



A street in Sendai shortly after the Meiji Restoration. (By Koneo Kumagai)

MATERIALS ON JAPANESE SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC HISTORY :

TOKUGAWA JAPAN (1)

Edited By

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Introduction

Resources and Population

Communications and Trade

With 64 illustrations by artists of the period

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A Street in Sendai shortly after the Meiji Restoration.

Shops and People.

Shops. From left to right.

Manufacturer and retailer of children's hoods.

Tobacco shop.

Writing-brush shop with sign-board.

Seller of purses, tobacco pouches and other dress accessories.

Textile store.

Sugar shop.

The large sign-board in the foreground belongs to a drug store selling ginseng and other medicines.

Name on
curtain

Osawaya

Miyariya

Omiya

Moroya

Wakamatsuya

People.

Charcoal seller (with horse).

Fish dealer (with pole and baskets).

Merchant and apprentice (with bundle).

Three peasants on holiday (wearing blankets and straw hats).

Red-pepper seller with flag (across road).

Sweet sellers (with trays on head).

The rickshaw, postman and policeman are products of the Meiji era.

Street entertainers, pilgrims.

Shops. From centre to right.

‡ Seller of rouge and face-powder (showing red flag and lantern)

People.

Priest and wandering musician (with basket on head).

Iseyu

Old sweet seller (with stall).

The pillar-box belongs to the Meiji era.

The garden in the foreground is attached to a hotel. In the background is a clothes-drying platform and in the garden below, a well.

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PREFACE

This work is an experiment to discover something of the basis of modern Japan. For a number of reasons the time available for its completion has been strictly limited, but owing to the extreme ignorance on the subject prevailing almost everywhere, it has been considered justifiable to publish a first collection of materials, before the whole field of choice has been surveyed. The alternative would have meant many years of work and great expense. These must one day be faced, but until sufficient workers and funds become available, such an undertaking is out of the question. Even the fruits of the present rapid reconnaissance have raised considerable problems of publication, and it has been decided to produce the material in small volumes, each dealing with an allied group of topics. The order in which these will appear will not be the same as that adopted in the Introduction, for we must adapt ourselves to the velocity of circulation of the books and the receipts from them, as well as to the possibilities of adding any suitable material which may become available.

The volumes are very largely the result of a generous offer of the Society for International Cultural Relations, Tokyo, to provide Dr. Kurt Singer (formerly Professor at Hamburg and Tokyo Imperial Universities) and the Editor of this volume with the means of employing two translators for a year, and to help in obtaining the co-operation of Japanese scholars. In addition, the Society has provided abundant clerical and technical assistance and finally, has made the illustrations possible by financing the block-making. The Editor is greatly indebted to the Society and its Officers; particularly to Mr. Setsuichi Aoki, the General Secretary and Mr. Mikinosuke Ishida, the Librarian.

Nearly all the materials used are Japanese, and are not based on the opinions of Western authors. Professor Wigmore is the only Western writer quoted at length, but his great contribution was, of set purpose, either a summary or a direct translation of

Japanese sources. The Editor wishes to express his thanks to all those scholars who have so readily allowed translations or extracts from their works to be included, and to Professors Honjo, Koda and Wigmore, who have taken such a personal interest in the results of this first volume. Professor Eijiro Honjo with his colleague Professor Iwao Kokusho, has founded recently an Institute of Economic History, which has as the basis of its library the Tokugawa collection of the late Professor Sei-ichi Takimoto. Professor Shigetomo Koda is the author of a detailed history of Osaka, but at this stage of our inquiries we have only been able to produce sections from his much smaller work "Edo and Osaka." The Editor also had the good fortune to meet Professor Wigmore, who recently returned for a short while to Japan, after an absence of some forty years, to set in motion once more the translation of his materials on Tokugawa Private Law. His important work is of interest to all students of Japan.

Thanks are also due to numerous colleagues at the Tokyo Imperial University and University of Commerce for their help in various directions.

The number of translators may seem large for the task in hand, but most of them were only able to undertake work on a part-time basis, or for a few weeks at a time. All deserve commendation and it would on the whole, be wrong to give any one of them special mention. It should be pointed out, however, that Mr. Teikichi Nakamura, who has freely given large amounts of his spare time to translation since 1933, when he started on "The Monetary Proposals of Arai Hakuseki," again came forward with excellent extracts from "Things of Dreams" (see Ch. 5) and with an outline history of rice prices, which must be reserved for a later volume. Such workers greatly lighten the task of those who are attempting to explain Japan to the West.

Finally, I must thank my colleagues on the Council of the Asiatic Society of Japan who have been so helpful in arranging plans for publication, Sir George Sansom who read through the whole work and offered most valuable criticisms, Dr. Kurt Singer, my co-partner in this journey of exploration, Mr. C. P. Garman, the editor of the Asiatic Society's Transactions, and

my wife, who has spent so many hours polishing up the manuscripts and adding suggestions.

Yokohama,

N. Skene Smith

March 1937.

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AUTHORS FROM WHOSE WORKS EXTRACTS
HAVE BEEN MADE

(in the order appearing in the text).

Tokugawa writers

BUYO INSHI	A samurai essayist (18th-19th century).
YASUSADA MIYAZAKI	An agricultural expert (17th century).
TOHAKU	Writer on the rice trade (date unknown).
BANTO YAMAGATA	(18th century)
HAKUSEKI ARAI	(17th-18th century)
Author of <i>Maxims for Merchants</i> .	(date unknown).

The Editor has to acknowledge the kindness of the undermentioned Authors and Societies who have given full permission for the translations or quotations appearing in these volumes.

EIJIRO HONJO	Professor of Japanese Economic History, Kyoto Imperial University
MASAJIRO TAKIGAWA	Professor of History, Keio University, Tokyo
TAKAO TSUCHIYA	Asst. Professor of Economic History, Tokyo Imperial University
K. ASAKAWA	Professor of History, Yale University, U. S. A.
SHIGETOMO KODA	Professor of Japanese Economic History, University of Commerce, Tokyo.
JOHN WIGMORE	Dean of the Law Faculty, University of Chicago. Formerly Professor of Law at Keio University, Tokyo.

American Oriental Society

Asiatic Society of Japan

NOTES ON TRANSLATION

The translators were asked to give as literal a rendering as possible. The Editor selected suitable passages from these, revised them and sent them to another translator for checking. The whole of the materials were then re-written by the Editor and finally checked by another translator. Particular care was taken with technical terms.

For this volume, Professor Honjo and Professor Koda were kind enough to read through and amend all passages taken from their works. They must not, however, be held responsible for inaccuracies or uncertain renderings.

The Editor is responsible for the choice of passages and nothing which seemed of importance has been omitted.

Translators.

K. FUKUDA	M. HASHIBA
M. TSUKAMOTO	Y. INOUE
N. KUBO	K. KOYAMA
T. NAKAMURA	

The funds for employing translators were supplied by the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (Society for International Cultural Relations, Tokyo). The translators were chosen by the Editor.

Should read as follows :—

The dots.....signify “ words omitted ” (owing to the necessities of space or because of details not required at this stage.

Owing to the system of calendar-reckoning used in Tokugawa Japan, months are only mentioned when necessary to make the meaning clear and then only as “ 3rd month ” “ 4th month ” etc.

Whenever possible, figures are quoted in round numbers or corrected to the first decimal place.

The spelling of Japanese names has been made as simple as possible. Marks over the long vowels have purposely been omitted, as in introductory volumes, their inclusion would probably not help more people than it hindered.

The headings are often the Editor's.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

All the illustrations in this volume are from Tokugawa books, or reproductions, bought by the Editor, from the numerous small Tokyo book-shops, during the last two years. Their price was exceedingly low but their documentary value appears to him, high. If they are found to appeal to Western readers, it may be possible to devote a single volume to them giving details of titles, artists, dates, etc. The main sources are various Meisho Zue (pictures of famous places) for the cities and provinces and Meibutsu Zue (pictures of famous products) but there are hundreds of other illustrated books on subjects which might not, at first, be expected to yield pictures helpful to the student of economic and social history.

Sometimes the excessive details appear troublesome, but they usually repay careful examination. Their accuracy can be proved by observing the traditional side of modern Japanese life.

Sources of Illustrations.

The frontispiece is from a colour-print produced some twenty years ago from personal memories, by Mr. Konen Kumagai of Sendai. It represents a section of his city (the crossing of O-machi and Koku-bun-cho), as it was eight or nine years after the fall of the Tokugawa regime, before the coming of telegraph poles and cement. Perhaps its only exaggeration is the smoothness of the road surface. Mr. Kumagai has very kindly given his permission for its reproduction.

Books	Reference	1. Editor or Author 2. Artist	No. of Volumes	Publication Place	Publication Date
Edo Meisho Zue. Edo famous places illustrated	Edo	1. Saito Nagaaki 2. Hasegawa Hokyo	20	Edo	1832-
Hokuetsu Setsufu N. Echigo regions snow album	Echigo	1. Suzuki Bokushi 2. Kyosui Hyakkaku	7	Edo	1840-
Nichiyo Shinhosho Daily life care extracts	Daily life	1. Jufukuken Shinkyō	6	Edo	1827

Books	Reference	1. Editor or Author 2. Artist	No. of Volumes	Publication Place	Publication Date
Rono chawa (Kwanno soshō)	Farm talks.	1. Okura Nagatsune	1	Tokyo	from manu- script written in Bunka pe- riod (1804-17)
An old farmer's tea-tales. (Agricultural en- couragement collec- tion)					
Hyakunin Joro Shina- sadame(a)	Hundred women	2. Nishikawa Sukenobu.	1 1	Edo	1761
A Hundred women (of all classes) portrayed.					
Yamato Kosaku Eshu Japanese farming pic- tures collected	Peasants	1 & 2. Ishikawa Ryusen.	1	Edo	Probably near Gen- roku period (1688-1704)
Ehon Suruga Mai Picture-book of Suruga (province) dancing.	Suruga	2. Kitagawa Utamaro	3		1790
Ehon Asaka yama. Picture book of Asakayama	Clothes	2. Nishikawa Sukenobu	1		1739
Tokaido Meisho Zue Tokaido famous place illustrated	Tokaido	1. Akizato Rito 2. Takehara Shunchosai & others.	6		1797-
Tokai-Kisoryodo Kaiho Zukan Tokaido-Nakasendo (both routes) pocket guide-book.	Pocket guide	Suwaraya Mohei book store	1	Edo	1786
Ise Sangu Meisho Zue Ise pilgrimage famous places illustrated.	Ise	1. Hananomi Ro. 2. Various	8		1797
Owari Meisho Zue. Owari famous places. illustrated.	Owari	1. Isomura Chiharu 2. Odagiri Tadachika	7	Nagoya	1844
Beikoku Bai-bai Shusse Kuruma(b) Rice purchases and sales wheel	Rice	1. Tohaku	1		1758
Noka eki Farm profits	Wax	1. Okura Nagatsune	2	Osaka	1810
Settsu Meisho Zue Settsu famous places illustrated	Settsu	1. Akizato Rito 2. Various	12	Osaka	1796-

Books	Reference	1. Editor or Author 2. Artist	No. of Volumes	Publication Place	Publication Date
A book of sketches for artists	Sketches	2. Bokusenshi	1	Nagoya	1830
Nippon Sankai Mei- butsu Zue	Products	1. Hirase Tessai 2. Hasegawa Mitsunobu	5		Written 1754, published 1797
Japan's mountain and sea products illustrated.					
Gekijo Kunmo Zue(c) Theatrical instruction illustrated.	Theatre	1. Shikitei Sanba 2. Katsukawa Shunci Itagawa Toyokuni	3	Edo	1806

The reference is placed under every picture to enable details concerning the artist, date of publication etc., to be found easily.

(a) Taken from a re-production in the Nippon Fūzoku Zue (Japanese Customs Illustrated): an artistically prepared series of twelve large volumes of black and white Tokugawa drawings, edited by Shindo Kurokawa. Publication was started in Tokyo in 1914.

(b) Taken from a re-production in the Tsuzoku Keizai Bunko (Collection of Popular Economics) edited by the late Professor Sei-ichi Takimoto, and published from 1916 onwards, in Tokyo, in 12 volumes. The originals of this collection are in the library of the Institute for Research into the Economic History of Japan, Kyoto.

(c) Taken from a modern reprint.

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MAP

Tokugawa Japan. Leading Provinces and Transport Routes by Naoye Kubo
facing page 19.

JAPANESE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

	Approximate English equivalents
Ri	2.44 miles
Shaku (artisan's)	11.93 inches.
= 10 sun.	
1 sun = 10 bu.	
Shaku (cloth)	14.91 inches
Cho = 10 tan	2.45 acres
Koku = 10 to	4.96 bushels
Kwan ¹ = 1000 momme	8.27 lbs (av.)
Momme = 10 fun	57.87 grains
Kin = 160 momme	1.32 lbs (av.)

Source: Modern Metrical Units. E. J. Blockhuys, Tatsunosuke Ueda & Haruzo Ito (Dobunkwan, Tokyo, 1933).

1. Kwan or momme when used to express value often meant a weight in silver (though sometimes in copper). The standard of gold coinage was the *ryo*: a coin of a certain *size*.

But the god-like lord (Ieyasu) through his military virtues subdued the whole of Japan. Every part of the country came under his influence, real peace was secured, righteousness was restored among all the inhabitants, relations between lords and retainers became re-established, and rewards and punishments were strictly controlled. So loyalty to masters and parents revived, the nation became rich and the warriors strong. Even the humble folk could watch over their family life and perform their daily work in safety, while sons and grandsons, high and low, could succeed to their true inheritance. Courtesy became general, Shinto, Confucian and Buddhist teachings spread and numerous arts showed their lustre. Conduct became modest and benevolence penetrated the smallest actions of life. For the first time since the beginnings of this nation came full peace, such as was unknown either here or in China. We cannot enough extol its merits.

The habits of the people are changing always, day and night ; as fast as the building up of clouds, the flow of water or the ageing of the human frame. At the time of such changes, men tend towards insincerity and the nation risks disturbance. Once disturbed, human nature can only with difficulty regain its former good qualities. Once disturbed, a nation can only with difficulty return to the path of peace.

Seji Kenmonroku. Observations on Current Affairs.
by Buyo Inshi (published about 1815).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The way to an understanding of modern Japan begins with the study of her pre-Restoration economic and social history. To-day, this nation is, of course, partially Westernised, but most branches of her life have changed little except from a technical point of view. The Japanese sometimes refer to the "materialist civilisation" of the West, whose most obvious influence upon them has been in the provision of the material products of modern science, but this seems largely due to the fact that such things as railway engines and textile machinery have been easier to transport from abroad than abstract principles. Though Japanese clothing, methods of living and economic organisation often appear quite European, it must be remembered that the habits of thought and customs of centuries cannot have been eradicated in some sixty-five years. Nor would such a complete departure from her traditions be desirable.

A transitory visitor will tend to say that Japan is an up-to-date nation, following the line of Western social progress. One who spends a considerable time in the country will find strange happenings in many of her institutions which appear illogical and quite incomprehensible. As a result there arise references to the "Mysterious East" and the impossibility of harmonising East and West. The answers to such problems are to be found in her history.

The few materials collected in these volumes show clearly that economic development in Japan was similar in many respects to that of the West, and that although largely cut off from foreign influence, her institutions often grew in a parallel direction. There were, however, certain basic differences in, for example, the family system, agricultural life and trading organisations and it is the appearance of these institutions in apparently modern

dress which gives rise to such misunderstandings. Nothing is more remarkable in the daily life of the people than the relative absence of "Oriental passivity". In place of this there was, at least from the 17th century onwards and even in the times of greatest seclusion, a restless flow of energy and experiment, as well as a desire for change and economic progress. There had, however, been no Renaissance, and in place of science, we find ingenious practical applications of the scientific ideas, which had, at various periods, trickled in from abroad.

These materials may warn us against the very prevalent conception that economic and social conditions in Japan remained unchanged during the Tokugawa period and that in the middle 19th century the nation roused itself from a long sleep.

We find an almost closed, island country, economically made much smaller, owing to the mountainous nature of its territory. Nevertheless, the resources of the plains, with the timber and metallic ores of the hill-sides were, in the eyes of a contemporary agricultural expert, very prolific and were sufficient to maintain a population about three-quarters as large as that of Great Britain to-day. Perhaps the most important natural asset of the country was its water,¹ which allowed a highly intensive system of cultivation and the growth of a great variety of crops. It was also helped by its climate, which was nowhere extreme, except in the north, but at the same time varied considerably from district to district. Earthquakes occasionally did great harm, though this was chiefly in the cities, while floods in farming districts seem to have been fairly well held in check. Damage from volcanic eruptions was only occasionally wide-spread.

The people, who combined the advantages of a mixed origin with a growing sense of belonging to a common family, lived mainly in the country as farmers, though during the period the town population increased. After the farmers, the next most numerous group was that of the various grades of samurai, the

1. Some might be inclined to give pride of place to marine products, which in earliest times were probably the chief form of food. Water, fresh and salt, can certainly be held to have played a more important part in Japanese life than in that of most countries.

rulers of the nation and, apart from the merchants, the chief consumers of luxuries. There were groups of industrial workers and artisans spread over all the land, but small-scale domestic industry seems to have been carried on by the members of all classes of household, including even those of the nobles and samurai. In spite of the predominantly rural nature of the population, three or four of the cities of the time were among the largest in the world.

It was partly lack of technical knowledge, but mainly the absence of a sound and flexible political and economic organisation which prevented an increase in the population. Natural resources do not seem to have been the main limiting factor. During the first part of the period a small increase took place, but in the second, population was stationary, the direct causes being partly famine, but chiefly the adoption of wide-spread and deliberate control of a primitive kind over the size of families. This was not a sign of inhumanity, but, as one writer put it, "The perpetrators of the crime of murdering these children must be sought elsewhere". As with so many problems arising during the period, some efforts were made to find remedies, but the trend of the times was too strong.

These thirty million people, about three times as numerous as the population of England and Wales in the early 19th century, were governed by a system, which owed its origin, largely to three big men, of whom the greatest was, perhaps, Iyeyasu. It seems that when a Shogun¹ was capable of acting as dictator, he dictated, but otherwise, the central government was in the hands of the Council of State, the members of which were selected in a way of which we have no clear opinion. The Shogunate, however, with the Tokugawa families and their immediate vassals, owned about a fifth of the productive lands of the country and was able to exert pressure on the lords through the enforcement of their journeys to Edo and the skilful shuffling of fiefs. With its system of Town Magistrates and rural intendants, it was an

1. The Shoguns were the secular rulers of Japan. Their government was known as the Bakufu (usually translated "camp-government") and consisted of a military dictatorship.

organisation held together by checks and balances exercised through rigid laws and discretionary action, which, while developed with remarkable intelligence and foresight, could only be kept in existence as long as that intelligence and foresight were used to adapt it to changing conditions. The main conditions to which this adaptation was necessary, were the growing uselessness of those who were formerly the backbone of the country, the samurai, and the increasing importance to the welfare of the country, of the merchant class. The adaptability was hindered by the absence, first of a philosophy or religion which recognised the importance of personality and which could be a guide to the conduct of individuals in most of the ordinary affairs of daily life,¹ and secondly, of a sufficient knowledge of Western science. Orthodox Confucianism and the opposition which it brought forth could not easily be used to point the way when times were changing rapidly, but was mainly applicable to the affairs of a huge stable state, such as that imagined by the Ancient Sages of China. Nevertheless, it is remarkable how much guidance to practical policy was extracted, or fashioned from these writings by some ingenious and brilliant scholars.

