Comparison of Social Evolution in Different Times and Places between Scotland in the West and Japan in the East

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1. Preface

Recently, it was commonly recognized that a feudal system was not always bad and negative elements to the next society of capitalism.

With the practical wisdom for management as the economic historian, I would dare to compare the case of evolutionary development between Japan and Scotland in terms of socio-economic history.

American economic historian of world banking system, Prof. Rond Cameron who disclosed the most efficient banking systems to assist an industrialization in the world were with banking practices of Scottish in 18th and Japanese in late 19th century.\(^1\)

In addition, a great number of bankers in 19th century in North America were immigrants from Scotland. In fact, the founder of Bank of Japan was also Scottish banker of Alexander Allan Shand who fostered to teach the staffs in using the text book from Scotland.\(^2\)

Besides Shand, there were many Scottish employee to help the economic development of Japan before the end of Tokugawa feudal regime and early Meiji Japan after the Restoration.

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In 1858, Scottish diplomat of 8th Lord Elgin, James Bruce who was dispatched to China to suppress the 2nd Opium War (Arrow Incident) and accidentally hearing of American trade treaty with Japan, Elgin and his secretary, Laurence Oliphant rushed to Japan.\(^{(3)}\)

It was not well known that this Elgin’s book gave a great influence to Ernest Satow, the most famous British diplomat to Japan in early Meiji era.\(^{(4)}\)

Under the Kanagawa Treaty (America, Netherland, Russia, UK and France), Japanese ports of Yokohama, Hakodate with Nagasaki were open in July 1859.

In the middle of 19th century, the network of railway at land and of steamer over the ocean was almost completed over many areas of the world by both inventions of Scottish engineers.

My purpose of this article was firstly how closely the two countries related in the time of industrialization, secondly how similar between the two countries of philosophy and ethics in human behavior.

2. Japanese responses to the advanced foreign technology,

(1) The Introduction of gun to Japan and its end

Over the matter of Western gun to Japan, it was very interesting story which Prof. Noel Perrin of Dartmas University of America disclosed the impressive story of gun with Japanese\(^{(5)}\)

In 1543, Chinese ship drifted to Tanegashima island, South down from Kagoshima (South part of Kyusyu) and Portuguese explorer and passenger accidentally on board presented two guns to Tokitaka Tanegashima, her landlord

This was a very interesting and unique point of Japanese reaction to face the new and high advanced technology and culture.

Compared with the other Asian nations, Japanese took the unexpected history by this incident. The Tanegashima lord ordered the sword maker of his clan (Katanakaji) to produce a copy of the gun. When only one year passed, the Katanakaji succeeded in making the gun sufficient for the battle use. Then, this new technology was introduced to Sakai, rich city in Osaka where merchant class ordered by Nobunaga Oda to succeed in mass production of guns. In 1575 Nagashino War, Nobunaga Oda defeated over Takeda clan by three thousands gun soldier which completely changed the strategy of warfare in Japan.\(^{(6)}\)

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Interesting enough, Professor Noel used the other case in Scotland. Twenty years after the incident in Japan, at the war of Glenlivet in 1595, the army of Duke Argyll supported by Campbell family of ten thousands of Scottish Highlanders was defeated the rebellious army of Huntley by Gordon family of Scottish two thousands Lowlanders because of gun and cannon use. (7)

In early 17th century Europe the religious war was happened to demand the right of faith among protestant believers against within the Holly Rome Empire and which was named after Thirty Year War. Many peoples died. Similarly in Japan, in 1637, Amakusa revolt under the prohibition of Christianity was taken place and far greater number of death of Catholic Japanese believers was killed by gun (8)

The successors of Oda, Hideyoshi Toyotomi could almost establish his regime through a number of victorious wars in application of gun and cannon. Nextly, Ieyasu Tokugawa launched his own government succeeded by fifteen generations of the clan for 250 years. (9)

Westerners when they visited Japan after the nation opened in 1859, they were impressed and admired the heritage of Teppou (Japanese gun) concerning the technology of gun, because they found that Japanese had invented the further efficient new types of gun which made the bullet in straight and length, such as useful even in the rain. (10)

But strangely, Japanese forgotten its gun technology when Tokugawa government ruled the entire Japan. Ieyasu succeeded the two laws from Hideyoshi of Katanagari (taking up the job of gun making and encouraging to return to the sword making or appliances of agriculture) and of Kenchi (measurement of cultivation in national scale) which was used to control local clans affairs by Shogun.

