inexecusable which would inspire the nation with confidence and keep the country at peace. It is not too much to say that the seed of the constitutional form of government was sown almost by chance in the midst of

political confusions which afterward proved to be of so great a benefit to the whole nation.

It is very doubtful whether the government which drafted the oath for Imperial sanction had any idea in their heads as to the form and manner in which the so-called public opinion was to be consulted. Anyhow the Emperor had been committed to the forfeiture of his autocratic authority, and it now remained with the officials of the Government to deal with this delicate question. On the solution of this grave problem depended the rise or fall of the new Japan. It is true that through the Dutch literaaure, an idea of popular representation in the government had been vaguely introduced, and an example had been set by the weakened Shogunate when pressed by foreign questions to invite the opinions of the Daimios. This action of the Yedo Government (or Shogunate) was only an outcome of its weakness. It was done in order to evade the responsibility. Instead of acting up to the autocratic authority invested in the Shogun, his government attempted to make the Daimios share the responsibility of opening the

country to foreign intercourse. When the country was closed to foreigners in the seventeenth century, neither the Throne nor the Daimios were consulted. The Shogunal authority was sufficient to take any action in the administration of the country. Nothing was illegitimate for the Shogun in his administrative acts. The weakened state of the Shogunal power naturally opened a way for a form of popular representation and this fact coupled with a vague idea imported through the study of Dutch literature of the representative form of the government which was utilized as a measure to inspire confidence to the people for the new government that it will not resort to arbitrary aetions, the embryo of the constitutional government was planted as early as the date of the famous oath.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

If by a political party is simply meant the grouping of men of similar ideas and opinions over political affairs, Japan was not without its prototype especially

toward the end of the Tokugawa Government when the question of foreign relations came up. But the political party as it is understood in a constitutional country possessed of a political platform, never existed in Japan until 1881 when the Imperial proclamation for establishing the national assembly was promulgated. But the grouping of politicians according to their political views always existed in the history of Japan. It must be remembered, however, that the feudal system of Japan with the autocratic Shogun at the head of the administration almost stifled the development of political views and ideas of the people in general. The policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate was such that while its power remained intact, every effort of a political nature undertaken by anybody but the Government itself was at once stifled and suppressed.

But toward the beginning of the nineteenth century the Shogunal Government began visibly to wane, and in the middle of last century, the question of foreign relations served as the occasion for manifesting, in a material form, the two great political camps

of the exclusionists and of the open policy. Another group of politicians also came into existence, the Imperialists or the anti-Shogunal followers. This naturally called into existence their opponents grouped as the Pro-Shogunals.

Just about the middle of the last century, the above four got mixed up. The anti-Shogunals who had for their object, the overthrow of the Tokugawa Government sided with the Exclusionists whose platform was naturally very popular in those days. The clash of interests and of sentiments resulted in the great political commotion throughout the Empire. When Commodore Perry renewed his visit to Japan, the country was a veritable hotbed of political intrigues. It is almost a miracle that the nation could have emerged out of so great a national commotion and disturbance without a long and serious civil war.

The Imperialists or anti-Shogunals gained the day, and they did not hesitate to sever completely their relations with the Exclusionists. The Imperialists now in power with the Emperor restored to the virtual rulership of the country, the fashion of pub-

licly enlisting oneself in a political camp gradually died out, so that with the opening of the Meiji Government, there no more existed Imperialists, Exclusionists, anti-Shogunals, or Pro-Shogunals.

SECOND PERIOD

UNIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATION DAIMIOS FORFEITED THEIR AUTONOMY

The next serious problem confronting the Meiji politicians was the unification and centralization of the governing authority. The abdication of the Shogun had nothing to do with the authority of local administration invested in all the Daimios. The retired Shogun was now one of the Daimios in the three provinces of Suruga, Totomi and Mikawa. The Daimios were autocrats in their respective territories, the only difference being the size and extent of their dominion. With the restoration of the Emperor to actual power the only change in the form of the government was that of the person of the Suzerain. The position occupied by the Shogun was now filled directly by the Throne. Consequently the full concentration of the ruling power in the Throne could

not be effected without depriving the Daimios of their autonomic authority in their own provinces. The Crown at that time was not powerful enough to order the Daimios to give up their traditional prestige. Difficult and, in many ways, dangerous as the question was, it was absolutely necessary to effect it, if the Restoration of the Throne to power was intended to mean anything. It was not wise, if not dangerous, for the government to take the initiative in solving the problem. The only way possible was to persuade the Daimios, or some of the most powerful, to surrender the autonomy at their own initiative. The delicate task was boldly undertaken with a miraculous success. Such great Daimios as the Satsuma, Choshu, and Hizen clan surrendered their territorial prerogative to the Throne at their own request, and this great and important event was accomplished as early as 1871, and the Daimios were now entitled the Kwazoku or Peers. The present form of local administration by Prefectural Governors appointed by the central Government now replaced the old system of Daimiates, and the new

government began to breathe easy when this work of almost unprecedented magnitude in point of difficulty was effected.

In some respects, it was a work of far greater difficulty and importance than the overthrow of the Shogunal authority. While with inauguration of the new government, the study of western science was most assiduously encouraged, the government never found itself so free to devote its energy for advancing education and promoting national welfare as after the feudal princes, the Daimios, had surrendered their autonomy.

WESTERN SCIENCE INTRODUCED

Of the different branches of learning of the West, none was so popular as the study of the Science of Government. The students in those days were almost exclusively of the Samurai class and their propensity was naturally toward the political subjects.

Rouseau and Montesquiu were eagerly studied, while Bentham and Mill commanded a very wide following. Democratic ideas came to be gradually

implanted in the minds of those who would lead the public opinion. The popular representation in the Government was the theme of the day. Both in and out of the Government, the democratic ideas came to be deeply rooted.

FIRST GOVERNMENT CRISIS CRY FOR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Toward the close of 1873, the first Cabinet crisis of the new government occured. It was over the Korean question. A Japanese warship had been bombarded by the Korean fort at Kanghoa. The Cabinet was divided into two camps of war and peace. The former was led by the Elder Saigo, and the latter by Okubo, the Home Minister. The war party resigned, and among them were Itagaki and Eto, the latter of whom raised a rebellion in the year following but it was readily suppressed.

The dissenters were not idle after they left the office. A memorable memorandum demanding establishment of a popular assembly was prepared by them and presented to the Government in 1874.

The memorandum was signed by such brilliant names in the annals of the new Japan as Itagaki, Goto, Soyejima, etc.

The government lost no time in meeting with this popular demand, and in the year following (1875) the local governors were convened to Tokyo in conference.

The local governors being government officials, their conference can hardly be considered a popular representation, but the departure thus made by the central government in opening an access for local representation was a significant fact showing the sincerity of the authorities in giving fullest consideration to the local demands and requirements. Though represented by government officials, this meeting of the governors deserves to be looked upon as a step forward for popular representation in the government of the country.

From 1875 to the outbreak of the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, the Government authorities were busy paving the way for remodelling the organs of the government on modern basis by adopting the

Occidental system as far as practicable. The politicians out of office were pushing forward the agitation for constitutional form of government.

Newspapers were started and edited by young men who had imbibed political ideas through the study of French, English and American writers, and they bent their energies in representing the new government as being only a successor of the old dispensation, and thus prejudicing popular sentiment against the authorities. "The government for the people, and the government by the people" was the keynote of the political agitators. The attack against the government sometimes grew to a dangerous point, when the attention of the public was diverted by the outbreak of the Satsuma Rebellion.

SUPPRESSION OF POLITICAL AGITATIONS

Political agitations of any form were drastically suppressed by the government, and the attention of the people came to be concentrated on the outcome of the civil war in Satsuma.

The Satsuma Rebellion was pregnant of dangers against the Government, for its sympathizers were to be found in various parts of the Kiushiu Island, and also in Tosa. Their sympathies, however, were based not upon any political principle, but principally on sentiment of hatred and jealousy against those in authority. Count Mutsu, who has endeared himself in the memory of his compatriots as the successful diplomat by whom the treaties with foreign Powers were revised on equal footing whereby national humiliation of having foreign consular jurisdiction in the land was completely wiped out, was among the sympathizers of the Satsuma Rebellion. He was arrested and put in jail.

The suppression of the Satsuma Rebellion was followed by a period of a renewed political agitation. Cries for establishment of national assembly now began to be heard throughout the Empire. An association was organized under the name of Kokkai-Kisei-Domei-Kai, the literal translation of which is national-assembly-demanding-association. Memorials and representations were poured into the

government calling for a speedy organization of national representation.

The Government as already explained was not blind to the necessity of organizing a constitutional form but it was impossible to comply with the popular wish at once. The longer the popular demand was left apparently unnoticed, the stronger became the opposition. In 1879 we find twenty political associations in the western parts of the Empire, while there were four of the similar association in the north-eastern part. They organized a joint meeting of the political associations in Osaka and passed a resolution for holding in the same city in March 1880, a mass meeting of the democratic politicians for demanding establishment of national assembly. It was also resolved to divide the whole Empire into ten sections to each of which propagandists of the national assembly movement were to be dispatched. Thus began a demonstration on a grand scale for uniting the public opinion against what the agitators called the despotic government. The result of this propaganda bore fruits in disseminating political

ideas in the minds of the people who had long been used to look upon politics as something beyond their proper sphere. The number of political associations suddenly increased. The popular agitation now reached almost to climax. Those who attended the mass meeting of politicians in Osaka in March 1880 were over a thousand. Committee was appointed for drafting a memorial to the Throne requesting organization of national assembly. As the first step on the part of the Government for introducing a form of popular representation, prefectural assemblies for local representation had been organized in 1878.

Just at this time, when the agitation reached to such a point, the government began to be apprehensive about the consequence of the political agitation, and promulgated new regulations governing political meetings, and the Osaka meeting was ordered to be dissolved. But the dissolution had very little effect, for the meeting had practically completed its business when the order was issued. This act on the part of the government only served as another evidence of despotism and added a considerable

weight to the propaganda of the political agitators.

The government also refused to transmit the memorial to the Throne when it was presented by the committee in April 1880, and in this way the feeling of opposition began to grow at every step.

OPPOSITION GROWING IN MAGNITUDE

There was every fear of the government alienating itself from popular sympathy. Several of the notorious agitators were put in jail, but their preaching had already reached far and wide.

Among the ministers and councillors of the Government, opinions were divided as to the time of opening the national assembly. Some would have it indefinitely postponed, while Okuma was for quickly complying with the popular demand. But this was at a time when it was not yet decided by the Government as to the form of constitution to be introduced, and it was impossible to establish a parliament so speedily as the popular politicians demanded. Moreover, the suppression of the Satsuma Rebellion remarkably strengthened the power and

influence of the military party in the government, and the influence of purely civil service like Okuma, Ito, and Inouye were somewhat discounted, so that a want of union and harmony among the ministers began to exist.

OFFICIAL CORRUPTION EXPOSED

Just at this juncture, the Tokyo Nichi-nichi Shimbun exposed an official corruption of a grave nature which was connected with the sale by the Government of a tract of land in the Hokkaido. This was in 1881. The government was severely censured and attacked through the columns of daily papers and at public meetings. The agitation was followed by a disruption in the Cabinet, for Okuma was obliged to resign. The actual reason of his resignation is still a secret. Some say that it was because he persuaded the Emperor during his trip to the North-Eastern provinces to issue a rescript for establishing national assembly as early as 1883, while some say that it was because Okuma was outspoken in his censure of the Hokkaido chief who

was one of the ministers (Kuroda by name) and was suspected of having encouraged the popular demonstration against the government. Count Okuma himself remains silent on this point even till this day.

FANATIC KILLS HIMSELF IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ISSUED FOR ESTABLISHING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The friction between the government and the people aggravated with the progress of time. A fanatic committed suicide in the orthodox fashion of the Samurai tradition in front of the entrance to the office of the Imperial Cabinet, pleading with his life a speedy organization of the national assembly, and this frantic act was committed after repeated refusals of the government authorities to receive memorials of the politicians demanding establishment of an assembly of popular representation. Now it was time for the government to take action to placate the enraged populace. On the 12th of October 1881, the same year in which Okuma was obliged to resign, the famous Imperial Rescript announcing the

opening of the Diet in 1890 was promulgated. The issue of this Rescript had the desired effect in pacifying the popular indignation.

Now, the politicians whose energy had been devoted heretofore in bringing pressure upon the Government for hurrying the establishment of national assembly, began to direct their attention to a more concrete and systematic movement, and it is at this period of Japan's history that we find political associations gradually approaching the character of a political party as the term is now understood in constitutional countries.

BIRTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The name Jiyuto (or Radical party) was first adopted when the Aikokusha (or Patriotic Corporation) was dissolved at its own accord in autumn of 1880. It was then placed under management of Central Committee of five with branches in local districts. A year afterward a joint meeting of the Jiyuto and the National-Assembly-Demanding-Association was held, and the latter was then

PRINCE HIROBUMI ITO
Who drafted the Imperial Constitution, and
was appointed the Speaker of the House
of Peers at the First Session.
Assassinated at Harbin,
October 26, 1909.

amalgamated into the newly organised Jiyuto.

The organization of the party now consisted of President, Vice-President, Councillors, etc. At the first ballot, Count Goto was elected the president, but there being some who strongly opposed his election, he resigned, and Count Itagaki was elected.

The motive of those who helped the election of Count Goto to the Presidency was because they knew that Goto being a very close friend of Mr. Fukuzawa, the Sage of Mita, he would bring over to the newly organized party, the numerous and influential following of the famous educator. But this scheme having been frustrated by the resignation of Count Goto, Mr. Fukuzawa's followers organized a party by themselves, and they further extended their hand to Count Okuma's following, and the two combined assumed the name of the Kaishinto, or the Progressives. This was in 1881.

At first, the two Parties had no intention of standing in opposition against each other; but very shortly after the organisation of the parties, they began to altenate themselves and finally became hostile parties.

With the issue of the Imperial Rescript of 1881 ordering establishment of Diet in 1890, two political parties came into existence, the Radicals or Liberals and the Progressives, the former led by Count Itagaki, and the latter by Count Okuma. With the pacification of the national disaffection by the issue of the Rescript, came a period of lively discussion of the different theories respecting the nature of the State. Rouseau's followers naturally advocated a theory totally subversive of the tradition and history of the Empire. The followers of Bentham, Mill, and Todd would insist on introducing the principle of the State sovereignty in the coming Constitution. The conservatives who were chiefly found among the Government officials became somewhat frightened at the public enunciation of such principles, both of which were totally at variance with the fundamental polity of the Empire. A comparative study of the constitutions of different nations by the government authorities, led them to see that the German system was the only available form which could be adopted in Japan. The principle of the state sovereignty found its ardent

advocate in Count Okuma and his following, while among the Radicals, there were found many who would not be satisfied with anything short of a purely republican principle. The Progressives had the bulk of intelligence and wealth, while the Radicals were looked upon as well equipped with physical vigour ready to assume acts of violence.

PRINCE ITO SENT TO GERMANY TO STUDY CONSTITUTION

It having been observed by the government that the German system was more adoptable, Prince Ito was ordered by the Emperor to proceed to Germany to make neccessary investigations for the great step the country was going to take as indicated in the Imperial Rescript of 1881.

Ito with his staff of secretaries left Japan for Germany in 1884, and the result of his studies and investigations showed itself in the year following (1885) in the reorganization of the Cabinet on modern system, himself assuming the Premiership. With the co-operation and assistance of the late Viscount

Inouye, and Viscount Miyoji Ito, the present constitution of seventy-six articles with corollary laws and regulations were drafted.

VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO GERMAN SYSTEM

The adoption by the government of the German principle was a target of violent attacks by the Progressives as well as by the Radicals. Some of the latter party attempted to overthrow the government by force. The enmity and prejudice against the authorities having been assiduously preached, especially by the Radicals of the North Eastern Provinces, led by Mr. Hironaka Kono, who afterward was the Speaker of the Lower House in 1903, a report of reassessment of land tax by the government was about to cause a popular rising. It was, however, prevented by sudden arrest of Mr. Kono and his imprisonment in December 1882. It might be mentioned in this connection to show how the Rousseaunian idea got hold of some of the Radicals, that Count Itagaki during his political tour in 1881 was assaulted

and wounded at Gifu by one of his own party. The assassin claimed that the attitude of the Count and his followers toward the Government was not sufficiently violent. It was on this occasion that the famous saying of the Count was expressed: "Though Itagaki die, yet Liberty will continue to live." He then came to be held up by young and radical thinkers as the Hero of Freedom.

RADICAL PARTY DISSOLVED OKUMA RESIGNS LEADERSHIP OF PROGRESSIVES

The power and influence of the Radicals began to wane with the imprisonment of Mr. Kono, which was soon followed by going abroad of Count Itagaki and Goto, early in 1883. On their return home in the following year, Count Itagaki convened a general meeting of his party in Osaka in October 1884 and passed the resolution for dissolving the Party. Thus political association well-known for its radical views, went out of existence at its own accord without the least pressure from outside. The real cause of the

dissolution is shrouded in darkness, the only explanation given so far being the futility of attempt to overthrow the government without a new front and a renewed attempt under a fresh outfit.

During the time of strong agitations both by the Radicals and the Progressives, the Government lost no opportunity whenever and wherever available to take advantage of the hostile rivalries of both parties for weakening and exhausting their energies. Some believe that Count Itagaki's expense for going abroad was borne indirectly by the government. There is no gainsaying of the fact that Itagaki's presence in the country was objectionable to the government authorities on account of the anti-government agitation conducted by him.

The dissolution of the Radical Party was shortly followed by the resignation of Count Okuma from the Presidency of the Progressives. In this way, the heads of the two great parties were induced in a manner not yet satisfactorily explained to the public to sever their relations with the parties under their leadership.

OKUMA AS FOREIGN MINISTER
TREATY REVISION

In 1888 we find Count Okuma again in the Cabinet as the Foreign Minister. Okuma's name never shone with greater brilliancy abroad than at this time, and he was known as a strong man. He had the great work of effecting the revision of treaties with America and the countries of Europe. Count Inouye had at tempted the work and made a miserable failure, and the public naturally expected much of the new minis ter known for his strong determination.

After repeated negotiations the great work was nearly consummated, and the text of the new treaty was published in the "Times," London evidently for feeling the pulse of the other Treaty Powers. The treaty contained a clause for establishing a mixed court like the one now existing in Shanghai where the Chinese and foreign Judges sit in conference. When the existence of this clause came to be known by the government authorities, a furious opposition was started against it. The public was kept ignorant

until it was published in the "Times," and once it was made known, the humiliation of admitting foreign judge in Japanese court was unbearable to Japan's *amour propre*. The cry of "Down with the humiliation" was echoed and re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of the whole Empire. The Progressives alone supported Okuma and afterward suffered heavily on that account. The opposition culminated in a fanatic throwing a bomb at Count Okuma's carriage, wounding him in his leg, while the assailant killed himself on the spot with a dagger. Okuma resigned, and the revision of the Treaties was suspended which Count Mutsu took up some years afterward.

In supporting their old chief, Count Okuma, in his work of revising the treaties, the Progressives were very naturally held up as a corporation of men who would not hesitate to sacrifice national honour and interest. Some of the ultra-conservatives would condemn them as traitors. This was certainly a severe blow to the Party and it took many years before they regained their old influence.

VISCOUNT TAKESHI INOUYE
Who assisted Prince Ito in drafting the text of the Constitution. Died March 15, 1895.

NEW PARTY STARTED

The waning of the power of the Progressives and the dissolution of the Radicals, however, did not leave the stage entirely to the government, for the dissolution of the latter party was soon followed by the rise of a new corporation of politicians under the leadership of Count Goto. It was called Daidodan-ketus, or Combination of those agreeing in principal points. But the Count did not remain long in the corporation, for he accepted a seat in the Cabinet in 1888 as the Minister of Communications, and the cohesive power of the party gradually diminished.

A proposal was made by a political association of Kiushu, known also as Kaishinto (or Progressives) to effect amalgamation of all parties and corporations into one popular camp of opposition to the government. This was in 1889 the year preceding the opening of the Diet. The negotiations favorably proceeded and was wellnigh consummated, but the feeling against the Progressives was still too strong to admit them into the union, and moreover the dif-

ficulty of selecting a proper name for the new party caused the scheme to collapse. Such was the state of the political world of Japan, when the Constitution was promulgated amid the enthusiastic reception throughout the whole Empire.

THIRD PERIOD

CONSTITUTION PROMULGATED

The Constitution was given by the Emperor in person amid great ceremony to Count Kuroda as the Prime Minister on the 2549th anniversary of Accession of the First Emperor to the Throne, February 11th 1889.

This memorable day, however, was marred with a very sad event, the assassination of Viscount Mori, the Minister of Education, by a fanatic of the ultra-conservative principles.

The ill-fated minister was a man of very advanced views which was shown in his proclivity to ignore old etiquette in his manners. He was charged with having committed the sin of desecration when he visited the Great Temple of Ise. He was dressed in his uniform when the unsuspected assassin was admitted to his presence. The weapon used was a

cooking knife, as if to signify that the victim was too vile and degraded for the use of the sword, the soul of the Samurai. The assassin was at once killed by one of the constables on guard.

THE GROUPS OF POLITICIANS AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE DIET

When the attempt to amalgamate the politicians of the opposition into one group was frustrated, the Kaishinto, or the Progressives, who had supported Count Okuma in his unsuccessful work of the revision of the treaties with the Powers, were completely isolated. The Kiushu Progressives and three other groups of radical tendencies formed a combination called Rikken Jiyuto or Constitutional Radical Party. (It must be noted that the word Jiyuto since came to be translated Liberals).

It would be well to add here that on the dissolution of the Radical Party on the return of Count Itagaki from abroad, the former members of the Party grouped themselves principally into three

companies of the Jiyu-Club, the Aikoku-Koto, and the Saiko-Jiyuto. The first means the Radical or Liberal Club, the second, the Public Association of Patriots, and the third, the Re-organized Radical or Liberal Party. Count Itagaki was the leading spirit of the first named association.

In this manner, the two camps of opposition came into existence and thus organized they went to the first election which was a time of great excitement all aver the Empire.

There were also pro-government politicians who offered themselves for election. They were looked upon as conservatives, and after election, they grouped themselves under the name of Daisei Kai or Association for great purpose. There was also another group of pro-government politicians known as the Kokumin Jiyuto or National Liberals. They consisted of those who had belonged to the Daido-danketsu organized by Count Goto which became afterward an incohesive conglomoration on the appointment of Goto to the chair of Communications. They called themselves the Liberals, but they were

eminently conservative in their views. The name was probably adopted in order to secure popularity, for in those days, the result of anti-government propaganda was visible almost everywhere. These liberals though forming a group by themselves were not prevented from holding membership of the pro-government Daisei-kai or Conservatives.

It is too much to expect to find regular political parties in the true sense of the term at the first session of the Diet. The group of the 300 politicians holding seats in the Lower House at that time were as follows :—

Constitutional Liberals	130 seats
Daiseikai (pro-government) ...	70 seats
Progressives	40 seats
National Liberals	35 seats
Others not belonging to any of the above	25 seats

None of the above groups commanded absolute majority, but it was possible for the two of the opposition, or rather the anti-government members, the Constitutional Liberals and the Progressives to

unite over a certain problem, and defeat the Government's projects.

It must be noted that while the anti-government side was in command of a strong support by the press, the Govornment was almost without any means of publicly defending itself. The only course open was through the columns of some of the papers which were limited both in number and circulation.

On November 29th 1890, the Emperor personally opened the Diet. Prince (then Count) Ito was the President of the House of Peers, and Mr. N. Nakajima, (afterward Baron) the Speaker of the Representatives, while Prince (then Count) Yamagata was the Premier.

This session very naturally concentrated the attention not only of the people of Japan, but also of foreign nations, for doubt had been expressed over the success of this new departure in Japan's statecraft. It was generally believed by foreigners that it was premature to introduce a representative system in Japan, and it was feared that the Diet will only try to cause national disturbance, which would result in obstructing quiet progress and development of her national welfare.

THE BUDGET

Many were the interpellations formulated by the Representatives, and the replies of the Government were far from satisfying the questioners. The real point of dispute, however, was on the Budget which was as follows :—

Total receipts ... ... Yen 80,676,993.421

Total expenditures ... Yen 86,638,714.744

The deliberation took much longer time than allowed for the work in the Rules of the House which is only fifteen days. The Committee on the Budget consisted mostly of the Liberals and Progressives, and after devoting a week more than the regular allowance of time, the committee succeeded in completing the work. Their labor showed a retrenchment of about eight million yen, and when it was reported before the House, the Government naturally expressed opposition to such a drastic reduction of the national expenditures.