The people seem to have been kept at their work by military power, the family system and the fear of punishment, and the greatest of these was, probably, the family system, which has never been studied by foreigners in sufficient detail. Punishment was an unknown factor to the citizens, except that they knew it could sometimes be of the most brutal kind. On the other hand, the Government often listened to petitioners and the administration made a point of finding out as much as possible of the complaints of the people. The political theory of the time, though often more honoured in the breach than in the observance, agreed with the principle that the way of the ruler should be "that of Heaven looking down on its people; a subject's that of the Earth looking upward to help his master. The subject may help his ruler through advice or through aiding him in his actions".

1. Precepts based on loyalty to the ruler and the family contain few references to "loyalty to society".

A country where the population was concentrated in a few plains, separated by huge mountain barriers, and in which the political system depended entirely upon lack of concerted action between the lords, would naturally not develop many large high-roads through its territory. Considering this, however, it is at first sight remarkable that transport facilities were so advanced, particularly on the sea. But, of course, the visits of the lords to Edo, were particularly important in forcing the pace of economic development, for their journeys needed extensive transport organisation, while their stay in the capital would have been impossible without a satisfactory growth of the shipments of rice and other goods. The hotel business along the Tokaido, in particular, must have been exceedingly busy, if not always profitable, and we find endless numbers of small shops dealing in "meibutsu" (special local products) all along the route. The daimyo trains and the pilgrim traffic, together gave the roads quite a festive air.¹ The comparative absence of wheeled traffic was, perhaps, due not simply to the absence of animal husbandry and the consequent shortage of draught animals, but also to the numerous mountain passes which had to be crossed and the non-existence of a general system of tolls for keeping the roads in repair. Also, the barriers at the rivers made it necessary for all packages to be of a size convenient for carriage on horses or human shoulders. A study of the costs of transport in relation to the price-levels of the time should prove interesting, but a more important subject is the gradual arrival of abuses which quite altered the original plans of the early administrators. Excessive demands for labour from the villages en route, rising hotel charges² and finally the difficulties of sending unaccompanied goods, which made it necessary to bribe the carriers, were

1. This has not been entirely lost in many parts of the country today as the pilgrim parties still move on from temple to temple to obtain their stamps, and satisfy the demands of their religion. The biggest modern blot on the scenery is the telegraph and electric power poles which tower above the small houses and ruin the view.

2. The extracts show that charges to higher ranked people were lower than the average. They do not mention, however, the substantial tips or "cha-dai" (tea-charge) which were, and still are, necessary in some hotels.

all the result of growing trade. Express transport seems to have been expensive, but for those with time and energy to spare, a journey from one large city to another could be made cheaply and safely and in considerable comfort. Soft mattresses, hot baths and charcoal braziers (an effective means of keeping warm if they are placed close at hand and their fumes can be ignored) were all available, while in summer the hotels were kept open to the breeze.

Bulky goods went by the sea routes, which, encouraged by the need for sending Government rice and other supplies, were organised by large groups of shippers and consignees, and the 21,000 small vessels of Edo show a considerable trade. How the lack of return cargoes from Edo to Osaka was overcome, if at all, is not mentioned.

The basis of national policy, both in theory and practice, was the encouragement of agricultural production and the maintenance of a somewhat rigid, though narrow, code of morals. It led, however, as time went on, to a stronger and stronger emphasis upon the worst features of the system, namely insistence upon increasing contributions to the government, and the passive obedience of the contributors. Naturally with the growth of the towns, the peasants began to long for some of the luxuries of life, but this tendency was frowned upon, although it was one of the means to a more balanced organisation of the national economy. As Dr. Asakawa points out,¹ under wise rulers the system had a great deal to commend it, but the dictatorship of big men seems to have disappeared and was replaced by groups who appear to have concentrated their efforts on the protection of the samurai class.

The basic administration of the peasants was carried out by intendants in the Shogun's domains and by daimyo elsewhere. The numbers of these administrators increased by 50% during the period and each was on the average in charge of about a hundred thousand peasants at the time of the Restoration. They worked through the officials of about 60,000 villages, inhabited by fami-

1. The materials on Agriculture appear in a later volume.

lies, of which most had held their land for many generations; though from time to time, land was transferred by various devices from one family to another. The older families and the "pioneers" in new districts were the most respected, and if their lands were too big they would hire men to work them or let them out to tenants. The average holding of land per family was, however, barely two acres.

The villages were governed by Heads, who were appointed in various ways, sometimes by election. These acted as middlemen between the village and the authorities, and were responsible for keeping the peace. Their remuneration was often small and sometimes quite insufficient. They were helped by numbers of group Heads and senior peasants who were chosen by the villagers themselves. In addition, outside advice was sought from Elders, who might have more influence than the Head. Here we have a custom peculiar to the East, whereby responsibility is divided between various persons at the top of an organisation; one being in a position to watch and advise the other. This could often be a safeguard against abuses, and under some circumstances an added inspiration to the work of a good Head.

The further division of the villages and towns into the so-called "five-men groups", is an interesting example of communal responsibility organised by a military government for times of peace as well as war, particularly for the purpose of tax collection. Each group was rather like a section, or a platoon in charge of a non-commissioned officer.

Production, encouraged in these ways, was directly shared between the producers and rulers by levies on the estimated product of land held, which were distributed among the various grades of military men. The rate of tax, which was about fifty per cent in the beginning of the period, and was in reality a kind of rent, is said to have been greatly raised in later years, though so far, no material has been translated showing the extent to which the pressure on the peasants increased. Dr. Asakawa says that in 1650, from $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, some 100 bushels could be raised. Of this, 25 would be taken in land tax and 10 or 15 for other purposes, leaving the peasant with $\frac{3}{5}$ of his product; whereas by 1800,

his output per acre would have fallen and his taxes have risen, so that he could not make ends meet. No doubt many of the peasants managed to maintain a livelihood by growing other crops,¹ but as the payment of taxes was the responsibility of the whole village, this may not have been allowed, and also as soon as any crop appeared suitable for taxation purposes, the rate might be raised to the level of the grain taxes. There may, however, have been large leakages among the officials, for shortly after the Restoration it was found that 3% of the value of agricultural land would produce a sum equal to the Tokugawa land tax.² In spite of the careful and somewhat liberal production estimates of the early Tokugawas, the rates of taxes were raised, and could only be partially avoided by commutation to money payments, while the impositions for labour and village expenses as well as irregular requisitions became very burdensome.

Another problem remaining unsolved is that, while the load on the peasant was said to be increasing in this way, and the population remained stationary, the actual amount of land under crop doubled during the period. Were the taxation demands increased proportionately, and if not, why could not the peasant afford to pay? Was it due to falling productivity, or was his discontent the result of a rise in his tastes? A partial solution may perhaps be found in Prof. Honjo's figures which show that the area under crop more than doubled between the days of Hideyoshi (late 16th century) and the early 18th century, while the increase between then and 1880 was relatively much smaller. We also have the curious case of peasants wanting less land, owing to their inability to give the necessary supervision to ensure the production of the taxes with which it was burdened. Here

1. To-day, quite near Tokyo, in some almost self-sufficing villages, the mother of a family tills the soil, the father goes fishing, while the other members of the family may engage in other occupations such as sericulture, domestic industry or shopkeeping. I have seen one family with a small retail shop, a number of wooden looms, a vegetable garden, and some poultry. As they live almost on the seashore, they no doubt go fishing or shell-fish and sea-weed gathering from time to time.

2. Of course other explanations of this problem are possible, but the full facts have yet to be produced.

was a shortage, not of natural resources but of labour; which was intensified by infanticide. It seems that the large demands of the military class could only be met by a larger population or an increase in the general ability and willingness to produce, but that the immediate need was not for more land.

The taxation system, however, instead of increasing the labour supply on the farms, led to population-control among all classes and the sales of land by farmers who wished to set themselves up in the cities. Crude protests by the peasants took the form of riots and ultimately led to the use of some part of the taxes for rural relief.

An increase in ability to produce might seem to have been impossible, when such abundant crops were extracted from a small area, but the technical expert we have quoted was convinced that productivity was very much below what it should have been, owing to the ignorance of sound technique, such as had been taught many centuries previously by some of the Chinese instructors. Actually the yield during the period was from 1 to 1.6 *koku* per *tan* (according to the quality of the land) or about 25—40 bushels per acre, and is only a little higher to-day.

With these and many other problems unsolved, we have insufficient evidence to discover progress made in the standard of life of the peasants, during the period. The peasant is almost always and everywhere said to lead a hard life, surrounded by debts and harsh landowners, but it is quite possible that in Japan he was no worse off than many of the farmers of Western Europe. Almost as urgent a task is to discover how far the level of living at the end of the Tokugawa period has been improved upon since the Restoration.¹ Generalisations about the pressure of population upon land are exceedingly dangerous and provocative of much international misunderstanding. The completion of Dr. Asakawa's most valuable enquiries would be a great help in the

1. In Prof. Tsuchiya's opinion one can say, "as far as landlord and independent farmers are concerned, that the standard of living has risen very sharply since the Meiji period but as for the tenant farmers, it has risen only very slightly." (Lecture given in 1936 for the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai). Tenant farmers represent about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Japanese population.

matter.

The materials on other primary industries seem to present a much more cheerful and varied picture of conditions, which must have been a great relief to the rice-bound farmer. Mining meant development and excitement, timber was always in demand, the seas teemed with incredible varieties of fish and numerous other products could be grown in various parts of the country. However, all of these were regulated either by the fief or central governments as well as by guilds, though, no doubt an enterprising peasant with capital saved, or obtained from the sale of land, could enter one of these businesses and obtain a considerable degree of freedom. The afforestation schemes of the Government must have led to enormous benefits which are still felt to-day, when a population doubled in size lives in houses of which the main material is wood. Sericulture also made rapid strides and the land-tilling peasant, who is often despised for the animal-like routine of his life, proved an able manager of the delicate and refined task of rearing silk-worms; which demand cleanliness, quiet, coolness in summer, warmth in winter and protection from the sun and charcoal fumes.

We can already see how the foundations of modern Japan were built up by the development of rice-growing for food, and sericulture—still her chief means of obtaining all that the outside world has to offer, particularly of technique and raw materials. Almost as important,—in fact for the last few years temporarily, and perhaps permanently more important,—are the textile spinning and weaving industries. When we turn to the manufacturing industries of the Tokugawa,¹ we find a solution to the problem of how a so-called “semi-feudal” country was able to seize rapidly the opportunities of international trade which have arisen during the last fifty years. Three centuries ago, chiefly round Kyoto, there had grown up, with the early help of China and Korea, a luxury industry capable of meeting the demands of the fastidious nobility, which was, technically at least, equal to any industry existing elsewhere. Gradually, however, other

1. Materials on this subject will appear in a later volume.

districts began to imitate and rival these products and the types of competition which developed during the 18th century remind us strongly of the Industrial Revolution in the West, and, in the methods used to limit that competition, of the present state of world trade. We find even the foundation of the modern dormitory system for employees, and systems of production curtailment and quotas. The illustrations will show the complexity of some of the weaving apparatus, and an elementary machine-sense must have been rapidly developing. Japan was also likely to show herself capable of producing reliable metal goods on a larger scale, for were not the Japanese swords and knives among the best in the world?

In the cities, which showed a development and life worthy of the very closest study by Western students, as they probably exhibit more clearly than anything else, the characteristics of the Japanese people, we begin the period with a rigid division of classes. However, Prof. Takigawa's most thorough survey¹ shows us nobles taking to professions, priests turning to shady finance, doctors without training, and samurai turning into lordless men, who became a strong cultural and revolutionary force in later years. Meanwhile the townspeople were growing wealthy and powerful and even becoming samurai, at the same time as samurai were becoming merchants. The influence of the merchant was, however, not only economic but also spread to art and literature. This naturally led to attempts by the debt-ridden samurai to oppress the new leaders of society, but their efforts had little effect on the general trend of events. One particularly interesting feature of the rise of the merchants, is the difference between the systems of municipal government which grew up in Edo and Osaka. The "City of Chonin" seems to have evolved a type of "economic man" who preferred to live in a rented house rather than carry out unpaid public service.

Both Tokugawa and modern Japan show a strange lack of barriers between classes in their daily conduct, once the necessary preliminary formal recognition of differences has been made.

1. This will appear in the volume on Social Classes.

The "democratic" countries often have much more rigid divisions in their social life. The reason, perhaps, is that in Japan, the style of living of the wealthy classes is very like that of the lower, apart from the monetary value of the houses, furniture and domestic articles which they use. Certainly one of the most interesting institutions is the public bath-house, where "clever men and fools, good and bad, rich and poor, high and low are all unmasked as they bake in their bath".

In the same volume, we shall see two distinct classes of old Japan, who of course existed in a different form in all countries, —the outcasts and the prostitutes. The outcasts seem to have had considerable economic power and were ruled by their own chieftain. This power was derived from the "unclean" trades in which they had a monopoly, while absolute authority was granted to their ruler, presumably in return for the services he rendered in keeping order among very mixed and dangerous types of society, and also for providing labour to carry out such unpleasant administrative functions as the execution and punishment of criminals. In addition to their economic and penal contributions, this class must have done something to enliven the dullness of life among many of the common people. A study of the evolution of the Japanese theatre to its present advanced form, through members of the outcast classes, would show perhaps a movement similar to that of the advance of the despised merchants to the upper ranks of society.

In accordance with the arguments which will be reproduced later, the prostitutes were licensed and segregated by the Government. Controlled vice was considered better than the secret-non-observance of prohibitory ordinances. Also dull and lonely cities were difficult to control. Worthless people should be given some means of making an "honest" living and merchants should be discouraged from hoarding their money and thus preventing its circulation. Perhaps most important of all, the licensed quarters could act as governmental detective agencies. Originally the system was based on old Court etiquette and exclusiveness, but gradually became more and more debased and vulgar, although of course, its fundamental nature has been

the same at all times. The influence of the quarters and the theatres upon Japanese life is worthy of close study.

Many of the foregoing conclusions could be drawn from reading a number of existing foreign works on Japan, though of course, it is useful to have them supported by Japanese writings and presented from a Japanese standpoint ; but when we come to the sections on Trade, Money and Banking we find a state of affairs generally unrealised, except perhaps by those already acquainted with Dr. Wigmore's researches and some of the materials in the volumes of Mr. Takekoshi. The building up of the "Kitchen of Japan" (Osaka) for the luxurious residences of Edo, led to a most complex division of labour and the beginnings of a system of group-controlled capitalism such as is seen in the export trade of Japan to-day. Organisation started with the family and went through the guilds and then the federations of guilds. This usually, sooner or later, led to dissension and was followed by the setting-up of rival federations or Government interference. Such were the tendencies of the time, coupled with over-borrowing or financial collapse on the part of the samurai. Needless to say, the guilds and federations tried to combat competition by every possible means, the chief of which was to pay a sum of money to, or carry out certain services for the Government, in return for statutory protection. The use of shares in these concerns, their purchase and sale at high prices and their employment as security for loans, though their differences from modern stocks and shares must be stressed, are particularly interesting aspects of the picture.

The dissolution of the federations, the resulting dislocation and their re-establishment in a modified form, should prove a very instructive piece of economic history, the value of which is unfortunately somewhat lessened by the other violent changes which were taking place simultaneously in the general situation of the country. However, it should show fairly clearly some of the advantages and disadvantages of such organisations, in a way not possible elsewhere. Certainly free competition seems fundamentally more alien to the Japanese temperament than to that of Anglo-Saxon countries. The attempts at rent-reduction

and price control are also instructive, while the history of the shipping organisations shows the same aspects of group capitalism, even down to the establishment of a kind of "Lloyd's". The mingling of control over shipping and a numerous variety of trading interests, ranging from cotton to clogs, and oil to face-powder, is also typical of modern Japan. The arrival of "big business", with all its doubtful qualities, is typified by Mojuro Sugimoto and his complex plans for stimulating ship-building and bridge construction, and for borrowing money in order to re-lend it and enable merchants to lower prices.

The rice trade, in spite of its purely feudal origin gradually developed all the characteristics of trade in a modern staple, with its hierarchy of middlemen and its exchanges for "futures" dealings. The oil-trade also showed a similar trend, but here entered the problem of relations between manufacturers and traders which led to much friction.

Whatever may have been the moral and economic loss from these unwieldy organisations, we have pictorial evidence of the great variety of products sold in the retail shops, which seem to have had a fairly widespread consumption. These were however, mainly to be found in urban districts, and the real problem of the day was perhaps not so much the growth of traders' combines and the resulting high prices, but rather the fact that 80% of the population were largely placed outside the ranks of consumers.

One final distinctive feature of Japanese commerce, which still prevails in a modified form, was the family system with its apprenticeship and the establishment of branch families. To-day, of course, the formal apprenticeship contract may not be so common, but employees, even of the largest concerns, tend to feel that they are a permanent part of their organisation to a much greater extent than in the West. But in those days as always, "times were not what they were" and the younger generation was supposed by the moral writers to be deteriorating.

To support the growing commerce, most of the modern forms of currency and financial documents were used, ranging from gold, silver and copper money to bills of exchange, warehouse

warrants and numerous types of paper security, though the Western idea of "limited liability" had not developed. In its place perhaps, there existed the conception of communal or group responsibility. The extravagance of the rulers led to the evolution of many monetary problems similar to those of modern times and the inflation and deflation between 1680 and 1740 are particularly worthy of note and like the European situation after the Great War, show numerous confirmations of classical and modern monetary theories.¹ The importance of fluctuations in the price of rice and their causes and effects, as well as the methods introduced for control and storage, have yet to be adequately studied. Another feature of the monetary system, and in fact, of the whole of the economic life of Japan was its extraordinary complexity, due, no doubt, to the constant introduction of over-simplified methods before the bad results of previous experiments had been reformed. The credit system was run largely, though not completely, for the impoverished military class and the merchants, and there was no moral prejudice against lending and borrowing. With all its evils, the system must have provided invaluable experiences for the money-changers and bankers which could be used when the country was opened to foreign trade. The spontaneous growth of *mujin* (mutual credit societies) and their influence to-day have still to be examined. These varied financial organisations developed in spite of the numerous methods employed by the samurai class to evade payment of their obligations.

The whole of this complex society was built upon a few simple rules for the family, stressing above all the need for continuing the family line. Everything, including adoption, marriage and divorce, was adjusted to that end. Education, except among the comparatively few Confucian scholars, consisted in inculcating certain moral rules of behaviour and in teaching the necessary tasks of living, such as deportment, greeting guests, arithmetic and writing and in technical instruction in a trade or profession,

1. For a first approach to this subject see the Editor's "Introduction to some Japanese Economic Writings of the 18th Century." (P. S. King, 1936) and *As. Soc. of Japan, Transactions* 1934.

whether industrial, commercial, artistic or military. Women were trained to be refined servants and companions of their family, their parents-in-law or their husbands, though in Court circles, literature, music and art were particularly the province of women.¹ With the revival of Shintoism in later days, the conception of the nation began to have a stronger hold.

