filled. In 1864 (Genji 1), two agreements entitled "A Memorandum Concerning the Yokohama Settlement" and "An Agreement Concerning the Reconstruction of the Yokohama Settlement, the Racetrack, and the Cemetery" stipulated that the marsh at the southern end of the Ōoka River (Yoshida Shinden) was to be reclaimed, creating land for use as a parade ground and racetrack for the foreign community; that lands along the northern reaches of the Ōoka River were to be filled in to provide room for new construction in the foreign settlement; that the foreigners' smallpox sanatorium was to be expanded and the foreign cemetery enlarged; and that land be made available for the construction of a clubhouse and a five-mile long bridal path to Negishi Village. These agreements were revised in 1866 (Keiō 2), and became the prototype for the layout of present-day Yokohama. Because of the foreign settlement, a way of life quite different from that of the Japanese began to unfold in Yokohama, and provided the basic material for a new genre of woodlock prints—called *Yokohama nishikie*—which depicted the habits and customs of the foreign community.

"Civilization and enlightenment" come to Yokohama

In 1854 (Ansei 1), Commodore Perry, who now had reasonable expectations that a treaty of amity and commerce would be signed, unloaded at Yokohama a number of official gifts from the government of the United States to the shogun of Japan. These consisted of fifty or so items representative of Western civilization: telegraph machines, a model steam railway engine, clocks, telescopes, rifles, and the like. In the courtyard of the reception house, a railway track was laid, and around it the model steam engine pulled a string of passenger cars. This was on the 13th of February. The next day, a telegraph line was strung between the reception house and the Shūkan Benten Shrine about 982 meters away, and the telegraph equipment was demonstrated. Seeing these devices in operation, the Japanese were amazed, and the shogunate realized the necessity of importing such goods from the West. However, the presents were stored away, and before they could be put to practical use, the shogunate itself collapsed. The first seeds of modern civilization had arrived at Yokohama, but had fallen short of being put to good use.

A steam engine at the time when railway service was first opened.

From the beginning, the Meiji government set itself to the task of putting the instruments of modern civilization to practical use. In 1869 (Meiji 2), an Englishman named Gilbert, the first of many foreign advisors to be employed by the new government, strung a 760-meter telegraph line from a government office at Yokohama Benten Tōmyōdai to the Yokohama Court (later the prefectural government offices) on Honchō Avenue, and it began to carry official telegraphs. On September 19, a telegraph office was established inside the Yokohama Courthouse, and a line was run nearly 32 kilometers to Tsukiji, Tokyo, with service inaugurated in December.

On November 10, 1869, the government decided to begin the construction of railways, and hired a number of British engineers, headed by Edmund Morel, to supervise the process. Construction began in March 1870 (Meiji 3) to link Shiodome in Tokyo with the Nogeura reclaimed lands (now Sakuragi-chō) in Yokohama. The first part of the line to be completed was the 23.8-kilometer section linking Yokohama and Shinagawa, which was finished on May 7,

1872 (Meiji 5), and began temporary service. By August, the rest of the line as far as Shimbashi (Shiodome) was completed and opened for service, and on September 12, inaugural ceremonies were performed at Yokohama station in the morning and Shimbashi station in the afternoon. The fact that the ceremonies took place at Yokohama first probably indicates that it was seen as the starting point of the new railway. Freight handling facilities were constructed at the three stations of Yokohama, Shinagawa, and Shimbashi. This was the origin of today's railway freight system, and the first link in the network of rail lines that would serve as the main artery for Japan's emergence as a modern nation.

The telegraph and the railway, the arteries of the modern nation, both had their origins in the Yokohama foreign settlement. The way of life and the facilities built by the numerous foreign residents served as a wellspring of "civilization and enlightenment." In *Yokohama kidan* (Strange Tales from Yokohama), published in 1863 (Bunkyū 3), things and customs introduced as curiosities to the Japanese reader included stone buildings, glass windows, carpets, the eating of bread, beef, and pork, and the practice of going for daily strolls. Almost immediately, these spread among the Japanese populace, and became part of the Japanese way of life as well.