The Government supported its position by the 67th article of the constitution which reads: "Those

already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditure as may have arisen by the effect of law, or those that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Imperial Diet without the concurrence of the Government."

A wide gulf having been created between the Government and the House, the Budget instead of being directly put to the House, was committed to the deliberation of the Committee of the whole House. But this caused no alteration in the attitude of the members, and it simply confirmed the work of the Committee on the Budget.

When the Budget was put before the House, the Government suggested the dissolution of the House should the latter insist on the reduction recommended by the Committee. But it produced no effect, and the majority of the House continued to remain firmly opposed to the Government. Thus a complete deadlock occurred and the dissolution of the House seemed to be the only outcome of the situation.

A motion was then put before the House recommending appointment of a special Committee of nine members for the purpose of holding a further conference with the Government on the question of the Budget. This was indeed a remarkable change in the attitude of the Representatives. The motion was carried by a close majority of 150 against 117.

The newly appointed Committee tried to make the Government consent to a reduction of 7½ million yen, but the latter insisted that the limit of reduction permissible was 6,310,000 yen. Finally a compromise was made and the amount of reduction was decided at 6,512,000 in round figures. This result of the conference when put before the House, caused a very great excitement. The orators were chiefly on the side of the opposition, and not a few violent speeches were uttered, and when the motion was finally put to vote, it was passed with a majority of 157 against 125. As for the reduction of the expenditures pertaining to the provision of the 67th article of the Constitution, the Government had already given willing consent to the proposed recom-

mendation of the House. Thus the first session of the Diet made a hair-breadth escape of dissolution by the Emperor. The passing of the Budget by the Lower House naturally portends its treatment at the Upper House where it was passed as amended by the Representatives.

The first session was closed on March 8th 1891. The want of experience and the excited state of the minds of the members made the session full of interest, but the time was mostly spent on discussions of details which could have been avoided. The burning topic next to the Budget was the amendment of the Press Law by the Lower House. It was very hotly contested in the Upper House, and the session having ended, the amendment was laid on the table.

Yamagata resigned on May 6th 1891 and was succeeded by Matsukata, but the other members of the Cabinet remained unchanged.

CZAREVITCH ASSAULTED

Five days after the assumption of the Premiership by Marquis Matsukata the news that the Czarevitch then visiting Japan was assaulted and wounded at Otsu by a policeman in uniform plunged the whole Empire into a state of indescribable commotion. The Emperor personally visited the Czarevitch in Kyoto, and everything was done in order to pacificate the Russians who were very much dreaded both by the Government and the people.

No sacrifice was thought too heavy if a war could be prevented, and Viscount Aoki, the Foreign Minister is believed to have verbally committed to the Russian Minister in Tokyo that the victim of the assault being an Imperial personage, the assailant Tsuda would be sentenced to capital punishment.

INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY DEMONSTRATED

Japan under the Meiji Government has been specially fortunate in having been possessed of "the man

for the occasion" whenever a crisis was reached. A special Court of Justice was opened at Otsu to try the assailant, and the presiding judge, Mr. Tsutsumi instead of yielding to the public expectation both by the Government and the nation at large, judged the case on a purely technical standard, and sentenced the culprit only to life imprisonment. The law of Japan very naturally contains no provision for an offence against an Imperial or Royal personage other than Japanese and the assault on the Czarevitch in the eye of the law was nothing but an assault against ordinary persons, and the punishment meted out to Tsuda was the maximum the law could deal out. In having this judgment passed, Judge Kojima who came down from Tokyo is believed to have been the principal factor in enabling the Court to stand up against general expectation, and that judgment resulted on the resignation of the Foreign Minister, but the Judge Kojima ever remains in the memory of his contemporaries, and also of his posterity, as the ideal judge who had saved the nation from the humiliation of having sacrificed the law of the land

at the altar of political requirements. This was not only a technical point of thrilling importance, but was indeed a land-mark of great prominence in the path of Japan's progress as a constitutional nation. Here the principle of entire independence of the judiciary from the executive was permanently and most conspicuously established. (Judge Kojima died July 1st 1908.)

GOVERNMENT'S ORGAN CREATED

There is another incident which occurred in this year (1891) which should not escape the notice of the student of Japan's progress as a constitutional nation. It is the change of ownership and management of the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shimbun, one of the oldest dailies in Japan. The paper was thus openly converted into a Government organ in order to advocate and elucidate the principle of the Imperial Constitution. The followers of the English school of politicians and of the French, all supported and preached the principle of "the Government for the people and by the people." They would have the

Cabinet directly responsible to the Diet. But the Constitution in Japan makes the Ministers of State responsible to the Throne. The English influence as already stated was very popular, and without an open and able advocate for the Imperial Constitution, there was every sign of the English principle widely spreading in the country. In order to check the spread of that influence which was actually aggravated by the friction between the Government and the Lower House at the first session. Prince Ito and Marquis Inouye succeeded in converting the Nichi-Nichi into a strong advocate of the Imperial Constitution. At first, Viscount Suyematsu and Viscount Miyoji Ito jointly supervised the wording of the paper as far as it was compatible with their official position. They did so by the order of both Ito and Inouye. There were some other papers which stood up for the Government, but none of them was so pronounced and outspoken as the Nichi-Nichi.*

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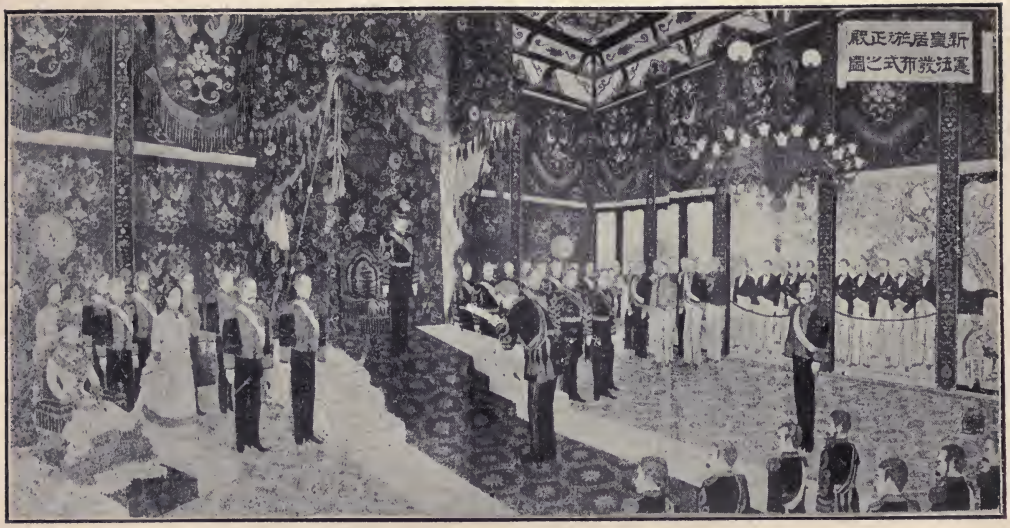
* Note: This paper was bought by Baron Kato in 1904. It again changed hand and is now owned by the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun Company.

In this way, the Government supported its position against the politicians of the English School and this is looked upon as a great departure on the part of the authorities well worthy of a constitutional government. (It must be noted that prior to this, the Nichi-Nichi used to be pro-government under the editorship of the well-known Mr. Fukuchi, the Goldsmith of modern Japan. But it served more as Prince Ito's organ than that of the Government, hence its disclosure of the Hokkaido corruption in which the interests of the Satsuma Clansmen predominated. With the change of management Mr. Fukuchi ceased to be its editor).

The change of the personnel of the Cabinet which was kept in abeyance on account of the Otsu incident was effected on June 1st. Viscount Shinagawa received the portfolio of the Interior. His name is specially mentioned here as he was the central figure of the Government's interference at the next general election of the members of the Lower House.



THE EMPEROR MEIJI PERSONALLY GIVING THE CONSTITUTION THROUGH THE PRIME MINISTER COUNT KURODA

—Reproduced from colour print of Mr. T. Hirose's Collection

THE EMPEROR ON HIS WAY TO THE PLACE OF CELERLATION FOR GRANTING OF THE CONSTITUTION

—Reproduced from colour prints of Mr. T. Hirose's Collection

THE LIBERALS AND THE PROGRESSIVES

During the first session of the Diet, both of the hostile parties found themselves on the same platform. Except some of the liberals who showed an inclination toward the Government which was manifested by their proposal to appoint a special committee for finding a solution for the Budget, all others were anti-Government. The pro-Government members severed themselves from the party and formed dthe Liberals Club.

The Liberals and Progressives were hostile not so much in principle, as in sentiment, and the similar attitued assumed by both parties at the last Session, naturally made an opening for an alliance. On Nov. 8th 1891, Count Itagaki is found in conference with Count Okuma, the actual leader of the Progressives. (Okuma had resigned the Presidency of the Party but remained to be the ruling spirit of that party). This conference of the two statesmen was followed with an understanding which

was patent to anybody that the two parties will unite in their opposition to the Government.

Count Okuma at that time was a Privy Councillor and his conference with the leader of a political party was very strongly condemned both by his colleagues and by the Government, and he was finally prevailed upon to resign his seat in the Privy Council. Now Okuma found himself unhampered by official relations in openly declaring his opposition to the Government.

THE 2ND SESSION OF THE DIET

At the second session of the Diet which was opened on November 26th 1891, the Government had to face the openly allied opposition of the Liberals and the Progressives in the Lower House.

Besides the drastic reduction on the Budget, which was 7,900,000 out of 83,000,000, the House showed hostile attitude toward every one of the important bills. The Government Bills for the nationalization of private railways, the issue of the railway bonds, establishment of Government Iron Works, and

the building of warships were among the most important. The opposition intended to employ its attitude toward these bills and the Budget for demonstrating a want of confidence in the Government. A stormy scene was enacted when the Minister of the Navy, Admiral Kabayama, was addressing the House. The Chair repeatedly called the House to order, but of no avail. Even the Naval Minister himself was too excited to obey the order from the Chair at first. Thus the obstructive attitude having been so clearly demonstrated the Government secured the Imperial Sanction for dissolution, and the House of Representatives was dissolved on December 25th 1891.

OFFICIAL INTERFERENCE AT THE GENERAL ELECTION

The date for the General Election was fixed on February 15th 1892. The dissolution of the House caused a strong popular indignation, and the opposition was determined not only to regain the seats,

but also to increase their number. The campaign was most strenuously conducted.

The Home Minister, Viscount Shinagawa, and his under-Secretary Mr. Shirane, vigorously started official interference against the election of the opposition candidates, while the pro-Government nominees were freely helped with fund. The result was bloodshed in different parts of the country. The statistics show that the total number of killed during the campaign was 25 and the wounded 388. The prefectures of Kochi and Fukushima where the power of the Liberal party was predominant suffered most, the former showing the number of killed to be 10 and wounded 66, and the latter, 3 killed and 65 wounded.

The result of this election was 140 of the allied opposition (Liberals 100 and Progressives 40) besides several of the independents of the anti-Government sympathies, so that the opposition clearly commanded a majority.

The official interference thus showed itself to be a complete failure, and the Home Minister's action

in the general election was very severely condemned on all sides. The result was his resignation, and Count Soyejima was appointed to succeed him.

THE 3RD SESSION

This session being a special one after the dissolution was opened in May 1892, and sat till June 15th. The popular indignation against the official interference at the general election naturally sought its crater at this session. An Address to the Throne impeaching the Government was among the first business before the House. The motion was ably contested on both sides, and it was rejected with a very close majority of 146 against 143. This was followed by a vote of censure in which the opposition secured a majority of 154 against 110. This procedure being called a resolution of the House, it does not assume the form of a direct appeal to the Throne. Thus in this session, an important precedent was established by which the Cabinet was exempted from the obligation to resign even when the vote of censure should pass the Lower House.

In other words, the Cabinet is held responsible to the Throne, and not to the Diet. But morally such Government could not long remain in office, and the Matsukata Cabinet had to give way to Ito and his colleagues.

The new Cabinet consisted very largely of the first class statesmen, Inouye, Kuroda, and Yamagata being in the Cabinet with Ito as the Prime Minister.

THE 4TH SESSION

This session was convened on November 25th 1892. It is the most noteworthy of all the sessions, (both past and future). It was on this occasion when the power and prerogative of the Throne was most clearly and definitely proven to remain intact in spite of the promulgation of the Constitution. The last session demonstrated the fact that the Government was held responsible only to the Throne, and in the session under review, it was shown that the absolute power of the Throne could completely ignore even the right guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Budget contained a considerable expansion of

the Navy and in spite of the most strenuous effort on the part of the Government to secure the concurrence of the House for the Naval programme, the House maintained an obstructive attitude and demanded reduction of 8,850,000 yen out of the total Estimates. After passing the resolution, the House voted a recess of five days for giving time to the Government for reconsideration.

This action on the part of the Lower House was followed by an Imperial Rescript in which the Emperor promised to contribute out of his own purse, 300,000 yen per year for ten years toward the execution of the Naval programme, and he also ordered all the Government Officials to contribute ten per centum of their salary for ten years for the same purpose. From purely juristic standpoint, the official's salary constitutes his right of property and the Article 27 of the Constitution clearly guarantees the same right as "inviolate." But the characteristic peculiarity in the psychology of the Japanese mind anything and everything is subordinated to a word from the Throne. When the Rescript was read before

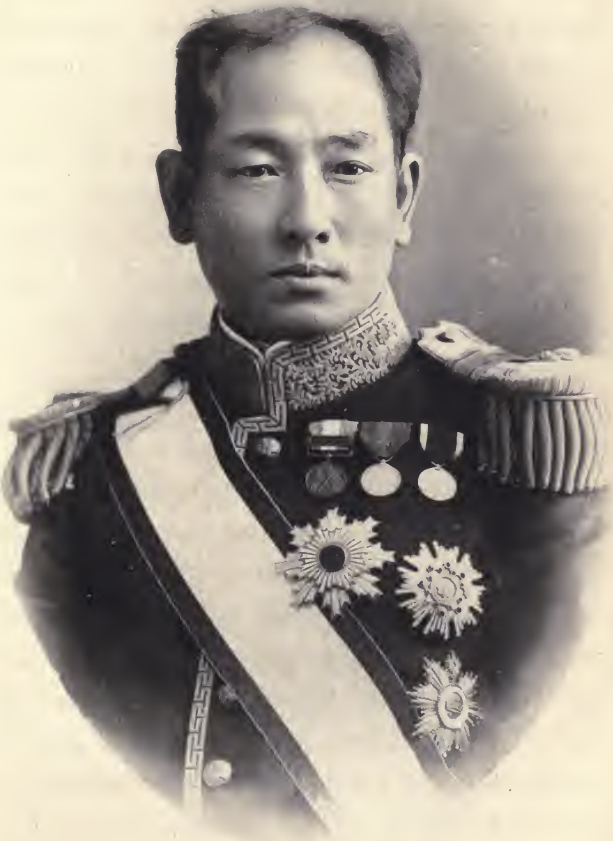
the House, one of the members attempted to criticize it, but was hushed up. The opposition, violent as it was, behaved like a lamb before the Imperial Rescript. A compromise was effected, and the Budget was passed with some reduction. The battleship Fuji and her sister Yashima which was lost in the late war, were the result of this extraordinary appropriation.

THE 5TH SESSION

Convened November 25th and dissolved December 30th 1893.

The Imperial Rescript above mentioned not only cut the Gordian Knot, but it also served as an efficient dose for reflection on the part of the opposition. The Liberal party visibly changed its attitude and ceased to present a violent opposition, but the pro-Government sentiment having been still insufficient to command a clear majority, the House was dissolved by the Imperial Order on December 30th 1893.

Though the House was dissolved, a step forward



VISCOUNT MIYOJI ITO
Who assisted Prince Ito in drafting the text of the Constitution. Now a Privy Councillor.

was realized in effecting a compromise between the Government and one of the political parties whose attitude so far was nothing but an obstructive opposition to the Government. Thus an understanding having been arrived at, it was expected that the opposition would cease to be uncompromising and become milder toward the Government. But this expectation however was destined to take a longer time than at first anticipated.

THE 6TH SESSION

which was a special one was again dissolved on June 2nd 1894. The Address to the Throne impeaching the Government having passed the House the dissolution followed.

The distribution of the seats at this session was Liberals 119, Progressives 48, National Association 26, Reformers 37, Mid-land Progressives 5, Neutrals 5, Japan Association 9, and unattached 51.

The Liberals' attitude continued to be pro-Government but their influence was not sufficient to escape the dissolution.

It should be noted that in this session, the members of the Lower House were divided among numerous groups hardly worth the name of a party, and the anti-Government feelings prevailed with most of them.

THE 7TH SESSION

The 7th Session was convened in Hiroshima on October 15th 1894, when Japan was fighting with China. It was a special session. All the political disputes were completely suppressed. The session lasted only for one week and the Government bills smoothly passed the Diet.

THE 8TH SESSION

The 8th session being in the midst of the war developed on political dispute. The House quite contrary to its tradition passed a resolution to concur with whatever supply the Government demanded, provided the ultimate aim and purpose of the war was attained. It was in this session that the

Government project for Iron Works which was rejected every time since the 3rd session, was quietly passed by the House.

THE 9TH SESSION

December 25th 1895—March 29th 1896

The session is most significant in realizing a formal entente between the Government and the people's representatives. The Liberals as already stated became gradually pro-Government, and in this session the Government for the first time took them into confidence, and the post-bellum budget which was suddenly swollen to 150 million yen was passed by the House with a reduction of only 218,000 yen.

The support of the Liberals was rewarded by the appointment of Count Itagaki as the Home Minister after the Diet was closed. But it must be noted that in consideration of the anti-party feelings of the conservatives, or rather the politicians in office, Count Itagaki was required formally to resign his presidency of the Liberal Party before joining the

Cabinet. The opposition against the principle of a party government was by no means diminished at that time, and the appointment of Itagaki was made possible only by Ito's influence. But Itagaki's admission was generally welcomed as portending well for political parties.

In order to carry out the post-bellum measures, Ito was keenly alive to the necessity of securing a strong popular support, and he opened pourparlers with another leader of the opposition, Count Okuma, and the latter would have received the portfolio of Finance. Itagaki, however, strongly opposed Okuma's appointment, and tendered his resignation, which finally resulted in the total collapse of the Ito Cabinet.

Count Matsukata was ordered to form a Cabinet and Okuma was now appointed the Foreign Minister. The new Government has come to be known as the Coalition Cabinet of Matsukata and Okuma. Okuma, however, had to resign his connection with the Progressives before he entered the Cabinet.

Here again another step was gained for admitting

a party politician into the Government, for in spite of Okuma's appointment after his formal separation from his party, the Government formulated its platform exactly on that of the Progressives, and it was feared at the time that the new Cabinet went too fast.

THE 10TH SESSION

December 22nd 1896—March 24th 1897

The Liberals stood in opposition, but nearly all of the minor groups of politicians having supported the Progressives, the Budget of nearly 240 million yen was passed with a reduction of only 300,000.

The Government having failed to act up to the standard as indicated in the platform a general disappointment ensued. Okuma would not agree with the Government measure for reassessment of the land tax, and resigned

THE 11TH SESSION

Matsukata had to face the Lower House at this session without the support of any of the parties, and

the result was the dissolution of the House on December 25th 1897.

Ito Cabinet was formed, the third time.

THE 12TH SESSION

May 14th—June 10th 1898

None of the party politicians having been admitted into the 3rd Ito Cabinet, the Liberals refused to support the Government and voted with the Progressives on the Impeachment of the Government addressed to the Throne which passed the House with the great majority of 257. The House was dissolved at once.

THE 13TH SESSION

Nov. 7th 1898—March 10th 1899

Two dissolutions of the Lower House in succession on the same question, very naturally increased the degree of hostility toward the Government, and the result was the alliance of the Liberals and Progressives who had been so hostile to each other.

The amalgamation of the two parties was formally inaugurated in presence of Itagaki and Okuma on June 22nd 1898. The new party was called the Kenseito (or constitutional party).

Ito proposed that the opposition having assumed such magnitude, the Government should be transfered to them. Yamagata very strongly opposed Ito, and the Cabinet crisis ended in its resignation.

In presence of so formidable an opposition, nobody would form a cabinet on the traditional non-party basis, and even Yamagata and his followers had to leave the situation entirely to Ito. The consequence was his recommendation to the Throne of Count Okuma and Itagaki to succeed the retiring Cabinet.

On June 30th 1898, the real party Government was created for the first time, with Okuma as Premier and Itagaki as Home Minister; but owing to deficiency of experience in the work of administration the new Cabinet was destined to be short-lived. Moreover, the union of the two parties being only in form they could not be expected to be a strong

combination. The want of union in the Cabinet and the deficiency of governmental experience, could not make them stand together longer than four months, for on October 30th of the same year Okuma-Itagaki Cabinet resigned. The union was split and the hostility of the rival parties increased much more than before the amalgamation. Thus the party cabinet collapsed without facing the Diet.

Yamagata Cabinet succeeded the party Government. He did not fail to take full advantage of the inimical feelings of the rival parties, and the seed of influencing the politicians with money is said to have been sown for the first time under this Yamagata Cabinet. The stipend of the members of the Diet which used to be 600 yen per year, was suddenly increased to two thousand, and preference was given to the Liberals' interests in giving license for reclaiming land on the shores of Yokohama. The Liberals showed a definitely pro-Government attitude under Yamagata Cabinet.

VISCOUNT KENTARO KANEKO
Who drafted the First Law of Election.
Now a Privy Councillor.

THE 14TH SESSION

Nov. 25th 1899—Feb. 24th 1900

The Liberals continued to be friendly to the Cabinet. The Progressives attempted to impeach the Government on the measure of corruption initiated by the Government, but failed in their purpose.

When the crisis of the Okuma-Itagaki Cabinet occurred, Ito was in China. He turned his footsteps homeward, and when he reached Nagasaki he heard that Yamagata Cabinet had succeeded the Party Government. He was not consulted on this political change. On his return to Tokyo, Ito set himself to work in advocating the necessity of a political party's support for the Government, and in this work he was assisted by Inouye. In this way, Ito and Yamagata came to be distinctly divided in their political ideas.

The Liberals who had been supporting Yamagata found themselves disagreeably surprised, one morning, by the promulgation of a regulation practically

closing the door against the appointment of ordinary party politicians to Government offices. Consequently they lost no time when they heard of the outspoken manner in which Ito expressed his sympathy toward a political party. The representatives of the Liberals offered to place the party entitled Rikken Seiyu-Kai (or Constitutional Political Friends Association) at the disposal of Ito and to receive him for its President. The party for brevity sake is now generally called the Constitutionalists. With the organization of the new party the name of Liberals has gone out of use.

Eleven days after the organization of the Constitutionalists party, Yamagata Cabinet resigned, and Ito at the head of the new Party formed the Cabinet.

THE 15TH SESSION

Dec. 22nd 1900—March 25th 1901

With the formation of Okuma–Itagaki Cabinet, the usage so scruplously followed of first severing the connection with any of the political parties before

assuming the office, was completely discarded, and it was strongly resented by the Conservatives. The feeling against the appointment of Ito as the avowed leader of a political party culminated in the refusal by the Peers to pass the Budget when it was submitted to the House. Frequent negociations proved fruitless, and the Premier Ito was obliged to resort to the last measure of asking for an Imperial Rescript specially addressed to the Peers expecting acquiescence to the Government measures.

When the Rescript was read before the House, the whole situation immediately changed. The word from the Throne is always almighty, especially in the Upper House. The Budget was passed by the Peers but that did not mean cessation of opposition against the Government. Ito's policy in suppressing the Peers' opposition in that manner simply increased their indignation, and this sentiment found its crater in a suspicion of political corruption of some of the politicians belonging to the Constitutionalists camp. Especially noteworthy was the behavior of Hoshi Toru, the former Speaker of the House of Repre-

sentatives, then holding the Portfolio of Communications. There was no evidence of his direct connection with any form of political corruptions, but he was looked upon as the boss of all the tricks resorted to by the Constitutionalists politicians. The popular sentiment against him was so strong that he was assassinated in broad daylight in the City Hall, June 21st 1900. The Peers took every advantage of the popular sentiment against the party politicians, and there was no prospect of turning the current in favour the Government. With their opposition before them, on one hand, the want of unity in the Cabinet over the compilation of the next Budget, on the other, the Ito Cabinet finally resigned and was succeeded by the Katsura Ministry.