Obviously, such a mixture of changes, taking place under a structure built to give stability to classes, morals and general outlook, could not be expected to leave the structure itself intact, unless extremely able and adaptable rulers were forthcoming and there was no interference from the outside world. By the middle of the 19th century, the nobles were poverty-stricken and could offer no hope to their younger members; the samurai, as a class, were bankrupt and had exploited the merchants and farmers as far as seemed possible; the merchants were faced with the confusion caused by the abolition of the federations of guilds in an attempt to introduce free competition in an environment quite unsuited to such conditions; the outcasts were becoming poorer owing to the invasion of their traditional monopolies, while the prostitutes were becoming more and more degraded. The farmers were producing, or were capable of producing more than ever, but no incentive was left to them. Is there any wonder that the coming of Perry in 1853, precipitated a change which had long been brewing and that foreigners arriving at this time should have complained at the vacillation of the Government officials and their refusal to give a straight answer to apparently simple questions? Nothing seemed stable and nobody could tell what course events might follow.

The Restoration came, and while certain sections of the samurai triumphed, the nobles were the first to be firmly established in social position, if not in economic status. The merchants had the world opened to them, but the farmers were the least influenced by the change, although the growth of silk exports meant money in their pockets. The most spectacular achievements

1. Though women in Japan are nominally and in many walks of life actually subjected to men, their enormous influence on Japanese manners and behaviour must not be underestimated.

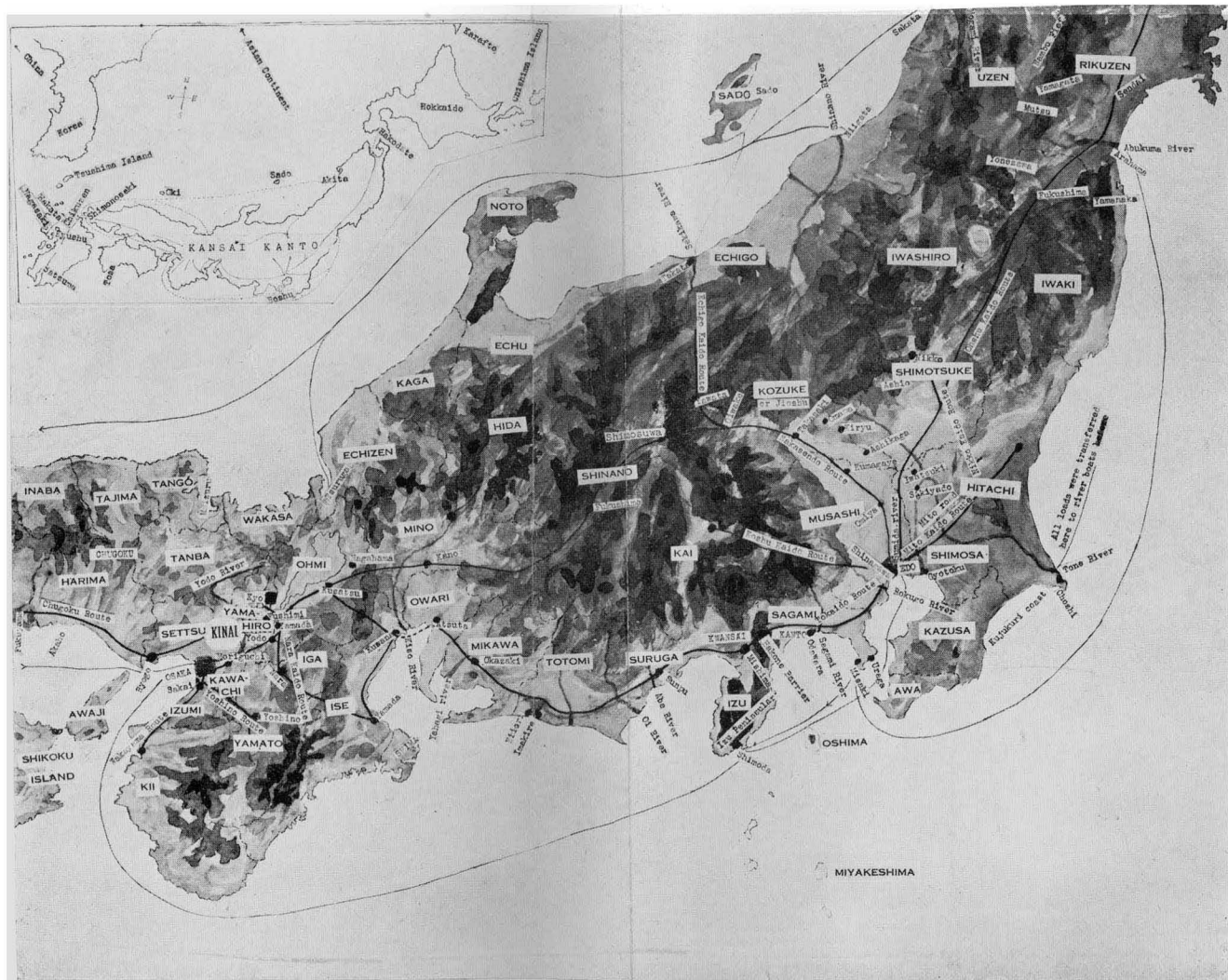
since then have been the political and military activities of the new samurai and nobles and the growth of raw silk and cotton piece-goods exports by the merchants, which obtained in exchange the technique, raw materials and machinery of Western nations. The farmers have increased their efficiency and set free a large proportion of their numbers for work in the towns, so that the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture has fallen from 80 to 50%, although Japan still remains almost completely self-supporting in foodstuffs.

It may not be out of place to end this Introduction with some reflections on our own time. With the Great War and consequent further opening of markets for Japan, when other nations were busy fighting, an enormous expansion of cotton piece-goods exports became possible while the growth of prosperity in U.S.A. led to a rapid increase in silk exports. Checks came in 1920, 1923 (The Great Earthquake), in 1927 (the banking crisis) and in 1929-30 (with the great depression). In 1931, her currency was forced off gold and the effects of the depression could be postponed as long as her goods, sold in a depreciated currency, could leap over barriers caused by tariffs and low purchasing power in Asiatic markets. That, however, is now stopping, and her internal national debt has doubled during the last five and half years. Once again, as in the middle 19th century her position has become unstable, with unbalanced budgets, and the constant threat or existence of depression among the merchant and farmer classes, though this time she is not alone in the situation. The end of the Tokugawa period may contain warnings, not only to Japan, but to all nations. The difficulty is, that there are no obvious models, such as Japan had in the West, for nations to rely upon when making the necessary changes in their organisation. Many lessons can be learned from the more successful early Tokugawa administration.

Quite apart, however, from the warnings against economic maladministration which are given by the fall of the Tokugawa regime, it will be realised that much that was good in old Japan has been temporarily or permanently lost through the partial adoption of a Western economy. Japan has absorbed the tech-

nique of the West but not its ideals. A number of the old Japanese ideals were, of course, unsuited to any modern nation, but when we realise the degree of art and refinement in the way of living of all classes, we see that it has not only a great deal to teach modern Japan, but also the rest of the world. One particular example is something peculiarly alien to her export industries today, but which was one of the most marked features of the middle Tokugawa days, namely the strong bond between art and commerce. Other such links between ideals and practice are fast disappearing. Is it too late for a greater number of Japanese traders and economists to look back to some of the clear evidence of her history instead of peering dimly through a colossal language barrier at the institutions of the West?

This looking back need not prevent the absorption of a number of Western ideals, for which the most important need is the reduction of the language barrier. Japan is a country of some 70 million people and with her dependencies, nearly 100 million. The number of capable Western readers of Japanese literature can probably be counted on the fingers of two hands; yet Japan can only be interpreted to the West, in the last resort, by Westerners who understand the exact meaning of the words they use. So also, the West must ultimately be interpreted to Japan by Japanese. In this direction the barrier is not so great, as large numbers of Japanese can read some Western language; but really proficient studies of Western culture by Japanese are far too rare. So that Japan is still relatively isolated culturally, although her cities, for example, contain much of the material paraphernalia of other countries. She is known in the West, mainly as a producer of cheap and short-lived goods, while her view of the West is greatly, if not equally distorted. Even many of the more intelligent critics from abroad go into raptures over articles that are far from representative of Japanese life, while the true appreciation of Western thought has hardly begun in Japan. The remedies are obvious, but their urgency has yet to be widely realised.



Tokugawa Japan. Leading Provinces and Transport Routes on Main Island. (By Naoye Kubo).

CHAPTER II

RESOURCES, POPULATION, AND METHODS OF LIVING.

The Natural Resources of Japan.

- a. E. Honjo : "Nihon Keizai-shi Gaisetsu." (An Outline Economic History of Japan) Part III. 1933.

Japan is covered with mountain ranges, and her few plains are situated on the coast or in the narrow strips between the mountains. Land under cultivation, however, has gradually increased through the ages and on examining the changes which have taken place in more recent times, we find that it rose from about $3\frac{2}{3}$ mn. acres in the days of Hideyoshi to $7\frac{1}{3}$ mn. acres in Kyoho (1716-36). According to a census of 1880, it was about $10\frac{3}{4}$ mn. acres, excluding Okinawa and Hokkaido, and was nearly $14\frac{1}{4}$ mn. in Japan Proper at the end of 1924. Even so, the plains and slopes which are at present considered suitable for habitation and cultivation cover barely one fifth of the whole country, a small proportion compared with that in other nations, and as a result Japanese agriculture has to be carried out on an exceptionally intensive system. The configuration of the land is very suited to forestry, but is a great hindrance to trade and transport and, for example, the mountain ranges in the provinces of Hida, Echigo, and the Ou and Chugoku districts are obvious barriers to communication. For various reasons only small areas are served by the railways, but one of the most important factors is that of configuration. Even Japan Proper, which covers the largest area of any part of the Empire is nowhere wider than about 145 miles and as the mountain ranges run in many different directions, there are no large rivers, nor big lakes, with the exception of Lake Biwa. Rivers are, on the whole, short and swift-flowing and are therefore of little use for navigation. One of the special features of Japan is the abundance of rain which

fills the rivers with large volumes of water, in spite of their short length, and often causes disastrous floods. . . .

The length of coast-line in Japan is very great in comparison with the area of the country and this provides her with many good ports, which have facilitated the development of her foreign trade and helped the import of foreign culture. . . . The area of her territory is very small, in comparison with that of other nations, but as it extends diagonally from the north-east to the south-west it has a variety of climates and products. . . .

It consists of many islands, which are situated so close together that they form a natural political unit, close to the Asiatic mainland. In times of peace, communications would follow the sea routes rather than the passes over precipitous mountains. Thus the first intercourse between the various islands of Japan took place in an early stage of her history and the Inland Sea routes developed communication between Kyoto and its neighbouring provinces and Kyushu. In addition, foreign ships could enter the harbours of Mukō and Naniwazu, which facilitated intercourse with foreign lands and had a great influence on Japanese civilization. The territory is, on the whole, a considerable distance from the Asiatic mainland, and though in the north it is very close, that region is very cold, and economic competition from the continent has never been severely felt. Further, in the early days, continental nations had not sufficiently developed their ship-building to enable them to cross the sea rapidly enough to enjoy satisfactory conditions of wind and tide the whole way. Thus Japan has never been invaded by foreign forces but has retained her national unity. Although many races of people entered the country, they assimilated our customs and the breed and territory of the Yamato people were kept intact. This is very different from the history of Great Britain, whose nearness to the Continent led to the frequent subjection of her inhabitants by continental races. . . .

Japan has, on the whole, a temperate climate, . . . but even in Japan Proper, climatic conditions vary considerably from district to district. The mountains which run, generally, from north-east to south-west are an obstacle to the winds from the



Typical farming country : Musashi plain. Note villages, rice-fields, water, mountains, forests and temples. (Edo).



A typical Japanese river. The Tama-gawa, near Edo. Note the embankments, the wide bed and the temporarily

north and south, and bring about a clear division between the climates on the Asiatic and Pacific sides. The influence of ocean currents and the effects of seasonal winds combine to produce a particularly complex set of climatic conditions and while there are variations between all four seasons, the most marked contrast in temperature is between that of summer and of winter. For this reason, the Japanese inherit the ability to withstand considerable diversities of temperature. The influence of the monsoons on the continent has been sufficient to make Japan one of the wettest regions of the world, and the abundance of rainfall in early summer renders it a suitable country for rice-cultivation though excessive downpours sometimes do much damage to crops. On the other hand, it has the disadvantages of much wind, rain, mist and snow which interfere with communications.

The soil is on the whole fertile and this, coupled with the climate, make it suitable for raising numerous plants. Forests are abundant and the yield of agricultural products on the plains is high. Thus Japan has been called "The Land of Ripe Cereals". The long narrow shape and mountainous nature of the country render its geology very complicated and have led to the production of various metallic minerals, including copper, iron, gold, silver, zinc and lead. Non-metallic mineral products include coal, petroleum, and sulphur. Of these, coal and copper are the chief, but compared with many other countries, deposits of basic minerals are extremely few and there is a shortage of iron and mineral oil. . . .

The ocean currents flowing near our shores, include the Kuroshio (Black Current), the Tsushima and the Ogasawara currents which are all warm, as well as the Kurilian, Saghalien and Liman cold currents. These influence climate and the geographical distribution of plants and animals. Above all there are abundant supplies of fish, edible sea weed and other marine products so that the Hokkaido coast is celebrated as one of the three largest fishing grounds of the world, along with those of Norway and Canada. . . .

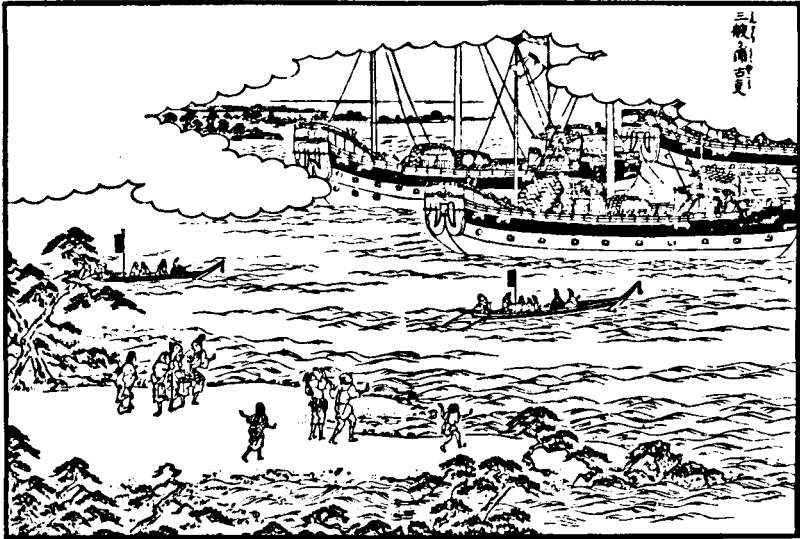
The many swift flowing rivers have been an obstacle to riparian works, and have led to floods, but with the increasing de-

mand for water-power in modern times, these, which were at first used only for water-wheels, have enabled a remarkable development of hydro-electric industry. . . .

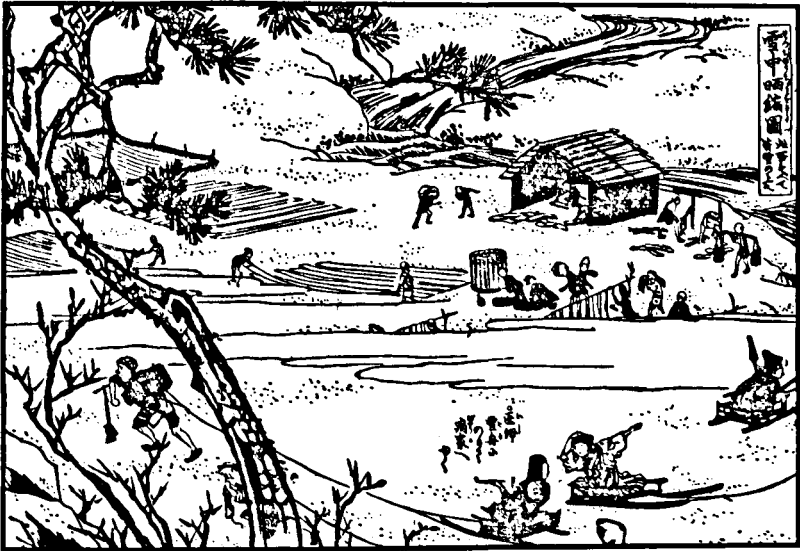
Japan has numerous volcanoes, is visited by earthquakes and tidal waves, and almost every autumn, by storms and floods, which interrupt telegraphic communication, obstruct the railways, destroy houses and crops and wreck ships. In former times, famines menaced the lives of the people. There are historical records of the damage caused by these natural calamities and of the various official measures taken to prevent their effects or provide relief. Consequently natural disasters have had a close relationship with the economic development of the country and the mentality of the people. The question arises as to the extent to which the lives of the Japanese have been influenced by these catastrophes rather than by the normal physical conditions of the country. Views on the problem vary, but it can probably be said that normal conditions have played a more permanent role. . . .

Such are the natural conditions of the country. When we compare the regions facing the Pacific with those on the China Sea, we find that the first area to be cultivated in ancient times was in the San-in-do (Mountain Shady Road) between Moji and Osaka (including Tango, Tamba, Tajima, Inaba, Hoki, Idzumo and Iwami), especially Idzumo. This was, however, only a temporary state of affairs. Along the Pacific side there are scattered a number of comparatively large plains with a much indented coast-line which has led to the growth of a profitable development of shipping and of economic life. On the other hand, on the China side, the mountains often come down close to the coast, there are few plains and the coast line is not so indented with bays. As a result, communication is hampered in this half of the country and the general level of cultural progress has been below that on the side facing the Pacific. . . .

b. *Editor*: The following statement of a Tokugawa agriculturalist is interesting as showing a contemporary opinion on the resources of the country. The mention of an absence of natural calamities may strike us as strange; but after all, suffering



The Arrival of Chinese Ships in ancient times depicted by a Tokugawa artist. (Edo).