Carriages were used for transportation in the Kannai, and in 1867 (Keiō 3) a horsedrawn trolley line linking the consular offices in Yokohama with the embassies in Edo was completed, followed by horsedrawn omnibuses under foreign management running between Building No. 37 in the foreign settlement and the city of Edo (renamed Tokyo in 1868) . In 1869 (Meiji 2) eight residents of Yokohama petitioned to be allowed to open an omnibus service under Japanese management, and it was soon in operation between Yoshidabashi, Tobe, Hiranuma, Kanagawadai, and Nihombashi in Tokyo. Although these services gradually disappeared with the opening of railways, in 1874 (Meiji 7) postal stagecoaches began running between Kanagawa and Odawara, and along with railroads, a system of carriage routes expanded throughout the country.

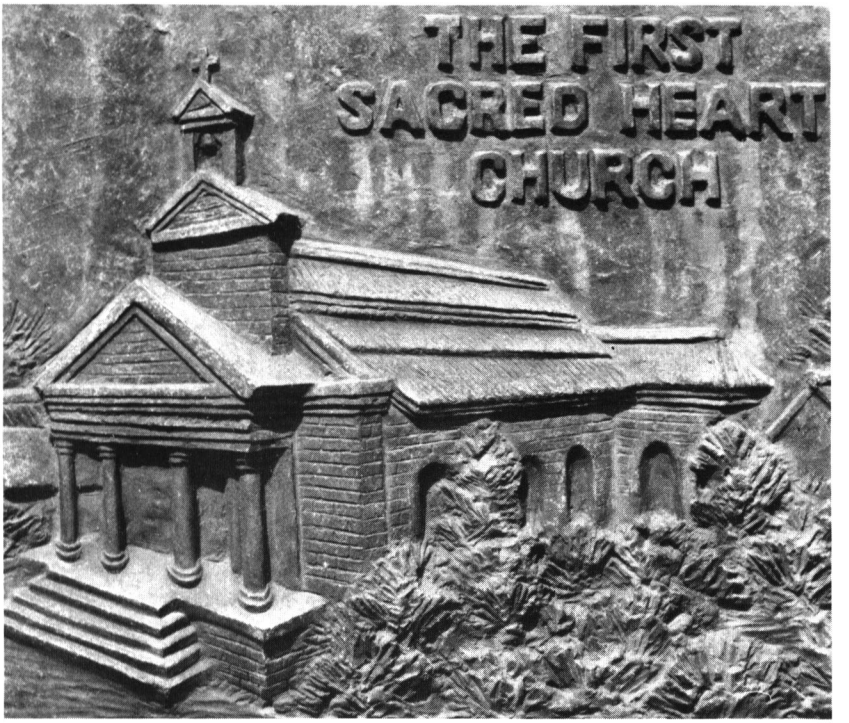
The foreign settlement as a source of civilization

The daily newspaper, now an indispensable part of everyday life in Japan, also had its beginnings with the foreign newspapers published

in the Yokohama settlement. The first full-fledged newspaper directed at a Japanese readership was the *Kaigai Shimbun* (Overseas News) which Joseph Hiko began publishing from his house at No. 141 in the American section of the settlement in May 1865 (Keiō 1). It had a print run of 100 copies, and as its name would suggest, it was a publication aimed at delivering international news to Japanese readers. This paper had only a brief existence, ceasing publication in 1866 (Keiō 2) after its twenty-sixth issue. The first Japanese-language daily newspaper was the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* (Yokohama Daily News), which began publication with an issue dated December 8, 1870 (Meiji 3). The newspaper was published by the Yokohama Printing Company, which opened in the English and French Language School in the area then called Benten-chō, and the editor was Koyasu Takashi. Eventually, with the support of wealthy merchants in Yokohama, the Yokohama Printing Company expanded its operations and Shimada Saburō became the paper's editor. By November 1879 (Meiji 12), the paper had published 2,690 issues, but that year the main office was moved to Tokyo, the Honchō office was renamed the Yokohama Branch Office, and the name of the paper itself was changed to the *Tokyo-Yokohama Mainichi.* In 1886 (Meiji 19), the name was changed again to the *Mainichi Shimbun* with head offices located in Owari-chō in Tokyo. After the paper moved to Tokyo, Yokohama was left without a Japanese daily until the *Yokohama Bōeki Shimbun* (Yokohama Trade News) began publication on February 1, 1890 (Meiji 23).