THE 16TH SESSION

Dec. 27th 1901—March 10th 1902

With the assassination of Hoshi, a split occurred in the rank of the Constitutionalists party, and Ito most probably disgusted with most of the party politicians, started on his journey abroad just prior to the

opening of the 16th Session of the Diet. Before he left, he instructed his party not to present unreasonable opposition to the Government, and the new Cabinet successfully closed the session without being confronted with a formidable opposition.

THE 17TH SESSION

December 6th—28th, 1902

The Government bill for Naval expansion which entailed an increase of taxation was the cause of collision at this session, Ito supported the Naval expansion, but was opposed to the increase of taxation. In this, he was at one with Okuma. With these statesmen in opposition, the Government had no alternative left but to dissolve the House.

The non-party Cabinet under Katsura supported by Yamagata and his fellow-thinkers found itself thus confronted by a formidable opposition, but the union of Ito with Okuma not being of a permanent nature, Katsura succeeded in securing Ito's support at the next special session.

THE 18TH SESSION

May 8th—June 5th 1903

The Government effected a compromise with the Constitutionalists and withdrew the Bill for increasing the land tax.

THE 19TH SESSION

Dec. 5th—11th 1903

When the 18th session was closed, Katsura worked hard to remove Ito from his party. As the last measure, Katsura threatened to resign, should one of the Elder Statesmen continue to remain in a political party which in Katsura's mind, as in that of his chief, Yamagata, was not respectable enough for high class statesmen. Pressure was brought upon Ito from different sources, some say not excepting Imperial Court, and the old statesman had finally to yield, and accept the Presidency of the Privy Council. Marquis Saionji who was a Privy Councillor at that time was persuaded to resign the

post to assume the Presidency of the Constitutionalists left vacant by Ito's retirement from the party.

In this session, an extraordinary incident occurred which resulted in the dissolution of the House.

In voting the reply to the Throne, the Speaker Kono introduced a short clause impeaching the Government, but as every member expected that the reply would follow the precedent and be only formal, did not pay much attention while the Speaker was reading the reply, and the House was unanimous as usual when put to vote. But when it was found that the impeachment clause was contained, the House presented a most excited scene. But the die had been cast, and there was no remedy.

On the part of the Government, such reply could not be permitted to reach the Throne, and no alternative was left but to ask for the Imperial Order to dissolve the House.

THE 20TH SESSION

March. 18th—30th 1904

The War with Russia was declared on Feb. 10th and this session ended in complete suppression of opposition to the Government.

THE 21ST SESSION

Nov. 26th 1904—February 28th 1905.

The war still going on, all the measures of the Government as submitted before the Diet were passed without the least opposition.

THE 22ND SESSION

December 25th 1905—March 28th 1906.

The termination of the war with the Portsmouth Treaty was a great national disappointment. After unbroken series of victories, both on land and sea, the nation naturally expected more than had been stipulated in the Treaty of Peace. A riot occurred in the Hibiya Park, Tokyo, when the terms of the treaty were published. Katsura Cabinet now became

BABON NOBUYUKI NAKASHIMA
Who was the Speaker of the House
of Representatives of the First Session.

the target of a strong popular attack and had to give way to Saionji as the Head of the Constitutionalists.

The Saionji Cabinet received Imperial appointment on January 7th 1906.

It was at this session that the post-bellum measures swelling the Budget to 600 million yen, including the great expansion of the national armament, and the nationalization of the private railways, were passed by the House practically without any amendment. The fact that these great projects involving heavy national expenditures should be so quietly passed by the Lower House, is entirely without a precedent in the constitutional history of Japan. A strong apprehension was felt whether the nation could bear the burden, but the Government and the Constitutionalists never paid any attention to the warning, and looked only to the bright side.

This session clearly proved that majority in the House was absolutely for carying out the Government measures, and it also strongly demonstrated the danger of the tyranny of majority. Since the Saionji

Cabinet came into power, great expectation was felt in its future. It was looked upon by some as the Cabinet with a unique prospect of success. The *entente* was concluded with Russia and France, and in its internal policies, it commanded majority in the Lower House, while the Peers presented no considerable opposition.

The 23rd (1906–7) and the 24th Session (1907–8) quietly passed and the result of the general election which took place on account of the expiry of the term of the members, should also a clear majority of the Constitutionalists. As far as the distribution of the seats was concerned, the Saionji Cabinet presented nothing but a bright future.

But the financial embarrassment attributed mostly to the expansion of the armaments, and also to the sudden nationalization of the seventeen private railroads, gradually alienated popular sentiment from the Constitutionalists' Government, and the Premier tendered resignation on July 4th, 1908.

THE KATSURA CABINET

The Emperor after consultation with the Elder Statesmen, ordered Marquis Katsura to form a Cabinet. This Imperial message was received by him on July 12th and the Government was formally organized on 14th.

The new Cabinet was formed on non-party principle, but the alienation of popular confidence from the Saionji Cabinet was expected to be of great advantage to the new government. The prejudice against party politicians was still very marked and the disappointment caused by the late Cabinet has simply served to increase the unpopularity of the so-called party politicians.

Since the opening of the Diet up to the 24th Session, the Cabinet changed nine times, of which the longest tenure of office was enjoyed by the Katsura Cabinet. It was organized on June 2nd 1901 and resigned January 7th 1906. The first Ito Cabinet comes next. It came into power on August 8th 1892 and resigned on September 18th 1896,

remaining in office for four years and two months. It was at the time when Japan was at war that political disputes were temporarily suspended, and the Cabinet enjoyed a long tenure of office. Under the Katsura Cabinet was fought the war with Russia, while under the first Ito Cabinet Japan was in war with China.

In ordinary times, no Cabinet remained in power for any considerable length of time. The Okuma-Itagaki Cabinet collapsed even without facing the Diet. The average tenure of office enjoyed by any Cabinet was slightly over two years.

During nearly two decades history of Japanese Diet there were seven cases of dissolution of the Representatives by Imperial Order, and only two cases of the members of the Lower House enjoying full term of office of four years. There were eight general elections, so that the average life of the Lower House nearly coincides with that of the Cabinet. These figures clearly bear witness to the intensity of political disputes. It is also a noteworthy fact that the result of two General Elections

since 1903 was always most favorable to the Constitutionalists or Seiyukai, giving them absolute majority in the Lower House. But the majority secured in the Lower House apparently failed to constitute the strength of the Government. The power and influence other than the majority in the Diet must be taken into consideration in studying Japan's constitutional progress. They are briefly the prejudice against the party politicians and the confidence reposed by the Emperor in the group of the Elder Statesmen who have come to be considered as advisers to the Throne. But their position is totally anomalous for there is no provision in the Constitution to invest them with official recognition. But this state of things can not last long. With the death of the Elder Statesmen, and the improvement of party politicians in their moral and mental standard, there can be only one way open for Japan's Government, that is to say, to stand on a party basis. But it should be remembered in this connection that a party government as understood by the politicians of the English school is not

compatible with the principle of the Constitution. While it would be of vital importances for a government to command a majority in the Lower House, actual experience has shown that such government was not always successful as in the case of the Saionji Cabinet. It has been shown that an opposition met in the Upper House is just as destructive to a Cabinet as that in the Lower House.

FOURTH PERIOD

EXPERIMENT OF GOVERNMENT ON PARTY BASIS

Saionji, Katsura, and Yamamoto Cabinets

OKUMA CALLED OUT

If by a party government it is meant the one in command of a reliable majority and support in the Lower House, the Saionji Cabinet which succeeded the Katsura Ministry almost immediately after the close of the Russian war was certainly the one in that sense, for the Constitutionalists Party led by him was in absolute majority in the House of Representatives. But the Saionji Cabinet fell in 1908 on account of difficulties encountered in its financial policy. It was by the Saionji Cabinet that a fraudulent Budget crediting the Government with a sum of money which might never be realized was compiled and passed through the Diet. In the

Budget of 1907–8 there was contained an item on the credit side amounting to 100 million yen entitled a surplus of an Extraordinary Incident Expenditures, or the war fund. Such an actual surplus never existed in cash. The calculation was based upon the reserve authority vested in the Government for raising public loans. In other words, the Government without fresh authority from the Diet was in possession of authorization to raise loans. It was the result of impossibility to raise public loans authorized for the Government to raise to the full amount during the war, so that a margin was left each time the loans were raised. These margins or reserve authority to resort to loans were included in the Budget as actual credit. The parties in minority disclosed this fact and moved reconsideration of the Budget by the Government. But Marquis Saionji's Party having been in absolute majority, the Budget was passed by the Lower House and afterward by the House of Peers. But the financial and economic interests could not be blind to this fact, and a constant fear of the Govern-

House of Representatives House of Peers

HOUSES OF IMPERIAL DIET

House of Representatives

31st Session

ment resorting to further public loans at any time inspired the money market with uneasiness, resulting in falls in the quotations of national bonds. The financial difficulty thus encountered proved to be the cause of the downfall of the Saionji Cabinet in spite of the absolute majority commanded in the Lower House.

When the Katsura Ministry succeeded to the Saionji Cabinet it entered into an understanding with the Seiyukai for its support. This came to be called the *Rapprochement* Policy between Katsura and Saionji. Without being in the Party, the Premier Katsura was in command of a support by the Party in majority. But this policy was condemned on all sides as a half-measure policy of only temporary character.

Upon the resignation of the Katsura Cabinet brought about on account of financial difficulties, the Saionji Ministry again came into power. It was during the tenure of office of this Ministry that the greatest and the heaviest national loss was sustained by the death of the Great Emperor Meiji.

The sad event occurred in the forty-fifth year of Meiji (1912) which proved to be a great turning-point in the political history of this country. The death of the great Emperor in July was soon followed with the dispute between the military and the civil authorities finally resulting in the collapse of the Saionji Cabinet.

The War Minister General Uyehara has been demanding an increase of the army by two new Divisions. The Seiyukai had already been opposing to this demand of the War Minister. The Premier Marquis Saionji had been asking the War Minister to effect the curtailment in the War Office Expenditures as he had done the same to the Navy and other Ministers of State. An economy in the Government expenses was one of the principal planks in the platform of the Saionji Cabinet, and in pursuance of this principle, the War Minister had been asked to effect whatever retrenchment he could make in the expenditures of his Department.

The increase of the army by two Divisions having been a pending question for some years, the War

Minister tried to make the economy effected to his own Department conditional upon the Premier's consent to employ the money thus saved for the new additional Divisions. But the Premier's attitude toward the War Minister was evasive. He would not commit himself to any pledge in this respect, but simply expected the War Office to make no exception in effecting whatever economy that was possible, as all other Departments of State were doing the same.

As for the employment of the money saved in the War Office Expenditures for the two additional Divisions, it was left open while the investigations for the retrenchment of the Expenses in the War Office were going on. A plan of curtailment to a certain extent was formulated by the War Minister which was to appear in the next year's Budget. This effected, General Uyehara asked for a final reply of the Premier for his request to employ the amount of money saved to the two additional Divisions.

Marquis Saionji now formally declined to comply

with the demand of the War Minister. The refusal was at once followed with the resignation of the latter, and the Cabinet crisis thus created by the attitude of General Uyehara resulted in the collapse of the Saionji Cabinet.

The resignation of the Government was tendered early in November, and the Elder Statesmen were called in council by the new Emperor to recommend a successor to the retiring Cabinet. The Veteran Statesmen sought the successor in several quarters but no one could be found willing to form the new Government.

Prince Katsura who had started on a tour abroad had to retrace his step homeward from St. Petersburgh on account of the critical state of health of the late Emperor Meiji. When the Prince reached home, the late Emperor was dead. The arrival of the Prince at Tokio was soon followed with his appointment to the office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal combining also that of the Lord Chamberlain to the new Emperor. This appointment to the office in the Court was renunciation on the part of

Prince Katsura of his future in the work of government. He was practically dead in his political career in navigating the ship of State.

Since the resignation of the Saionji Cabinet, the efforts of the Elder Statesmen seeking a successor to the retiring government were fruitless for nearly a month, and the only way now open for them was to bring Prince Katsura out of his service in the Court and make him form the new Government.

With Imperial permission secured, Prince Katsura was relieved of his two offices in the Court in which he was succeeded by H. I. H. Prince Fushimi as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Prince Takatsukasa as the Lord Chamberlain.

Prince Katsura who was once lost to the world of politics, now ensured of perfect freedom to work for the realization of his life-long ambition, soon succeeded in forming his new Cabinet which was formally organized on December 21st, 1912.

The year closed without any development, but Prince Katsura having formed his Cabinet without consulting the Seiyukai with which he had been in

friendly terms during the previous tenures of office of his government, the great question was how the Prince could come out in the Diet which was in session at that time. The Seiyukai commanded absolute majority in the Lower House. The attention of the political circles came to be concentrated on this great issue.

In the meantime, Prince Katsura as the new Premier surprised the world by a sudden announcement that he was going to organize a political party. This was early in January 1913. The announcement was a keynote of open opposition by the Seiyukai to the new Katsura Ministry.

While the Elder Statesmen were encountering with difficulties in seeking a successor to the Saionji Cabinet, a feeling was gradually gaining strength that Prince Katsura might be secretly at work to create the difficulty of securing a successor to the retiring government, in order to make an opening for him to come out of the Court service and to place himself again at the helm of the ship of State. His enemies tried to make a capital out of this impression

which was daily gaining in strength with the refusal one after the other of those approached by the Veteran Statesmen to form a Cabinet.

The press in general began to be very hostile to Prince Katsura. He was written up as the abuser of Imperial authority. He came to be condemned as an arbitrary and selfish politician who is taking advantage of the inexperience of the young Emperor. The principal and a very sensational charge brought against Prince Katsura was his unwarratable request to the Throne for Imperial Rescripts in order to tide over the situation. The public feeling gradually came to be prejudiced against the hitherto very popular statesman and finally culminated in the riot in Tokio in February 1913, when the Kokumin and other papers supporting Prince Katsura were attacked by the enfuriated mob.

The appointment of the Katsura Cabinet was furiously attacked as the result of a clandestine machination of Prince Katsura, and the press of the whole country with only a few exceptions started a campaign, solely sentimental against the new Govern-

ment. The motto of the opposition was the abuse of Imperial authority by Prince Katsura. This was a catchword which always find warm supporters among the mass. The Tokio mob of February 10th 1913 was the result of this sensational cry.

Before this, the new Katsura Government observing the hostile attitude of the Seiyukai in the Lower House ordered the suspension of the Diet, hoping in the meantime to discover a point of compromise to effect the solution of the issue at stake. The suspension of the Diet was resorted to twice, but each time the opposition gathered its strength. It was not the Seiyukai alone, but the Kokuminto also that openly arrayed themselves in opposition.

An Address to the Throne Impeaching the Katsura Government for its abuse of the Imperial Rescripts was brought up in the Lower House, and no doubt remained of its passage in the House with a great majority. It was on February 5 that the Impeachment Bill was presented to the Lower

House. This was followed with an Imperial order suspending the Diet for five days.

Popular cry against the Katsura Cabinet and anti-government campaign in the press culminated in a demonstration claimed to be a popular outburst of indignation against the Katsura Government. The riot on February 10 was the result, as already stated.

Before this, an understanding was effected between Prince Katsura and Marquis Saionji, by which a verbal message was to be given by the Emperor to Marquis Saionji ordering him to use his influence to pacify the feelings of the Seiyukai members in the Lower House. This was believed to be the only way to find a solution in the crisis. According to both Prince Katsura and Baron Goto, Marquis Saionji was confident of the success to be attained by this measure of asking an indirect and informal intervention of the Throne.

Marquis Saionji was soon summoned to the Imperial presence, when he was asked by the Emperor to use his influence to tide over the existing

crisis. The Marquis called together the members of his Party holding seats in the Lower House, and when he delivered to them the Imperial message that he had received, he found that the Seiyukai men were already strongly united to decline to conform to the wish of their President.

This attitude on their part was tantamount to disobeying an Imperial command, but the feeling of hostility toward Prince Katsura had already reached a point making it difficult for them to reconsider their attitude.

Never in the long history of this country an order from the Throne had met with a refusal on the part of any of the people to obey. An order from the Throne has come to be looked upon as the last word which admits of no other interpretation than simply to follow out as indicated by the wording of the Edict or Rescript.

Once when the late Prince Ito was confronted with a hostile attitude of the House of Peers over the Budget, a word from the Throne to the President of the Upper House instantly suppressed the opposition,

and the Budget was passed as it came from the Lower House. This was in 1900.

The attitude of the Seiyukai men toward the Imperial message conveyed to them by their President was an incident of unprecedented gravity, and to every sober-minded man, it was little short of a revolution in popular sentiment. Prince Katsura was held solely responsible for creating so great a blemish in the history of the relations of the Imperial Throne with the people of the country.

No other alternative was to be found but the resignation of the Government, and Admiral Yamamoto who appeared on the scene in order to persuade Marquis Saionji to take up the office of Prime Minister was himself prevailed upon to form his own Government with the support of the Seiyukai, and the result was the Yamamoto Cabinet which has just resigned.

Before going further, it must be mentioned that there used to exist a very strong rivalry between the Army and the Navy for securing their respective appropriations in the Budget. The ministerial crisis

for the past ten years which had so frequently occurred is to be attributed principally to this rivalry between the two services.

During the period of crisis confronting the Katsura Cabinet, it was thought that Prince Katsura in view of the opposition of the Seiyukai members might dissolve the Lower House. Should the dissolution take place, however, the Budget will have to be that of the previous year which meant in the instance under review that the Navy will have to go without the fresh appropriation contained in the Budget for 1913–14 then before the Diet. This was a severe blow to the Navy, and Admiral Yamamoto though possessed of no official capacity came forward to explain the gravity of the consequence following the non-existence of fresh Budget for the year. The result was, as stated before, the formation of his Government based upon the support of the Seiyukai. Thus the Budget was passed at the Diet and the country escaped from a serious result following the dissolution of the Lower House.

Everything apparently went on smoothly with the

new Government organized by Count Yamamoto. A considerable readjustment in the government finance was effected. A certain reduction in the Income Tax was effected together with no small curtailments of government expenditures. A great deal more was expected to be realized in the coming Budget.

When the Budget for 1914–15 was compiled, it came to leak out that nearly all the savings effected by the Yamamoto Government were to be employed for naval expansion, and a popular disaffection began to be heard on all sides. The press campaign was again started, and when the Budget was actually before the Lower House, the Richter case* just concluded at this time in a German Court suddenly came over the wire and was published on

* A report from Berlin says that Carl Richter has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment on a charge of having stolen documents from the Tokyo office of Messrs. Siemens and Schuckert. While undergoing trial at the Court, he stated that the Company had bribed certain high naval officers of Japan for the express purpose of securing orders from the Japanese naval authorities. This statement has astonished the public.

—*London, Jan. 21st.*

January 22 1914. This opened an episode of sensational interpellations in the Lower House. The Naval Scandal became the sensation of the day. The arrest of some of the Naval officers of the rank of Admiral and Captain soon followed, and the Premier Admiral Yamamoto became the target of attack not only in the Lower House but also in the House of Peers.

Despite a strong denunciation against the Yamamoto Cabinet, the Budget was passed at the Lower House as the Seiyukai with its absolute majority supported the bill. The Budget, however, suffered a reduction in naval appropriation of thirty million yen, before it passed through the Lower House.

When the Budget in this amended form was presented to the Upper House, the Peers insisted that the whole of the new appropriation amounting to seventy million yen should be curtailed. The Peers contended that in view of the existence of official corruption in the Naval administration they fail to find reason to give support to the present administration in this respect. It was argued that

though not yet proved, the very fact of suspicion that has come to be entertained toward the Naval administration left no other alternative for the Peers but to decline to give concurrence to the Naval appropriation.

When the Budget was put to the whole House with the reduction of seventy million yen, one of the members, Mr. Murata, who holds his seat in the House by Imperial nomination and is over seventy years of age, made a speech during the debate which was a sensational invective directed to Admiral Yamamoto. After his sensational speech which was of the kind never before heard in the august assembly of the Peers he sent in resignation of his seat in the House and left the Capital for Kamakura where he lives. The speech very nearly verged on personal insults against the Premier Admiral Yamamoto. Many wondered why the Chair of the Upper House permitted the old member to finish his philippics with which the House was never before disfigured.

The amendment introduced to the Budget by the Upper House necessitated a conference of the two

Houses which resulted in the victory of the Lower House, and when the result of this conference was put to the Upper House, it was rejected with a very large majority. Thus the Budget for 1914–15 failed to materialize.

It should be noted in this connection that it never before happened that a Budget should fail to materialize without the dissolution of the Lower House. No fresh Budget for the year was always the outcome so far of the dissolution of the Lower House. Consequently, the fate of the Budget for 1914–15 was quite an exception, if not an anomaly.

Before so great an opposition which was principally caused by the Naval Scandal, and which became so universal by the time the Upper House rejected the naval appropriation, it became impossible for the Yamamoto Government to continue in office any longer. The resignation of the Government was tendered on March 24.

The Throne again convened a council of Elder Statesmen to recommend a successor to the retiring Government.

MARSHAL PRINCE ARITOMO YAMAGATA
The Soul of the Conservatives

In view of the fact that the coming Government was expected to conduct the coronation ceremony of thc new Emperor, it was generally thought advisable to have the performer of the great ceremony free from any form of opposition if possible. In other words, the Elder Statesmen together with all the loyal subjects of the Crown were actuated by a desire to keep the year free from any form of disputes. It was out of this motive that Prince Tokugawa, the President of the House of Peers was first recommended to be the successor to the Yamamoto Cabinet, but as he declined to form a Cabinet, the Elder Statesmen sought a successor from among those not belonging to any of the political parties, and the choice fell on Viscount Kiyoura who is a great admirer of Prince Yamagata. He accepted the offer, and on receiving Imperial command to form a Cabinet, he went to work and succeeded in collecting all the members of his Cabinet, excepting the Minister of the Navy. Admiral Kato, the Commander-in-Chief of the Kure Admiralty was invited to take up the portfolio of the Navy, who on

his arrival in City, made his acceptance conditional upon the materialization of the naval appropriation in the Budget of seventy million yen. Viscount Kiyoura suggested to keep this issue open and asked him to accept the office. But the Admiral would not do so before he could be sure of the Naval appropriation. The difficulty of arriving at an understanding between Viscount Kiyoura and Admiral Kato finally resulted in the failure of the Viscount to form a Cabinet. The next choice of the Elder Statesmen fell on Count Okuma who succeeded in organizing his Cabinet on April 16.

WHY OKUMA WAS CHOSEN

The appointment of Count Okuma to the office of Minister President of State opens a new chapter in the constitutional progress of this country. The appearance of the Sage of Waseda on the stage of practical government in order to tide over the complicated situation brought about by the alleged corruption in the Naval administration has been received with a hearty welcome all over the country.

That Count Okuma is the right man of the hour nobody ventures to doubt. The Count has been a very popular figure, but it would not be very far from the truth to say that his popularity has come to be established chiefly because he was out of office in the Government and free to say what he had in his mind. The official career of the Sage of Waseda, divides itself into periods of Pre-Constitution days and Post-Constitution. There are some brilliant records in the former period of this statesman's political experience, but in the latter, the Count's work in the Government has some conspicuous traces of hasty, if not reckless, judgement. But the purpose of this review being to explain why Count Okuma has come to be the man of the hour, the merits or demerits in the political career of the veteran statesman will not be treated here.

OKUMA VERSUS ELDER STATESMEN

By the Elder Statesmen as understood in Japan, are meant the veterans in the administrative work of the country who have received Imperial recogni-

tion as such. They were created during the lifetime of the late Emperor Meiji in recognition of their service continually rendered since the Meiji Government was established. The honour is limited to Princes Yamagata, Ito, and Oyama, and Marquises Inouye and Matsukata. These statesmen are generally called the distinguished veterans in the work of the Restoration of Imperial authority in the government. Constitutionally they are not recognized advisers to the Throne, but the late Emperor used to consult them on state affairs of exceptional importance.

As distinguished servants in the work of the Restoration, Count Okuma certainly deserves to be included in the group of the Elder Statesmen for he was their colleague for many years since the Meiji Government was started. But the Sage of Waseda having left the service in the early part of Meiji era and since devoted himself to the work of preparing popular mind for a constitutional form of government soon to be adopted, he came to be alienated from his old colleagues.

For preparing the people's mind for a constitutional form a government, the first step taken by Count Okuma was to organize a political party called the Kaishinto (the Progressive Party) which is the precursor of the present Kokuminto or the Nationalists.