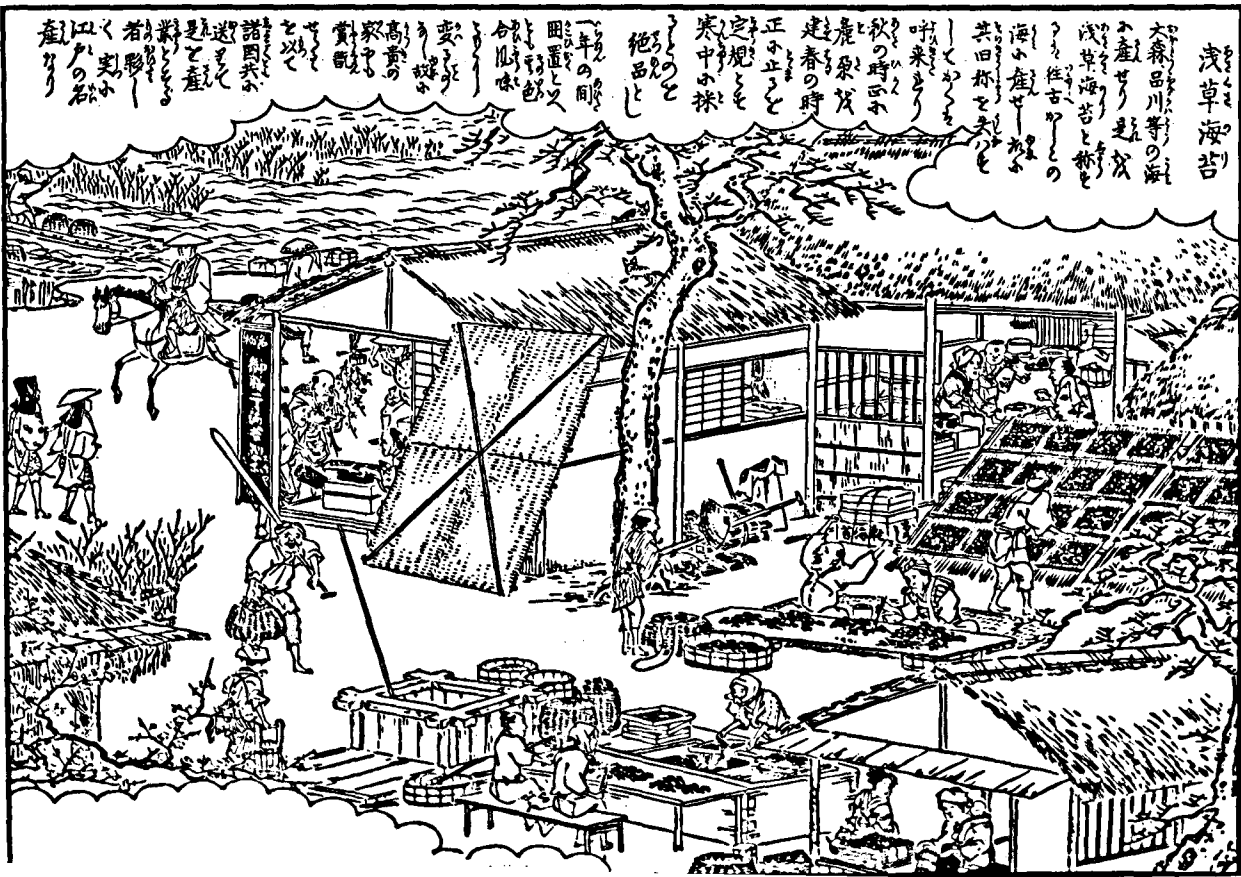
N. W. Japan (Main Island). Fetching a doctor in winter-time.
(Also crêpe-bleaching in the snow). (Echigo).

浅草海苔

大森品川等の海
産物 浅草海苔と稱す
其の佳きもの
海産物と云ふ
其の旧称を考へ
て

秋の時正
産物 建春の時
正の止
定規
茶中の味
他品

一年の間
田圃
合味
変り
高貴
賞
を以て
諸國
送
産物
若影
く
産



is relative and there is no Yellow River in Japan to destroy the homes of millions. Also this was written just before the great eruptions and earthquakes of the early 18th century.

Yasusada Miyazaki: Introduction to the Nogyo Zensho. Essentials of Agriculture. 1697.

Japan, presumably because of its geographical situation in a temperate area, is spared the severity of extreme climates and does not suffer from the scourge of great natural calamities. She has plenty of plains especially fitted for rice cultivation and owing to the extreme fertility of the soil, any kind of crop can be grown within her borders. Apart from China and Korea, it is said that nowhere can such a fortunate country be found. It is no wonder that an ancient Chinese scholar in a poem on "The Japanese Sword", expressed his admiration for Japanese manners and customs and for the fertility of the land. All kinds of cereals, vegetables, plants and herbs, in fact all varieties of agricultural products for food, clothing, habitation and other human wants can be raised in our country, if proper knowledge and appropriate methods are applied and suitable seed is used. There exist in Japan many plants for medicinal use, hardly known to her inhabitants, and, even where people realize this, those that are grown are mostly of inferior quality, as land for cultivation is unwisely selected and proper methods are not used. . . . With the exception of certain trees and plants, it may be said that everything could be supplied without relying on imports from abroad.

The Japanese Population in Tokugawa Times.

a. Population Figures, Birth Control, and Infanticide.

(A summary of parts of E. Honjo's *Nihon Keizai Gaisetsu*, a paper read by the same author before the International Institute of Statistics, Tokyo, 1930 on the Japanese Population of the Tokugawa Era,¹ and of M. Takigawa's *Nihon Shakaishi*.)

The first national census in the Tokugawa period was ordered

1. Since this chapter was first prepared for the Press, Prof. Honjo has published the substance of his paper in English, in his "Social and Economic History of Japan". (Institute for Research in Economic History of Japan, Kyoto. 1936).

in 1721 by Shogun Yoshimune, who arranged for it to be repeated every 6 years. The figures published, however, did not include court nobles, samurai and their retainers, unregistered people, outcasts (Eta and Hinin) and the populations of Yezo (Hokkaido) and the Loo-choo islands. In addition, the counting of persons under the age of 15 varied in every fief, as sometimes they were excluded altogether and sometimes partly included. Also, it is probable that the methods of counting used in some of the fiefs were very rough.

The figures thus calculated showed a population in 1721, of just over 26 mn., which rose to almost 27 mn. in 1732. In 1744, it had fallen back to 26 mn. and remained at that level till 1780. By 1792, it had sunk to just under 25 mn. and from then until 1828 it gradually rose to 27.2, after which there was a slight decrease and the figure remained at about 27 until the middle of the century. Prof. Honjo estimates that in order to make these figures fairly represent the total population, some two or three millions should be added to the later statistics. It has been found impossible, as yet, to estimate the necessary additions to the earlier figures.

Professor Honjo, from these and other sources, is of the opinion that the population increased considerably in the first half of the period, but was afterwards stationary or declining. He gives a number of reasons why this should have been so, which may be summed up, by saying that the first half of the period saw the results of a firmly established peace after centuries of civil war; whereas the second half was a period of luxury which led to numerous fruitless restrictions, maladministration, excessive taxation, and social decay, which were accompanied by many natural calamities. This is probably true, but, of course, the material for its verification is only gradually becoming available. What is particularly striking, however, is not so much the *fluctuations* in the rate of change of the population, as the fact that the *rate* itself was exceedingly small, particularly for a nation which has showed itself capable of such rapid increase since the Restoration. Earthquakes, fires, floods and epidemics undoubtedly played their part, as they do, though probably to a lesser extent,

to-day, but the two overwhelming influences retarding growth seem to have been famine and widespread, deliberate, though primitive methods of family limitation.

Three very important famine periods were those of 1732-3, 1783-7 and 1836-7. Murdoch¹ gives a short account of these, the first of which was due to attacks made by a rice-pest in South West Japan. He says that on this occasion, owing to the efficiency with which the Shogunate sent down relief rice by ships, only 169,000 persons died. The second was accompanied by the worst series of calamities that Japan has had in her recent history, and began after the eruption of Mt. Asama which devastated large areas of rice fields, was followed by failure of rice crops in Kyoto and North East districts, and in 1785 by further crop failures and floods. It was estimated that over a million lives were lost during this period. These calamities do not, however seem anything like sufficient to account for the stationary figures and we are left with the remaining factor—deliberate family limitation.

On this there seems to be abundant evidence. Abortion and infanticide were carried on, throughout the country, and not simply in the big cities where morality was notoriously loose. In the families of both the samurai and the common people, drugs were used or new-born babies were stifled to death. Common terms were "mabiku" (to thin out) and "kaesu" or "modosu" (to send back). Writers of the day gave as a reason for such happenings, the fact that mothers could not nurse their extra children and declared that in a village of, say, ten houses, two babies would be killed every year. The custom was most common in the Northern districts and the Kwanto (Eastern Districts), but was also prevalent in the Chugoku, Shikoku and Kyushu. A memorial to the Shogunate in the middle 18th century, which is quoted by Professor Honjo, states that before that time a farming family would consist of five to eight children but it had become the custom to rear only one or two, "though it is not clear whether this is due to the luxurious habits that prevail among them or some other causes". Professor Honjo also

1. History of Japan. Vol. III.

writes, "In Tosa province, one boy and two girls were considered the maximum number of children to be brought up in one family. In some other districts, practically all the babies, whose births were reported to the local authorities were boys. Hardly one out of every ten children reported was a girl. . . . It was even thought better to buy children from traffickers in children, popularly called "hito-kai bune" (man-selling craft or slavers), who came to sell boys and girls whom they had kidnapped in Kyoto, Osaka and other places, as this could save much of the trouble of bringing them up." He also quotes the following from Nakai Chikuzan concerning samurai in certain remote country districts: "If a baby is born in a samurai family, for instance, the friends of the family make inquiries among themselves as to whether the baby is going to be brought up." Until they learnt whether the child was to be allowed to live they would not call and offer the customary congratulations and would pretend to be ignorant of its birth. Again, "Most families do not take the trouble to bring up any except the first-born. If any family chooses to bring up two or three children, it is held up to ridicule by others. This is simply outrageous." Professor Takigawa says that these customs spread to the farmers about the middle of the 18th century, whereas they had existed in the cities from ancient times. The causes in the country, however, were different from those in the towns. "In urban districts", Professor Honjo remarks, "poverty, fornication and adultery, fecundity, the co-incidence of pregnancy in a mother and her daughter-in-law, and the selfishness of parents were among the causes, while in agricultural districts, birth control was almost exclusively due to the difficulty of living, which prevented people from rearing too many children." Buyo Inshi¹ a contemporary writer (author of the *Seji Kenmonroku*) confirms this view. "The habit is almost unmentionably cruel", he says, "but we cannot treat these people as outlaws. They find it difficult to raise children even if they look after them no better than they would cats or dogs, and as ruin faces the family are forced to

1. Quoted from Prof. Takigawa's "Nihon Shakaishi".

kill them. The perpetrators of the crime of murdering these children must be sought for elsewhere”

Both the Shogunate and fief Governments made some effort to prevent these habits by such means as prohibitions, propaganda, bounties, migration, and the registration of pregnant women, some of which seem to have had good effects. The policy of the daimyo of Shirakawa as described by Professor Honjo seems to have been particularly enlightened. Other remedies were the organisation of numerous schemes of rice storage for famine relief and of peasants' mutual finance societies (*mujin-ko*).¹ The variety of plans introduced was very great, and the number of would-be social reformers produced in this age was remarkable. The detailed results of their efforts have yet to be investigated, though of course, taken together they were quite insufficient to prevent the decay of the regime.

b. Population according to Classes.

Figures from "A Study of Modern Rural Economic History", by Takao Tsuchiya. Vol. 59 of the Iwanami Economic Series, 1933.

The following is a summary of a table quoted in the above book from the investigations of Mr. Jiken Kamei, into the population of the fief of Tsuwano. (Census of Tsuwano Fief. Journal of Social and Economic History, Vol. 2, No. 4.)

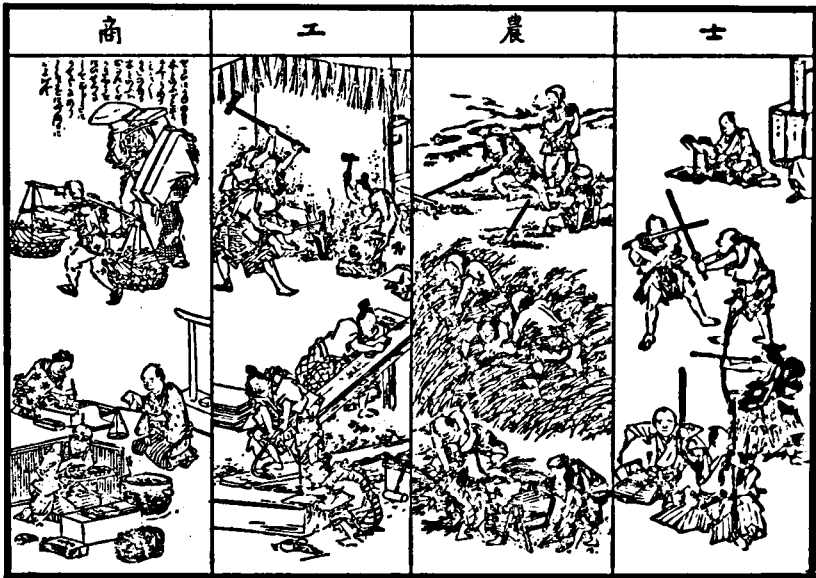
POPULATION OF THE FIEF IN VARIOUS YEARS.
(numbers in 000's)

Year:	1805		1846		1851		1869	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Samurai	5.5	7.2	5.2	7.9	5.3	7.7	4.8	6.9
Farmers	66.2	86.7	57.7	87.0	59.5	86.5	56.9	81.9
Artisans	1.6	2.1	1.0	1.5	1.1	1.6	1.2	1.7
Merchants	2.5	3.3	1.9	2.9	2.0	3.0	2.4	3.5
Miscellaneous	.6	.8	.5	.7	.9	1.3	4.2	6.0
TOTAL	76.3	100.0	68.3	100.0	68.8	100.0	69.5	100.0

According to a census taken in the Nambu district in 1782, which was the most extensive and accurate in the history of the

1. Further details on these social movements will appear in later volumes.

THE FOUR CLASSES



SHO
The Trader.
 Delivery-boys, Pedlar,
 Financiers.

KO
The Manufacturer.
 Metal-workers,
 Carpenters.

NO
The Farmer.
 Sowing, Reaping,
 Heckling.

SHI
The Samurai.
 Scholar, Policemen,
 Soldiers.

district, it seems that the very minimum percentage of the population engaged in agriculture was 83.

Other figures given for the Nakamura and Yonezawa districts show percentages for agriculturists which vary between 60 and 70, but Mr. Tsuchiya says that special conditions in the latter district explain the smaller figure (e.g. a previous legal reduction in the size of the fief and a consequent predominance of samurai population, also a famine which caused migration to other fiefs), and this was probably only temporary.

A census was taken in 1869, the 2nd year of Meiji, but it only included 15 districts (Nakamura, Nagaoka, Maizuru, Kashima, Akizuki, Kameta, Kumamoto, Hisai, Nagoya, Kubota, Yoshida, Kizuki, Kanō, Uwajima and Matsuyama). It suggests, however, that on the average, agricultural workers represented at least 80% of the whole population. Five years later, when there had already been a considerable transfer to commercial and industrial occupations as a result of the Restoration, the figures for the whole country averaged 79.21%. This is about the proportion for the population of Chosen (Korea) to-day.

Professor Asakawa writes that the "warriors in the whole of Japan could not at any time have much exceeded 350,000, or about 2,000,000 with their families and servants".¹

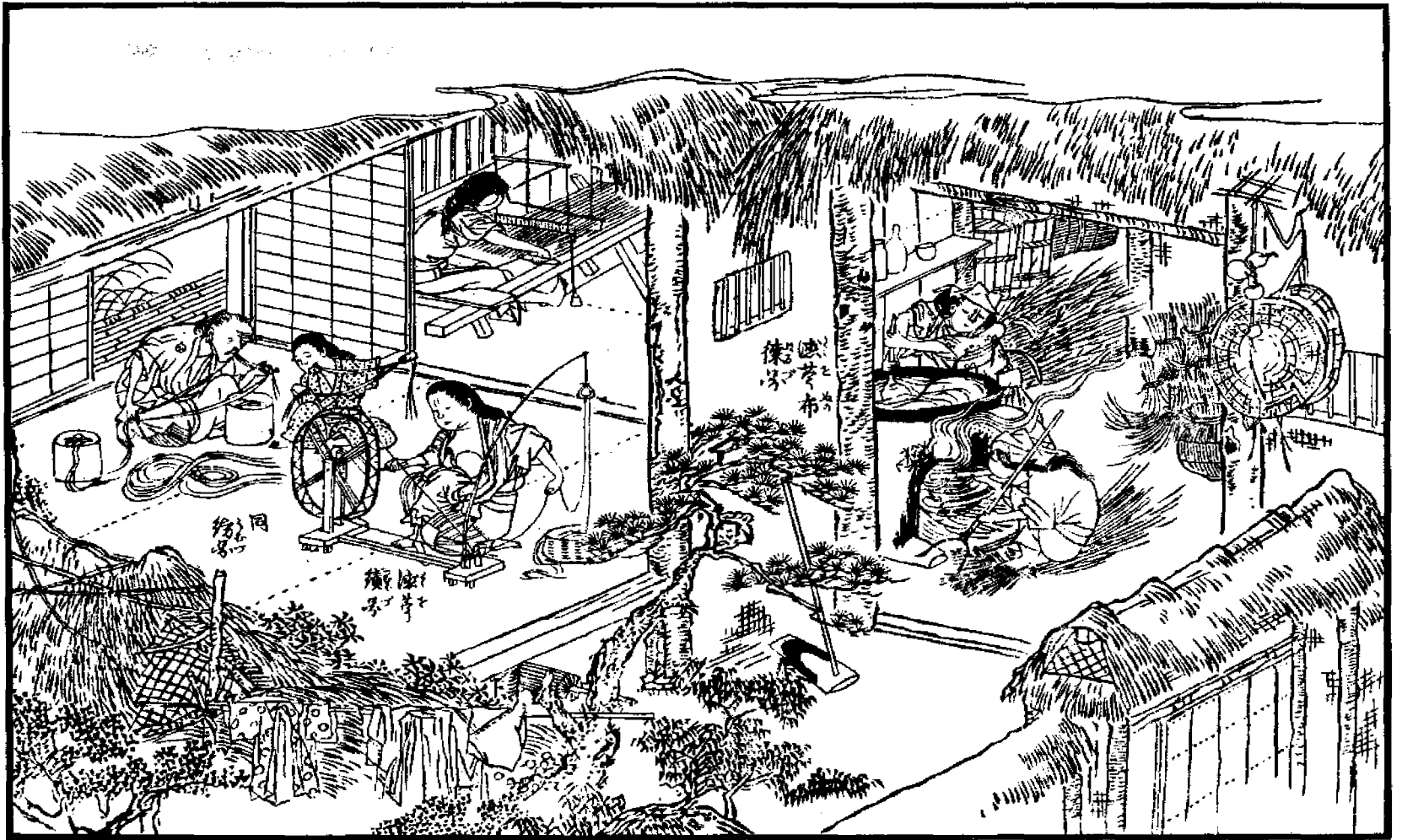
The same work shows² that the number of Intendants of Shogunate Domain lands, on the eve of the Restoration was 41, while there were 266 daimyo. On the basis of this and the total population figures already quoted, we can estimate the average population controlled by an Intendant or daimyo to have been in the neighbourhood of 100,000 of all classes.

It should be realized that the farmers in Tokugawa times, perhaps to a greater extent than to-day, had a number of subsidiary occupations.³ The small percentage figures for artisans are not therefore representative of the industrial activity of the country. The family was the unit of production and considerable

1. Notes on Village Government in Japan after 1600. (*Journal of American Oriental Society*, 1911) Note 7.

2. *Ibid.* Notes 9 and 11.

3. See volume dealing with Primary Industries.



Family Division of Labour. A Farmer's household at work. (Farmers' talks).

division of labour among its members was possible. Further, even in those days there was, apparently, a considerable seasonal migration of labour from rural districts where the winter climate was so severe that work was impossible, to various occupations in the big cities. Professor Honjo mentions such movements, from the provinces of Echigo and Shinano to Edo, and from Tango and Tajima to Kyoto and Osaka, the villagers being absent from October to May.

c. Urban Population.