A base for Christian missionary work

In the foreign settlement at Yokohama, which enjoyed extraterritoriality and was thus not subject to Japanese law, churches serving the resident foreign population were established very early on, and as a result of proselytizing by foreign missionaries, a number of Japanese became converts. In February 1872 (Meiji 5), when the ban on Christianity that had been in force since the early Edo period was still in effect, the first Japanese Protestant church was founded, which was called the Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai (Japanese Christian Church) and located within the foreign settlement in Yokohama. After 1873 (Meiji 6), when the ban on Christianity was lifted, this



A bas-relief on the site of the First Sacred Heart Church.
(Naka Ward, Yokohama)

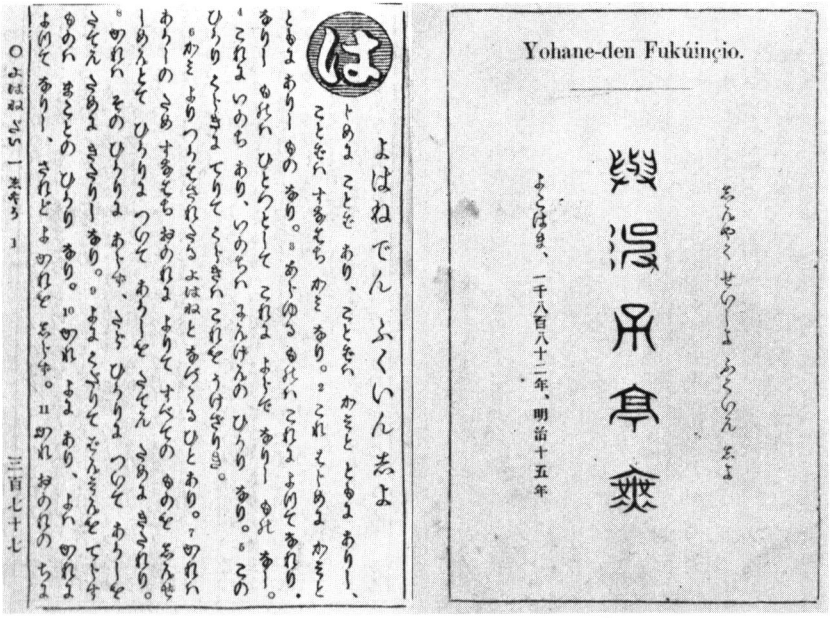
church became an important center for Japanese missionary work. By the end of the year the ban was lifted, the church had gained as many as 75 members, and the following year a branch was set up in Tokyo. In 1875 the Hirosaki Church in Aomori Prefecture, and in 1876 the Ueda Christian Church were also established as daughter churches of the Yokohama Church. In 1883 (Meiji 16), the Yokohama Missionary Society was created, conducting missionary activities in Yokosuka, Akuwa (now Seya Ward, Yokohama), Hodogaya, and other places in Kanagawa Prefecture. Churches were soon established in Yokosuka and Akuwa, and missionary activity spread to the Santama region as well.

Soon a number of different Christian denominations began missionary activity, using the Yokohama settlement as their head-

quarters—the Methodists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Baptists all opened missions. The Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches also began proselytizing. Catholic missionary work extended into the Santama region, and a number of people in Hachiōji who suffered social discrimination were converted. In addition to the missionaries dispatched by their churches and denominations to spread the faith in Japan, a number of foreigners resident in the Yokohama settlement opened private schools to teach English to Japanese students, and these schools as well served as a vehicle for the spread of Christianity. The private schools set up by foreigners in the settlement were one of the unique features of Yokohama. The Presbyterian James C. Hepburn and his wife set up an English language school in their residence at No. 39 in the settlement, which grew in ten years into an academy with about forty students, teaching geography, history, and mathematics in addition to English. When the American Presbyterian missionary Henry Loomis conducted the ceremony of first baptism at the Hepburn residence in 1874 (Meiji 7), eight of the ten people baptized were students at Hepburn's academy.