A slight diversion may be permissible here by mentioning another party organized by Count Itagaki and known as the Jiyuto (the Liberal Party). Count Itagaki was also Count Okuma's colleague for several years, but he left the government service in 1876, having differed from his colleagues over the Korean question. It was at this time that the Great Saigo took the lead in advocating a punitive expedition to Korea and after leaving the service in the Government started the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877.

Now to return to the subject, there were two political parties, the Progressives, and the Liberals, the former led by Count Okuma, and the latter by Count Itagaki. They claimed to take side with the people in opposition to the Government, but they were unreconcilable rivals. Both Count Okuma and

Count Itagaki rendered meritorious service to the state at the time of the Restoration, but both of them having started political parties and stood in opposition to the Government, their relations with their former colleagues who continued in the Government service became strained, and the two leaders of the parties came to be alienated from those in power of the Government. The alienation gradually developed into a prejudice with which Counts Okuma and Itagaki came to be regarded by their former colleagues.

The prejudice thus created could only widen the gulf between the leaders of the parties and those in power of the Government. In those days prior to the opening of the Imperial Diet, there being no crater to vent out the pent-up feelings of popular disaffection, the tendencies antagonistic to the Government came to spread far and wide. The Government was finally obliged to resort to suppressive measures by enacting laws and regulations against the propaganda and campaign of the two opposition parties.

It should be explained in this connection that the success with which the two opposition parties, rival and irreconcilable as they were, each gained in their influence with the people must be very largely attributed to the existence of a feeling of disaffection against the Meiji Government nearly all over the country since the early part of the Era.

When the old Shogunate was overthrown and the new Government was established with the Imperial authority of ruling over the country fully restored to the Throne, all the important offices in the Government were at first distributed among the deserving retainers of the Daimios who took prominent part in the work of the Restoration. But in course of time, the offices corresponding to those of ministers, and vice-ministers came to be monopolized by the Choshu and Satsuma men. Moreover, the former came to be firmly established in the Army, and the latter in the Navy.

Jealousy begot prejudice and prejudice against the Choshu and Satsuma men helped to spread the anti-Government feelings all over the country. Thus the

campaigns started by the Progressives and the Liberals were greatly facilitated.

This explains why Count Okuma, as well as Count Itagaki, was kept at a distance by their old colleagues who are now recognized by the Emperor as the Elder Statesmen or the highest advisers. Until the last crisis just ended was precipitated, Count Okuma used to be the last man in the estimation of the Elder Statesmen considered to be fitted for organizing a Government.

RESULT OF 25 YEARS EXPERIENCE.

During the twenty five years of a representative form of Government in Japan, different sorts of measures were tried for working the government. The prejudice against such men like Count Okuma and Count Itagaki very heavily militated against the realization of a party government. Prince Yamagata and his large following were those who very strongly opposed to any form of government with the party politicians in office. The late Prince Ito, however,

General Prince Taro Katsura
who organized the Rikken Doshikai. Died October 10, 1913.

was alive to the necessity of organizing a strong political party, and it was he who organized the present Seiyukai party with old Liberals for its nucleus. A strong opposition was raised by Yamagata and his followers when the Seiyukai was started. But even the late Prince Katsura who was looked upon as the representative of Prince Yamagata in maintaining a non-party principle of government found himself after having tried half-measure policies toward the political parties, soon confronted with the necessity of organizing a party of his own, and on his appointment to the Premiership in December 1912, he announced his intention of organizing a political party. The Rikken Doshikai (Constitutional Associates Party) is the result of this announcement.

All these things gradually tended to effect a change in the feelings of the Elder Statesmen with respect to the needs of the times, and when Viscount Kiyoura whom the Elder Statesmen recommended as the successor to the Yamamoto Government made a miserable failure in trying to

form a Government standing aloof of all the political parties, the incident must have been sufficiently indicative of the needs of the times. The Elder Statesmen could not be blind to this tendency, and the result was the recommendation to the Throne of their old enemy as the successor to the retiring Yamamoto Government.

The formation of the Okuma Government thus proves to be a victory of the principle of party government, and the Premier Count Okuma has now the satisfaction of having come out triumphant over his enemies after his many years fight for the constitutional progress of his beloved country.

CONCLUSION

A survey of political developments in Japan shows that since the weakness of the Tokugawa Shogunate came to be exposed by its evasive policy toward the foreign pressure brought to bear upon it by the visit of the American Squadron under Commodore Perry, the struggle of democracy against the ruling authority constitutes one long series of political strifes. At first, it was a struggle to overthrow the autocratic power of the Tokugawa Shogunate and when this was effected by the restoration of the Imperial authority to the actual rulership over the whole country with the Meiji Government formally established in 1868, the advocates of democracy followed a new line of activity by demanding popular representation in the Government. This popular movement ultimately realized its object by the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution in 1889 and the opening of the first Imperial Diet in 1890. During the preparatory

period prior to the opening of the Diet, political parties came to be organized, which were all opposed to the government, so that the first session of the Diet as already shown proved to be an occasion for the government to face almost an entire opposition in the House of Representatives. The first session barely escaped the misfortune of dissolution of the Lower House, but the second session could not be smoothly carried through and the House of Representatives had to be dissolved by Imperial Order.

With the organization of political parties, the advocates of democracy began to insist on the necessity of governing the country on a party basis. This had been strenuously advocated by the English school of political students, and the history of the Diet since its first session might be considered as chiefly to be a scene of struggle of democracy for a government conducted on the same principle as followed in the British Parliament. But the German system and principle having been adopted in the Imperial Constitution, the demand of the English school of think-

ers could not be carried out consistently with the principle guiding the constitutional form of government adopted in the country.

Count Okuma while at the head of the Progressive Party and also after he left it, was looked upon as a strong advocate of the English school. Judging by his utterances given out from time to time, vital importance was attached by him to the existence of two rival political parties for carrying out a representative form of government.

The energies of the advocates of democracy which were at first directed to the overthrow of autocracy came to be employed since the opening of the Diet for replacing the Bureaucracy or Oligarchy with the government on a purely party basis. They gradually succeeded in realizing their object and the formation of the second Saionji Cabinet in 1905, immediately after the close of the Russian War, proved to be the one that came nearest to their ideal. But judged from the strict standpoint, the Saionji Cabinet though standing on the support of the Constitutionalists Party, was not a party government as the term is

understood by the followers of the English school, for it was not composed solely of those holding membership in that Party, but contained the ministers who had no connection with any of the political parties. But being in command of absolute majority in the Lower House, the same Cabinet found itself in a position to pass Government bills through the House without any difficulty. Even the fraudulent Budget for 1907-8 already referred to passed through the House.

Since this time a cry against the domination of the party in majority came to be raised, and a campaign was started by the parties in minority against what they called the tyranny of majority practised by the Constitutionalists in the Lower House. The campaign was strongly supported by influential press throughout the country. The domination of the Constitutionalists was not limited to the House of Representatives. In local assemblies from the prefectural down to the village, they came to be the dominating power only with a few exceptions. The coming into power in the Central Government

readily swelled the rank of the Party, and almost at every election for the members of the Diet as well as of local assemblies, the Constitutionalists came to be returned in majority.

The abuse by the party men of the power of having majority in an assembly gradually came to be flagrant, especially in local administration. It went so far that even the work of repairing a small bridge could not be effected in a certain locality without first consulting the members of the Constitutionalists. This always meant some sort of concession to be paid for securing their support in the meeting of the assembly to pass the bill. The domination of the Constitutionalists causing frequent dislocations in local administration in many parts of the country began to be condemned by disinterested and right-minded thinkers, and this is believed to have been one of the principal motives of the late Prince Katsura when he decided to organize a new political party under his direct leadership, known as the Rikken Doshikai (The Constitutional Associates Party) which is the latest addition to the political

parties of this country. Unfortunately, Prince Katsura did not live to see the party formally organized about a year afterward on December 23 1913, with Baron Kato as its President.

The new Party, Rikken Doshikai, is composed of the seceders from the Kokuminto (the Nationalists) and of the members of a political association known as the Chuo (Central) Club which was under leadership of Viscount Oura. It was expected that there would be some seceders also from the Constitutionalists' Camp, but this expectation was not realized.

At the time of formal organization of the Rikken Doshikai (Constitutional Associates Party) in December 1913, public curiousity was concentrated on the attitude of Baron Goto who did not join the Party. The Baron has been known to be a very earnest promotor for the new Party. While the party was in course of formation, his prominence as the organizer of the party was only next to that of Prince Katsura himself. Consequently his withdrawal from the party at the last moment proved to be a curious mystery giving birth to different sorts of con-

COUNT SHIGENOBU OKUMA
who organized the Progressive Party

jectures mostly detrimental to his political standing.

Since Prince Katsura died, Baron Goto has been in frequent conference with Baron Kato with reference to the plans and measures for promoting the interests of the new party. But unfortunately the two statesmen failed to agree. Goto was for prompt activities and lively campaigns for advancing the influence as well as the interests of his party. This meant a large fund, and his ideas failed to be carried out, for Kato was committed to what might be termed a waiting policy, or a *laissez-nous faire* attitude.

WHY GOTO DID NOT JOIN NEW PARTY

Baron Goto on his withdrawal from the new party issued a statement in form of a memorandum to his fellow members of the party in which he explained his attitude. The following are the principal points in that statement, as translated :—

(1) In conducting government on a constitutional basis, a political party of healthy and high character is necessary to act as its organ.

(2) In organizing a party coming up to the above standard, the fund required for the purpose must be raised by voluntary contributions entirely free from any stain, or of any ulterior motive.

Prince Katsura estimated the necessary fund at three million yen, and was in possession of plans to collect the required amount.

(3) The new party has been considered as being well supplied with able and competent men. But in order to carry out the work commensurate with the great aim and purpose of the party, there is no denying of the fact of a deficiency being felt in its size, as well as in power of competency, of its members. For raising the necessary fund, an ample allowance of time must be made. Prince Katsura died before the necessary equipments were completed, and the party still in its immature condition is now confronted with the approach of time for its formal organization. Political parties deficient in equipments have been shown to be a failure, and if this fate is to be avoided, an earnest endeavour should be made

for collecting capable men as well as a fund sufficiently adequate to ensure success.

(4) An unnatural means employed during the formative period of a political party for the purpose of temporarily meeting the deficiencies in its fund, brings with it the effect of not only stifling the growth of the party, but also of creating a permanent cause of danger to the welfare of the party itself.

(5) A political party should be placed under a very strict discipline. It should not be a loose conglomoration of men, but a public body, the combination of which has been effected by a definite agreement. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that the management of the party should be in the hands of men of well-balanced mind and of high character.

In order to carry out the ideas of the late Prince Katsura in this respect, it would be impossible to realize them, unless capacities be secured which compare favorably with, or even surpass, those of the late Prince Katsura.

(6) Without removing the causes of evil existing in electoral constituencies, it would be impossible to expect a healthy growth of a political party. As one of the means of removing these causes, printed pamphlets, newspapers, &c. must be widely distributed in order, by that means, to educate up the electors on the subject of national politics. Without taking the precautionary measures to begin with, it would be of no avail to try to manage and lead the representatives of the people in the Lower House as may be desirable, or to blame them for want of fidelity to a certain principle, for that would simply be a reversal of the proper step to be followed.

(7) The principal motive that has actuated Prince Katsura when he decided to organize a new party, was not for the sake of interests of the members of the party, neither was it for personal considerations of the leader himself, nor for the sole interests of the party itself. The nation and the raison d'etre of its existence formed the basic principle. Being aware of the evils and abuses

that have been found to be already existing, the Prince was no doubt firmly determined to resort to any measure deemed necessary in order to effect a complete consummation of the aim and purpose he had in view for organizing his new party based upon national principle. For accomplishing this purpose, the Prince would not have hesitated even to dissolve the party, should it fail to come up to the expected standard.

(8) Should Prince Katsura have regained his health sufficiently to take up his political activities, he must have become impressed of an urgent necessity of introducing some alterations in the original system drafted prior to his illness, and consequently he would not have hesitated to effect the necessary reforms. Otherwise, it would be impossible to realize national progress by riding on the current of thought and social tendencies that have come to be felt since the past few months in Japan, as well as in the Extreme East (or rather in both hemispheres). (See note at the end of this memorandum.).

(9) Japan is now in urgent need of united efforts on the part of her people on account of the condition prevailing around her. Party strifes and dissensions should have no place in her considerations. Even if the present disputes and differences among the existing parties be left out of the considerations, a tendency of alienation now observable between the Satsuma influence and the Constitutionalists is liable to convert public interests into private or personal ends. No greater calamity can there be for the nation.

(10) At this critical stage, a great leader with his eyes wide open for the needs of the times, and heedless of public criticisms should do his utmost by placing himself above the prevailing tendencies, to effect an opening for a new epoch for the nation with a new gospel of truth in his hand.

(11) There is no doubt that Prince Katsura with his great statesmanship and extraordinary resourcefulness, must have been expecting to carry out his own convictions in practice. Therefore any person succeeding the Prince in his work

must at least be possessed of a strong conviction worthy of commanding confidence therein. Should the one assuming the leadership be liable to be caught in the currents of base, conflicting interests, whereby he finds himself deprived of his freedom of action, he would come to be obliged to hold himself responsible for having led his political associates and the people of the country to work damages to national interests.

(12) Among the present members of the Doshikai, there would be two kinds of its followers: those whose relation with the party depends on the presence of the Prince, and those who are actuated by their own convictions and are prepared to work for the interests of the party even in the absence of their trusted leader. It is necessary, therefore, that in drafting the future plans for the party, considerations should be made by drawing a clear line of demarkation between these two classes of the members.

(13) During my journey through the different districts in the last several months, I have had

occasions to observe and study the psychic tendencies influencing the gathering of people, and at the same time, to make observations on the relations existing between political parties and their members. The results of my experience in this respect has made me carefully consider the past and future of the country, convincing me thereby of an urgent necessity of making a determined effort at this time.

(14) Prince Katsura is dead, but his spirit is with us. Even if the Doshikai be dissolved, its principles and declaration which have been called into existence by the needs of the times are still fresh with us and shall always remain to be so. For each and every one of us to keep them always in mind, there will come a time when they would be fully consummated. But a mistake or fault made in retaining them, is fraught with the danger of extinction of the spirit underlying them all. It is out of this fear that I have become convinced of the necessity of devoting more time for effecting fuller equipments sufficiently adequate for the

consummation of the intent and purpose of Prince Katsura to organize a new political party.

These points were presented by Baron Goto to Baron Kato, but having failed to get the approval and consent of the President-elect of the new party, the former had to sever his relations with the Doshikai.

Note:—In writing this clause Baron Goto had in his mind the prevailing state of affairs which may be enumerated as follows:—

I. In Home politics:

(1) The evils attending the keen rivalries of political parties in forwarding their respective interests, whereby the principle of local self-administration is being endangered:

(2) Political parties are now actuated principally by personal motives:

(3) This state of affairs has come to be very strongly accentuated of late.

II. With reference to China: some of the party politicians have tried to make a capital out of the late disturbances in China. They have not ceased in their endeavours to obtain fund for their party by interfering in Chinese politics. This being pregnant of dangers for both China and Japan, it calls for an urgent and efficient action to stop it.

III. With reference to Russia: the late Balkan affairs necessitating a new line of policy on the part of that country, a change in this respect will certainly affect the attitude of that country in its Far Eastern policies.

IV. The present estimation of Japan's financial capacity by foreign observers:

(1) It is not fully understood because of pessimistic forecasts made by Japanese financiers and politicians themselves.

(2) Japan is represented as being over-burdened by heavy national loans amounting to 2,800 million yen.

(3) But Japan's credit side is not fully represented.

(4) Immediately following the close of China War of 1894-5, Formosan administration was felt to be a financial burden, and a proposal was seriously made for selling the newly acquired territory for 100 million yen. Now Formosa has come to realize a revenue of 60 million yen which is therefore a national asset for Japan against which a loan of 1,200 million yen could be raised at 5% interest. When shipping and trade interests are calculated, the Island constitutes an asset which can serve as a security for a loan amounting to 1,600 million yen without any difficulty.

(5) Railways in Japan have been bought by the Government at 450 million yen in round figures. The actual value of Japan's railroads can be safely valued at 500 million yen, thus forming a national asset to that amount.

(6) Chosen (Korea) now forms an asset worth annual revenue of 30 million yen.

(7) The leased territory of Liaotung exclusive of the receipts of the South Manchuria Railway Company is an asset worth annual revenue of 3 million yen by taxes alone. The trade and shipping of Dairen are not also included in this estimate.

(8) Calculating on these assets, the national debts of 2,800 million yen cease to be appalling, but on the contrary, it will be shown that the country has more on the credit side, even without enumerating various other assets.

(9) Considered in this light which is based upon pure arithmetic, there exists no cause, even in the slightest degree,

MERITS OF PARTY AND NON-PARTY GOVERNMENTS COMPARED

Judging by the results attained by different administrations since the beginning of the Meiji Era, the scale of balance is always in favour of the so-called non-party government.

The great achievements of the Meiji Government have all been effected by the administration standing aloof of any party interests. The Establishment of Local Administration on the present basis, the

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justifying a pessimistic forecast on Japan's financial capacity.

(10) These facts have been overlooked even by those Japanese who claim to be considered as financial experts, and they have disseminated pessimistic observations on the country's finance. Their reports have chiefly influenced foreign observers, and the actual state of Japan's finance has not been fully understood in foreign countries. Moreover Japan has been represented abroad as a nation ready to go to war. There can be no greater mistake. Japan never fought unless forced to do so for the sake of national honour.

(11) Japan is now confronted with a very urgent necessity of removing these misrepresentations and misunderstandings. The work should be undertaken by a political party fully equipped to carry on the necessary activities.

Clause (8) of the Baron's Statement read with these facts in mind brings its force more to home in one's mind.

Promulgation of the Constitution, the Revision of Treaties, the China and Russian Wars, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Annexation of Korea, all these epoch-making events in the history of Japan have been realized when the government had no concern with any of the party interests.

But nothing even beginning to compare with any of the results above enumerated was effected under the Saionji Cabinet during its three tenures of office, or when Okuma-Itagaki Coalition Cabinet was in power. If conspicuous results are sought of the Saionji Cabinet, they consist in the expansion of armaments, the nationalization of the railways, and the conversion of War taxes into permanent ones. All these measures carried through with the support of the Constitutionalists Party have proved to be causes of serious financial dislocation, carrying with it direful consequences on national finance and economic interests, from which the country is still suffering to a great degree.

The seed of abuses sown in local self-administration is principally to be placed at the doors of the

Constitutionalists, while the Saionji Cabinet went so far as to compile the deceptive Budget of 1907–8. It was at this time that the Premier could not keep down the rivalries of the Army and the Navy for appropriations for expansion, and the fraudulent Budget was the outcome of pressure chiefly brought to bear upon the Finance Minister by the Minister of War. In spite of these great demands on national revenue, the Premier Marquis Saionji under pressure by the advocates of militarism both in and out of the government, found himself powerless either to prevent or postpone till more suitable time the work of nationalizing the railways. The capitalists thus suddenly deprived of profitable sources of investments were placed in an awkward situation, and the country has not yet sufficiently recovered from the results following so great a dislocation in its economic interests.

It was also by the Saionji Cabinet that the Salt and Tobacco Monopolies were started. The poor have thus been made to buy salt at an artificial price, and the chance for them to buy it cheaper as

the result of commercial competition came to be entirely closed to them.

The Tobacco industry in this country came to realize a very conspicuous development since co-operation was effectcd with American Tobacco Trust, and when by their joint efforts the industry came to be quite a success, the Government suddenly stepped in, and by force of the Law of Government monopolies passed at the Diet, compelled the owners to sell their interests at the rate of valuation fixed by the government. The American capital invested in the Tobacco industry was thus forcibly driven out. This action on the part of the government must have militated very much against Japan's national interests which are to be realized by free inflow of foreign capital. All these things have been effected by the government standing on party basis.

The Constitutionalists, however, could not remain blind to the consequences following the military domination to which they have been submitted since 1905. They soon found themselves confronted with

the necessity of defining their attitude toward militarism and its followers. They came to be convinced that the sympathy shown by them so far toward military interests would soon prove to be the cause alienating themselves from public confidence. Consequently when the third Saionji Cabinet was formed, the demand of the army to create two new Divisions was refused, whereupon the War Minister General Uyehara resigned, and the whole Cabinet collapse had to follow.

PARTY GOVERNMENT WORKABLE OR NOT

Even the most conservative, however prejudiced against a party government in Japan, has come to be compelled to admit the necessity of support of a strong party for smooth working of the Constitutional Government. But it remains to be seen if the government as advocated by the English school of politicians here could at once be realized. The existence of two rival parties is not yet considered to be of absolute necessity by most influential section of

political thinkers. Both Houses of the Diet being clothed with exactly the same authority excepting the privilege of the Lower House to vote first on the Budget, it is thought to be going too fast to adopt the British system at once. Moreover, the prejudice existing in the minds of the Upper House against political parties will take long time to die out. This tendency left out of consideration by any party government will only create a friction with the House of Peers resulting in difficulties in materializing the government bills which are required to pass through both Houses of the Diet.

It is an interesting development to watch what form of party government would come to be adopted in Japan. Different stages of experimentation will have to be gone through before final consummation of the method of working of the constitutional form of government in this country be realized.

Count Okuma who has been expected to be the first Premier to set an example of a party government coming nearest to the English system, if not exactly on the same basis, now finds himself at the

COUNT TAISUKE ITAGAKI
who organized the Liberal Party

head of his colleagues who do not belong to one and the same camp. The Okuma Cabinet organized on April 16 1914 is far removed from the ideal of the English school of thinkers here.

Judging by the conflicting thoughts and tendencies existing at present, the creation of two rival parties to work the government on the British system does not appear to be realized in the near future. According to disinterested and practical administrators, the energies of the Government at present and for some years to come should be concentrated on the destruction of the power of majority now enjoyed by the Constitutionalists in the central as well as in local assemblies. The party in majority by the abuse of its power has impressed the right-minded thinkers with the danger of investing a political party with the authority to command a majority in any assembly.

A general election of the members of the House of Representatives if conducted while the Okuma Cabinet is in power, there will be no doubt that the Constitutionalists will lose many of their seats, but if

the loss of their seats be sufficiently great to destroy their majority in the House remains to be seen. It would be expecting too much to see them lose their majority by one general election. Should Count Okuma be determined to resort to more than one dissolution if deemed necessary to do so, he will ultimately succeed in breaking down their majority in the House, for public opinion is certainly prejudiced against the Constitutionalists. But it must not be forgotten that the electors have tendencies to vote in favour of concessions to be secured and those most skilled in canvassing in election campaigns are to be found in the rank of the Constitutionalists. They have a sort of caucus organized in different districts which will take time to be overthrown.

After the Constitutionalists have lost a majority in the central and local assemblies, there will follow a time when no single party in majority exists. It will be after this period of perhaps considerable length of time, that the system of party government workable for this country will come to be realized.

As already frequently referred to, it must not be

overlooked that the government in this country is not held responsible to the people but only to the Throne. When Prince Katsura decided to organize a new party, it was not for the purpose of creating an organ for facilitating the transfer of governmental authority, but it was for the purpose of educating up the people so as to realize healthy growth of political ideas in their minds, and so to facilitate the working of administrative organs. A departure from the principle of the Government held responsible to the Throne, and not to the people, will be tantamount to the destruction of the fundamental principle of Japan's national existence.

THREE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR PLATFORMS

There are three principal political parties at present, the Seiyukai or Constitutionalists, first organized by the late Prince Ito, the Kokuminto or Nationalists, first started by Count Okuma, and the Rikken Doshikai or Constitutional Associates Party, organized by the late Prince Katsura.

The first Party is now under the leadership of Mr. T. Hara, the second under Mr. T. Inukai, and the third under Baron Kato.

Count Okuma now belongs to no party but is believed to have support of the Doshikai, the Kokuminto and the Chuseikai. This last one is not a political party but only a group of the members of the Lower House of which Mr. Y. Ozaki is one of the leading spirits. The members of this group are left free to act according to their own judgement and not bound by any form of a party discipline.

I

PLATFORM OF THE RIKKEN SEIYUKAI

(Constitutional Political Friends Association or Constitutionalists Party)

Organized by Prince Ito September 15 1900.