Tokugawa confined the foreign trade only to Netherland and China at Dejima of Nagasaki until the five ports opened by the Ansei Kanagawa treaty in 1858. It was called the Sakoku (closed the nation) policy. But Japanese leader and intellectual of Tokugawa did not neglect what was going on outside Japan, through her unique and very efficient management. (11)

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8 The Thirty Years War was happened in Central Europe, involving most of European countries and was called the most destructive conflicts in Europe, largely fought as the religious war between Catholic and Protestant in Holy Central Roma. The number of death and casualty by gun at Shimabara Revolts in 1637 of Japanese Catholic believers was far greater than the Thirty year War. It was incredible far developed of gun production in Japan. N. Perrin, *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.
An economic historian calculated to prove one fourth production of silver in Japan during the closed policy, regularly exported to South Asia where they evaluated higher quality of Japanese silver than Western silver from Mexico. By return, Japanese could import the information and knowledge in book form, as well as some luxurious items for the limited member of high class peoples. Namely, Japanese policy during so called Sakoku policy was very carefully elaborated managed trade.\(^{(12)}\)

Prof. N. Perrin emphasized the success of Katanagari policy to change Japanese ethics which gave up the gun of demon and Satan weapon. Japanese craftsmen of gun makers were ordered to change their job to produce tool and appliance for agricultural purpose.

Under this Katanagari policy, some of them preferred to return to sword maker and other initiated to make agricultural tools which enabled to have stable crop production increased in feudal Japan.

Namely, I would want to stress that some sort energy of self evolution, amelioration, development existed in the nature of Japanese peoples. To make a progress of social development from the feudal society to capitalistic one, the managerial revolution was necessary with the new technological inventions.

In Meiji Japan, under the Idea of Engineers lead by Scottish teachers, this sort of Japanese thought and behavior must be the vital source of promoting the managerial revolution.

\(^{(2)}\) Henry Dyer, the first Principal of Kobu-Daigakko (Tokyo University)

The most famous Westerner in Japanese history of the end of Tokugawa feudal government was Thomas Blake Glover, Scottish merchant from Aberdeen who must be one of the symbolic persons in the end of Tokugawa period.\(^{(13)}\)

Glover was not inventor but importer of Western civilized lives to Japan as the entrepreneur. He introduced the Western habit of eating meat when he initiated pasture and slaughter house, the first locomotives imported from Shanghai at Oura (Nagasaki) seashore in

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12 The word of Sakoku was firstly used in 1853 to express the foreign policy of Edo government and became popularly used after Meiji to stress the backward of her foreign policy.
1865, tea factory to export tea from Japan to UK. Western dockyard at Kosugaura, the Mint house at Osaka together with Tomoatsu Godai in 1869, Takashima coal field in Western style in 1867 as well as Japan beer factory which later to be Kirin beer. (14)

From Japanese leaders viewpoint of Meiji government, the most significant request was how to make Japan cope with the pressure of Western powers.

Then, leaders of Choshu (Yamaguchi) and Satuma (Kagoshima) clans who smuggled to UK against the Tokugawa governmental prohibition, led to the success of the political change of Meiji Restoration.

Interestingly, Revolt groups of Choshu and Satsuma after the restoration, were to seek for the collaboration of the ex-enemy youth who was the elite youth of feudal regime to be sent for America and Europe in Tokugawa regime. (15)

They hastened to promote the industrialization of Meiji Japan in Western way. Under the recommendation of E. Morrell, Scottish railway engineer who had worked in India, moved to Japan, Kobu-Sho (Ministry of Industry) was started. Because he recommended to set up the ministry to expand and develop the industrialisation of the nation in using the successful sample of Shanghai settlement under Kobu-Kyoku (Bureau of Industry).

Under this Ministry, a number of foreign engineers and teachers (Oyatoi) invited were mostly Scottish. The first Oyatoi was Scottish lighthouse engineer from Northern Lights Commissioners at Edinburgh, R. H. Brunton who contributed to erect nearly 30 lighthouses along with Japanese islands.