James Hamilton Ballagh of the Reformed Church also had as many as fifty private students. S. R. Brown was an instructor at the English language school established by the shogunate as well as its successor, the Shūbunkan, and opened a private academy in his home where he taught English, history and theology to about 20 students, a number of them former samurai from Kuwana *han*. The American Reformed Church missionary M. E. Kidder, who had served as an instructor in Hepburn's academy, opened the Ferris School for Women in 1875 (Meiji 8), building new classrooms and a dormitory in the Yamate section of the foreign settlement in Yokohama. In 1881 (Meiji 14), E. S. Booth, the second headmaster, had the school buildings enlarged and introduced a comprehensive curriculum divided into a preparatory course of two years, a main course of four years, and a two-year advanced course. The name of the school was changed from the Ferris English-Japanese Women's School to the Ferris Japanese-English Women's School, and has to this very day played a pioneering role in Japanese women's education.

Julia Neilson Crosby and two other women missionaries dis-



Japanese translation of *The Gospel According to St. John*, published in Yokohama in 1882.

patched by the American United Board of World Missions founded the Japanese Women's English School in the Yamate foreign settlement, which in 1875 (Meiji 8) changed its name to the Kyōritsu Women's School and continued its activities. The missionary Harriet G. Brittan of the Methodist Church opened the Brittan School for Women in 1880 (Meiji 13), which included kindergarten and elementary level courses as well as courses in English and both Western- and Japanese-style sewing. It was later renamed the Yokohama English-Japanese Women's School. The Catholic Order of St. Maur founded a women's school called the Kōran Jogakkō in 1900 (Meiji 33).

Various churches also established schools for men, but in contrast to the women's schools, many of which are still in operation today, all of the men's schools in Yokohama closed down after only a brief period of activity.

In October 1871, Tsuda Umeko and four others departed from

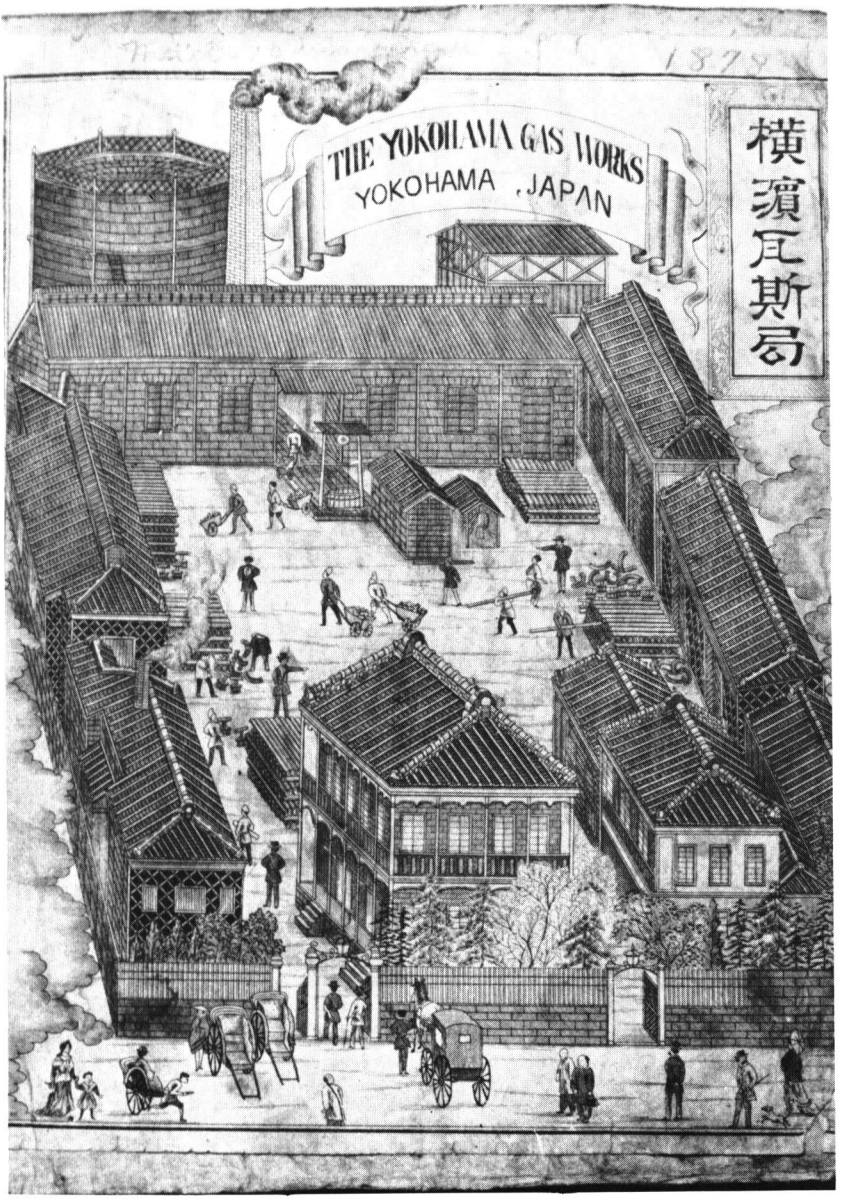
Yokohama as the first students sent by the new government to study abroad in America. During the same period, a number of women's schools were being founded by resident foreigners, bringing the fresh breeze of "civilization and enlightenment" to Yokohama. Moreover, the first Japanese-language Bible was published at Yokohama and used in missionary work throughout Japan.