The Party has been organized for the purpose of serving the Imperial Family with sincere loyalty, and of discharging the duties of the citizen as expected by the State. The aims and purpose of the party may be epitomized as follows:—

(1) Strictly to obey the Imperial Constitution, to perfect the working of the Ruling Power by carefully following the provisions of the Constitution, and thereby to effect realization of important State affairs, together with preservation of individual rights and freedom.

(2) To follow out the great principle underlying the new Regime inaugurated by the Restoration and Revival (opening with the Meiji Era) and to help to promote the realization of the said principle, whereby national progress could be achieved, and civilization and enlightenment, implanted.

(3) To perfect the working of the different organs of administration by strictly following the principle of

impartiality: with this purpose in view, to place official appointments on the most prudent and careful basis, to discard unnecessary routines, to place official responsibility on a clearly defined standard, to maintain discipline, to manage business with promptitude, and thus to be kept in consonance with the progressive tendencies of the times.

(4) To attach importance to foreign policy for advancing amicable relations with friendly Powers, to inspire foreigners coming to this country with confidence by following the principles of a civilized government, so that both the name and reality of a country governed by laws may be secured.

(5) To complete national defense for the purpose of adjusting the same to the requirements of the times prevailing both at home and abroad, and to ensure protection of our national prestige and interests by corresponding development of national resources.

(6) To promote education, to build up national character, to develop personal qualities and capacities fitted for bearing the obligations to the State and thus to place the country on a solid foundation.

(7) To encourage all the branches of productive industries, to promote navigation and oversea trade, to increase facilities of communications, and thus to place the economic life of the country on a firm basis.

(8) To realize the principle of fraternal union and combi-

nation in Local administrations and to perfect their co-operation on social and economic affairs.

(9) To be alive to the sense of responsibility a political party bears to the State, to act with an eye single to the public benefit and constantly to place oneself on a strict guard in order not to fall into the prevailing errors.

II

PLATFORM OF THE RIKKEN KOKUMINTO

(Constitutional Nationalist Party)

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(1) To establish a responsible cabinet and to consummate the perfection of Constitutional Government.

(Note: By a responsible cabinet here mentioned is to be understood a cabinet responsible to the people.)

(2) To maintain balance of power between the civil and the military, and to realize correct proportion of the share of national expense.

(3) To study carefully the extent of requirements for national defense and to maintain the efficiency of national armaments.

(4) To emphasize the importance of international peace and to develop and promote national interests.

(5) To improve internal administration, and to extend and develop the system of local self-administration.

(6) To readjust the system of taxation and to place national finance on a sound and firm basis.

(7) To encourage agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing industries and to realize full development of national power.

(8) To complete the means of communications and thereby

contribute to the development of the sources of national wealth.

(9) To reform and renew the system of education and to effect realization of a substantial and solid national spirit.

III

PLATFORM OF THE RIKKEN DOSHIKAI

(Constitutional Associates Party)

Organized by Prince Katsura February 24 1913.

(1) To develop and enhance the great spirit of loyalty centered in the Imperial House.

(2) To approve and carry further the great policy adopted at the time of the national Restoration, and support the Imperial policy of progress and open international intercourse.

(3) To conform to the provisions of the Constitution, respect the Imperial prerogatives, clearly define the responsibility of the Ministers of State and preserve the people's rights.

(4) To disseminate education, elevate the people's public morality and develop their constitutional intelligence.

(5) To extend the sense of racial fraternity and apply them to the establishment of measures for social reforms and mutual aid.

(6) To work for the development of agriculture, industry and commerce, and develop the national resources to their fullest capacity.

(7) To establish perfect control over the colonial territories and thus strengthen the basis of national existence.

(8) To establish thoroughly the national prestige in the world and contribute to the peace of the world.

(9) To extend the scope of the administrative business and to maintain purity of local self-government.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

First Session:— Nov. 29 1890—March 8 1891.

Yayoi club	130
Giinshukaijo	41
Daiseikai...	79
National Liberals	5
Unattached	45
	300

Second Session:— Nov. 29—Dec. 25 1891. (Dissolved.)

Yayoi club	92
Giinshukaijo	44
Daiseikai...	52
Liberal club	25
Tomoye club	17
Independents club...	19
Unattached	51
	300

After Second General Election

Third Session:— May 5—June 15 1892. (Special Session after dissolution.)

Yayoi club	95
Giinshukaijo	37
Chu-o-koshokai	95
Independents club...	31
Unattached	42
	300

Fourth Session:— Nov. 29 1892—Mar. 1 1893.

Yayoi club	91
Giinshukaijo	41
Giin club...	68
Oriental Liberals	4
Chu-o-koshokai	11
Domei club	20
Shiba club	18
Yuraku-gumi	10
Business-men's Association	7
Inouye-group...	5
Unattached	20
	300

Fifth Session:— Nov. 28—Dec. 30 1893. (Dissolved.)

Yayoi club	81
Giinshukaijo	42
Giin club...	66
Oriental Liberals	4
Doshi club	18

Domei club	25
Political Investigations Association	20
Osaka group	6
Businessmen's Association	9
Inouye-Group	5
Kishu-Group	5
Unattached	19
	300

After Third General Election

Sixth Session:— May 15—June 2 1894. (Special Session, Dissolved.)

Jiyuto, Radicals or Liberals	119
Rikken Kaishinto or Progressives	48
National Association	26
Rikken Kakushinto or Reformers	37
Chugoku Shimpoto or Mid-land Progressives... ...	5
Churitsu Club or Neutral Club	5
Dai Nippon Association	9
Unattached	51
	300

After Fourth General Election

Seventh Session:— Oct. 18—22 1894. (Special Session at Hiroshima.)

Liberals	106
Progressives	45
National Association	30
Reformers	40
Financial Reformers	4
Mid-land Progressives	3
Ote Club	25
Unattached	47
	300

Eighth Session :— Dec. 24 1894—March 27 1895.

Liberals	107
Progressives	52
National Association	30
Reformers	38
Financial Reformers	4
Midland Progressives	4
Ote Club	25
Unattached	48
	300

Ninth Session :— Dec. 28 1895—March 29 1896.

Liberals	110
Progressives	100
National Association	32
Yamaguchi Group	5
Kishu Group	4

Unattached	49
	300

Tenth Session :— Dec. 25 1896—March 24 1897.

Liberals	89
Progressives	93
National Association	24
Giin Club	26
Businessmen's Club	18
New Liberals	12
National Club...	7
Sunday Group	8
Unattached	23
	300

Eleventh Session :— Dec. 24—25 1897 (Dissolved).

Liberals	81
Progressives	86
National Association	23
Kodo Group	42
Businessmen's Club	22
Doshikai	8
Unattached	37
	300

After Fifth General Election

Twelfth Session :— May 19—June 10 1898 (Special Session Dissolved.)

Liberals	98
Progressives	91
National Association	26
Yamashita Group	48
Doshi Club	14
Unattached	23
	300

After Sixth General Election

Thirteenth Session:— Dec. 3 1898—March 10 1899.

Kenseito (or Constitutionalists being Old Liberals)...	119
Kenseihonto (or True Constitutionalists being Old Progressives)	124
National Association	20
Hiyoshi Club	11
Unattached	26
	300

Fourteenth Session:— Nov. 22 1899—Feb. 24 1900.

Kenseito (Old Liberals)	118
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)...	116
Imperialists	20
Hiyoshi Club	10
Giin Doshi Club	12
Unattached	24
	300

Fifteenth Session:— Dec. 25 1900—March 25 1901.

Rikken Seiyukai (Constitutionalists organized by Prince Ito)	155
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)...	67
Imperialists	12
Sanshi Club	30
Unattached	27
	300

Sixteenth Session:— Dec. 10 1901—March 10 1902.

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	158
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)...	72
Imperialists	13
Sanshi Club	30
Unattached	27
	300

After Seventh General Election

Seventeenth Session:— Dec. 9—28 1902. (Dissolved.)

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	191
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)...	93
Imperialists	17
Jinshinkai	28
Boshin Club	13
Unattached	34
	376

After Eighth General Election

Eighteenth Session:— May 12—June 5 1903. (Special Session.)

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	175
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)	85
Imperialists	17
Chusei Club	31
Seiyu Club	13
Doshi Club	8
Unattached	47
	376

Nineteenth Session:— Dec. 10—11 1903. (Dissolved.)

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	128
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)	85
Imperialists	18
Chusei Club	33
Doshi-Kenkiukai	19
Koyu Club	25
Unattached	68
	376

After Ninth General Election

Twentieth Session:— March 20—30 1904. (Special Session.)

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	130
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)	90
Imperialists	19

Koshin Club	39
Mumei Club	25
Jiyuto	18
Unattached	58
	379

Twenty-first Session:— Nov. 30 1904—Feb. 28 1905.

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	139
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)...	95
Imperialists	19
Dokokai	28
Yushikai	17
Koshin Club	27
Liberals	19
Unattached	35
	379

Twenty-second Session:— Dec. 28 1905—March 27 1906.

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	149
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)...	98
Daido Club	76
Seiko Club	36
Unattached	20
	379

Twenty-third Session:— Dec. 29 1906—March 28 1907.

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	171
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)...	94

Daido Club	63
Yukokai	36
Unattached	15
	379

Twenty-fourth Session :— Dec. 28 1907—March. 28 1908.

Seiyukai (Constitutionalists)	180
Kenseihonto (Old Progressives)...	87
Daido Club	59
Yukokai	36
Unattached	16
	378

(Note :— One seat vacant at this session.)

Twenty-fifth Session :— Dec. 28 1908—March 25 1909.

Seiyukai	193
Kenseihonto	65
Daido Club	29
Yushinkai	44
Boko Club	40
Unattached	8
	379

Twenty-sixth Session :— Dec. 24 1909—March 24 1910.

Seiyukai	204
Kokuminto (Nationalists, or Old Progressives) ...	92

(Note : This name was adopted for this Party from this session).

Chu-o Club	50
Yushinkai	18
Unattached	15
	379

Twenty-seventh Session:— Dec. 24 1910—March 24 1911.

Seiyukai	204
Kokuminto	90
Daido Club	52
Unattached	33
	379

Twenty-eighth Session:— Dec. 24 1911—March 24 1912.

Seiyukai	207
Kokuminto	87
Chu-o Club	50
Unattached	34
	378

(one seat vacant)

Twenty-ninth Session:— Aug. 21—23 1912. (Special Session.)

Seiyukai	212
Kokuminto	87
Chu-o Club	34
Unattached	48
	381

(Note: Two seats increased from this session.)

Thirtieth Session:— Dec. 24 1912—March 26 1913.

Seiyukai	188
Kokuminto	43
Independents	93
Yurakukai	29
Seiko Club	26
Unattached	2
	381

Thirty-first Session :— Dec. 24 1913—March 25 1914.

Seiyukai	206
Kokuminto	39
Doshikai (Party organized by Prince Katsura in February 1913)	92
Chuseikai...	35
Unattached	8
	380

(one seat vacant)

APPENDIX I

IMPERIAL OATH

AT THE

SANCTUARY OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE

We, the Successor to the prosperous Throne of Our Predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of Our House and to Our other Imperial Ancestors that, in pursuance of a great policy co-extensive with the Heavens and with the Earth, We shall maintain and secure from decline the ancient from of government.

In consideration of the progressive tendency of the course of human affairs and in parallel with the advance of civilization, We deem it expedient, in order to give clearness and distinctness to the instructions bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors, to establish fundamental laws formulated into express provisions of law, so that, on the one hand, Our Imperial posterity may possess an express guide for the course they are to follow, and that, on the other, Our subjects shall thereby be enabled to enjoy a wider range of action in giving Us their support, and that the observance of Our laws shall continue to the remotest ages of time. We will

thereby to give greater firmness to the stability of Our country and to promote the welfare of all the people within the boundaries of Our dominions; and We now establish the Imperial House Law and the Constitution. These Laws come to only an exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the government, bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors. That we have been so fortunate in Our reign, in keeping with the tendency of the times, as to accomplish this work, We owe to the glorious Spirits of the Imperial Founder of Our House and of Our other Imperial Ancestors.

We now reverently make Our prayer to Them and to Our Illustrious Father, and implore the help of Their Sacred Spirits, and make to Them solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to Our subjects in the observance of the Laws hereby established.

May the Heavenly Spirits witness this Our solemn Oath.

APPENDIX II

IMPERIAL SPEECH

ON THE

PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Whereas We make it the joy and glory of Our heart to behold the prosperity of Our country, and the welfare of Our subjects, We do hereby, in virtue of the supreme power We inherit from Our Imperial Ancestors, promulgate the present immutable fundamental law, for the sake of Our present subjects and their descendants.

The Imperial Founder of Our House and Our other Imperial Ancestors, by the help and support of the forefathers of Our subjects, laid the foundation of Our Empire upon a basis, which is to last forever. That this brilliant achievement embellishes the annals of Our country, is due to the glorious virtues of Our Sacred Imperial Ancestors, and to the loyalty and bravery of Our subjects, their love of their country and their public spirit. Considering that Our subjects are the descendants of the loyal and good subjects of Our Imperial Ancestors, We doubt not but that Our subjects will be guided by Our views, and will sympathize with all Our endeavours, and that, harmoniously co-

operating together, they will share with Us Our hope of making manifest the glory of Our country, both at home and abroad, and of securing forever the stabilsty of the work bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial Ancestors.

APPENDIX III

PREAMBLE

TO THE

CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN

Having, by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors, ascended the Throne of a lineal succession uubroken for ages eternal; desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our Ancestors; and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in concert with Our people and with their support, We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial Rescript of the 12th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Meiji, a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles, by which We are to be guided in Our conduct, and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their descendants are forever to conform.

The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted.

We now declare to respect and protect the security of the rights and of the property of Our people, and to secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same, within the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law.

The Imperial Diet shall first be convoked for the 23rd year of Meiji, and the time of its opening shall be the date, when the present Constitution comes into force.

When in the future it may become necessary to amend any of the provisions of the present Constitution, We or Our successors shall assume the initiative right, and submit a project for the same to the Imperial Diet. The Imperial Diet shall pass its vote upon it, according to the conditions imposed by the present Constitution, and in no otherwise shall Our descendants or Our subjects be permitted to attempt any alteration thereof.

Our Ministers of State, on Our behalf, shall be held responsible for the carrying out of the present Constitution, and Our present and future subjects shall forever assume the duty of allegiance to the present Constitution.

[His Imperial Majesty's Sign-Manual.]

[Privy Seal.]

The 11th day of the 2nd month of the 22nd year of Meiji.

(Countersigned) Count Kuroda Kiyotaka,
Minister President of State.

Count Ito Hirobumi,
President of the Privy Council.

Count Okuma Shigenobu,
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

Count Saigo Tsukumichi,
Minister of State for the Navy.

Count Inouye Kaoru,
Minister of State for Agriculture and Commerce.

Count Yamada Akiyoshi,
Minister of State for Justice.

Count Matsugata Masayoshi,
Minister of State for Finance, and Minister of State for Home Affairs.

Count Oyama Iwao,
Minister of State for War.

Viscount Mori Arinori,
Minister of State for Education.

Viscount Enomoto Takeaki,
Minister of State for Communications.

APPENDIX IV

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN

CHAPTER I

THE EMPEROR

ARTICLE I.—The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

ARTICLE II.—The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

ARTICLE III.—The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

ARTICLE IV.—The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitutions.

ARTICLE V.—The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE VI.—The Emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

ARTICLE VII.—The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE VIII.—The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial Ordinances in the place of law.

Such Imperial Ordinances are to be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next session, and when the Diet does not approve the said Ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be invalid for the future.

ARTICLE IX.—The Emperor issues or causes to be issued, the Ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of the

public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of the subjects. But no Ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

ARTICLE X.—The Emperor determines the organization of the different branches of the administration, and salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions especially provided for in the present Constitution or in other laws, shall be in accordance with the respective provisions (bearing thereon).

ARTICLE XI.—The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.

ARTICLE XII.—The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the Army and Navy.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

ARTICLE XIV.—The Emperor declares a state of siege.

The conditions and effects of a state of siege shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE XV.—The Emperor confers titles

of nobility, rank, orders and other marks of honor.

ARTICLE XVI.—The Emperor orders amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishments and rehabilitation.

ARTICLE XVII.—A Regency shall be instituted in conformity with the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

The Regent shall exercise the powers appertaining to the Emperor in His name.

CHAPTER II

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SUBJECTS

ARTICLE XVIII.—The Conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE XIX.—Japanese subjects may, according to qualifications determined in laws or ordinances, be appointed to civil or military or any other public offices equally.

ARTICLE XX.—Japanese subjects are amenable

to service in the Army or Navy, according to the provisions of law.

ARTICLE XXI.—Japanese subjects are amenable to the duty of paying taxes, according to the provisions of law.

ARTICLE XXII.—Japanese subjects shall have the liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits of law.

ARTICLE XXIII.—No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished, unless according to law.

ARTICLE XXIV.—No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by the judges determined by law.

ARTICLE XXV.—Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent.

ARTICLE XXVI.—Except in the cases mentioned in the law, the secrecy of the letters of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

ARTICLE XXVII.—The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

Measures necessary to be taken for the public benefit shall be provided for by law.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

ARTICLE XXIX.—Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations.

ARTICLE XXX.—Japanese subjects may present petitions, by observing the proper forms of respect, and by complying with the rules specially provided for the same.

ARTICLE XXXI.—The provisions contained in the present Chapter shall not affect the exercise of the powers appertaining to the Emperor, in times of war or in cases of a national emergency.

ARTICLE XXXII.—Each and every one of the provisions contained in the preceding Articles of the present Chapter, that are not in conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the Army and

Navy, shall apply to the officers and men of the Army and of the Navy.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPERIAL DIET

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The Imperial Diet shall consist of two Houses, a House of Peers and a House of Representatives.

ARTICLE XXXIV.—The House of Peers shall, in accordance with the Ordinance concerning the House of Peers, be composed of the members of the Imperial Family, of the orders of nobility, and of those persons, who have been nominated thereto by the Emperor.

ARTICLE XXXV.—The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members elected by the people, according to the provisions of the Law of Election.

ARTICLE XXXVI.—No one can at one and the same time be a Member of both Houses.

ARTICLE XXXVII.—Every law requires the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—Both Houses shall vote upon projects of law submitted to it by the Government, and may respectively initiate projects of law.

ARTICLE XXXIX.—A Bill, which has been rejected by either the one or the other of the two Houses, shall not be again brought in during the same session.

ARTICLE XL.—Both Houses can make representations to the Government, as to laws or upon any other subject. When, however, such representations are not accepted, they cannot be made a second time during the same session.

ARTICLE XLI.—The Imperial Diet shall be convoked every year.

ARTICLE XLII.—A session of the Imperial Diet shall last during three months. In case of necessity, the duration of a session may be prolonged by Imperial Order.

ARTICLE XLIII.—When urgent necessity

arises, an extraordinary session may be convoked, in addition to the ordinary one.

The duration of an extraordinary session shall be determined by Imperial Order.

ARTICLE XLIV.—The opening, closing, prolongation of session and prorogation of the Imperial Diet, shall be effected simultaneously for both Houses.

In case the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, the House of Peers shall at the same time be prorogued.

ARTICLE XLV.—When the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, Members shall be caused by Imperial Order to be newly elected, and the new House shall be convoked within five months from the day of dissolution.

ARTICLE XLVI.—No debate can be opened and no vote can be taken in either House of the Imperial Diet, unless not less than one third of the whole number of the Members thereof is present.

ARTICLE XLVII.—Votes shall be taken in both Houses by absolute majority. In the case of a

tie vote, the President shall have the casting vote.

ARTICLE XLVIII.—The deliberations of both Houses shall be held in public. The deliberations may, however, upon demand of the Government or by resolution of the House, be held in secret sitting.

ARTICLE XLIX. — Both Houses of the Imperial Diet may respectively present addresses to the Emperor.

ARTICLE L.—Both Houses may receive petitions presented by subjects.

ARTICLE LI.—Both Houses may enact, besides what is provided for in the present Constitution and in the Law of the Houses, rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs.

ARTICLE LII.—No Member of either House shall be held responsible outside the respective Houses, for any opinion uttered or for any vote given in the House. When, however, a Member himself has given publicity to his opinions by public speech, by documents in print or in writing, or by any other similar means, he shall, in the matter, be amenable to the general law.

ARTICLE LIII.—The Members of both Houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the consent of the House, except in cases of flagrant delicts, or of offences connected with a state of internal commotion or with a foreign trouble.

ARTICLE LIV.—The Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government may, at any time, take seats and speak in either House.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MINISTERS OF STATE AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL

ARTICLE LV.—The respective Ministers of State shall give their advice to the Emperor, and be responsible for it.

All Laws, Imperial Ordinances and Imperial Rescripts of whatever kind, that relate to the affairs of the State, require the countersignature of a Minister of State.

ARTICLE LVI.—The Privy Councillors shall,

in accordance with the provisions for the organization of the Privy Council, deliberate upon important matters of State, when they have been consulted by the Emperor.

CHAPTER V.

THE JUDICATURE

ARTICLE LVII.—The Judicature shall be exercised by the Courts of Law according to law, in the name of the Emperor.

The organization of the Courts of Law shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE LVIII.—The judges shall be appointed from among those, who possess proper qualifications according to law.

No judge shall be deprived of his position, unless by way of criminal sentence or disciplinary punishment.

Rules for disciplinary punishment shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE LIX.—Trials and judgments of a

Court shall be conducted publicly. When, however, there exists any fear, that such publicity may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality, the public trial may be suspended by provision of law or by the decision of the Court of Law.

ARTICLE LX.—All matters, that fall within the competency of a special Court, shall be specially provided for by law.

ARTICLE LXI.—No suit at law, which relates to rights alleged to have been infringed by the illegal measures of the administrative authorities, and which shall come within the competency of the Court of Administrative Litigation specially established by law, shall be taken cognizance of by a Court of Law.

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCE

ARTICLE LXII.—The imposition of a new tax or the modification of the rates (of an existing one) shall be determined by law.

However, all such administrative fees or other revenue having the nature of compensation shall not fall within the category of the above clause.

The raising of national loans and the contracting of other liabilities to the charge of the National Treasury, except those that are provided in the Budget, shall require the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE LXIII.—The taxes levied at present shall, in so far as they are not remodelled by a new law, be collected according to the old system.

ARTICLE LXIV.—The expenditure and revenue of the State require the consent of the Imperial Diet by means of an annual Budget.

Any and all expenditures overpassing the appropriations set forth in the Titles and Paragraphs of the Budget, or that are not provided for in the Budget, shall subsequently require the approbation of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE LXV.—The Budget shall be first laid before the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE LXVI.—The expenditures of the

Imperirl House shall be defrayed every year out of the National Treasury, according to the present fixed amount for the same, and shall not require the consent thereto of the Imperial Diet, except in case an increase thereof is found necessary.

ARTICLE LXVII.—Those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law, or that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Imperial Diet, without the concurrence of the Government.

ARTICLE LXVIII.—In order to meet special requirements, the Government may ask the consent of the Imperial Diet to a certain amount as a Continuing Expenditure Fund, for a previously fixed number of years.

ARTICLE LXIX.—In order to supply deficiencies, which are unavoidable, in the Budget, and to meet requirements unprovided for in the same, a Reserve Fund shall be provided in the Budget.

ARTICLE LXX.—When the Imperial Diet

cannot be convoked, owing to the external or internal condition of the country, in case of urgent need for the maintenance of public safety, the Government may take all necessary financial measures, by means of an Imperial Ordinance.

In the case mentioned in the preceding clause, the matter shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet at its next session, and its approbation shall be obtained thereto.

ARTICLE LXXI.—When the Imperial Diet has not voted on the Budget, or when the Budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the Budget of the preceding year.

ARTICLE LXXII.—The final account of the expenditures and revenue of the State shall be verified and confirmed by the Board of Audit, and it shall be submitted by the Government to the Imperial Diet, together with the report of verification of the said Board.

The organization and competency of the Board of Audit shall be determined by law separately.

CHAPTER VII

SUPPLEMENTARY RULES

ARTICLE LXXIII. — When it has become necessary in future to amend the provisions of the present Constitution, a project to the effect shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet by Imperial Order.

In the above case, neither House can open the debate, unless not less than two-thirds of the whole number of Members are present, and no amendment can be passed, unless a majority of not less than two-thirds of the Members present is obtained.

ARTICLE LXXIV.—No modification ot the Imperial House Law shall be required to be submitted to the deliberation of the Imperial Diet.

No provision of the present Constitution can be modified by the Imperial House Law.

ARTICLE LXXV.—No modification can be introduced into the Constitution, or into the Imperial House Law, during the time of a Regency.