According to Professor Koda,¹ the population of Edo is very difficult to discover owing to the fact that the registers made in Tokugawa days did not include all classes. The biggest gap is the lack of figures for the samurai class, who were the most important consumers and, in fact, were the main cause of the growth of the city. According to records of 1872, there were in that year 1,282,000 members of families belonging to the upper samurai and 492,000 to the lower grade samurai, a total of about 2,000,000 representing the whole samurai class. This is probably very near the numbers at the end of the Tokugawa rule. The proportion of these living in Edo, as Professor Koda considers, certainly not over half and probably not more than a quarter.

According to periodical Tokugawa censuses, the number of non-samurai in the city was at the most about half a million and in 1843 was recorded as 587,000. Thus at the time of the Restoration, the total population of the city was probably round about a million.

As the population was probably almost as high as far back as the first quarter of the 18th century, it seems that Edo was, from then until the 19th century, more populous than any Western City. In 1700, it is estimated, "Paris with its 600,000-720,000 persons was the most populous city of Europe. No other European town, except London, which numbered about 600,000 persons, had over 200,000 inhabitants."² It might also be added that the standard of welfare of Edo's inhabitants

1. Edo to Osaka (Edo and Osaka) published 1934.

2. Knowles, "Industrial and Commercial Revolutions". p. 3.



Family Division of Labour.

A merchant's wife, daughter and maidservant at work. (Hundred women).

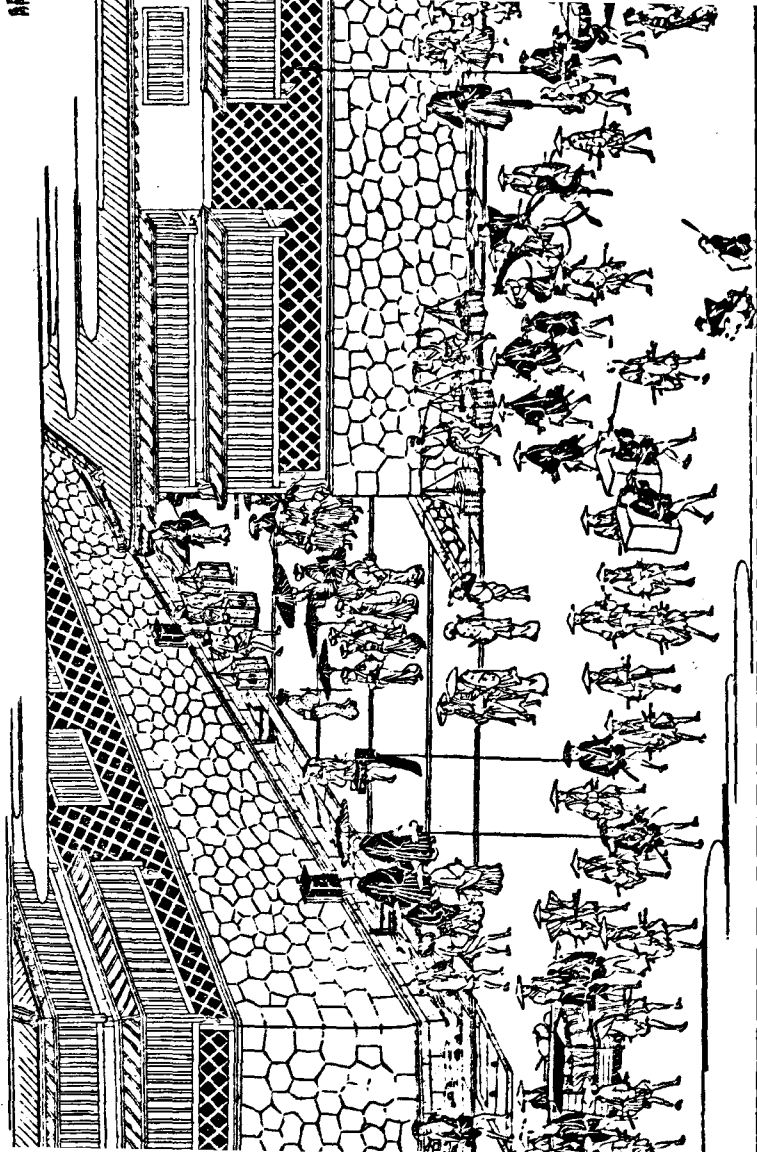
seems to have been comparatively high for those days.

According to figures of 1703 (quoted by Professor Koda), the population of Osaka was then 351,708. The number of houses was only recorded as 17,279, but this was because a "house" really meant a "mune" (lit. roof-ridge) or block of houses. The figures for Kyoto were, in 1715, 350,986. It seems that from this time the population of Kyoto tended to decrease while that of Edo and Osaka increased somewhat. Osaka, however, reached its peak (for the Tokugawa period) in 1765 and then slightly declined. Popular language describes Edo as the "City of Samurai" and Osaka the "City of Merchants". Kyoto, was of course a city of nobles, artists and craftsmen.

d. Japanese Methods of Living. The Editor.

In Tokugawa days, as is the case to-day to a slightly lesser extent, Japanese people lived in a manner strikingly different from that of other peoples and met their needs for houses, food, furniture, clothes and amusements in a surprisingly economical way. Whether Western methods and resources satisfy the needs of Western people better than those of Japan satisfy the Japanese is a question open to much discussion and is of particular importance at the present time, when Japan is often said to have a "low" standard of living. Whatever may be the result of scientific comparisons of present day conditions here and abroad, if they are ever made or are even possible, it seems that in mid-Tokugawa days, the material needs of the inhabitants of Japan were, on the whole, catered for at least as well as those of some leading Western countries, while the opportunities for aesthetic pleasures were much more frequent among the Japanese.

To do justice to this subject would require a volume in itself, and much has already been written in numerous foreign works (most of which, however, are out of print). Some idea of the state of affairs in earlier periods may be gained from Dr. Singer's *Anthology of Classical Japanese Writings*, to be published shortly, and of course from the translations of Arthur Waley and others. It may be useful here to point out certain basic factors in the life of the people in the period with which we are



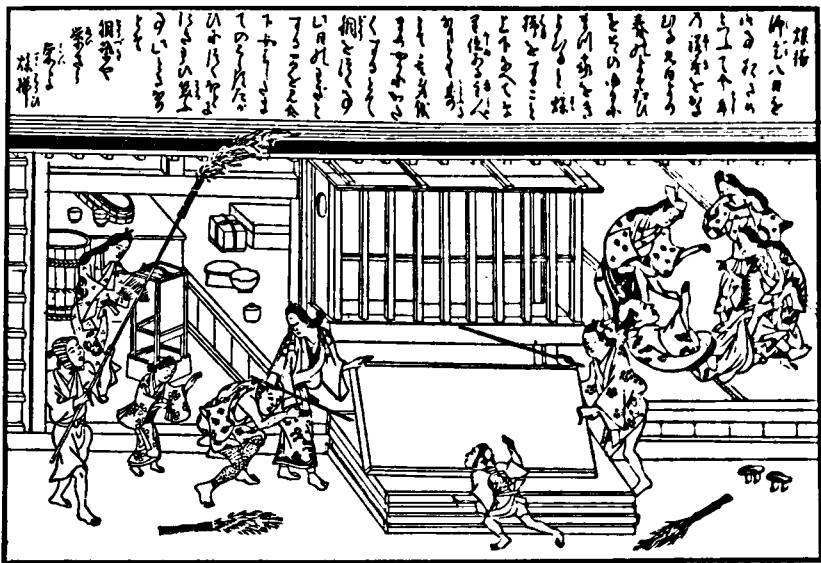
Edo. Samurai living quarters. (Edo).

concerned.¹ It should be pointed out, of course, that just as the full powers of the Tokugawa were restricted to certain parts of the country, so the conditions of life varied from place to place, and were in the north of the main island, then as now, below the average for the country as a whole.

Houses.

The wood, or wood and plaster Japanese house in those days was sometimes quite beautiful outside, and nearly always pleasant inside, for it combined many of the most modern features of domestic architecture—plenty of windows (two or three sides of the house could be open to the sun and air), an absence of furniture and superfluous ornament (built-in cupboards took away the mattress-beds and other articles when they were not in use), artistic indirect oil or candle lighting and portable charcoal stoves (though the fumes from these could be very unpleasant and dangerous when the house was closed up, as it was at night and in cold weather). Cooking was done very efficiently over a wood fire or in town houses by charcoal, helped by a paper and bamboo fan which kept up the strength of heat. The system of cooking several dishes at once, one above the other, had already been evolved. Water usually came from wells near at hand. Hot baths were very common and at the numerous public bath-houses washing had to be done with the help of a rice-bran bag, (instead of soap), before the large communal bath could be entered and a luxurious steaming and soaking be enjoyed. This precaution no doubt, to some extent prevented the spread of infectious diseases which the habit of bathing together must have encouraged. The larger houses might have their own baths, of wood, bound with metal strips, which were heated by a small rubbish-burning stove attached to the end. This side of life was certainly preferable to that of early 19th. century Europe with its relative scarcity of baths. On the other hand, sanitation arrangements, with their open though fortunately small, cess-pools in one corner of the

1. The greater part of the rest of this chapter could be written in the present tense without any great distortion of the truth, and much could probably be applied to the conditions in the early Nara period. (7th century A. D.).



The compulsory seasonal house-cleaning (O-soji). In the foreground the padded straw mats are being beaten. (Pezanna).

house, which were the basis of agricultural fertilization, often shocked the noses and ideas of European travellers. The floors of houses in the towns, and to a lesser extent in rural districts, were usually covered with finely-woven and padded straw mats, bound at the edges with cotton, or silk. These served as carpets, as supports for cushions used for seats, or as a foundation for sleeping mattresses. They were swept daily and had to be taken up at least twice a year and beaten at the official cleaning time. Features usual in the West, which were missing, were paint, numerous ornaments and glass. Paint was, to a small extent, replaced by lacquer on furniture and fittings, but more often by the frequent application of water to plain wood-work which gave it an attractive dull polish. On the whole, however, the wood was just left without any protection. In country cottages the wood-smoke turned the whole upper part of the interior a deep and shiny black. The main ornament of rooms, rich or poor, was the alcove with its hanging scroll and flower arrangement which were changed with the seasons, and the pillars and supports of various parts of the house which might be chosen for their beauty in their natural state and polished or have on them some simple carving. Instead of glass, paper of many different designs and thicknesses was used on screens and windows to keep off the outside breeze in the daytime and to cover the sliding doors separating the divisions between rooms. At night, wooden shutters could be drawn round the windows. Roofs, which were often very beautiful were of thatch and later, in the cities, of heavy dark grey curved tiles. These houses were ideal in the summer for those who from their earliest days had been accustomed to sit and sleep on the floor, but in winter they must have been colder than most Western houses. To some degree, this difficulty could be got over by ingenious, if perhaps rather unhealthy, methods of using portable charcoal stoves to give local heat.

Food.

Of course the basic food of the people was polished, boiled rice, though in poorer families barley or millet or coarser plants would be used. Added to these were innumerable kinds of small



Food at a theatre restaurant. (Suruga).



Clothes of upper middle-class women. (Clothes).

dishes, which tended to increase with the wealth of the family. These included raw, dried and fried fish of incredible variety, chicken, eggs, fresh or pickled giant radishes, bean paste and other vegetables, nourishing seaweed of many kinds and a sort of macaroni, all of which would be seasoned with soy (bean sauce). Drink consisted of green tea of numerous qualities and flavours, and rice beer (*saké*). Fruit was not very common but in most districts certain varieties of persimmon, tangerine and pear were obtainable at special periods of the year. It was, however, only eaten as a delicacy, between meals. Each item of food would be served on a separate dish and eaten with the help of chopsticks of plain or lacquered wood. The most noteworthy feature of these meals was, not their nourishing qualities, though their defects in this direction are frequently exaggerated, but the fact that practically no implement used in cooking or serving was inartistic, even in the houses of the poorer classes.

Furniture.

Furniture, as we have seen, was conspicuous by its absence, but this involved little hardship. Cushions, mattresses, small tables, stoves, lamps, chests of drawers, boxes and screens were among the chief items. Here again nearly everything was in excellent taste and many specimens appear to-day to be in harmony with modern Western styles.

The manifold uses of bamboo (not including those represented in the exports of cheap Japanese furniture at the end of last century) have been described by a number of writers, but the influence of this plant upon the houses, food, art and industries of the country would still make a fascinating and important subject of inquiry.

Clothing.

Clothes were made of cotton, linen, or among the more wealthy, of silk cloth, all woven into material about 1 foot wide. This was dyed, sometimes with the most elaborate and attractive designs and made into a very simple garment (which Thunberg's translator persists in calling "a night-gown") held in place by a plain sash for men and a much more ornamental one for women,

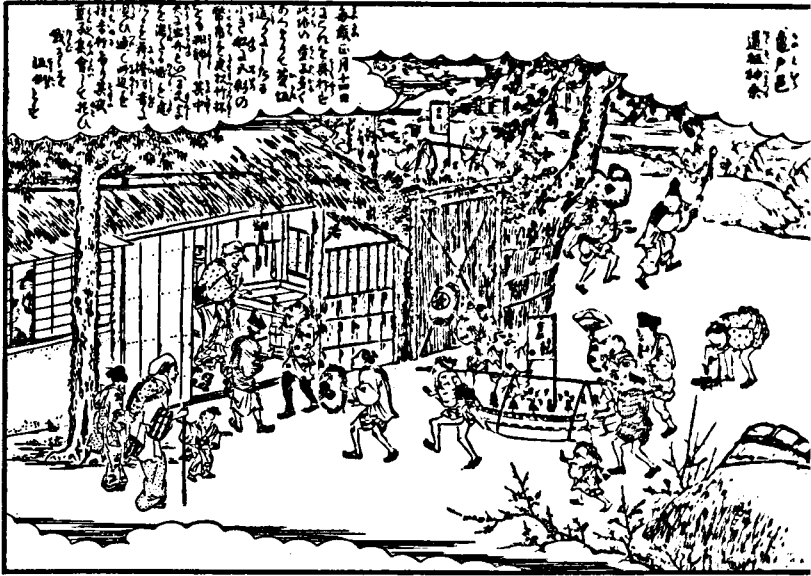


7.2 Oiled-paper and straw as a protection against rain. (Edo).

embroidered or dyed with astonishing skill. The number of over- and under-garments could be varied according to the weather. On wet days, the more wealthy would wear rain-coats of oiled paper, while the poor had the capes and hats of straw which are so common in the colour-prints. Large oiled paper umbrellas were also common, though all classes were not allowed to use them. Feet were either left bare or covered with short, single-toed cotton socks and put in single-thonged sandals of straw or wood, sometimes covered with paper or leather, which were of innumerable shapes and sizes. In addition to the ordinary clothes, some upper classes wore ceremonial trousers which formed a kind of divided skirt. There were also many varieties of ceremonial dresses for nobles, priests and others. The outer garments of the labourers, which were exceedingly appropriate for warm weather and artistic, would usually consist of a short coat and a loin cloth or pair of tight cotton trousers. The peasant women when working would tuck up their kimono and in some districts wore trousers. The influence of Dutch fashions on the clothing of the townspeople seems evident in some of the illustrations. Headgear was of numerous kinds, but it was not so commonly worn as in the West. The most usual types were the conical straw hat which acted as a kind of sunshade or umbrella and the twisted blue and white strip of cotton which could quickly be untied and used to wipe off sweat from the face and chest. It is not necessary to mention the effective military clothing and equipment which had been evolved, as these are well known, and also, this was a time when fighting on a large scale was rare.

Amusements.

Hours of work were long, but probably the speed was not very great, so that the main amusement of the common people seems to have been to gossip in between spells over a pipe or cup of tea, or at home, over the fire-box. As a relief came the numerous feast-days and festivals which involved strenuous exercise for some of the younger men and brought in their train dancing and perhaps fireworks in the summer, wrestling, side shows and



Temple festivities. Edo district. (Edo).



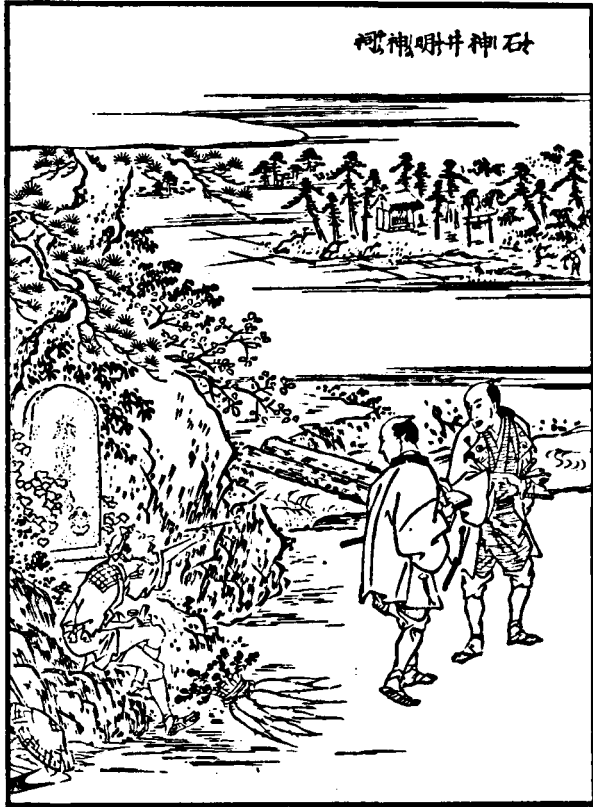
Edo. Visitors at a large temple. (Edo).

night-stalls, while in addition there was chess, go (a complicated kind of draughts), the theatre, gambling, and of course, wine, women and song. All these pleasures were developed much more in the towns and were one influence leading to the desertion of the countryside.

Work usually varied with the seasons, and even in the country, in addition to the holiday excitements, there would be added those arising from fire or robbers, which though unpleasant, would lead to much talk and change in the established order of things. Occasionally during one's lifetime, pilgrimages to famous temples and shrines would be undertaken and then would come the joys of the road, and the pride of returning home armed with a collection of stamps from the temples visited.

One particular feature of the conditions of the time which should be stressed, is the small physical difference between the standard of life of the very rich and of those of the poorer classes whose living was above the mere subsistence level. Apart from certain large merchants who indulged in lavish display, the wealthy man would spend his money buying rarer wood for his house, finer straw for his mats, more uncommon, though not necessarily more beautiful vases for his alcove, pictures by leading painters, and food which came from distant places or was out of season, or, of course, in amusements. The physical benefit he would derive from this would, with the possible exception of the advantages of a more varied diet, be very little above that of the poorer man and led to a distinction very different, for example from that between the poor man in the West who had a different style of house in a different neighbourhood, and who eat, slept, dressed and travelled in quite a different way,—in fact led quite a different kind of physical existence from that of a rich man.

The effects of Japanese autocracy in bringing about considerable equality between classes is somewhat surprising. This equality even spread to etiquette. There were, of course, formal and real barriers between the four classes of society, but the codes of manners set up in the Court in earlier times influenced all ranks of society, including even the prostitutes, and regulated the daily acts of the people and the relations between parent and child,



A country man directing two samurai.
Note the guide-book. (Edo).

master and retainer, families and acquaintances. Such following of a common etiquette seems to have led to a remarkable understanding between the various classes, and when once the formal distinctions between them had been observed, conversation was able to proceed in a much more intimate fashion than between persons of widely different ranks in Western countries. This thesis is only put forward here very tentatively, but it may help to explain some of the social phenomena of both Tokugawa and modern Japan.