The fruits of "enlightenment" spread throughout the prefecture

Due to the heavy volume of traffic which followed the development of the Port of Yokohama, the Yoshida Bridge linking the Kannai with the rest of the city suffered a great deal of strain and damage, and the Meiji government decided to have it rebuilt. Design of the new bridge was assigned to a foreign engineer named Branton who was employed by the government as a technical adviser; steel was imported from Great Britain; and in 1869 (Meiji 2), the first steel bridge built in Japan was completed. The imposing appearance of the bridge, which measured twenty-four meters in length and five meters in width, awed and impressed the Japanese. Popularly known as Kane-no-hashi ("the metal bridge"), its fame soon spread throughout the country.

Several years after the opening of the port, Western-style buildings began to appear in the streets of Yokohama. They were built by Japanese carpenters at the request of foreign residents and under their instruction. To the Japanese eye they seemed quite Western in style, but in reality they were wooden structures built using traditional Japanese techniques of carpentry. Japanese carpenters spread this unique westernized style of architecture throughout the prefecture and country, and it became one of the characteristic architectural styles of the Meiji period.

However, a fire of unprecedented proportions ravaged Yokohama on October 20, 1866 (Keiō 2), and the impressive buildings of the foreign settlement were reduced to ashes. As a result of this experience, fire prevention regulations were established which required buildings in the foreign settlement and the adjacent Japanese quarters to be roofed with tile and built of brick or limestone. Stone and brick buildings soon began to appear one after the other. The year after the fire, a two-story stone building housing the Yokohama Port



The Yokohama Gas Works in 1878. (Kanagawa Prefectural Museum)

Authority was completed in Honchō 1-chōme (now the seat of the prefectural government), the first Western-style stone building to be built in Japan. In 1870 (Meiji 3), the Yokohama Exchange Company (Yokohama Kawase Kaisha—later the Second National Bank) and the Yokohama Trading Company (Yokohama Shōsha) were built in Honchō 3-chōme, and in 1872, the two-story stuccoed Yokohama Telegraph Office was constructed. The same year, Yokohama's largest Western-style building, Yokohama Station, a two-story stone structure with a four-story clocktower set into the middle of its magnificent stone facade, was completed in Honchō 1-chōme.

In 1873 (Meiji 6), the Grand Hotel was newly constructed at No. 20 on the shorefront and opened for business. It was a spacious, Western-style building, as befitted its name. Its advertisements announced that it followed the European example in every detail, with extraordinarily beautiful furniture and appointments, immaculately clean accommodations, and a bill of fare which included both normal and special courses, the special course able to quickly accommodate any order by parties of anywhere from four to one hundred diners. Western-style inns were also built in the hot-springs resorts around Hakone, which was frequently visited by foreign travelers. Fukuzumi Masae of the village of Yumoto took a master carpenter of his aquaintance on a tour of the Western-style buildings in Yokohama and Tokyo, and upon his return had him build the Fukuzumi Inn, which incorporated Western elements in its construction. The Fujiya Hotel at Miyanoshita, which opened the following year, become quite popular among Western travelers since it offered not only a Western-style building, but Western-style accommodations as well, with bread and meat delivered from Yokohama.