ARTICLE LXXVI.—Existing legal enactments,

such as laws, regulations, Ordinances, or by whatever names they may be called, shall, so far as they do not conflict with the present Constitution, continue in force.

All existing contracts or orders, that entail obligations upon the Government, and that are connected with expenditure, shall come within the scope of Art. LXVII.

APPENDIX V

THE IMPERIAL HOUSE LAW

The Imperial Throne of Japan, enjoying the Grace of Heaven and everlasting from ages eternal in an unbroken line of succession, has been transmitted to Us through successive reigns. The fundamental rules of Our Family were established once for all, at the time that Our Ancestors laid the foundations of the Empire, and are even at this day as bright celestial luminaries. We now desire to make the instructions of Our Ancestors more exact and express and to establish for Our posterity a House Law, by which Our House shall be founded in everlasting strength, and its dignity be forever maintained. We hereby, with the advice of Our Privy Council, give Our Sanction to the present Imperial House Law, to serve as a standard by which Our descendants shall be guided.

[His Imperial Majesty's Sign-Manual.]

[Privy Seal.]

The 11th day of the 2nd month of the 22nd year of Meiji.

CHAPTER I

SUCCESSION TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE

ARTICLE I.—The Imperial Throne of Japan shall be succeeded to by male descendants in the male line of Imperial Ancestors.

ARTICLE II.—The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by the Imperial eldest son.

ARTICLE III.—When there is no Imperial eldest son, the Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by the Imperial eldest grandson. When there is neither Imperial eldest son nor any male descendant of his, it shall be succeeded to by the Imperial son next in age, and so on in every successive case.

ARTICLE IV.—For succession to the Imperial Throne by an Imperial descendant, the one of full blood shall have precedence over descendants of half blood. The succession to the Imperial Throne by the latter shall be limited to those cases only, when there is no Imperial descendant of full blood.

ARTICLE V.—When there is no Imperial descendant, the Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by an Imperial brother and by his descendants.

ARTICLE VI.—When there is no such Imperial brother or descendant of his, the Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by an Imperial uncle and by his descendants.

ARTICLE VII.—When there is neither such Imperial uncle

nor descendant of his, the Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by the next nearest member among the rest of the Imperial Family.

ARTICLE VIII.—Among the Imperial brothers and the remoter Imperial relations, precedence shall be given, in the same degree, to the descendants of full blood over those of half blood, and to the elder over the younger.

ARTICLE IX.—When the Imperial heir is suffering from an incurable disease of mind or body, or when any other weighty cause exists, the order of succession may be changed in accordance with the foregoing provisions, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

CHAPTER II

ASCENSION AND CORONATION

ARTICLE X.—Upon the demise of the Emperor, the Imperial heir shall ascend the Throne, and shall acquire the Divine Treasures of the Imperial Ancestors.

ARTICLE XI.—The ceremonies of Coronation shall be performed and a Grand Coronation Banquet (Daijōsai) shall be held at Kyoto.

ARTICLE XII.—Upon an ascension to the Throne, a new era shall be inaugurated, and the name of it shall remain unchanged during the whole reign, in agreement with the established rule of the 1st year of Meiji.

CHAPTER III

MAJORITY INSTITUTION OF EMPRESS AND OF HEIR-APPARENT

ARTICLE XIII.—The Emperor, the Kōtaishi and the Kōtaison shall attain their majority at eighteen full years of age.

ARTICLE XIV.—Members of the Imperial Family, other than those mentioned in the preceding Article, shall attain their majority at twenty full years of age.

ARTICLE XV.—The son of the Emperor who is Heir-apparent, shall be called "Kōtaishi." In case there is no Kōtaishi, the Imperial grandson who is Heir-apparent, shall be called "Kōtaison."

ARTICLE XVI.—The institution of Empress and that of Kōtaison shall be proclaimed by an Imperial Rescript.

CHAPTER IV

STYLES OF ADDRESS

ARTICLE XVII.—The style of address for the Emperor, the Grand Empress Dowager, the Empress Dowager and of the Empress, shall be *His* or *Her* or *Your Majesty.*

ARTICLE XVIII.—The Kōtaishi and his consort, the Kōtaison and his cansort, the Imperial Princes and their consorts, the Imperial Princesses, the Princes and their consorts,

and the Princesses shall be styled *His, Her, Their* or *Your Highness* or *Highnesses.*

CHAPTER V

REGENCY

ARTICLE XIX.—When the Emperor is a minor, a Regency shall be instituted.

When He is prevented by some permanent cause from personally governing, a Regency shall be instituted, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

ARTICLE XX.—The Regency shall be assumed by the Kōtaishi or the Kōtaison, being of full age of majority.

ARTICLE XXI.—When there is neither Kōtaishi nor Kōtaison, or when the Kōtaishi or the Kōtaison has not yet arrived at his majority, the Regency shall be assumed in the following order:—

1. An Imperial Prince or a Prince.
2. The Empress.
3. The Empress Dowager.
4. The Grand Empress Dowager.
5. An Imperial Princess or a Princess.

ARTICLE XXII.—In case the Regency is to be assumed from among the male members of the Imperial Family, it shall be done in agreement with the order of succession to the Imperial

Throne. The same shall apply to the case of female members of the Imperial Family.

ARTICLE XXIII.—A female member of the Imperial Family to assume the Regency, shall be exclusively one who has no consort.

ARTICLE XXIV.—When, on account of the minority of the nearest related member of the Imperial Family, or for some other cause, another member has to assume the Regency, the latter shall not, upon the arrival at majority of the above mentioned nearest related member, or upon the disappearance of the aforesaid cause, resign his or her post in favour of any person other than of the Kōtaishi or of the Kōtaison.

ARTICLE XXV.—When a Regent or one who should bocome such, is suffering from an incurable disease of mind or body, or when any other weighty cause exists therefor, the order of the Regency may be changed, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNOR

ARTICLE XXVI.—When the Emperor is a minor, an Imperial Governor shall be appointed to take charge of His bringing up and of His education.

ARTICLE XXVII.—In case no Imperial Governor has been nominated in the will of the preceding Emperor, the Regent

shall appont one, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—Neither the Regent nor any of his descendants can be appointed Imperial Governor.

ARTICLE XXIX.—The Imperial Governor can not be removed from his post by the Regent, unless upon the advice of the Imperial Family Council and upon that of the Privy Council.

CHAPTER VII

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

ARTICLE XXX.—The term "Imperial Family" shall include the Grand Empress Dowager, the Empress Dowager, the Empress, the Kōtaishi and his consort, the Kōtaison and his consort, the Imperial Pinces and their consorts, the Imperial Princesses, the Princes and their consorts, and the Princesses.

ARTICLE XXXI.—From Imperial sons to Imperial great-great-grandsons, Imperial male descendants shall be called Imperial Princes; and from Imperial daughters to Imperial great-great-grand-daughters, Imperial female descendants shall be called Imperial Princesses. From the fifth generation downwards, they shall be called, male descendants, Princes, female ones, Princesses.

ARTICLE XXXII.—When the Imperial Throne is succeeded to by a member of a branch line, the title of Imperial Prince or Imperial Princess shall be specially granted to the Imperial

brothers and sisters, being already Princes or Princesses.

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The births, namings, marriages and deaths in the Imperial Family shall be announced by the Minister of the Imperial Household.

ARTICLE XXXIV.—Genealogical and other records relating to the matters mentioned in the preceding Article shall be kept in the Imperial archives.

ARTICLE XXXV.—The members of the Imperial Family shall be under the control of the Emperor.

ARTICLE XXXVI.—When a Regency is instituted, the Regent shall exercise the power of control referred to in the preceding Article.

ARTICLE XXXVII.—When a member, male or female, of the Imperial Family is a minor and has been bereft of his or her father, the officials of the Imperial Court shall be ordered to take charge of his or her bringing up and education. Under certain circumstances, the Emperor may either approve the guardian chosen by his or her parent, or may nominate one.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—The guardian of a member of the Imperial Family must be himself a member thereof and of age.

ARTICLE XXXIX.—Marriages of members of the Imperial Family shall be restricted to the circle of the Family, or to certain noble families specially approved by Imperial Order.

ARTICLE XL.—Marriages of the members of the Imperial Family shall be subject to the sanction of the Emperor.

ARTICLE XLI.—The Imperial writs sanctioning the mar-

riages of members of the Imperial Family, shall bear the countersignature of the Minister of the Imperial Household.

ARTICLE XLII.—No member of the Imperial Family can adopt any one as his son.

ARTICLE XLIII.—When a member of the Imperial Family wishes to travel beyond the boundaries of the Empire, he shall first obtain the sanction of the Emperor.

ARTICLE XLIV.—A female member of the Imperial Family, who has married a subject, shall be excluded from membership of the Imperial Family. However, she may be allowed, by the special grace of the Emperor, to retain her title of Imperial Princess or of Princess, as the case may be.

CHAPTER VIII.

IMPERIAL HEREDITARY ESTATES

ARTICLE XLV.—No landed or other property, that has been fixed as the Imperial Hereditary Estates, shall be divided up and alienated.

ARTICLE XLVI.—The landed and other property to be included in the Imperial Hereditary Estates, shall be settled by Imperial writ, with the advice of the Privy Council, and shall be announced by the Minister of the Imperial Household.

CHAPTER XI

EXPENDITURES OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSE

ARTICLE XLVII.—The expenditures of the Imperial House of all kinds shall be defrayed out of the National Treasury at a certain fixed amount.

ARTICLE XLVIII.—The estimates and audit of accounts of the expenditures of the Imperial House and all other rules of the kind, shall be regulated by the Finance Regulations of the Imperial House.

CHAPTER X

LITIGATIONS. DISCIPLINARY RULES FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

ARTICLE XLIX.—Litigation between members of the Imperial Family shall be decided by judicial functionaries specially designated by the Emperor to the Department of the Imperial Household, and execution issued, after Imperial Sanction thereto has been obtained.

ARTICLE L.—Civil actions brought by private individuals against members of the Imperial Family, shall be decided in the Court of Appeal in Tokyo. Members of the Imperial Family shall, however, be represented by attorneys, and no personal attendance in the Court shall be required of them.

ARTICLE LI.—No member of the Imperial Family can be arrested, or summoned before a Court of Law, unless the sanction of the Emperor has been first obtained thereto.

ARTICLE LII.—When a member of the Imperial Family has committed an act derogatory to his (or her) dignity, or when he has exhibited disloyalty to the Imperial House, he shall, by way of disciplinary punishment and by order of the Emperor, be deprived of the whole or of a part of the privileges belonging to him as a member of the Imperial Family, or shall be suspended therefrom.

ARTICLE LIII.—When a member of the Imperial Family acts in a way tending to the squandering of his (or her) property, he shall be pronounced by the Emperor, prohibited from administering his property, and a manager shall be appointed therefor.

ARTICLE LIV.—The two foregoing Articles shall be sanctioned, upon the advice of the Imperial Family Council.

CHAPTER XI

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY COUNCIL

ARTICLE LV.—The Imperial Family Council shall be composed of the male members of the Imperial Family, who have reached the age of majority. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the President of the Privy Council, the Minister of the Imperial Household, the Minister of State for Justice and the

President of the Court of Cassation shall be ordered to take part in the deliberations of the Council.

ARTICLE LVI.—The Emperor personally presides over the meeting of the Imperial Family Council, or directs one of the members of the Imperial Family to do so.

CHAPTER XII

SUPPLEMENTARY RULES

ARTICLE LVII.—Those of the present members of the Imperial Family of the fifth generation and downwards, who have already been invested with the title of Imperial Prince, shall retain the same as heretofore.

ARTICLE LVIII.—The order of succession to the Imperial Throne shall in every case relate to the descendants of absolute lineage. There shall be no admission to this line of succession for any one, as a consequence of his being an adopted Imperial son, Kōyūshi or heir to princely house.

ARTICLE LIX.—The grades of rank among the Imperial Princes, Imperial Princesses, Princes and Princesses shall be abolished.

ARTICLE LX.—The family rank of Imperial Princes and all usages conflicting with the present Law, shall be abolished.

ARTICLE LXI.—The property, annual expenses and all other rules concerning the members of the Imperial Family, shall be specially determined.

ARTICLE LXII.—When in the future it shall become necessary either to amend or make additions to the present Law, the matter shall be decided by the Emperor, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council, and of the Privy Council.

APPENDIX VI

IMPERIAL ORDINANCE

CONCERNING

THE HOUSE OF PEERS

We, in accordance with the express provision of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, hereby promulgate, with the advice of Our Privy Council, the present Ordinance concerning the House of Peers; as to the date of its being carried out, We shall issue a special order.

[His Imperial Majesty's Sign-Manual.]

[Privy Seal.]

The 11th day of the 2nd month of the 22nd year of Meiji

(Countersigned) Count Kuroda Kiyotaka,
Minister President of State.

Count Ito Hirobumi,
President of the Privy Council.

Count Okuma Shigenobu,
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

Count Saigo Tukumichi,
Minister of State for the Navy.

Count Inouye Kaoru,
Minister of State for Agriculture and Commerce.

Count Yamada Akiyoshi,
Minister of State for Justice.

Count Matsugata Masayoshi.
Minister of State for Finance Affairs.

Count Oyama Iwao,
Minister of State for War.

Viscount Mori Arinori,
Minister of State for Education.

Viscount Enomoto Takeaki,
Minister of State for Communications.

ARTICLE I.—The House of Peers shall be composed of the following Members.

1. The members of the Imperial Family.
2. Princes and Marquises.
3. Counts, Viscounts and Barons who have been elected thereto by the members of their respective orders.
4. Persons who have been specially nominated by the Emperor, on account of meritorious services to the State, or of erudition.
5. Persons who have been elected, one Member for each Fu (City) and Ken (Prefecture), by and from among the tax payers of the highest amount of direct national taxes on land, industry or trade therein, and who have afterwards been nominated thereto by the Emperor.

ARTICLE II.—The male members of the Imperial Family shall take seats in the House on reaching their majority.

ARTICLE III.—The members of the orders of Princes and of Marquises shall become Members on reaching the age of full twenty-five years.

ARTICLE IV.—The members of the orders of Counts, Viscounts, and Barons, who after reaching the age of full twenty-five years, have been elected by the members of their respective orders, shall become Members for a term of seven years. Rules for their election shall be specially determined by Imperial Ordinance.

The number of Members mentioned in the preceding clause, shall not exceed the one-fifth of the entire number of the respective orders of Counts, Viscounts and Barons.

ARTICLE V.—Any man above the age of full thirty years, who has been nominated by the Emperor as a Member on account of meritorious services to the State, or for erudition, shall be a life Member.

ARTICLE VI.—One Member shall be elected in each Fu and Ken from among and by the fifteen male inhabitants thereof of above the age of full thirty years, paying therein the highest amount of direct national taxes on land, industry or trade. When the person thus elected receives his nomination from the Emperor, he shall become Member for a term of seven years. Rules for such election shall be specially determined by Imperial Ordinance.

ARTICLE VII.—The number of Members, that have been nominated by the Emperor, for meritorious services to the State, or for erudition, or from among men paying the highest amount of direct national taxes on land, industry or trade in each Fu or Ken, shall not exceed the number of the Members having the title of nobility.

ARTICLE VIII.—The House of Peers shall, when consulted by the Emperor, pass vote upon rules concerning the privileges of the nobility.

ARTICLE IX.—The House of Peers decides upon the qualification of its Members and upon disputes concerning elections thereto. The rules for these decisions shall be resolved upon by the House of Peers and submitted to the Emperor for His Sanction.

ARTICLE X.—When a Member has been sentenced to confinement, or to any severe punishment, or has been declared bankrupt, he shall be expelled by Imperial Order.

With respect to the expulsion of a Member, as a disciplinary punishment in the House of Peers, the President shall report the facts to the Emperor for His decision.

Any Member that has been expelled shall be incapable of again becoming a Member, unless permission so to do has been granted by the Emperor.

ARTICLE XI.—The President and Vice-President shall be nominated by the Emperor, from among the Members, for a term of seven years.

If an elected is nominated President or Vice-President, he shall serve in that capacity for the term of his membership.

ARTICLE XII.—Every matter, other than what has been provided for in the present Imperial Ordinance, shall be dealt with according to the provisions of the Law of the Houses.

ARTICLE XIII.—When in the future any amendment or addition is to be made in the provisions of the present Imperial Ordinance, the matter shall be submitted to the vote of the House of Peers.

APPENDIX VII

LAW OF THE HOUSES

CHAPTER I

CONVOCATION, ORGANIZATION AND OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL DIET

ARTICLE I.—An Imperial Proclamation for the convocation of the Imperial Diet, fixing the date of its assembling, shall be issued at least forty days beforehand.

ARTICLE II.—The Members shall assemble in the Hall of their respective Houses, upon the day specified in the Imperial Proclamation of convocation.

ARTICLE III.—The President and Vice-President of the House of Representatives shall both of them be nominated by the Emperor, from among three candidates respectively elected by the House for each of those offices.

Until the nomination of the President and Vice-President, the functions of President shall be discharged by the Chief Secretary.

ARTICLE IV.—Each House shall divide the whole number of its Members into several Sections by lot, and in each Section a Chief shall be elected by and from among the Members belonging thereto.

ARTICLE V.—Upon the organization of both Houses, the day for the opening of the Imperial Diet shall be fixed by Imperial Order, and the ceremony of opening shall be celebrated by the assembling of the Members of both Houses in the House of Peers.

ARTICLE VI.—On the occasion referred to in the preceding Article, the functions of President shall be exercised by the President of the House of Peers.

CHAPTER II

PRESIDENT, SECRETARIES AND EXPENSES

ARTICLE VII.—There shall be in each House a President and a Vice-President.

ARTICLE VIII.—The term of office of the President and of the Vice-President of the House of Representatives, shall be the same as that of the membership thereof.

ARTICLE IX.—When the office of President or of Vice-President of the House of Representatives, has become vacant by the resignation of the occupant thereof or for any other reason, the term of office of the successor shall be in correspondence with that of his predecessor.

ARTICLE X.—The President of each House shall maintain order therin, regulate the debates and represent the House outside thereof.

ARTICLE XI.—The President of each House shall continue

to assume the direction of the business of the House, during the interval that the Diet is not in session.

ARTICLE XII.—The President shall be entitled to attend and take part in the debates of both the Standing and of the Special Committees, but he shall have no vote therein.

ARTICLE XIII.—In each House, in the event of the disability of the President, he shall be represented in his functions by the Vice-President.

ARTICLE XIV.—In each House, in the event of the disability of both the President and of the Vice-President at the same time, a temporary President shall be elected to exercise the functions of President.

ARTICLE XV.—The President and the Vice-President of each House shall, upon the expiration of their term of office, continue to exercise their functions, until their successors have been nominated by the Emperor.

ARTICLE XVI.—In each House there shall be appointed a Chief Secretary and several Secretaries.

The Chief Secretary shall be of the *Chokunin* rank, and the Secretaries, of the *Sonin* rank.

ARTICLE XVII.—The Chief Secretary shall, under the direction of the President, supervise the business of the Secretaries and append his signature to official documents.

The Secretaries shall compile the records of debates, make drafts of other documents and manage business generally.

Required functionaries other than Secretaries shall be appointed by the Chief Secretary.

ARTICLE XVIII.—The expenses of both Houses shall be defrayed out of the National Treasury.

CHAPTER III

THE ANNUAL ALLOWANCES TO THE PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

ARTICLE XIX.—The Presidents of the respective Houses shall receive each an annual allowance of five thousand *yen* and the Vice-Presidents, that of three thousand *yen* each; while such Members of the House of Peers as have been elected thereto, and such as have been nominated thereto by the Emperor, and the Members of the House of Representatives, shall each receive an annual allowance of two thousand *yen*.* They shall also receive travelling expenses in accordance with regulations to be specially provided. Members, however, who do not comply with the summons of convocation, shall receive no annual allowance.

The Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Members shall be allowed to decline their respective annual allowance.†

Members, who are in the service of the Government, shall receive no such annual allowances.

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* Note: Originally the annual allowances provided for in this article were as follows:— Presidents, 4,000 *yen* each; Vice-presidents. 2,000 *yen* each; Members, 800 *yen* each. The amendment was effected by Law No. 100 of 32nd year of Meiji (1899 A. D.).

† Note: Originally they were not allowed to decline their annual allowances. The amendment was effected by Law No. 100 of 32nd year of Meiji (1899 A. D.).

In the case mentioned in Article XXV., the Members concerned shall receive, in addition to the annual allowance mentioned in the first clause of the present Article, an allowance of not more than five *yen per diem*, in accordance with the schedule determined by the respective Houses.

CHAPTER IV

COMMITTEES

ARTICLE XX.—Committees shall be of three kinds, a Committee of the Whole House, and Standing and Special Committees.

The Committee of the Whole House is composed of the whole number of the Members of the House.

The Standing Committee shall be divided into several branches according to the requirements of business; and in order to engage in the examination of matters falling within its province, the several Sections shall, from among the Members of the House, respectively elect an equal number of members to the Standing Committeeship. The term of the Standing Committeeship shall last during a single session only.

The Special Committees shall be chosen by the House and specially entrusted with the examination of a certain particular matter.

ARTICLE XXI.—The Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House, shall be elected for each session at the beginning of the same.

The Chairmen of both the Standing and Special Committees shall be respectively elected at the meetings of the Committees, by and from among the Members thereof.

ARTICLE XXII.—No debate can be opened nor can any resolution be passed by the Committee of the Whole House, unless more than one third of the entire number of the Members of the House is present, or by either the Standing or by the Special Committees, unless more than one half of the Members of the same is present.

ARTICLE XXIII.—No stranger, other than Members of the House, shall be admitted to the meetings of either the Standing or of the Special Committees. Members may also be excluded from such meetings by resolution of the respective Committees.

ARTICLE XXIV.—The Chairman of each Committee shall report to the House concerning the proceedings and results of the meetings of the Committee he presides.

ARTICLE XXV.—Each House may, at the request, or with the concurrence of the Government, cause a Committee to continue the examination of Bills during the interval when the Diet is not sitting.

CHAPTER V

SITTINGS

ARTICLE XXVI.—The President of each House shall determine the orders of the day and report the same to the House he presides.

In the orders of the day, the Bills brought in by the Government shall have precedence, except when the concurrence of the Government has been obtained to the contrary, in case of urgent necessity for debates.

ARTICLE XXVII.—A project of law shall be voted upon, after it has passed through three readings. But the process of three readings may be omitted, when such a course is demanded by the Government or by not less than ten Members, and agreed to by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the Members present in the House.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—Bills brought in by the Government shall never be voted upon, without having been first submitted to the examination of a Committee. But it may happen otherwise, when it is so demanded by the Government, in cases of urgent necessity.

ARTICLE XXIX.—When a Member moves to introduce a Bill or to make an amendment of a Bill, such motion shall not be made the subject of debate, unless it is supported by not less than twenty Members.

ARTICLE XXX.—The Government shall be at liberty at any time to either amend or withdraw any Bill which it has already brought in.

ARTICLE XXXI.—All Bills shall, through the medium of a Minister of State, be presented to the Emperor by the President of that House, in which the Bill has been last voted upon.

When, however, a Bill originating in either one of the Houses

has been rejected in the other, the rule set forth in the second clause of Article LIV. shall be followed.

ARTICLE XXXII.—Bills which, after having been passed by both Houses of the Diet and presented to the Emperor, may receive His Sanction, shall be promulgated before the next session of the Diet.

CHAPTER VI

PROROGATION AND CLOSING

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The Government may at any time order the prorogation of either House for a period of not more than fifteen days.

When either House again meets after the termination of the prorogation, the debates of the last meeting shall be continued.

ARTICLE XXXIV.—In case of Peers is ordered to prorogue on account of the dissolution of the House of Representatives, the rule set forth in the second clause of the preceding Article shall not apply.

ARTICLE XXXV.—Bills, representations and petitions, that have not been voted upon at the time of the closing of the Imperial Diet, shall not be continued at the next session. It is, however, otherwise in the case mentioned in Article XXV.

ARTICLE XXXVI.—The closing of the Diet shall be effected in a joint meeting of both Houses, in accordance with Imperial Order.

CHAPTER VII

SECRET SITTINGS

ARTICLE XXXVII.—In the following cases, the sittings of either House may be held with closed doors:—

1. Upon motion of either the President or of not less than ten Members and agreed to by the House.
2. Upon the demand of the Government.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—When a motion to go into secret sitting is made either by the President or by not less than ten Members, the President shall cause the strangers to withdraw from the House, and shall then proceed, without debate, to take votes upon the motion.