The rest of these volumes will show some of the ways in which these 30 million people used the natural resources of their country. At first sight, the size of the population appears extraordinarily large in relation to the resources and, therefore the discontent of the peasants in the latter part of the Tokugawa period seems easy to explain. But a warning is necessary here, which applies also to any analysis of modern Japan. As we have seen, the land suitable for cultivation in Japan may be small in area, but we must set against this, its variety, and more important still, the abundance of water which can be made available for intensive agriculture. Although Japan to-day has more than double the Tokugawa population, she can almost completely feed herself and still has a large number of people available for other industries. She is short of iron, but before the Restoration she made up for the shortage with wood; she is short of wool, but formerly relied on cotton, silk and hemp. Nearly all writers say that she was and is, a poor country, although a satisfactory means of comparing Japanese and European standards of living has not yet been discovered. Certainly, provided her people remain active and plan intelligently, and economic relations with the outside world are satisfactory, nobody need starve, and the situation was the same in Tokugawa days. Her troubles were not mainly due to poverty of resources, nor to pressure of population, and we have seen that the Japanese did not allow their population to increase when they considered their standard of life threatened. Sudden restrictions to economic development, through political or financial maladministration were, however, probably the most powerful causes of distress, and in the following pages we have a pic-

ture of a developing country unsuccessfully trying to burst the bonds surrounding it, until the added disturbance of the rising influence of the West brought in the Restoration.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNICATIONS

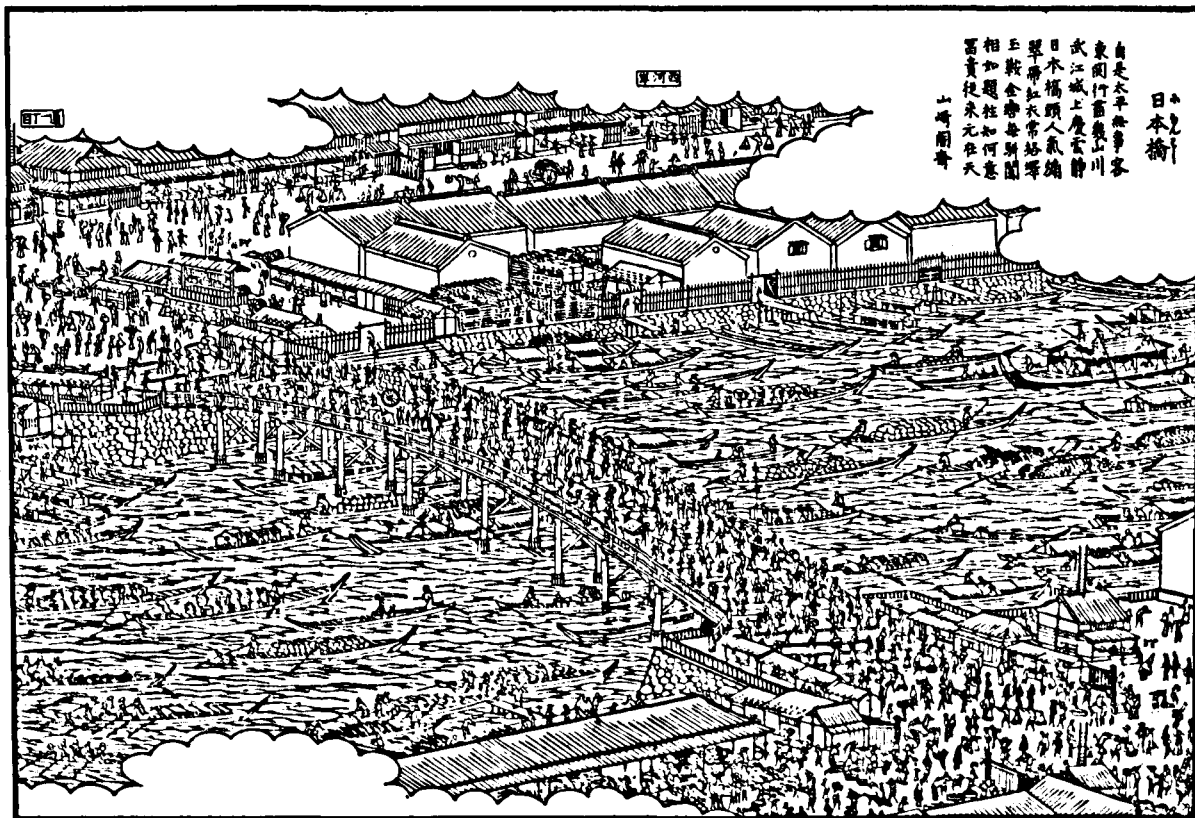
Roads.

Shigetomo Koda : "Edo and Osaka" 1934.

The five main highways of the country were known as the Go-kaido and all started from Nihon-bashi (the bridge of Japan), Edo. They consisted of the To-kaido (East Sea Road), the Nakasendo (Middle Route), the Nikko Route, the Oshu (or North-Eastern Districts Route) and the Koshu (or Kai Province Route). . . . In a study of the whole communications of Japan, other important roads would have to be mentioned, but it was the policy of the Bakufu that Edo should be the focal point of the highway system and Nihon-bashi was made the centre of the Go-kaido, as well as the starting point for the measurement of all road distances.

Edo and Osaka were connected both by the To-kaido and the Nakasendo. The To-kaido had fifty-three post-towns between the two cities (from Shinagawa to Otsu), but the "Records of Subsidies to Relay-horse Stations" of 1674, included 5 additional stages between Osaka and Kyoto; namely Fushimi, Hashimoto, Yodo, Hirakata and Moriguchi, which may perhaps be looked upon as an extension of the Tokaido. The Nakasendo had 67 post-towns (from Itabashi to Moriyama, which was next to Kusatsu, a stage on the To-kaido). The land communications between Edo and Osaka depended on these two roads. The To-kaido was about 310 miles long and the Nakasendo slightly over 320. Along the To-kaido, it was usual to go by ferry from Atsuta to Kuwana, and from Fushimi to Osaka by a river boat, normally of 30 koku (about 5 tons of 40 cu. ft.) burden.

In 1604, roads began to be constructed all over the country and milestones, 1 ri, or about 2½ miles, apart, were set up. Ac-



日本橋
 自是太平無事家
 東國行雷幾山川
 武江城上慶雲錦
 日本橋頭人氣沸
 翠帶紅衣常結帶
 玉鞍金帶每新開
 相如題柱如何意
 富貴從來元在天
 山崎爾奇

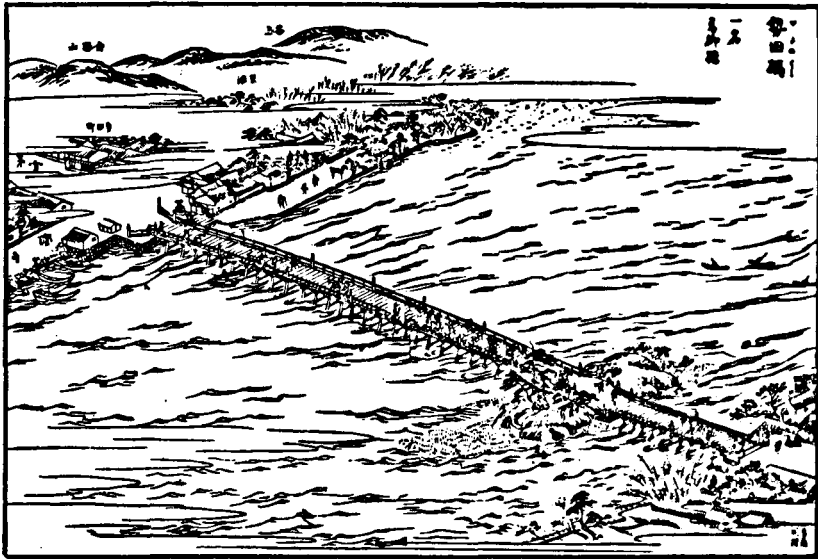
Nihon-bashi (Bridge of Japan), Edo. This district was, and is, the economic heart of the nation. On the far side are the first lot of warehouses; on the near side is the edge of the city fish-market. (Edo).

ording to a contemporary record the width of the roads was about 30 feet.¹ In 1611, notice boards were erected laying down rates of transport from Edo to Shinagawa and Itabashi. In 1612, the following ordinance was issued concerning repairs to roads, bridges and embankments: "Holes in highways and lanes must be filled up with stones or sand to give them a hard surface and water should be drained off into ditches. Muddy sections should be treated similarly. Grass on the wayside banks, etc. must not be removed. In all areas, whether under governmental or private (daimyo's) control, bridges, large and small must be repaired by the authorities in charge or their deputies." Soon after the issue of this ordinance, Post-town Commissioners (O-shukubugyo) were appointed to manage highway and post-town matters. These are said to correspond to the Commissioners of Communications (Dochu-bugyo) of later days.

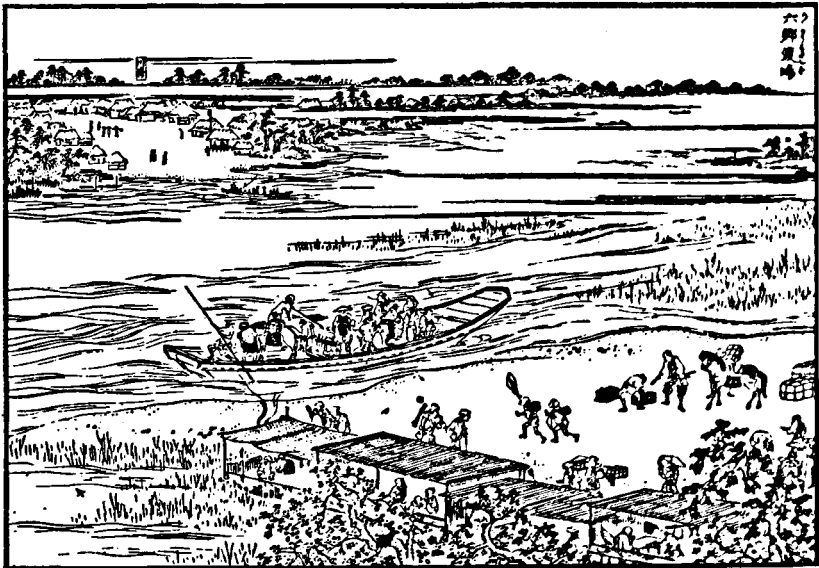
The Bakufu in Tokugawa days paid considerable attention to communications and their policy is shown in the ordinances to daimyo in the Bukke Hatto (Samurai Regulations) of 1635. Article 15 of these stated, "Roads, post-horses, ships and bridges shall be used freely by the people, without interruption." Article 169, forbade private barriers on the roads or detention of vessels at the ports, while Article 17, although it prohibited military ships of over 500 koku (about 80 tons of 40 cubic feet) permitted merchant ships larger than this limit. These sentiments, favouring the development of communications were repeated in the Samurai Regulations of each succeeding generation of the Tokugawas.

Sometimes, it is reported, there were conflicts between the policies of the various Shoguns. For example, Iyeyasu built a bridge over the Yahagi river, but left the river Oi to be crossed on foot. While he was in Okazaki, the Yahagi bridge was washed away by floods. His old retainers opposed its re-building as a waste of money and an advantage to his enemies. He pointed out, however, that the bridge was famous in Japan and "if in my time, I replaced it by a ferry, travellers would be very much hampered and the men of future generations would mock

1. Editor's Note. For some account of the smaller roads in Tokaido districts see Wigmore Pt. V, pp. 65-6. Vol. XX. As. Soc. Trans.



Seta-bashi. A Bridge on the Tokaido. (Tokaido).

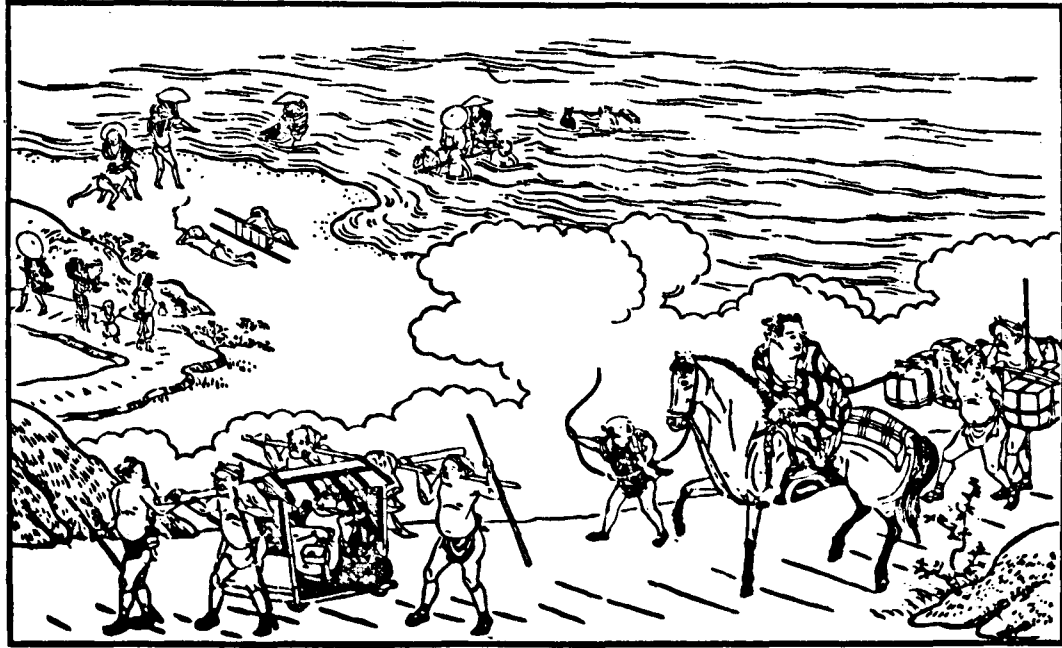


A River ferry on the Tokaido. (Kawasaki) (Edo).

me as stingy and a coward. Peace depends more upon harmony between the people than upon strategical advantages. Build the bridge as quickly as possible!!” On the other hand, Iyemitsu, the third Shogun, in 1626, became suddenly angry at the sight of a bridge of boats over the river Oi, when he was on his way to Kyoto, although it had been made by his younger brother Tadanaga, lord of Suruga, for his benefit. Some years later Tadanaga was punished and it is said his building of the bridge of boats, which showed his neglect of the strategical precautions of their grandfather Iyeyasu, was the cause of this.

Why was a bridge built over the Yahagi but not over the Oi? The decision was probably due, not so much to the needs of strategy as to constant changes in the course of the latter river and the remarkable variations in the volume of water flowing down it. These rendered the making of a bridge impossible. Thus there were no real inconsistencies in the policies of the Shoguns in this respect.

Among the rivers crossing the To-kaido, there were fixed bridges only over the Yahagi and the Toyo. The Rokugo, Banyu, Fuji, Abe, Oi and Tenryu had to be crossed, by bridges of boats, by ferry or on foot. Some, it was even necessary to wade across and among these the Oi was the most troublesome, and travellers had to obtain a river-ticket before being allowed to pass over. The cheapest way over was on the shoulder of a porter, while a more expensive means was a kind of flat board carried by a number of bearers on their shoulders. When a daimyo used such a board, he did not leave his carrying chair (kago), but both he and the chair were placed on the board and carried on the shoulders of some twenty four men. In addition, a number of helpers was required. If the depth of the water was more than about four feet, post-horses were not allowed a cross. If it was more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet ordinary persons were refused a passage. If it was over 5 feet even bearers of official documents had to wait at the post-stations of Shimada and Kanaya, on the banks, until the river fell. In such cases, the river would be closed entirely and the official messengers would be allowed to delay their journey for several days, until the water had sufficiently



Various means of transport on the Tokaido. (Tokaido).

subsided, . . .

In addition to the ferries at Arai and Atsuta-Kuwana, which were a hindrance to travellers, greater nuisances were the numerous barrier gates scattered along the highway. The most famous of these gates was the Sekisho of Hakone, under the control of the Okubo family of Odawara. . . . The barriers were not for the purpose of collecting tolls, as in the days of the pre-Tokugawa Civil Wars, but to examine passers-by and prevent any growth in the political strength of the daimyo, whose wives were de facto hostages in Edo. In order to prevent the escape of these women from Edo, the Hakone barrier officials strictly examined all females going to the West. In order to prevent a dangerous use of firearms in the capital, the Arai barrier officials kept a careful watch for such weapons going eastward. At the Hakone barrier there were twenty officials sent by the Okubo family. There were in addition female inspectors who examined the hair and bodies of the women travellers. The barrier opened at 6 in the morning and closed at 6 in the evening and only those with a certificate from the State Councillors might pass through at other times. Official messengers were, however, an exception and needed simply the certificate of one of the post stations. Attempts to avoid passing the barriers by taking a side route were punishable by crucifixion.

The earliest notice-board at Hakone was erected in 1625, and in 1711 some additions were made to its contents, which became as follows ;

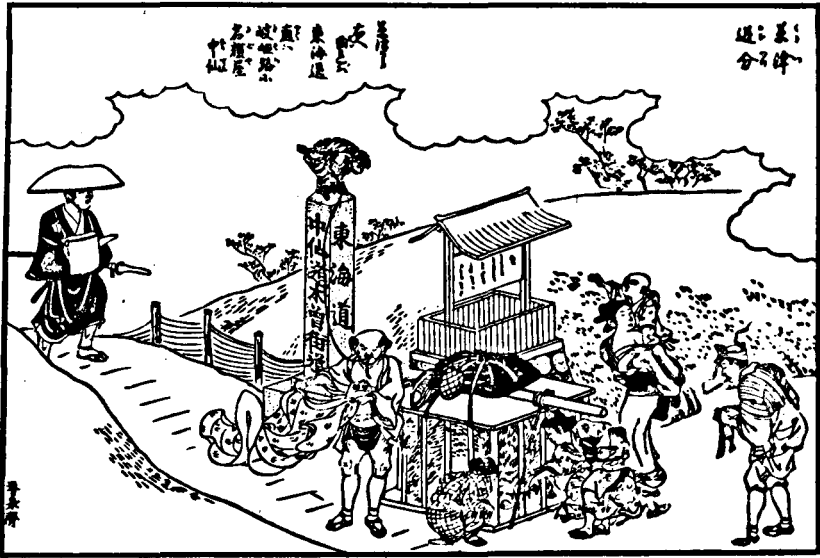
All persons passing through the barrier must remove their head-coverings (straw hats and "zukin"). The doors of palanquins must be opened on entering. Women travellers must be strictly examined in relation to their passports, and those riding in carrying chairs must be taken to the lodge of the barrier guards for examination. Passports are required for wounded persons, dead bodies or other suspicious burdens.

Court Officials and Daimyo need not be inspected if they have previously given notice of their arrival, but if anything seems suspicious, any person, whatever his rank is subject to inspection.

These rules shall be strictly obeyed.

1711, 5th month.

Magistrate of the Shogun.



The Tokaido-Nakasendo junction. Official notice board and sign-post. (Tokaido).