4. The High Tide of the Popular Rights Movement

The movement for a national assembly and the formation of popular rights organizations

During Governor Nakajima's term of office, Kanagawa Prefecture moved more quickly than other prefectures to convene local popular assemblies (*minkai*) and institute a progressive administration based on "public opinion and debate" (*kōgi yoron*), but it was slower to join

in the movement for a popularly elected national assembly which signaled the beginning of the Popular Rights Movement.

The movement in Kanagawa had its precursors in public speech meetings held by the Ōmeisha, mainly in Hachiōji; in the debates in the town council of Misaki in the Miura district over a bill calling for the convening of a national assembly; and in the speaking tours conducted by members of the Aikokusha (Society of Patriots) in Odawara. However, these were little more than isolated developments, and full-scale participation in the movement on the part of Kanagawa Prefecture would have to wait until the Third Convention of Local Officials, held in Tokyo in February 1880 (Meiji 13).

Prefectural assemblymen from all over Japan attended the convention as observers, and it served as an opportunity to establish links between the prefectural assemblies on a nationwide basis. The assemblymen in attendance agreed to cooperate with one another in pushing ahead with the movement for a popularly elected national assembly. Six assemblymen from Kanagawa Prefecture attended, and full-scale participation in the movement began with their return to the prefecture from the convention. Fourteen activists, most of them prefectural assemblymen, (see list), became the prefectural

Representatives of the Movement for a National Assembly in Sagami

Name	*Age*	*Home district*	*Status*
Matsumoto Fukumasa	21	Ashigarashimo	*Shizoku* (samurai)
Hasegawa Toyokichi	27	Ashigarashimo	*Heimin* (commoner) /later assemblyman
Takeo Yajūrō	39	Ashigarakami	*Heimin* /assemblyman
Shimoyama Mannosuke	36	Ashigarakami	〃
Nakagawa Ryōchi	39	Yurugi	〃
Fukui Naokichi	33	Ōsumi	〃
Sugiyama Taisuke	38	Ōsumi	〃
Shimojima Kyūen	43	Aikō	〃
Kamiya Yasujirō	42	Aikō	*Heimin* /later assemblyman
Imafuku Motohide	36	Kōza	*Heimin* /assemblyman
Kandō Rihachi	34	Kōza	〃
Yamamoto Sakuzaemon	31	Kōza	〃
Shioya Yotarō	36	Miura	〃
Kajino Keizō	27	Tsukui	*Heimin* /later assemblyman

Puppet dressed in a costume emblazoned with the characters for *jiyū*—"liberty."
(Senuma Tokio Collection)

representatives of the movement, and set about the task of building up an organization. Representatives were appointed for every district and village in the prefecture, and a manifesto calling for the convening of a national assembly, as well as a pledge signed by all the representatives, were circulated. This marked the beginning of a petition movement which rapidly spread throughout the prefecture. Within only three months, 23,555 signatures had been collected from 555 towns and villages in the nine districts which had made up the former province of Sagami. A political movement on such an impressive scale had never before occurred in the region.

On June 5, 1880, the prefectural representatives of the movement went to Tokyo and presented to the Genrō'in a list of the petition's signatories, compiled on a district-to-district basis. Governor Nomura, who was aware of what was taking place, dispatched men to try to prevent the petition from being presented, but the prefectural representatives sternly refused to be deterred from their mission, and succeeded in delivering their petition. The text of the petition had been drafted by Fukuzawa Yukichi at the request of one of the representatives, Matsumoto Fukumasa, who was a former samurai from the domain of Odawara and one of Fukuzawa's students.