Brunton was helped by Scottish Captain A. R. Brown who had been employed on the way to Japan in the ship of P. & O. Navigation company and played a big role of development of Japanese shipping and of naval architecture. (16)

Under the Ko-bu Ministry, Kobu-Daigakko (the first Engineering College) in Western way was launched in 1873 and the first principal and professor of civil engineering was Henry Dyer 25 years old and just graduated from Glasgow University. Dyer was admired to be the father of scientific and technological education in Japan. (17)

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15 A. Cobbing, The Satsuma Students in Britain, Japanese Early Search for the Essence of the West, Japan Library, 2000, pp.62, 80-81.
17 M. Kita, 'The Life of Henry Dyer (1848-1918). A Scottish engineer and the first Principal of Tokyo University, who succeeded in transforming a feudal society in a small island into a modern civil society,' paper presented at International Association of Historians in Asia, J. Nehru University, 18th November, 2010; ditto, Kokusai Nippon (Ibid.), pp.93-115.
Dyer as his teacher Prof. M. Ramkine passed away, helped by the well-known Scottish scientist Lord Kelvin (Prof. William Thomson) of Glasgow University collected two dozens of Scottish young scientist and engineer from Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Aberdeen to send to Japan. It was said that about 4000 foreign engineers were mostly British, namely Scottish in early Meiji period.

When Dyer returned home in 1883, he was appointed to be honorary teacher of Tokyo University and correspondent of Japan. He wrote the book of *Dai Nippon, Britain of the East, A Study in National Evolution* in 1904 to illustrate such great evolution of Japanese society under the introduction of Western culture and technology as to enable to defeat China and Russia in 40 years after the reformation. (18)

Henry Dyer with Yozo YAMAO, one of five Choshu clan who smuggled to UK, and apprentice to Napier shipyard of Glasgow in daytime and to student of Anderson College in the evening set up the Association of Engineers in Japan (Nippon-Ko-Gakkai), which became the first society of this kind. (19)

Additionally, it is true that there in Japan has been and is existed most many numbers of associations of promoting variety kids of study and research for their reciprocal enlightenment in the world.

3. Transition of feudal to capitalistic society

Scotland is small nation situated at the northern part of Britain and still different from England in several ways of religion, fork, culture and law.

Scotland had been subjective to English economic power for many centuries and nearly met bankruptcy caused by the failure of Darien Company (so called West India Company) in late 17th century and then accepted the offer of 1707 Union with England on the condition of being deprived their own aristocracy and parliament and of devaluation of their pound one twelfth to that of England. (20)

But in the medieval period, there in Scotland existed strong feudal relationship between King, landlord, merchant and farmer and at the same time strong sense of unity among folks and of egalitarian thought which was symbolized the Arbroath declamation in 1320. (21)

After the Union Scottish traders were permitted to enter English settlements which had

18 H. Dyer, the *Dai Nippon*, The Britain of the East, A Study in National Evolution, Blackie & Son, 1904.
been hindered by Cromwell Navigation Act in 1651. many of Scottish youth educated under the tradition of practical works at Scottish Universities and began to move firstly down to England, then to the European nations and America, and to the new world of Africa and Asia through India.

Scottish education was open for the able youth even in poor but English was confined to the youth of aristocracy. In fact, As the third university in England in 1823, the Birkbeck College of London University was established by Scottish teacher, G.Birkbeck the founder of Glasgow Mechanic Institutes of chemistry and natural history moved down to London. (22)

In Scotland, the first compulsory educational law was enacted in 1314 and after the J.Knox’s religious revolution in 1560, the practical subjects related with jobs were esteemed and taught at Scottish universities and this inclination was rapidly accelerated. (23)

Even after 1707, Scottish peoples in particular among highlanders preferred the King and took two Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 against English army. When they were defeated Scottish landlords who favored to English law and regime became the initiative of Scottish development.