ARTICLE XXXIX.—The proceedings of a secret sitting shall not be made public.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PASSING OF THE BUDGET

ARTICLE XL.—When the Budget is brought into the House of Representatives by the Government, the Committee on the Budget shall finish the examination of the same, within fifteen days from the day on which it received it, and report thereon to the House.

ARTICLE XLI.—No motion for an amendment to the Budget can be made the subject of debate at a sitting of the House, unless it is supported by not less than thirty Members.

CHAPTER IX

THE MINISTERS OF STATE AND THE DELEGATES OF THE GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE XLII.—The Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government shall be allowed at any time to speak. But the speech of no Member shall be interrupted thereby.

ARTICLE XLIII.—When a Bill has been referred in either House to a Committee, the Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government may attend the meetings of the Committee and there express their opinions.

ARTICLE XLIV.—A Committee in meeting may, through the President, demand explanations from the Delegates of the Government.

ARTICLE XLV.—The Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government, except such of them as are Members of the House, shall have no vote in the House.

ARTICLE XLVI.—When a meeting of either a Standing or of a Special Committee is to be held, the Chairman thereof shall every time report the fact to the Ministers of State and to the

Delegates of the Government concerned in the matter to be considered.

ARTICLE XLVII.—The orders of the day and the notices relating to debates shall, simultaneously with the distribution thereof among the Members, be transmitted to the Ministers of State and to the Delegates of the Government.

CHAPTER X

QUESTIONS

ARTICLE XLVIII.—When a Member in either House desires to put a question to the Government, he shall be required to obtain the support of not less than thirty Members.

In putting such question, the Member proposing it shall draw up a concise memorandum and present it to the President, duly signed by himself and his supporters.

ARTICLE XLIX.—The President shall transmit to the Government the memorandum on questions. A Minister of State shall then either immediately answer the questions, or fix the date for making such answer, and when he does not do so, he shall explicitly state his reasons therefor.

ARTICLE L.—When an answer has been or has not been obtained from a Minister of State, any Member may move a representation concerning the affairs of the questions.

CHAPTER XI

ADDRESSES TO THE THRONE AND REPRESENTATIONS

ARTICLE LI.—When either House desires to present an address to the Emperor, it shall be presented by it in writing; or the President may be directed, as the representative of the House, to ask an audience of the Emperor, and present the same to Him.

The representations of either House to the Government shall be presented in writing.

ARTICLE LII.—No motion for such address and representation shall in either House be made the subject of debate, unless not less than thirty Members support it.

CHAPTER XII

THE RELATIONS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF THE DIET TO EACH OTHER

ARTICLE LIII.—With the exception of the Budget, the Bills of the Government may be brought in either one of the Houses first, according to the convenience of the case.

ARTICLE LIV.—When a Government Bill has been passed in either House with or without amendment, it shall then be carried into the other House. When the second House either concurs in or dissents from the vote of the first House, it shall,

simultaneously with addressing the Emperor, report to the first House.

In case a Bill introduced by either House is rejected by the other House, the second House shall report the fact to the first House.

ARTICLE LV.—When either House makes amendments to a Bill carried into it from the other House, the Bill as amended shall be returned to the first House. When the first House agrees to the amendments, it shall, simultaneously with addressing the Emperor, report to the Second House. When, on the other hand, the first House does not agree to such amendments, it may demand a cenference of the two Houses.

When either House demands a conference, the other House can not refuse it.

ARTICLE LVI.—Both Houses shall elect an equal number, not more than ten, of Managers to meet in conference. When the Bill in question has been adjusted in the conference, the adjusted Bill shall be discussed first in that House, which has either received in from the Government or had initiated it, and the Bill is then carried to the other House.

No motion for amendments can be made to a Bill that has been adjusted in a conference.

ARTICLE LVII.—The Ministers of State, the Delegates of the Government and the Presidents of both House, are at liberty to attend a conference of the two Houses and to express their opinions thereat.

ARTICLE LVIII.—No strangers are allowed to be present at a conference of the two Houses.

ARTICLE LIX.—At a conference of the two Houses, vote shall be taken by secret ballot. In the event of a tie vote, the Chairman shall have the casting vote.

ARTICLE LX.—The Managers from the two Houses shall separately elect one of themselves Chairman of the conference. The Chairman thus elected shall occupy the chair at alternate meetings of the conference. The Chairmanship of the first meeting shall be settled by the drawing of lots.

ARTICLE LXI.—All other regulations besides what is provided for in the present Chapter, as to any business in which both Houses are concerned, shall be determined by a conference of the two Houses.

CHAPTER XIII

PETITIONS

ARTICLE LXII.—All petitions addressed to either House by people shall be received through the medium of a Member.

ARTICLE LXIII.—Petitions shall be submitted, in either House, to the examination of the Committee on Petitions.

When the Committee on Petitions considers that a petition is not in conformity with the established rules, the President shall return it through the Member, through whose medium it was originally presented.

ARTICLE LXIV.—The Committee on Petitions shall compile a list, in which shall be noted the essential points of each petition, and shall report once a week to the House.

When a debate of the House on the contents of a petition is demanded either by a special report of the Committee on Petitions, or by more than thirty Member of the House, either House shall proceed so to do.

ARTICLE LXV.—When either House passes a vote to entertain a petition, the petition shall then be sent to the Government, together with a memorial of the House thereon, and the House may, according to circumstances, demand a report thereon of the Government.

ARTICLE LXVI.—Neither House can receive a petition presented by a proxy, excepting when presented by a party recognized by law as a juridical person.

ARTICLE LXVII.—Neither House can receive petitons for amending the Constitution.

ARTICLE LXVIII.—Petitions shall be in the form and style of a prayer. No petition that is not entitled as such, or does not conform with the proper form and style, shall be received by either House.

ARTICLE LXIX.—Neither House can receive a petition that contains words of disrespect towards the Imperial Family or those of insult to the Government or the House.

ARTICLE LXX.—Neither House can receive petitions inter-

fering with the administration of justice or with administrative litigation.

ARTICLE LXXI.—Both Houses shall separately receive petitions and shall not interfere each with the other in such matters.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HOUSES AND THE PEOPLE, THE GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND THE LOCAL ASSEMBLIES

ARTICLE LXXII.—Neither House is allowed to issue notifications to the people.

ARTICLE LXXIII.—Neither House is allowed, for the prosecution of examinations, to summon persons or to dispatch a Member for that purpose.

ARTICLE LXXIV.—When either House, for the purposes of examinations, asks the Government for necessary roports or documents, the Government shall comply, provided such reports or documents do not relate to any secret matter.

ARTICLE LXXV.—Other than with the Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government, neither House can hold any correspondence with any Government Office or with any Local Assembly.

CHAPTER XV

RETIREMENT, AND OBJECTIONS TO THE QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS

ARTICLE LXXVI.—When a Member of the House of Representatives has been appointed a Member of the House of Peers, or has received an official appointment, which by law disables him from being a Member, he shall be considered as retired.

ARTICLE LXXVII.—When a Member of the House of Representatives has lost any of the qualifications of eligibility mentioned in the Law of Election, he shall be considered as retired.

ARTICLE LXXVIII.—When an objection is raised in the House of Representatives as to the qualifications of any of its Members, a Special Committee shall be appointed to examine into the matter, on a specified day, and the resolution of the House shall be taken upon the receipt of the report of the said Committee.

ARTICLE LXXIX.—Whenever, in a Court of Law, legal proceedings pertaining to an election suit have been commenced, the House of Representatives cannot institute enquiries on the same matter.

ARTICLE LXXX.—Until the disqualification of a Member has been proved, he shall not lose either his vote in the House.

In debates relating to enquiries into his own qualifications, a Member, though at liberty to offer explanations, cannot take part in voting thereon.

CHAPTER XVI

LEAVE OF ABSENCE, RESIGNATION AND SUBSTITUTIONAL ELECTIONS

ARTICLE LXXXI.—The President of either House shall have the power to grant to Members a leave of absence for a period not exceeding a week. As to leave of absence for a period of more than a week, permission may be given by the House. No permission shall be given for a leave of absence for an unlimited period of time.

ARTICLE LXXXII.—No Member of either House can absent himself from the meetings of the House or of a Committee, without forwarding to the President a notice setting forth proper reasons therefor.

ARTICLE LXXXIII.—The House of Representatives shall have power to accept the resignation of a Member.

ARTICLE LXXXIV.—When, from any cause whatever, a vacancy occurs among the Members of the House of Representatives, the President shall report the fact to the Minister of State for Home Affairs, demanding a substitutional election.

CHAPTER XVII

DISCIPLINE AND POLICE

ARTICLE LXXXV.—For the maintenance of discipline in either House during its session, the power of internal police shall be exercised by the President, in accordance with the present Law and such regulations as may be determined in the respective Houses.

ARTICLE LXXXVI.—Police officials required by either House, shall be provided by the Government and put under the direction of the President.

ARTICLE LXXXVII.—When, during a meeting of the House, any Member infringes the present Law or the rules of debate, or in any way disturbs the order of the House, the President shall either warn him, stop him, or order him to retract his remarks. When he fails to obey the order of the President, the latter shall have the power either to prohibit him from speaking during the remainder of the meeting, or to order him to leave the Hall.

ARTICLE LXXXVIII.—When the House is in a state of excitement and it is found difficult to maintain order, the President shall have power either to suspend the meeting or close it for the day.

ARTICLE LXXXIX.—When any stranger disturbs the debate, the President may order him to leave the House, and in case of

necessity, may cause him to be handed over to a police authority.

When the strangers' gallery is in a state of commotion, the President may ordor all strangers to leave the House.

ARTICLE XC.—When any person disturbs the order of the House, the Ministers of State, the Delegates of the Government and the Members, may call the attention of the President thereto.

ARTICLE XCI.—In neither House, shall the utterance of expressions or the making of speeches, implying disrespect to the Imperial House, be allowed.

ARTICLE XCII.—In neither House, shall the use of coarse language or personalities be allowed.

ARTICLE XCIII.—When any Member has been vilified or insulted either in the House or at a meeting of a Committee, he shall appeal to the House and demand that proper measures be taken. There shall be no retaliation among Members.

CHAPTER XVIII

DISCIPLINARY PUNISHMENTS

ARTICLE XCIV.—Both Houses shall have the power to mete out disciplinary punishment to the respective Members.

ARTICLE XCV.—In each House there shall be instituted a Committee on Disciplinary Punishment for making enquiries into cases inviting disciplinary measures.

When a case for disciplinary punishment occurs, the President shall, in the first place, instruct the Committee to enquire into

the matter, and shall deliver sentence after having submitted the case to the consideration of the House.

When a case for disciplinary punishment occurs at a meeting of a Committee or in a Section, the Chairman of the Committee or the Chief of the Section shall report the matter to the President and demand measures to be taken thereon.

ARTICLE XCVI.—Disciplinary punishments shall be as follows:—

1. Reprimands at an open meeting of the House.
2. Expression by the offender of a proper apology at an open meeting of the House.
3. Suspension of the offender from presence in the House for a certain length of time.
4. Expulsion.

In the House of Representatives, expulsion shall be decided upon by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of the Members present.

ARTICLE XCVII.—The House of Representatives shall have no power to deny a seat to a Member that has been expelled, when he shall have been re-elected.

ARTICLE XCVIII.—Any Member shall, with the support of not less than twenty Members, have the right to make a motion for the infliction of a disciplinary punishment.

A motion for a disciplinary punishment shall be made within three days from the commission of the offence.

ARTICLE XCIX.—When, for non-compliance, without sub-

stantial reasons, with the Imperial Proclamation of convocation within one week from the date specified therein, or for absence without good reasons from the meetings of the House or of a Committee, or for having exceeded the period of his leave of absence, a Member has received a summons from the President and still persists in delaying his appearance without good grounds for so doing for one week after the receipt of the said summons, he shall, in the House of Peers, be suspended from taking his seat, and the matter shall be submitted to the Emperor for His decision. In the House of Representatives, such a Member shall be expelled therefrom.

APPENDIX VIII

LAW OF ELECTION

OF THE

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(Law No. LXXIII. March 29th, 33rd year of Meiji, or 1900 A.D.).

CHAPTER I

ELECTION DISTRICTS

ARTICLE I.—The members of the House of Representatives shall be elected in each of the Election districts.

The Election districts and the number of the Members to be elected in each district are set forth in the Appendix of the present Law.

ARTICLE II.—The voting district shall be determined by the jurisdictive limit of the Shi (Municipality), Cho (Town), or Son (Village).

In a Shi (Municipality), Cho (Town), or Son (Village) where exists a special condition, more than one voting district may be established, or several towns or villages may combine and

form one voting district, in accordance with the provisions of an Imperial Ordinance.

In the preceding instances where provisions of the present Law are found to be inapplicable in reference to voting, special provisions may be made by an Imperial Ordinance.

ARTICLE III.—A combination of Cho (Town) or Son (Village) which has a joint management of the entire business of such Towns or Village, shall be considered as one Town Village, and the managing official of such combination shall be considered as the Chief of the Town or the Village as the case may be.

ARTICLE IV.—The Chief of a Shi (Municipality), Cho (Town), or Son (Village) shall manage the Voting in the capacity of the Manager for Voting.

ARTICLE V.—The ballot examining district shall be determined by the jurisdictive limit of a Gun (Rural District) or Shi (Municipality).

The Chief of a Gun or Shi shall manage the business concerning the examination of the ballots in the capacity of the Manager thereof.

ARTICLE VI.—The Local Governors shall superintend the management of the Election in the capacity of the Presiding Official thereof.

ARTICLE VII.—A change in any of the election districts brought about by an alteration or alterations in the administrative extent of the locality shall not cause the Member elect to lose his seat.

CHAPTER II

ELECTORS AND ELIGIBLE PERSONS

ARTICLE VIII. — Any person possessing the following qualifications holds the electoral right.

1. A male subject of the Empire who is of full twenty-five years of age and upward.
2. One who has had his residence in the election district for over full one year previous to the drawing up of the electoral list and continues to hold it.
3. One who has been paying a land tax of ten *yen* and upward (per year) for over one year previous to the drawing up of the electoral list, or a direct national tax other than the land tax of ten *yen* and upward (per year), or a tax of ten *yen* (per year) consisting of land and other direct national tax for over two years, previous to the same date and still continues to pay the same.

   In the case of a person who has succeeded to an estate by inheritance, the amount of taxes paid on the estate by his predecessor shall be counted in for his qualification.

ARTICLE IX.—Of the preceding provisions, the same relating to a period of time shall not be affected by a change introduced in the administrative limit of the locality.

ARTICLE X.—A male subject of the Empire who is of full thirty years of age and upward holds the eligible right.

ARTICLE XI.—Any of the undermentioned persons is disqualified as elector or as eligible person.

1. The incompetents and the quasi-incompetents (of the civil code).
2. Those who have been adjudged (by a Court of Justice) as bankrupts and have not completely discharged their pecuniary obligations, and those who have been declared (by a Court of Justice) as subjects for liquidation, or as insolvents, and have not finally recovered their rights.
3. Those who have been deprived of public rights or whose public rights are suspended.
4. Those who have been sentenced to a punishment of imprisonment or heavier punishment, and are in interim before the judgement takes effect.

   Clause 4 was eliminated by Revision promulgated on October 26, 1910.

ARTICLE XII.—The *Koshu* (pater-familias) of families of nobility shall have neither electing nor eligible right.

This shall apply to those who are in the actual service in the Army or the Navy, and those who have been called to the actual service on account of war or other emergencies, as well as the students of the Government, Public, or Private schools.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Shinto priests, and the priests and teachers of religion of all kinds, as well as the teachers of common schools shall be ineligible. Those who have given up any of the above professions shall not be eligible until after three

months shall have elapsed from the date of their resignation.

The Government's contractors, or members of a juridical porson engaged as a contractor for the government shall not be eligible.

The clauce as revised on April 25, 1908 reads:

The Government's contractors, or members of a juridical person engaged principally as a contractor for the Government shall not be eligible.

ARTICLE XIV.—The Government officials engaged in the business concerning election as well as those employed in the same business shall not be eligible in the election district where they are serving. This shall apply to such as have ceased to engage in the above business for three months after their resignation.

ARTICLE XV.—The officials of the Imperial Household Department, Judges, Procurators, the President and Councillors of the Court of Administrative Litigation, Auditors, Revenue Officials, and Police Officials shall not be eligible.

ARTICLE XVI.—The Government officials other than those enumerated in the preceding article may, so long as their official functions are not thereby interrupted with, serve as Members, retaining their official position.

ARTICLE XVII.—A member of a Fu, or Ken Assembly (Prefectural Assembly) shall not hold his seat at the same time with his seat in the House of Representatives.

CHAPTER III

ELECTORAL LIST

ARTICLE XVIII.—The Chief of Cho (Town) or Son (Village) shall make investigation of the electoral qualifications of those residing within his jurisdiction according to the actual existence of such on the 1st day of October each year, and prepare the electoral list in duplicate, one of which shall be forwarded to the Chief of Gun (Rural District) by the 15th of October.

The Chief of Gun shall check the list forwarded from the Chief of Cho (Town) or Son (Village), and after making corrections when necessary, he shall return the duplicate to the sender.

The Chief of Shi (Municipality) shall investigate the electoral qualifications of those holding their residences in the Shi according to the actual existence of same on the 1st day of October each year, and compile the electoral list by the 31st day of October.

In the electoral list shall be entered the name, official rank, profession (occupation), class, residence, the date of birth of each elector, and the amount of tax paid by him and the name of the place where the tax is paid.

ARTICLE XIX.—When any elector is paying a direct national tax outside the limit of Shi (Municipality), Cho (Town), or Son (Village) where he has his residence, he shall procure a certificate to that effect in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance, and forward the same to the Chief of the Shi, Cho, or Son where he has his residence by the 5th of October. Should

notice to that effect be not made by that date the amount of the tax so paid shall not be included in the items to be recorded in the electoral list.

ARTICLE XX.—The Chief of Gun (Rural District), Shi (Municipality) Cho (Town), or Son (Village) shall exhibit the electoral list for public inspection for fifteen days commencing with the 5th of November in his own office, or in such place where permission has been obtained from the Local Governor for that purpose.

ARTICLE XXI.—When an elector discovers an omission or error in the electoral list, he may claim the necessary correction to be made by forwarding to the Chief of Gun or Shi a written notice stating his reasons, together with corroborative evidences therefor.

ARTICLE XXII.—When an elector has failed under justifiable circumstances to act as required by Article XIX and has been left out of the electoral list he may proceed in accordance with the provision of the preceding article.

ARTICLE XXIII.—After the expiration of the period for public inspection no proceeding based on the provisions of the two preceding articles can be instituted.

ARTICLE XXIV.—Should the Chief of Gun (Rural District), or Shi (Municipality) receive notice as provided for in Articles XXI. and XXII. he shall examine the reasons alleged and evidence adduced, and decide the case within twenty days from the receipt of the notice.

Should the contents of the notice be decided as just and correct, the necessary amendment or amendments shall at once be introduced into the electoral list, and the applicant, or the party interested therein shall be notified to the effect, and the decision shall also be made public. Should the contents of the notice be decided against the applicant, the same shall be notified to him. An amendment or amendments introduced into the list shall be notified by the Chief of the Gun (Rural District) to the Chief of the Cho (Town) or Son (Village) where the applicant resides.

ARTICLE XXV.—When the applicant, or the party interested in the affair, is not satisfied with the decision of the Chief of the Gun or Shi, he may, within seven days from the day on which the said decision was given, institute a suit against the Chief of the Gun or Shi in a District Court.

No appeal is allowed against the judgement of the District Court in this instance, but it is permissible to bring an appeal of revision to the Court of Cassation.

ARTICLE XXVI.—The Chief of Cho (Town) or Son (Village) shall deliver to the Chief of Gun (Rural District) the electoral list of the locality under his jurisdiction between November 20th and December 10th.

The Chief of Gun, on receipt of the said list, shall check the same and introduce therein correction or corrections when necessary, and return the list to the sender by December 20th.

ARTICLE XXVII.—The electoral list shall assume its final form on the 20th of December.

It shall remain final until the new list shall have been finally compiled in the following year. When, however, any correction has to be made in pursuance of the judgement of a Court of Law, the Chief of Gun or Shi shall make the correction at once and publicly notify the fact.

When the above correction has been made, the Chief of the Gun shall notify the same to the Chief of the Cho or Son where the applicant resides, and cause him to introduce the correction in the duplicate List.

When necessity is called for a new electoral list on account of the disturbances caused by Nature or some unforeseen emergencies, the same shall be compiled.

In such instances as above, the date of compilation of the new list, and the date and period of its public exhibition and final adoption shall be determined by an Ordinance.

CHAPTER IV

ELECTION, VOTING AND VOTING PLACE

ARTICLE XXVIII.—The date for General Election is determined by Imperial Order, and the same will be published at least thirty days beforehand.

ARTICLE XIX.—Election shall be made by ballot.

One person shall have one vote only.

ARTICLE XXX.—The Voting Place shall be opened in the Office of Shi (Municipality), Cho (Town), or Son (Village), or in

such place as has been appointed for the purpose by the Manager for Voting with permission of the Local Governor.

ARTICLE XXXI.—The Manager for Voting shall publicly announce the name of the voting place within the voting district at least five days prior to the day of election.

ARTICLE XXXII.—The Chief of Gun (Rural District) or Shi (Municipality) shall nominate not less than three and not more than five witnesses from among the electors of the election district under his management, and at least three days notice of the nomination shall be sent to the nominee, requesting their presence at the place of voting on the day of election.

The witnesses cannot decline their nomination without adequate reasons.

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The voting place shall be opened at 7 o'clock A.M. and closed at 6 o'clock P.M.

ARTICLE XXXIV.—On the day of election the electors shall come in person to the Voting Place and vote on obtaining identification in the electoral list, and on affixing their seals in the Register for voting.

Should the Manager for Voting find it impossible to identify positively any of the electors, he shall make him publicly state his own identification, and any person failing so to do shall not be able to vote.

ARTICLE XXXV.—The voting form shall be provided to the electors at the Voting Place on the day of election.

ARTICLE XXXVI.—Each elector shall write on the voting

form at the place of voting the name of one whom he elects and put it into the ballot box.

The ballot shall be unsigned.

ARTICLE XXXVII.—Those who are not registered in the electoral list shall not be capable of voting. Should, however, any one come to the Voting Place on the day of election, bringing with him the judgement of a Court of Law entitling him to have his name entered in the electoral list, the Manager for Voting shall allow him to vote.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—Any person registered in the electoral list but who has no voting right shall not be capable of voting.

This shall apply to those who can not personally write the name of the person to be elected.

ARTICLE XXXIX.—The refusal to permit voting, or otherwise, shall be decided by the Manager for Voting upon consultation with the witnesses.

Should an elector of a Cho (Town) or Son (Village) be dissatisfied with the decision of refusal to vote, the Manager for Voting shall conditionally allow him to vote.

In the above instance, the ballot shall be first enclosed in an envelope and sealed, with the name of the voter outside, before casting the same in the ballot box.

The provisions of the preceding two clauses shall apply to the case of any of the electors of Cho or Son against whom an objection is entertained by those mentioned in the first clause of this Article.

ARTICLE XL.—When the time for closing the polling arrives, the Manager for Voting shall announce the fact, and close the entrance of the place, and on completion of the polling by the electors still remaining in the building, the ballot box shall be locked.

No voting shall be made after the box has been locked.

ARTICLE XLI.—The Manager for Voting shall keep the minutes of the voting, in which are to be recorded all the affairs relating to the business, and sign the record together with the witnesses.

ARTICLE XLII.—The Manager for Voting in company with one or more witnesses shall bring by the day following that of election, the ballot box, the minutes, and the electoral list to the Manager for Examining the Ballots.

ARTICLE XLIII.—In the case of an island or places lacking in adequate means of conveyance, where circumstances exist to make it impossible to send the ballot box by the date fixed in the preceding Article, the Local Governor may fix a convenient date for voting for such places so as to make it possible to have the ballot box, the minutes, and the electoral list brought to the place where the ballots are opened by the date fixed for that purpose.

ARTICLE XLIV.—In case of disturbances in Nature, or some unforeseen occurences, making it impossible to conduct the election, or in case of necessity existing for a renewed election, the Manager shall bring this fact to the notice of the Presiding

Official of Election who shall cause the election to be conducted by fixing the date for that purpose.

In such instance a public announcement to that effect shall be made in the district concerned at least five days prior to the date appointed.