The success of this petition movement for the convening of a national assembly encouraged the formation of popular rights organizations. In Kanagawa Prefecture alone it is said that over a hundred such organizations were formed in the years from 1880 to 1884. As might be expected, these organizations drew their main source of strength from wealthy farmers and merchants whose political activity had begun with the movement for the convening of a national assembly. It is possible to classify these organizations into political associations, study groups, and commercial associations, depending on the purpose for which they were originally founded, but almost all of them combined the functions of a political association with those of a study group. A list of the major organizations of this kind in Kanagawa Prefecture is found on pages 206 and 207.

As seen in this list, the larger organizations might have as many as two or three hundred regular members, and the smaller ones perhaps forty or fifty. However, some of them were capable of muster-

Principal Popular Rights Organizations in Kanagawa Prefecture

Name of organization	*Location*	*Date of formation*	*Number of members*	*Leading members*
Kenyūsha	Yokohama	Nov. 22, 1880	Over 200	Saitō Chutarō, Aoyama Wasaburō
Tachibana-gun Shinbokukai (Tachibana District Friendly Society)	Mizonokuchi	Feb. 11, 1881	180	Iwata Michinosuke
Sōtōsha (Eastern Sagami Assoc.)	Tsuzuki district	1881	—	Satō Teikan
Gakugei Kōdankai (Arts and Letters Lecture Assoc.)	Itsukaichi, Nishi-Tama district	1880	—	Uchiyama Yasubei, Fukazawa Gompachi
Busō Konshinkai (Musashi-Sagami Friendly Assoc.)	Haramachida, Minami-Tama district	Jan. 30, 1881	203	Ishizaka Masataka, Enomoto Shigemi
Yūkansha	Hanamachida	Nov. 3, 1881	150	Ishizaka Masataka, Murano Tsuneemon
Tama Kōgakukai (Tama Lecture Assoc.)	Hachiōji	Oct. 10, 1883	—	Hirano Tomosuke
Jichi Kaishintō (Local Government Reform Party)	Kita-Tama district	December 1880	140	Sunagawa Gengoemon, Yoshino Taizō
Sōtōsha (Eastern Sagami Assoc.)	Miura	December	70–80	Egashira Shogoro
Yūbunkai (Friends of Literature)	Totsuka, Kamakura district	July 1881	—	Ishikawa Junsabyrō Imafuku Motohide
Sōkokusha (Sagami Assoc.)	Kōza district	August 1881	—	Kandō Rihachi, Yamamoto Sakuzaemon
Shinyūkai (Society of Friends)	Kōza district	August 1883	80	Hasegawa Hikohachi, Yamaguchi Kan'ichi
Shōnansha (Southern Sagami Assoc.)	Ōsumi, Yurugi district	August 1881	150	Tamaguchi Sashichirō

Name of organization	*Location*	*Date of formation*	*Number of members*	*Leading members*
Shōnan Kōgakukai (Southern Sagami Lecture Assoc.)	Isehara district	October 1881	50	Yamaguchi Shōsuke, Miyata Toraji
Sōaisha (Friends of Sagami)	Atsugi, Aikō district	January 1882	100	Komiya Yasujirō, Kuroda Mokuji
Kōgakukai (Lecture Assoc.)	Ogino, Aikō district	January 1883	60	Namba Sōhei, Amano Masatatsu
Teiki Hōritsu Kenkyūkai (Assoc. for the Study of Law)	Tsukui district	November 1881	—	Kajino Keizō
Ashigara Kurabu (Ashigara Club)	Ashigarashimo district	November 1881	—	Nakamura Shunjirō, Takeo Kimata
Chūyūsha (Loyal Friends Society)	Odawara	January 1882	60	—

ing audiences of over a thousand people on such occasions as lecture meetings and social events. In addition, almost all of these associations organized study groups of one kind or another. In fact, some of them, such as the Shōnansha of Ōsumi district and the Kōgakukai (Lecture Association) of the Aikō district branch of the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party), formed more or less permanent study groups and invited professional lecturers from Tokyo to come and address their meetings. Another characteristic of these popular rights organizations was the fact that they drew many of their leaders from the ranks of the local officials, such as district administrators (*gunchō*) and their secretaries.