The following types of travellers or freight had to be specially mentioned in the barrier passports ; Carrying chairs (number). Nuns of high birth, (i.e. tonsured widows, and elder and younger sisters of nobles). Ordinary nuns (with shaven heads). Female pupils of priestesses of the temples of Ise or Zenko, or female attendants of noblemen. Females with close-cut hair. Girls, including babies. Persons suffering from insanity, wounded persons, prisoners, decapitated heads (male or female), and corpses (male or female). . . .

The passes of those who travelled to Kyoto from Edo were issued by the Bakufu officials (O-rusui) and were required by men and women of samurai families. Direct retainers of the Bakufu needed no pass. For common people, the process of issue was quite simple and they had only to obtain a note from their house-owner, the headman of their village or one of their relatives. Travelling performers had merely to prove their profession by exhibiting their skill before the barrier officials, in order to be let through.

The organisations which supplied relay men and horses for travellers were known as Tonyaba, and the post-station system or Eki-den (Relay stations) had existed from ancient times. . . . In 1633, a system of rice allowances for the Tonyaba and for relay messengers was instituted and about the same time the post-stations became exempt from land taxes. There were sometimes more than one Tonyaba in a station—in Shinagawa and Odawara, for example, there were two—and in their offices were various officials, such as clerks, men in charge of labour and horses and also servants. Their function was to supply labour and horses to those travellers who had the right to them and provide numerous kinds of travel facilities. Originally, the Bakufu chose men of some property for the position and provided them with a rice salary, but later the business got into financial difficulties.

On the Tokaido, there were 100 men and 100 horses at each station and half of this number on the Nakasendo. On the Nikko, Koshu and Oshu routes the number were half those on the Nakasendo. These horses and men had to be ready at any time to proceed to the next station, in return for payment, or



A refreshment house on the Tokaido. Outskirts of Edo. (14)

free of charge according to the figures mentioned in the passports granted by the Shogunate, State Councillors, or the Financial Commissioners. The legal load for a horse was nearly 3 cwt., and for a man about 40 lbs. Fares were officially determined for the various stages but were altered from time to time during the long rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate.¹

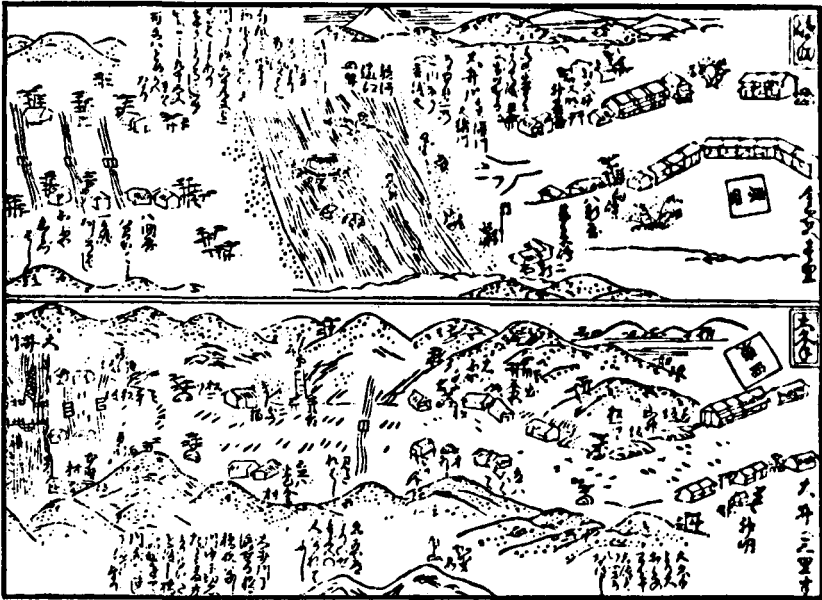
Since charges for labour and horses were fixed, and persons travelling on public business were supplied with these free, the Government, in return, exempted the relay station's land from taxation, supplied fodder for horses, granted rice allowances to officials and men in the stations and gave various other privileges. For example, at Shinagawa station, just over 8 acres, (10,000 tsubo) of land was exempted to pay for 100 horses and a further 4 acres to pay for fodder. Also a yearly rice allowance of some 35 bushels was given to the Tonya and one of about 135 bushels to the relay express messengers. . . .

According to an investigation of 1821, the number of daimyo going to Edo from their territory to attend the Shogun's Court, along the various routes, was as follows: Tokaido 146, Nakasendo 30, Nikko route 4, Oshu route 37, Iwatsuki 1, Koshu 3, Mito 23, and by the road from Nerima and Itabashi 1. . . .

On the Tokaido, daimyo with an income of 100,000 koku or over could use 50 men and 50 horses on the day they left a station and on the day preceding or the day after. On the Nakasendo they could use 25 men and 25 horses on the day they passed through, the day preceding and the day after. Thus on the Tokaido they could use them for two days and on the Nakasendo for three, without any expense to themselves. In this way every station along these two roads had to use half its labour and horses for two or three days in the service of every daimyo of 100,000 koku or more who might be passing through.

In addition to the arrival of daimyo, there were many other

1. Editor's Note. Mr. Kubo has presented me with a "Guide to the Tokaido and Nakasendo" dated 1786, which is very like a modern Pocket Road Guide. It contains pictorial configuration maps of the whole route, and numerous descriptive notes, including the official charges for the various kinds of transport.



Sectional maps from a pocket-guide to the Tokaido and Nakasendo. (Pocket guide).

見付	碓氷	掛川	岡坂	金谷	傳田	森村	志保	伊波	白河	由井	浦原	赤松	沼津	三浦	新原	由良
三浦	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里
五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里
五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里	五里
九日	八日	七日	六日	五日	四日	三日	二日	朔日	潮時		舟馬		輕鹿		人足	
九日	八日	七日	六日	五日	四日	三日	二日	朔日	舟馬		輕鹿		人足		舟馬	
九日	八日	七日	六日	五日	四日	三日	二日	朔日	舟馬		輕鹿		人足		舟馬	
九日	八日	七日	六日	五日	四日	三日	二日	朔日	舟馬		輕鹿		人足		舟馬	

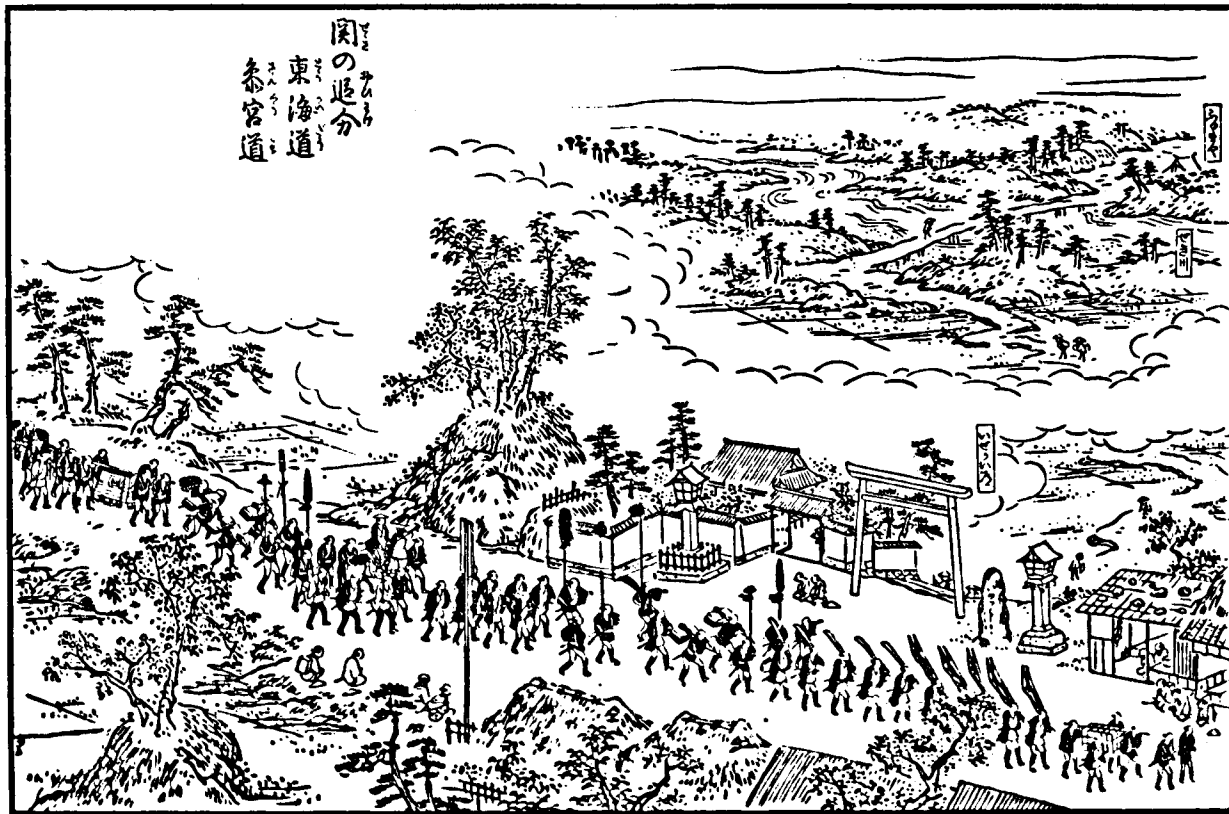
Table of freight-rates and tides from a pocket guide to the Tokaido and Nakasendo.

troublesome travellers past the stations ; for example, the guards of the Nijo (Kyoto) and Osaka castles, the official messengers from Chosen and the carriers of Uji tea, all of which led to grievances. It is said that some of the armour-boxes of the guards on their way to these castles were filled with pots and pans instead of armour. Also, the warning "On your knees!" would be heard and the people after kneeling down and taking off their head-coverings would see only a tea-urn passing by.¹

With the development of communications, the regulation numbers of men and horses could not satisfy the unlimited requirements of travellers and accordingly there grew up a system of "sukego" or "helping villages" under which extra men or horses were commandeered from villages within 3 ri (7½ miles) from the stations and later, as the needs increased, from 5-10 ri, whenever the regular men and horses were considered insufficient. The usual low fees were paid for these, but the easier work tended to be given to the regular workers while the conscripts were set the most difficult tasks. The system already existed in the Meireki period (1655-8) and it was at first laid down that 2 men and 2 horses should be supplied for every 100 koku of income of the villages, but in the Shotoku period (1711-16) the number was increased to 3 or 4 men and 5 or 6 horses per 100 koku, which led to much trouble for farmers who had to abandon their own work and carry out hard labour for low wages in the busy seasons of agriculture. . . . Sometimes the villagers paid the stations to supply the labour and horses—but this led to abuses which the Government was afraid to put down boldly, in case the system of Sankin-kotai (or compulsory attendance of the daimyo at Edo) might become impossible. The "sukego" system was abolished in 1871.

The hotels in post-towns used by daimyo, official travellers, chief vassals of the larger daimyo and not by the people, were known as honjin or main hotels. . . . If these were full, then waki honjin or annexes were used. . . . At Odawara, for example, there were 4 honjin and 4 waki honjin. When retainers

1. Editor's Note. This was carrying the Shogun's tea from the Kwansai to Edo and had to be paid the same respects as the daimyo.

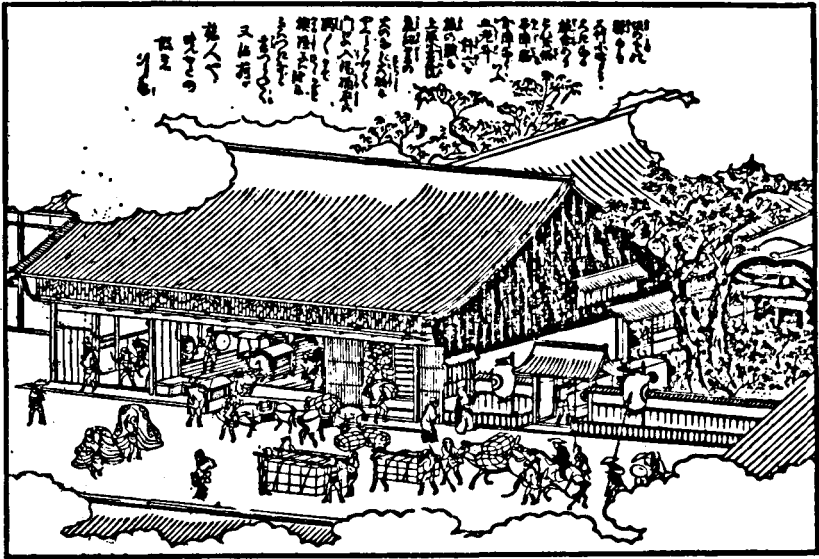


Sankin-kotai. A daimyo's procession on the Edo road. Note the common people squatting by the roadside. (16c).

were very numerous they sometimes went to lower class hotels (shita yado). At the honjin or waki-honjin were notice-boards on which the names of the day's guests were hung. Wooden labels were used for those of daimyo and paper labels for others. . . . The charge for lodging was known as kisen (or fuel money), according to an old custom dating from the days when travellers carried their own food with them. In 1617, this amounted to 4 mon¹ per man and 8 mon per horse and half of these sums if no fuel were used. By 1819, it had risen to 35 mon for a master, 17 mon for a servant and 35 mon for a horse. Sometimes in addition to kisen, komedai (or payment for rice) was made, which later also went to pay for the general facilities of the hotel. Thus hotel charges tended to increase. According to a report made by the Shinagawa station in 1866, the fees charged to the lord of Kishu were 500 mon per head for men of first rank. The ordinary fees in those days were 1000 mon, 1st class; 848 mon, 2nd class; and 700 mon 3rd class. Thus although the lord of Kishu was of the highest rank and one of the nearest relatives of the Shogun, he only paid half the ordinary fees. The Kobusho and Bettegumi (officials of the Shogunate), however, are recorded to have paid only kisen and komedai. We can imagine, therefore, that the hotels would suffer much annoyance from this state of affairs as their incomes must have depended upon tips. The hotels for ordinary travellers were conducted with considerable license at that time and in spite of official regulations a number of the maids acted as prostitutes, those of Okazaki and Mishima being particularly noted, in the early Tokugawa days. . . .

To remedy such evils, two Osaka men, Jinshiro and Gensuke Matsuya, established, in 1804, an association among the hotels along the roads and in the three cities, known as the Naniwa Ko. Their motto was "Security and no maids of low repute." In 1830, Mozaemon Kawachiya of Nipponbashi, Osaka, and Moyemon Karimameya of Bakurocho, Edo, established the Santo Ko for a similar purpose. A traveller was not officially allowed to

1. Editor's Note. A mon was the smallest copper coin in circulation (57.87 grains). Its purchasing power fell heavily during the Tokugawa period.



The Tokaido. A Honjin (first-class hotel). (Tokaido).

stay more than one night without some good reason such as rain, sickness and the like and this rule was greatly disliked by the hotels. It could, however, be avoided as the registers were kept very inaccurately. The rules written on the cover of the registers of the Naniwa Ko hotels were as follows ;

No betting is allowed here.

No guests may hire prostitutes.

Drinking parties and loud singing etc., are not allowed.

Guests must leave the hotel when they have finished their business.

When guests are in bed, the hotel is responsible for tending fires, supplying night-lights with oil and keeping them burning.

In early times hikyaku (flying feet or express) messengers went on horse-back. Later the horse expresses were known as haya-uma (fast horse) and the term hikyaku was reserved for express runners. These messengers were used to take urgent messages or letters, and also carried parcels or money. The system of express carriers was worked on a basis of relays. Two men, one with a small letter box (go jo bako—official business box) with an official label on it and another man with a paper lantern inscribed with “go yo” (official business) would be seen running swiftly along the road and the people would stand aside at their approach. These messengers were the first to be allowed over the rivers when they were re-opened after a storm. The journey from Edo to Osaka by this system was 96 hours and from Edo to Kyoto, 82. By the fastest runners the time to Kyoto was only 40-60 hours. This kind of organization lasted until the end of the Bakufu's rule. We can well imagine that these messengers were kept busy and understand how the news of the approach of foreign ships to Japan in the middle 19th century was delayed.

The development of fast service for the common people began from the demands of some samurai of Osaka and Kyoto, who made an agreement with the hotels on the highway to supply them with lodging, and sent messengers to Edo three times a month. Later, some enterprising Osaka men co-operated with one another to carry business or other messages for the ordinary citizens.

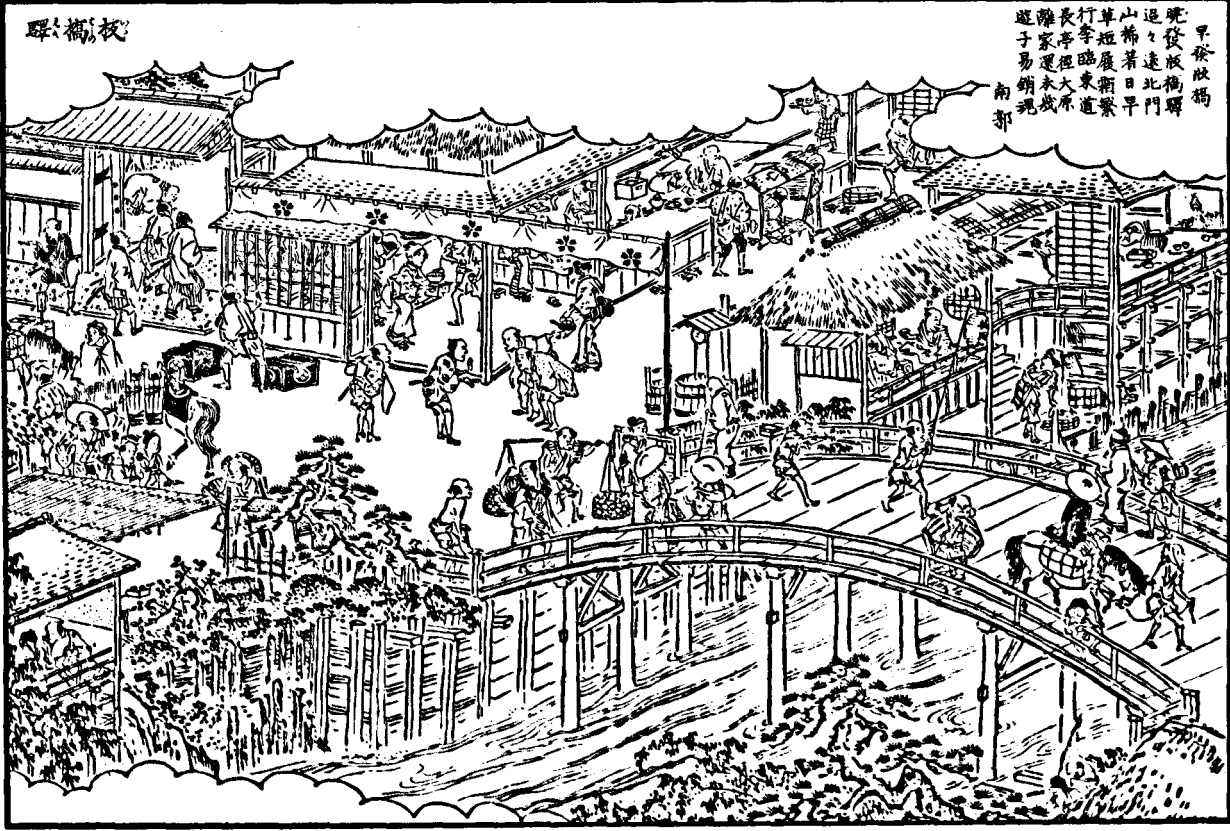
Their badges of office were the two swords of the samurai retainers and the happi (or short livery coat). This was the origin of the express carriers who left three times a month and were scheduled to deliver their messages or goods in Edo in 8 days.