Some Scottish aristocracy arrested because of guilty against English regime was already deported to America, Australia and New Zealand where they became later the don of new settlement and colony of Scottish Diaspora in the new land. (24)

Some factors in Scotland which feudalistically and historically had been existed like limited liability sense in society, bond system in coal field, branch-system of banking turned to be useful for the birth and development of Scottish unique capitalism. (25)

Generally it was said that the Industrial Revolution was the Scottish revolution and when the Britain was called the Workshop of the World, the West of Scotland was named the heart of British industries and Glasgow was the capital of mechanics and industries.

While America became independent in 1776, Scottish economy was badly effected by the disappearance of tobacco trade, the source of wealth for Scotland after the Union. When this crisis happened, John Anderson, Professor of Natural History of Glasgow University collected the citizens to suggest to launch the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Glasgow to guide the future direction of their economic activities in 1783 which was the first institution of this

kind of business performance in the World. (26)

Taking initiative of some famous philosophers, James Stuart, Walter Scott, William Robertson and A. Carlyle together with David Hume and Adam Smith who had a distance from the Church, so called the Scottish Enlightenment Movement was in progress.

After the Union in 1707, generally among Scottish peoples, they trusted that Presbyterian thought led by the old and experienced clergy called the moderator who represented the main body of Scottish church organization of the kirk became the social function in Scotland in place of her own abolished government. (27)

Among the leaders of Scottish Enlightenment, there was Lord Kames, Henry Hume whom Adam Smith described to his mentor and who gave influences to David Hume and John Millar, Adam Ferguson, Thomas Reid. (28)

Under their encouragement, based on the Scottish conventional practical idea and education, Scottish peoples who was very convinced of her religion preferred to work abroad to England, European continent as well as to America, Africa and Asia with their own philosophy and technology. Some scholar said that Scottish emigrated with Adam Smith’s book in right hand and Scotch whisky in left had.

4. Evolutional development in Japan

In Edo era while Tokugawa feudal government granted only trade with Netherland and China at Dejima of Nagasaki which was in a sufficiently elaborated and efficient policy of regulated trade of maintaining the feudal society in peace with the sentence of death penalty for japanese overseas trade.

But Japanese society was not simple stable without development which Max Weber described in his book but with steady evolution in many peaceful ways which Westerner found with surprise on their visit after the nation open. (29)

In Japan under the Chinese culture, the examination of political and social promotion to applicants so called Kakyo was existed since 6th century but the system gradually changed to fit for Japanese. It was strictly used to produce the elite of social promotion in China which was related the family system under the strong influence of Confucianism but in Japan it was gradually transformed to the demand of Japanese society and the Importance of general

26 S. G. Checkland, (Scottish banking, op cit.,) pp.140, 177-179, 490.
29 Max Weber famously classified China and Japan to the typical oriental feudalism which any revolution was not taken place in his theory.
education was also expanded to every class of the society. (30)

Until recently, many peoples in the world believed the industrial development was only started on the condition of solid social foundation of Protestantism and then they were surprised to see the exceptional case of economic development by non-Christian philosophy and ethics in Japan without Christianity after Meiji Reformation. (31)

Even in feudal period, Japanese education was widely enforcement and successful in teaching practical subjects to the peoples over Japan. In fact, it was surprising of the high ratio of literacy among Japanese and of the way to higher learning institution for clever and able young peoples. (32)

This educational network in Japan was popular among the children of Samurai (warrior) at Hankou (each clan’s school) but also the use of merchants and farmers at Teragoya (attached school of local temple). In feudal Japan, the priest and older chief of villages and towns played an important role of moderator to supplement the governmental laws.

Generally, the social promotion was opened to the able youth. It must be another example of Kakun (family principle, motto) rooted in the merchant house of Edo period which guided the family business over some centuries until now and sound foundation of Japanese big business which was quite similar with Scottish clan nepotism in business which was started also at Boston Associates in America.