ARTICLE XLV.—In case more than one member are to be elected in one and the same district at the same time, the provisions of the Articles XXIX. and XXXVI. shall apply despite the kinds of election conducted.

ARTICLE XLVI.—No person shall have obligation to inform the name of the person voted by any of the electors.

CHAPTER V

THE MAINTENANCE OF ORDER AT THE VOTING PLACE

ARTICLE XLVII.—The Manager for Voting shall maintain order at the voting place and, in cases of necessity, may deliver an offender to the police authorities.

ARTICLE XLVIII.—No person other than electors, those engaged in the business of the voting place, those duly authorized to supervise the place, and police authorities, shall be admitted to the place of voting.

ARTICLE XLIX.—Any person making speeches, debating, causing disturbances in the place of voting, or holding consultations or making persuasive suggestions, or acting in any manner detrimental to the maintenance of order in the voting place, shall

be ordered to desist by the Manager for Voting. Should the order be disregarded the offender shall be expelled.

ARTICLE L.—Such as has been expelled in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Article, can vote at the last moment, provided the place had not been closed.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXAMINATION OF THE BALLOTS, AND THE PLACE FOR THE SAME

ARTICLE LI.—The place for examining the ballots shall be the office of Gun (Rural District) or Shi (Municipality), or such place as has been appointed by the Examining Manager with permission of the Governor of the locality

ARTICLE LII.—The Examining Manager of the ballots shall publicly announce the place appointed for that purpose.

ARTICLE LIII.—The Local Governor shall appoint from among the electors of each district, the ballots of which are to be examined, witnesses of not less than three and not exceeding seven, to act as such at the examination of the ballots. In the case of a Shi (Municipality), the witness at the voting place shall also witness the examination of the ballots.

The witness so appointed can not decline except on justifiable grounds.

ARTICLE LIV.—The Examining Manager of the ballots

shall, in presence of the witnesses, open the ballot boxes, in the case of Gun (Rural District), on the day following the receipt of all the boxes, and in the case of Shi (Municipality), on the day following the election, and count the total number of the ballots and that of the voters.

ARTICLE LV.—When the counting required by the preceding Article has been completed, the Manager shall first examine the ballots provided for in clauses 2 and 4 of Article XXXIX. and decide acceptance or otherwise of such ballots upon consultation with the witnesses.

The Examining Manager shall mix the ballots of each place of voting and inspect them in company with the witnesses.

ARTICLE LVI.—The elector may demand admission to the place in order to inspect the examination of their ballots.

ARTICLE LVII.—The validity or otherwise of a ballot shall be determined by the Examining Manager upon consultation with the witnesses.

ARTICLE LVIII.—The following ballots shall be void :—

1. Those not using the regular form.
2. Those on which more than one name are recorded.
3. Those on which the name of the person voted can not be clearly deciphered.
4. Those recording the name of the person who is not eligible.
5. Those on which the characters or letters other than the name of the person voted are recorded, the court or official

rank, profession, occupation, class, address, or honorific terms, however, being exceptions.

ARTICLE LIX.—The ballots shall be distinguished according to their validity or otherwise, and be preserved by the Examining Manager during the term of office of the Members.

ARTICLE LX.—The Examining Manager shall keep the minutes of the occasion, in which the affairs concerning the examination and counting of the ballots shall be recorded. The minutes shall be signed by him and also by the witnesses, and be preserved together with the minutes of the voting place, during the term of office of the Members.

ARTICLE LXI.—Upon completion of the inspection of the ballots, the same shall be immediately reported to the Presiding Official of Election.

ARTICLE LXII.—The provisions of the Article XLIV., excepting the appended clause, shall be applicable to the occasion of examining the ballots.

ARTICLE LXIII.—For maintenance of order in the place for examining the ballots, the provisions of Chapter V. shall be applicable.

CHAPTER VII

ELECTION MEETING

ARTICLE LXIV.—The Eiection Meeting shall be held at the place and on the date appointed therefor by the Presiding

Official of Election to examine the reports required by Article LXI.

When a renewed election has been made on account of a portion of the election having lost its Validity, the Presiding Official of Election, on receipt of the report required by Article LXI., shall hold an election meeting, and make a renewed examination of the report together with the reports that had been rendered by other Examining Managers of the ballots.

ARTICLE LXV.—The Presiding Official of Election shall make a previous announcement of the place and date for the Election Meeting.

ARTICLE LXVI.—The Presiding Official of Election shall appoint from among the electors of each election district not less than three, and not exceeding seven witnesses for the Election Meeting, and give at least three days' notice of their nomination together with request for their presence at the Election Meeting on the day appointed therefor.

The witnesses so nominated can not decline without good reason or reasons for so doing.

ARTICLE LXVII.—The Presiding Official of Election shall keep the minutes of the Election Meeting, which shall be signed by him and the witnesses, and be preserved together with the reports rendered in accordance with Article LXI. during the term of office of the Members.

ARTICLE LXVIII.—The electors may demand admission to the Election Meeting of their respective districts.

ARTICLE LXIX.—For maintenance of order in the Election Meeting the provisions of Chapter V. shall be applicable.

CHAPTER VIII

ELECTED PERSONS

ARTICLE LXX.—The individual who has obtained the highest number of valid votes shall be declared the person elected, provided the number so obtained is higher than one fifth of the product obtained by dividing the total number of the electors in the Electoral List by the number of Members to be elected from the district.

When an elected person declines the election or dies before the certificate of election is sent him, or when his election has become void, either before or after the certificate has been received, as the result of punishment against the infringement of punitive measures concerning election, or when the election loses validity owing to absence of eligible qualifications, the vacancy thus created shall be filled from among those who have obtained a majority provided for in the preceding clause but have not been declared elected in the order of majority secured.

In case of necessity called for by instances other than those enumerated in the preceding clause, resulting from an action brought before the Law Courts either against the election or the person elected, the person to be elected shall be determined in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

The provisions of Chapter VII. shall also be applicable to the cases enumerated in the two preceding clauses.

When the number of ballots obtained is equal, seniority in age shall have precedence. Should the date of birth be the same, the precedence shall be decided by drawing lots.

ARTICLE LXXI.—When the elected persons have been determined, the Presiding Official of Election shall at once notify the fact to the party concerned.

ARTICLE LXXII.—The person elected, upon receipt of the notice of election, shall notify his acceptance or otherwise to the Presiding Official of Election.

One and the same person can not accept the election of more than one election district.

ARTICLE LXXIII.—An elected person who fail to send his acceptance or otherwise, within twenty days from the day he received the notice of election, shall be considered as having declined the election.

ARTICLE LXXIV.—When no person has been elected, the Local Governor shall cause a renewed election to be made by previously notifying the day appointed for that purpose.

When the number of persons elected falls below the number of Members to be elected, the Local Governor shall cause the deficiency to be filled by a renewed election, in accordance with the provision of the preceding clause.

In case of absence of a person or persons to be elected in the instances enumerated in clauses 2 and 3 of the Article LXX., the

provisions of the two preceding articles shall be applied.

The election provided for in this Article can not be held during the period allowed for instituting a law suit as provided for in Articles LXXX and LXXXII., and in case a law suit has been instituted, until after the judgement delivered has become final.

ARTICLE LXXV.—When the persons elected accept the election, the Local Governor shall at once provide them with certificates of election, and notify their names throughout the extent of his jurisdiction, and report thereon to the Minister of State for Home Affairs.

ARTICLE LXXVI.—When an election or a person elected loses validity as the result of the judgement of a Law Court, or when a person elected and provided with the certificate loses the validity of his election as the result of punishment brought about by an infringement of the punitive regulations concerning election, the Local Governor shall cancel such certificate of election, and notify the fact throughout the extent of his jurisdiction.

CHAPTER IX

TERM OF MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSTITUTIONAL ELECTIONS

ARTICLE LXXVII.—The term of membership shall be four years from the day of general election. Should the term expire

while the Diet is in session, the same shall be extended to the close of the session.

ARTICLE LXXVIII.—When a vacancy occurs within one year from the day of election, the provisions of the Article LXX. shall be applied.

But when no person is elected in the above instance, or when the vacancy has occurred after more than one year, the Local Governor under order of the Minister of State for Home Affairs, shall hold a substitutional election within twenty days from the date of receipt of such order.

The date for the substitutional election provided for in the preceding clause shall be previously announced by the Local Governor.

ARTICLE LXXIX.—The term of substitutional membership shall correspond to that of the predecessor.

CHAPTER X

LAW SUITS AGAINST ELECTION AND THE PERSON ELECTED

ARTICLE LXXX.—Any elector who has objection against the validity of election may institute a suit against the Presiding Official of Election at a Court of Appeal within thirty days from the day of election.

An appeal for revision against the judgement of the above Court may be brought before the Court of Cassation.

ARTICLE LXXXI.—Only in such instances when an infringement or infringements against the provisions made for election, are likely to affect the issue of election, the Law Court shall decide the nullity of the whole or a portion of the election in question.

In a suit against an elected person, also, when his election involves an issue corresponding to the provision of the preceding clause, the Law Court shall decide the nullity of the whole or a portion of the election concerned.

ARTICLE LXXXII.—When a person who has lost his election and has objection against the validity of the election may sue the person elected at a Court of Appeal within thirty days from the date of notification of the names of those elected made in accordance with the provision of Article LXXV. In case, however, the suit is based on the ground that the number of ballots obtained has reached the limit stated in the first appended clause of Article LXX., the same shall be instituted against the Presiding Official of Election, within thirty days from the date of notice made in accordance with the provision of Article LXXIV.

An appeal for revision against the judgement of the Court of Appeal may be made to the Court of Cassation.

ARTICLE LXXXIII.—In hearing a suit against the election, or the person elected, the Court shall require the presence of the Public Procurator during the hearing.

ARTICLE LXXXIV.—When a suit against an election or a

person elected has been decided in a Law Court, a copy of the judgement shall be sent to the Minister of State for Home Affairs, and when the Diet is in session the same shall, also, be sent to the President of the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE LXXXV.—The petition of the plaintiff shall be accompanied by a deposit of three hundred *yen* either in cash or in Government bonds, the face value of which corresponds to the above amount. Should the plaintiff lose his case and fail to pay the full cost of the suit within seven days from the day the judgement has become final, the same shall be paid out of the deposit, and in case the amount be found insufficient to cover the cost, the balance shall be requisitioned from him.

CHAPTER XI

PUNITIVE RULES

ARTICLE LXXXVI.—Any person who by fraudulent means effected the insertion of his name in the electoral list, or who has made a false statement in the case as provided for in clause 2 of Article XXXIV shall be liable to a fine of not less than ten and not exceeding fifty *yen*.

ARTICLE LXXXVII.—Any person whose act either before or after the election, corresponds to any of the following categories shall be liable to a minor imprisonment of not less than one

month and not longer than one year, or to a fine of not less than ten and not exceeding one hundred *yen* :—

1. Any person who with regard to the election, either directly or indirectly has given, or offered to give, to an elector or an election promotor, money, goods, notes or any other benefits, or public or private employment; any person who has assisted or persuaded the acceptance of a donation or an offer; and any person who has received the donation or accepted the offer.
2. Any person who with regard to the election has given or accepted food, alcoholic drinks or amusements, or dinner or entertainments under any name or in any manner; any person who has provided or accepted the use of a boat, a carriage or a horse for going to, and returning from, any of the places established for election meeting, examination of the ballots, or voting; any person who has paid on other's behalf, or who has allowed others to pay, the travelling expenses, the hotel charges, and such like outlays; and any person who has promised to pay such expenses, or accepted the promise.
3. Any person who with regard to the election has used persuasive measures to an elector by utilizing the interests the latter holds in a temple, school, business company, corporation, municipality, town, or village, in form of water supply, tillage, credits, contributions, etc., and one who has yielded to such persuasions.

The things received in the preceding instances shall be confiscated and the value in money of what had been expended shall be requisitioned of the recipient.

ARTICLE LXXXVIII.—Any person whose act corresponds to any of the following categories shall be liable to a minor imprisonment of not less than two months, and not exceeding two years, with a fine of not less than five and exeeeding one hundred *yen*.

1. Any person who, with regard to the election, has done violence or applied means of threat to an elector, or forcibly detained him.
2. Any person who has hindered the passage of an elector on the public road, or by fraudulent means obstructed him from voting or caused him to vote.
3. Any person who, with regard to the election, has used means of intimidation to an elector by taking advantage of his interests attaching to a temple, school, business company, corporation, Shi (Municipality), Cho (Town), Son (Village), &c, in form of water supply, tillage, credits, or any other affairs.

ARTICLE LXXXIX. Any of the Government officials, employees, witnesses, and overseers connected with the business of election, who has published the name of the person voted by electors, shall be liable to a punishment of minor imprisonment of not less than two months and not exceeding two years, with a fine of not less than five and not more than one hundred *yen*

This provision shall apply even when the fact published is incorrect.

ARTICLE XC.—Any person who at the place of voting, or at the place for examining the ballots, has unjustifiably interfered with the voting by an elector, or used some means whereby to find out the name of the person voted, shall be punished with a minor imprisonment of not less than one month and not exceeding one year, or be made to pay a fine of not less than ten and not more than one hundred *yen*.

This provision shall apply to the person who has opened the ballot box without complying with the requirements of the Law or Ordinance for the same, or extracted the ballot or ballots out of the box.

ARTICLE XCI.—Any person who has done violence to the Manager for Voting, the Manager for Examining the Ballots, the Presiding Official of Election, Witness, or Election Overseer, or caused a disturbance at any of the places appointed for election meeting, examining ballots, or voting, or detained, destroyed, or plundered a ballot, ballot box, or any document concerning the election, shall be punished with a minor imprisonment of not less than four months and not exceeding four years.

Any person who has assembled a crowd and committed any of the acts mentioned in the preceding clause; shall be punished with a minor imprisonment. Any person who has knowingly joined such a crowd shall be punished with a minor imprison-

ment of not less than one month and not exceeding five years.

ARTICLE XCII.—Any person who has used means of intimidation against an elector, candidate for membership, or election promoter, or caused disturbance at any of the places appointed for election meeting, examining ballots, or voting, or assembled a crowd with the purpose of detaining, destroying, or plundering, a ballot, ballot box or any of the documents concerning the election, shall be punished with a minor imprisonment of not less than six months and not exceeding three years. Whoever knowingly joined the crowd shall be punished with a minor imprisonment of not less than fifteen days and not exceeding three months.

The offender carrying with him any of the articles mentioned in Article XCIII. shall have one degree added to each of the principal punishments.

ARTICLE XCIII.—Any elector, candidate for membership, and election promotor who with regard to the election carries with him a fire-arm, lance, sword, bamboo lance, club, or anything adequate for wounding or killing others, shall be punished with a minor imprisonment not exceeding two years, or with a fine of not less than five, and not exceeding two hundred *yen*.

The police or gendarme authorities are authorized in case of necessity to seize the above mentioned articles.

ARTICLE XCIV.—Whoever enters any of the places used for election meeting, examining the ballots, or voting, with any of the objects mentioned in the preceding Article shall have one

degree added to the punishment as therein provided for.

ARTICLE XCV.—Whoever with regard to the election, and for the purpose of demonstration, have assembled a crowd, or marched in body, or used fireworks, torches, bells, drums, shell-bugles, trumpets, flags, or any other mark or sign, and refused to obey the order of the police authorities to desist, shall be punished with a minor imprisonment of not less than fifteen days and not exceeding six months, or be made to pay a fine of not less than five and not more than one hundred *yen*.

ARTICLE XCVI.—Any person who has instigated others for the purpose of making them commit any of the acts mentioned in Articles LXXXIX.—XCV. by means of speeches, newspapers, periodicals, circulars, placards, or any other medium whatever, shall be punished according to the provisions of the Articles herein mentioned. In the case of a newspaper or a periodical that has been so used, the person signing his name as editor shall also be punished.

ARTICLE XCVII.—Any person who with the purpose of obstructing the election publishes false reports concerning any of the candidates for election by means of public speeches, newspapers, periodicals, circulars, placards, or any other medium whatever, shall be punished with a minor imprisonment of not more than six months, and with a fine not exceeding fifty *yen*. In the case of a newspaper or a periodical that has been so used for the purpose, the provision of the appended clause of the preceding Article shall be applied.

ARTICLE XCVIII.—Any person who has voted in spite of his disqualification, and any person who has voted by a fraudulent use of a name, shall be punished with a minor imprisonment of not less than one month and not exceeding two years, and with a fine of not less than ten and not exceeding one hundred *yen*.

ARTICLE XCIX.—Any of the witnesses who, without good reason, fails to discharge the obligations required of him by this Law, shall be liable to a fine of not less than five and not more than fifty *yen*.

ARTICLE C.—In the case of offences mentioned in Clause 2 of Article XCII., Article XCIII., and Article XCIV. the objects carried by the offender shall be confiscated.

ARTICLE CI.—Should an elected person have been sentenced to punishment owing to an offence or offences concerning election during the election in which he had been engaged, his election shall become void.

ARTICLE CII.—Any person who has been punished owing to an offence or offences concerning election, shall be forbidden, by the power of judgement pronounced by a Law Court, to exercise his right to elect and be elected, for a period of not less than two and not longer than eight years after the expiration of the term of punishment.

ARTICLE CIII.—In all offences punishable by this Law, six months shall be considered as the term of prescription of penalties.

CHAPTER XII

SUPPLEMENTARY RULES

ARTICLE CIV.—The outlays concerning election shall be provided for by an Imperial Ordinance.

ARTICLE CV.—A lawsuit concerning election shall be promptly decided by the Law Court in spite of the order of precedence governing other suits.

ARTICLE CVI.—In a district where the Cho or Son administration is not in force, the Kocho (Headman of the place) or any person holding office comparable to his, shall undertake the work expected of the Chocho (Chief of Town) or Soncho (Chief of Village) by the requirements of the present Law.

In the case of an island where is Tocho (Chief Official of the island) the work expected of Guncho (Chief of Rural District) by the present Law shall be performed by him, and in an island without Tocho, by one whose office is comparable to that of a Guncho.

In the case of the Municipalities of Tokio, Kioto, and Osaka, the word Shi of the present Law, corresponds to Ku (Ward); Shicho (Chief of Municipality) to Kucho (Chief of Ward); and the Shi Office, to Ku Office.

ARTICLE CVII.—Should the witnesses fail to appear at the hour appointed, or a deficiency occur in the quorum during the session, the Manager for Voting, the Ballots Examining Manager,

or the Presiding Official of Election, as the case may be, shall temporarily appoint a new witness from among the electors.

ARTICLE CVIII.—The lawsuits concerning electoral list, election or person elected, except those provided for in this law, shall be instituted in accordance with the principle governing the procedure of civil case.

ARTICLE CIX.—The kinds of direct national taxes mentioned in the present Law shall be determined by an Imperial Ordinance.

ARTICLE CX.—In the case of the Hokkaido, or Okinawa Ken (Loocho Islands) where it is impossible to apply any of the provisions of this Law, a special provision or provisions may be made by an Imperial Ordinance.

CHAPTER XIII

APPENDED RULES

ARTICLE CXI.—This Law shall come in force from the next general election. In the case of the Hokkaido excepting Sapporo Ku (section), Hakodate Ku, and Otaru Ku, or of the Okinawa Ken, the date of enforcement of this Law shall be specially determined by an Imperial Ordinance.

ARTICLE CXII.—Only in the case of preparing an electoral list required for electing the Members for the first time in accordance with the provisions of this Law, the date and period of time mentioned in Articles XVIII–XX., XXIV., XXVI.,

and XXVII may be specially fixed by an Imperial Ordinance. The electoral list so prepared shall retain its validity till the day when the same list for the next year shall have become final.

SCHEDULE

(APPENDED TO THE LAW OF ELECTION)

Note. * indicates amendment effected by Law No. 38 of the 35th year of Meiji (1902); and amendment by Law No. 39 of the same year.

	Total Number of Members.
Tokio Fu:—	
Tokio-shi (city)	11.
Gun-bu (Rural Districts) including Seven Islands of Izu	5.
Kioto Fu:—	
Kioto-shi	3.
Gun-bu	5.
Osaka Fu:—	
Osaka-shi	6.
Sakai-shi	1.
Gun-bu	6.
Kanagawa Ken (Prefecture):—	
Yokohama-shi*	2.
Gun-bu	6.
Hiogo Ken:—	
Kobe-shi...	2.
Himeji-shi	1.
Gun-bu	11.

	Total Number of Members.
Nagasaki Ken:—	
Nagasaki-shi	1.
Gun-bu	6.
Tsushima (Island)	1.
Niigata Ken:—	
Niigata-shi	1.
Gun-bu	12.
Sado (Island)...	1.
Saitama Ken	9.
Gumma Ken:—	
Mayebashi-shi	1.
Takasaki-shi*	1.
Gun-bu	6.
Chiba Ken	10.
Ibaraki Ken:—	
Mito-shi	1.
Gun-bu	9.
Tochigi Ken:—	
Utsunomiya-shi	1.
Gun-bu	6.
Nara Ken:—	
Nara-shi...	1.
Gun-bu	4.

	Total Number of Members.
Miye Ken:—	
Tsu-shi	1.
Yokkaichi-shi*	1.
Gun-bu	7.
Aichi Ken:—	
Nagoya-shi	2.
Gun-bu	11.
Shizuoka Ken:—	
Shizuoka-shi	1.
Gun-bu	9.
Yamanashi Ken:—	
Kofu-shi...	1.
Gun-bu	4.
Shiga Ken:—	
Ōtsu-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.
Gifu Ken:—	
Gifu-shi	1.
Gun-bu	7.
Nagano Ken:—	
Nagano-shi	1.
Gun-bu	9.
Miyagi Ken:—	
Sendai-shi	1.
Gun-bu	6.

	Total Number of Members.
Fukushima Ken:—	
Wakamatsu-shi*	1.
Gun-bu	8.
Iwate Ken:—	
Morioka-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.
Awomori Ken:—	
Hirosaki-shi	1.
Awomori-shi*	1.
Gun-bu	4.
Yamagata Ken:—	
Yamagata-shi	1.
Yonezawa-shi	1.
Gun-bu	6.
Akita Ken:—	
Akita-shi*	1.
Gun-bu	6.
Fukui Ken:—	
Fukui-shi	1.
Gun-bu	4.
Ishikawa Ken:—	
Kanazawa-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.

	Total Number of Members.
Toyama Ken:—	
Toyama-shi	1.
Takaoka-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.
Tottori Ken:—	
Tottori-shi*	1.
Gun-bu	3.
Shimane Ken:—	
Matsuye-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.
Oki (Island)	1.
Okayama Ken:—	
Okayama-shi	1.
Gun-bu	8.
Hiroshima Ken:—	
Hiroshima-shi	1.
Onomichi-shi...	1.
Gun-bu	10.
Yamaguchi Ken:—	
Shimonoseki-shi	1.
Gun-bu	7.
Wakayama Ken:—	
Wakayama-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.

	Total Number of Members.
Tokushima Ken:—	
Tokushim-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.
Kagawa Ken:—	
Takamatsu-shi	1.
Marugame-shi*	1.
Gun-bu	5.
Ehime Ken:—	
Matsuyama-shi	1.
Gun-bu	7.
Kōchi Ken:—	
Kōchi-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.
Fukuoka Ken:—	
Fukuoka-shi	1.
Kurume-shi*	1.
Moji-shi*	1.
Kokura-shi*	1.
Gun-bu...	10.
Ōita Ken	6.
Saga Ken:—	
Saga-shi	1.
Gun-bu	5.

	Total Number of Members.
Kumamoto Ken:	
Kumamoto-shi	1.
Gun-bu	8.
Miyazaki Ken	4.
Kagoshima Ken:—	
Kagoshima-shi	1.
Gun-bu	7.
Ōshima (Island)	1.
Hokkaido:—	
Sapporo-ku (section)	1.
Hakodate-ku...	1.
Otaru-ku...	1.
Sapporo, Otaru, Iwanai, Mashike, Sōya, Kamikawa, Sorachi, Muroran, Urakawa — sub-districts	1.
Hakodate, Matsumaye, Hiyama, Suttsu — sub-districts	1.

		Total Number of Members.
Nemuro Kushiro Kasai Obashiri	sub-districts...	1.

(All sections belonging to Chishima in the jurisdiction of the Nemuro Branch Government are excepted.)

Okinawa Ken:—

Nawa Shuri Shimashiri Nakagami Kunjan	Districts...	2.

Grand Total of Members ... ... 381.

Despite the change in population of any of the election districts, no alteration is to be made in this Schedule for at least ten years.*

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【定價一册金貳圓】

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