Perhaps the most impressive result of the scholarly activities of the popular rights organizations was a document known as the "Itsukaichi Draft Constitution" produced by the Itsukaichi Gakugei Kōdankai. This draft for a national constitution was originally authored by a local schoolteacher, Chiba Takusaburō, and then revised and added to in the course of study and discussion by the anonymous young men who participated in the Gakugei Kōdankai. This document, which included a remarkably detailed bill of rights

made up of 204 separate articles, is regarded as being equal in content and quality to the best of the private constitutional drafts produced during this period.

From the time of their founding, these local popular rights organizations were given support and guidance from the intellectuals and journalists who made up the urban branch of the popular rights movement. In this regard, the Ōmeisha, which played an important role in the early days of the movement, is especially noteworthy. The Ōmeisha was a popular rights group in Tokyo led by Numa Morikazu, and is considered to have been the leading organization of its kind in eastern Japan, comparable to the Risshisha in western Japan. The Ōmeisha had branches throughout eastern Japan, with a total membership of a thousand people. In Kanagawa Prefecture it had branches in Yokohama and Hachiōji. The *Tokyo-Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun*, which served as the Ōmeisha's official newspaper, was well known within the prefecture and had attracted many readers since its early days as the *Yokohama Mainichi*.

Popular rights intellectuals from associations and political parties such as the Ōmeisha, the Kokuyūsha, the Kōjunsha, the Kyōzon Dōshūsha, the Tōyō Giseikai, and later the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party) and Kaishintō (Progressive Party), gave vigorous support to the activities of local popular rights organizations, speaking before lecture meetings, study groups and social events. Some of the most important of these figures were as follows:

From the Ōmeisha:	Koezuka Ryū, Aoki Tadasu, Shimada Saburō, Tsunoda Shimpei, Hatano Denzaburō, Takanashi Tetsushirō, Takeuchi Tadashi, Nomura Gennosuke, and Numa Morikazu
From the Kokuyūsha:	Horiguchi Noboru, Suehiro Shigeyasu, Takahashi Kiichi, and Ōishi Masami
From the Jiyūtō:	Nakajima Nobuyuki
Affiliation unclear:	Yoshida Jirō

(Note: The individuals making up this list are men who are known to have participated in three or more lecture or social events in the Kanagawa region during the period from January 1881 to June 1882.)

The popular rights movement moved toward its peak in 1881. In July of that year, a storm of protest arose over the sale of govern-

ment properties in Hokkaidō. On October 11, the Meiji government, pushed into a tight corner with charges of official corruption and malfeasance, issued an imperial decree promising that a national assembly would be convened within ten years time. The popular rights movement had reached its high-water mark.

Participation in political parties

After the promulgation of the imperial decree on the convening of a national assembly, the popular rights activists from across the country who had assembled into the *Kokkai kisei dōmei* (League for the Establishment of a National Assembly) lost no time in founding the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party), with Itagaki Taisuke as its president. Fifteen of the leading members of the Shōnansha, Yūkansha, and the Hachiōji chapter of the Ōmeisha traveled from Kanagawa to participate in the party's inaugural convention, and the path was paved for the formation of local party chapters. Up to this point, the contact that popular rights activists in Kanagawa had with urban activists was overwhelmingly with members of organizations like the Ōmeisha and Kōjunsha, which would later develop into the Kaishintō (Progressive Party). However, the Jiyūtō conducted aggressive organizational activities in the region, and except for those in a few urban centers like Yokohama, most of the popular rights organizations in the prefecture formed close ties with the Jiyūtō. In July of 1882 twenty-two of the leading members of the major popular rights organizations within the prefecture such as the Yūkansha, Sōaisha, and Shōnansha joined the Jiyūtō, encouraging a wave of new recruits to join the party. By the latter half of 1882, there were 288 Jiyūtō members in Kanagawa, placing it third in numbers of party members nationwide, following Akita Prefecture in first place and Tochigi in second. One Jiyūtō organizer described the party's strength in Kanagawa in the following words:

> Prospective party members have arisen and begun to organize in every corner of even the most remote mountain villages . . . . The membership of the local organizations in every district have become quite progressive in their politics, a trend considerably more advanced here than in other prefectures.

The Santama region in particular, which claimed two-thirds of the