In Japan, when subject (employee) judged wrong act or behavior towards his upper position, he could make a suit in exchange of his life and turn over the relationship which was encouraged by the top, which was called, Gekoku-Jyo (action to replace his upper position), in Japan. (33)

In Western society, as by the insistence of Max Webber, puritanism which changed the concept of Christianity of Catholic to Protestantism which became the energy of social evolution which gave peoples religious view of intellectuality and philosophy which became the most important ethics of the success of industrial development in Western Europe. In Scotland it was said that the Scottish Calvinism had played the same sort of role of Router Protestantism. (34)

30 T. Maeda, Edono Dokushokai (Reading books societies in Edo Japan), Heibonsha, 2012.
31 In 1981. Mahathir bin Mohammad of Malaysia Prime Minister disclosed the importance of non-Christian economic development through leaning from the success of Japanese economy, which was called ‘look East’ policy.
Japanese was mostly in Mahayana (great vehicle of) Buddhism, different from Theravada (small vehicle of) and the idea of evolution and development had been existed in Mahayana in Japan.

In this sense, the idea and Philosophy of Engineer brought into Japan by Dyer and many Scottish teachers and engineers from which Japanese leaders of Meiji era eagerly learned must be highly deserved as the new ethics fit for modern Japan which they were convinced of would change her society from feudalism to industrialism. (35)

5. Conclusion, Similarity of Scotland and Japan in terms of social evolution

In 1850’s and 60’s, many books of Scottish philosophers translation into Japanese were printed like Thomas Carlyle of French Revolution, Samuel Smile of Self Help, James. Stuart. Mill of The History of British India and his son John Stuart Mills of Principle of Political Economy were published and widely read. (36)

Probably, Adam Smith’s book of the Wealth of Nations must be mostly fond book of economists in Japan. I am convinced that Scottish engineers were good teachers to Japanese youth in UK and Japan of before and after Meiji era. Then under the encouragement of good teachers, many of Scottish books were translated and pleasantly welcomed by Japanese who was eager to read the works as the content of books was very similar idea with the ethics and ideology of Japanese.

It did not seem Japanese youth in those days to be able to distinguish the worthwhile to be translated or not into Japanese. (37)

The basic idea of The Wealth of Nations was introduced at The Theory of Moral Sentiments in 1759 which was to explain the source of mankind’s ability to form moral judgments in spite of man’s nature inclination towards self-interest. Smith proposed a theory of sympathy in which the act of observing others makes people aware of themselves and the morality of their own behavior.

It seemed that this sort of human behavior was also existed in feudal Japan to make an elaborated civilized society in Oriental way which enjoyed the fruit of their culture like Kabuki, and Ukiyoe. The design of civil society of Smith was based on the egalitarian thought of Scottish Presbytery. On the other hand, Japanese society has been instructed peoples by

36 M. Kita, Sukottorandojin Diasporato Daieiteikoku (Scottish Diaspora and the Prosperity of British Empire. technological Diffusion and Modern World and Japan), Youransha, 2010, p.164.
37 Japanese youth of Satuma and Cyoshu clans were taken cared by Prof. A. Williamson a good frien of John Stuart Mill. Cf. H. H. Bellet, University College London, 1826-1926, London University Press. 1929.
generation the importance of role of person committed to the welfare and well being of society.

Henry Dyer also put the sub title of a case of national evolution to the *Dai Nippon* of his most famous book published in 1904 because he wanted to illustrate Japanese development since the nation open in a form of social evolution. Around then, Westerners were very concerned with Darwin theory as well as the concept of social evolution of Herbert Spencer. (38)

Dyer was convinced the secrecy of Japanese evolutionary development must be rooted into the history of Japan which I believe in current term, the evolutional philosophy of practice rooted up from the Mahayana Buddhism which produced the time of 1970’s so called the success of Japanese Management which was quite similar with Scottish development in 18th and 19th century.

Generally speaking, Theravada Buddhism is more concerned with mind practice of one’s inner world and on the contrary, Mahayana Buddhism concerned with the relationship of individual behavior and society. In particular, Mahayana Buddhism because of its connection with society has a characteristic of changing its interpretation by generation. I have no mind of discussing religions here but I would say that Fundamental Christian and Islam when they faced the new problem and dilemma, they would return to the original message but Buddhism always evolved to cope with generation and environment.

Probably, Japanese society must be one of the most egalitarian societies in the world, because most part of population feels themselves classified to the middle class, which manifest the characteristic of Japanese society distilled by its unique environment and history. Then it seems to me the same sort of initiative and evolution with 18th 19th Scotland and 19th 20th Japan over the times and places.