The association was formed in 1663 and was allowed the use of 3 horses at each post station. The messengers started on the 2nd, 12th, and 22nd days of the month and presumably were carriers employed by the licensed express firms. The use of samurai names for the firms was discontinued and the carriers took the messages of both samurai and common people. The number of express firms at various periods was as follows :

	Osaka	Kyoto	Edo
1663	4	3	7
1751	12	16	9
1773	9	13	9

Among these Edo firms were the following ; Osaka-ya, Yamada-ya, Kyo-ya, Yamashiro-ya, Fushimi-ya and Izumi-ya. These are all the names of districts in the Kwansai, so apparently the express firms were recruited mainly from Western provinces. The number of runners employed by the firms was 15 for Osaka and 15 for Kyoto, and they were all Kwansai men. Their efficiency was inspected once a month by their senior members.

In 1773, the nine Edo express firms made the following petition to the government ; 'In the past, we carried messages of the Kyoto and Osaka Castle authorities, the Shogunate officials of the various Kwansai districts, the daimyo and samurai, as well as commercial messages of the traders, and we used to cover the course in 8 or 9 days for "Average Express" and in 5 or 6 days for "Fast Express". Recently, however, although the rivers have not been in an unsuitable state, we have met with delays, owing to a scarcity of horses at the stations. . . . Large quantities of baggage can be seen on the roadside with labels addressed to samurai attached. When people accompany their own baggage they give tips to the pack horse men, but for unaccompanied luggage no extra remuneration is given to the drivers or stations. Further, for the Sandobikyaku (Three times a month express), the drivers demand extra money from us during the journey. If



板橋驛

早發板橋驛
 退達北門
 山掃著日早
 草垣履新繁
 行李路東道
 長亭裡大原
 離家運米哉
 遊子易銷魂
 南都

"Go-yo" express runners on the Tokaido. (Edo).

the Government will be good enough to arrange for the stations to supply us with adequate facilities . . . we will produce 50 ryo¹ as a "thank offering".² In 1782, the Edo Hikyaku Tonya, consisting of the same 9 firms, was licensed as a regular express organization from Edo to Kyoto and Osaka and was allowed an official sign-board. . . .

In 1774, the year after the petition of the Edo firms, a license was given to the Osaka firms. . . .

In 1806, according to an official regulation, the conditions of the business were as follows: Charges varied according to the speed of delivery. The Average Express took 25-26 days and the Fast Express was supposed to take only 10 but was usually delayed. Collections and delivery on the Fast express were made on the 2nd, 5th and 8th days (i.e. nine times a month). . . . The charges for delivery in 6 days were 2 momme silver for a letter, 50 momme silver for 1 kwan (8¼ lbs) of baggage and 55 momme silver for the transport of 100 ryo gold.² There was also a special system of fast delivery by messenger, which was supposed to cover the distance in 3 to 6 days. The charge for delivery in three and a half days was 7.5 ryo for a sealed package weighing up to 100 momme (.8 lb). . . . The number of days required and the fees charged were, however, constantly changing. . . .

Editor's Note: The rest of this section contains further details concerning charges and a short account of financial abuses which developed among the express firms and their employees.

Sea Transport.

Shigetomo Koda: "Edo and Osaka" 1934.

From the end of the Ashikaga period (15th century) to the beginning of the 17th century, navigation made rapid strides, as is seen from the registers of licenses to overseas voyagers and the parchment sea-charts which are still in existence. However, in

1. Editor's Note. A ryo was a gold coin of a certain size. Its quality varied greatly from one period to another.

2. Editor's Note. The nominal rate of exchange was 60 momme to one ryo. A momme was the weight of one mon.

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四ノ宮
四ノ宮
巡行地蔵



Transport on the road to the Ise Shrines. Note express messenger on the right. (100)

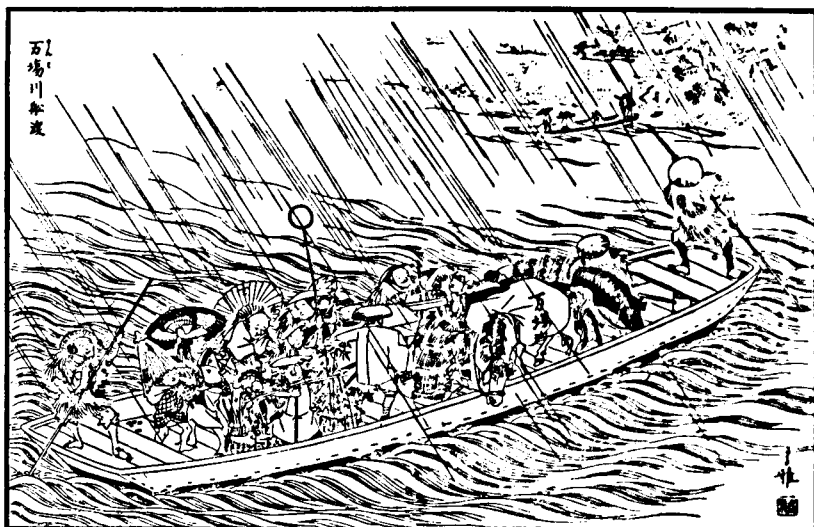
Kanei (1624-42) the people were forbidden to go abroad and Japan was, more or less, closed to the world. Nevertheless, sea-transport was able to develop further than we should imagine, the main reason being the need to move huge quantities of rice.

The rice of the Western daimyo was forwarded to Osaka through the Inland Sea, while that of the Bakufu was sent to Edo from North-Eastern districts. The Inland Sea Route had been used since ancient times. In 1670, Zuiken Kawamura took a ship from Arahama at the mouth of the river Abukuma, in Oshu, southward past Boshu, called in at Misaki in Sagami, and Shimoda in Izu, and after waiting there for a suitable wind, came on to Edo harbour. From that year this route became of growing importance. Previously it had been necessary to tranship cargo to river vessels at Choshi at the mouth of the Tone river, which took it on to Edo, via Sekiyado and Gyotoku.

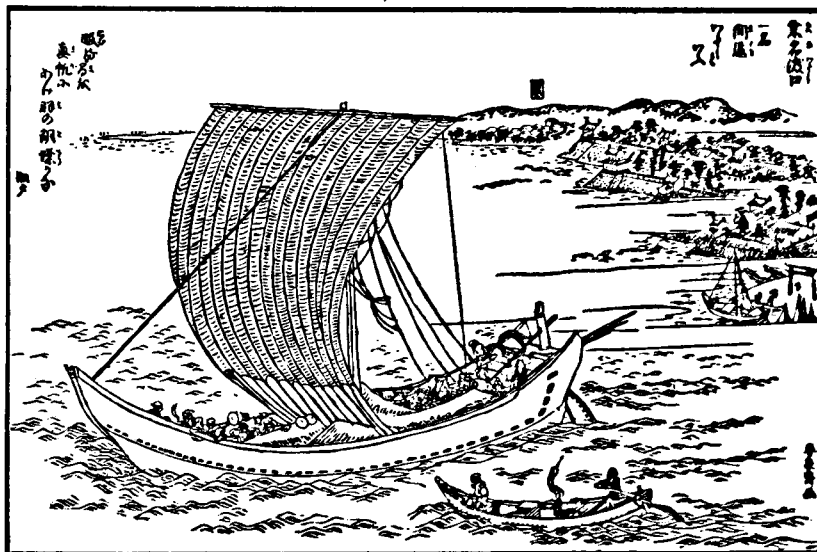
Ushu (N.W.) rice was, it seems, collected at Sakata, and taken down the Mogami river where it was transhipped into sea-going vessels. These sailed along the north-coast, passed Shimonoseki, through the Inland Sea, rounded the coast of Kishu, went through the Enshu channel and after calling at Shimoda, entered Edo Bay. To ensure the safety of this long distance navigation, pilot boats were sent out from Shimonoseki and at Suga Island beacons were lit to guide the ships. In former times, goods after reaching Tsuruga were sent to Omi province and having crossed Lake Biwa were taken down to Otsu. The development of the Oshu (N.E.) and Ushu routes, therefore, afforded remarkable facilities both for public and private transfer, though needless to say, a sea route between Edo and Osaka had been open before the time of Zuiken.

According to documents handed by Kichizaemon Tondaya, of the Higaki line of ships¹ at Osaka, to the Magistrate, a Sakai man from the Izumi district used to send goods from Osaka to Edo by a ship of 250 koku capacity (about 40 tons of 40 cu. ft.), chartered from Kishu Province. In Kanei (1624-42) several transport organizations were established in Osaka as well as in

1. See p. 76 and Chapter IV.



Ferry travel near Nagoya. Note the express runner in the distance. (Owari).



A vessel plying between Atsuta and Kuwana. (Tokaido).

Denbo, all of whom used 200-400 koku ships known as Ko-haya (small, fast). In 1658, a petition from Shimada on the Tokaido contained the following complaint. "In former times, goods destined for Edo all went down the To-kaido, but recently they have been forwarded by sea from Kuwana or Osaka. This at present cannot be stopped, as it is done at the order of the consignors, but if it continues the post-stations will be unable to remain in business."

Thus, although communications between Edo and Osaka had been open for a considerable time, they were greatly accelerated after Zuiken had completed his journey from the North Eastern provinces. Zuiken was also responsible for developing a system of transport for official rice and enforced strict regulations concerning the conditions of ships' hulls, the conduct of captains and crew, the amount of cargo which might be carried and methods of dealing with wrecks and casualties. These regulations naturally facilitated the development of commercial transport and were applied to the carriage of official rice, which was transported by private ships, temporarily chartered under a system of tender. The captains and crews thus found their employment irregular, as we can see from the regulations concerning the loading of ships carrying rice and the documents dealing with its transport. At that time the best crews could be obtained at Ise, Owari, Kii, Shi-aku, of Sanuki Province, Denbo in Osaka and Hibiura in Bizen. Every ship carrying Bakufu rice flew a flag $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide with a round red disk in the centre near which was written the ship's name. This, the official sign of the Bakufu, later became the national flag of Japan.

Wigmore : *op. cit.* Introduction p. 106.

The number of freight boats, large and small, in and about Yedo was about 1500 in the middle of the 18th. century: the total number entering the port from without, 21,000.

Editor : Mr. Shizuo Tanaka in his "Historical Study of Primitive Forms of Insurance," (1932) states that the direct sea route between Edo and Osaka was opened in 1619, when ships of

250 koku capacity were used to carry cotton textiles, oil, raw cotton, saké, vinegar, soy and other daily necessities, and this was the origin of the Higaki shipping line. The ships took their name in 1624 from the fact that the bamboo-work inside their hulls was made in a diamond (hishi) shaped structure (gaki).

In the Kwammon period (1661-72) some vessels were chartered at Suruga, loaded at Osaka with saké, vinegar, soy, lacquer goods, paper, cotton textiles, hardware, matting and other commodities and sent to Edo. These were the origin of the Taru (cask) Kwaisen (shipping line). The Higaki and the Taru Kwaisen were the chief two lines, but there were in addition a large number of local coasting vessels.

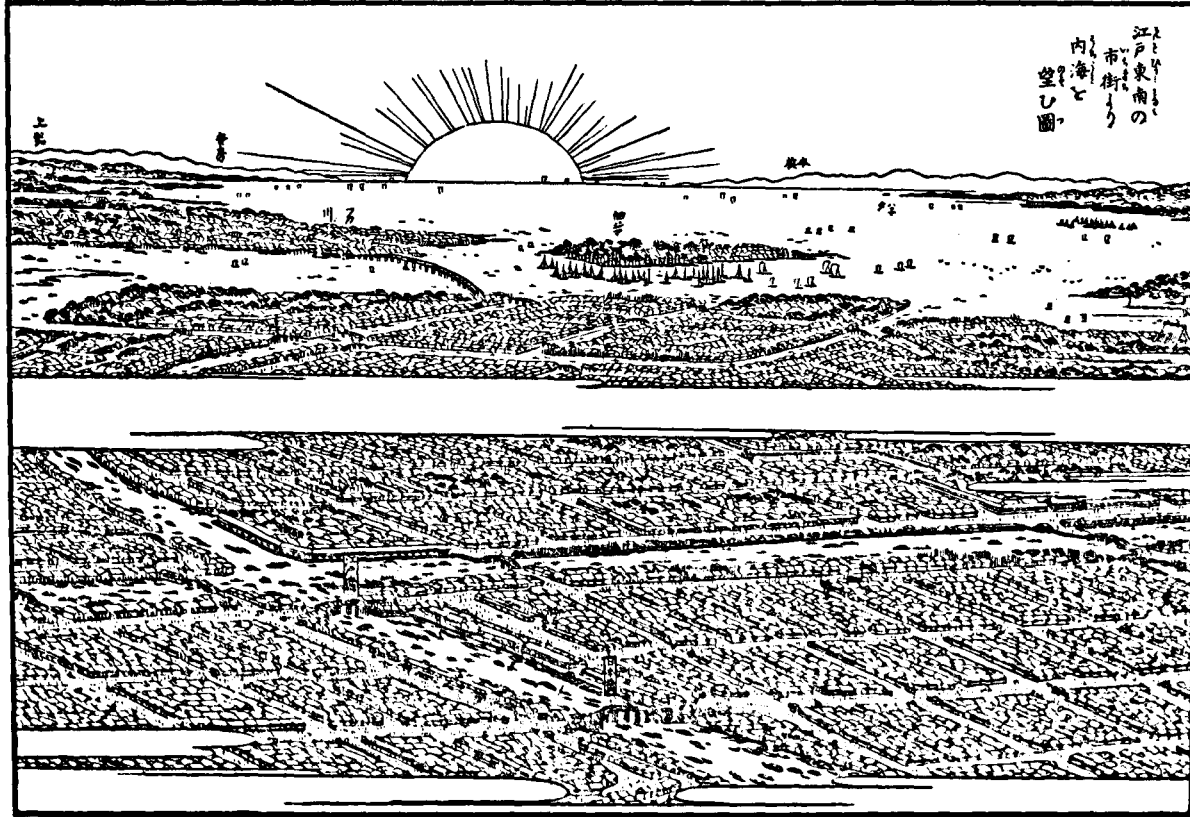
Rice Transport by Sea.

H. Wigmore : Introduction, pp. 160-1.

There were three principal rice-producing districts from which that staple was exported to other parts of the country,—the province of Hyuga in Kyushu, the north-western provinces of Echizen, Echigo, Kaga and Noto, and the north-eastern provinces of Oshu and Dewa (the old names for a number of provinces since carved out of these). From the first two, the export was all to Osaka ; and from the last, to Yedo. The port of the first district was Kumamoto, and the journey to Osaka (going around north of Kyushu and stopping at Shimonoseki) in favourable weather took about 20 days, a distance of less than 400 miles.¹ Niigata was the main port of the second district, and the voyage to Osaka was some 800 miles in length. The custom was to start from Niigata in the late spring, and, sailing around by the south, to reach Osaka in the summer or autumn, the time taken being from 3 to 6 months. Then the vessels lay up in Osaka during the winter and returned in the early spring, a full year being allowed for the entire trip. Both the Kumamoto and the Niigata vessels called at Shimonoseki on the way, and continued or not to Osaka according to whether the latest rice quotations were favourable

1. These figures are based on the reports of H. B. M.'s Consuls on internal transportation, in the Blue Book for Japan, 1878, No. 2.

or not. The port of the third district was Sendai, and the rice from this quarter went to Tokyo. The difficulty and expensiveness of this route of 200 miles may be seen from the difference of rice prices in Sendai and Tokyo in the seventies of this century (19th): rice was selling at 5 yen per koku in Tokyo and at only $3\frac{1}{2}$ yen in the Sendai region.



Edo. Eastern and business section. Nihonbashi and Ginza in foreground. (Edo).

CHAPTER IV

TRADE. (I) THE KABU NAKAMA OR FEDERATIONS OF GUILDS, SHIGETOMO KODA. “EDO AND OSAKA.”

General.

a. Trade Between Osaka and Edo.

Goods to be sent from Osaka to Edo usually reached Osaka from the Kinai districts (round Osaka), Chugoku (between Osaka and Shimonoseki), Shikoku, Saikoku (Kyushu) or Hokkoku (North Coast). In the oil trade, supplies were not only bought by the wholesalers, but, in addition, raw materials were sent to the Osaka pressing firms who carried out the manufacturing processes. It would be interesting to know the quantity of goods which entered and left the city. Some figures do exist for 1714, for the period from 1723-31 and for 1736, but they are rather inadequate. According to the first set of figures, the goods reaching Osaka were of 119 kinds and were valued at 286,000 kwan. Items valued at more than 10,000 kwan were rice, rape-seeds, dried sardines, white cotton cloth, paper and iron. Goods sent out from Osaka were of 91 kinds valued at 95,000 kwan, but the only item of more than 10,000 kwan was rape-seed oil. As, however, the origin of these figures is unknown, and the document in which they are contained is not in good condition, we cannot put very much trust in them. . . .

Although the quantities and values of the goods sent to Osaka are not clear, it is certain that they were normally received by the merchants of that city, which was the centre of quotations for all kinds of goods and which supplied the needs of Edo and other parts of the country. For this reason it came to be known as the “Kitchen of Japan” and, both for staple goods and relatively unimportant articles, business dealings were very extensive. The

merchants would make loans to their suppliers who would settle their debts by shipping goods, and their business thus consisted in alternately lending and buying. The merchants in the outside districts would buy goods with the money they obtained on credit from their Osaka customers, as well as from those which they had sold in their own area. This enabled them to ship to Osaka not only in response to orders, but also on consignment, with the result that the abundance of articles for sale brought down prices and the city became very prosperous. Abe, Lord of Totomi, the Osaka Magistrate stated in a proclamation of about the middle of the 19th century, that although the status of the Osaka merchants was low, they were providing a basis for the circulation of money and goods in many provinces, a task which could not be carried out by men from the districts outside Osaka, and that therefore the benefits they gave to society must be acknowledged. This was great praise from a samurai to merchants. . . .

During Temmei (1781-9) an organization was established in Osaka which was known as the Federation of 24 Associations of Merchants exporting to Edo. The names of some of these Associations show the nature of the goods they handled, all of which, of course, were those required in Edo. After the dissolution of the Trade Associations in Tempo (1830-44), there were among the ex-members of the Federation, 9 associations who had until then dealt in cotton-wool, oil, paper, cotton goods, drugs, sugar, iron, wax and dried bonito. These groups are the same which, as we shall see,¹ built the new ships for the Higaki line. If we compare these goods with those mentioned between 1723-31, we find raw cotton oil and cotton goods occurring previously, but that the others (paper, drugs, sugar, iron, wax and dried bonito) are new. Saké was of course a basic article of the trade with Edo, but it was not included in the above as it was sent separately by the Taru line of ships.

b. The Indebtedness of Edo to Osaka.

In 1842, shortly before the 9 associations were formed, a

1. See p. 107 *et seq.*

lengthy report (entitled "A Request for the Regulation of Various Types of Goods")¹ was written by Abe, Totomi no Kami, advocating the removal of the evils attending the trade of Osaka with Edo. He declared that Edo merchants were constantly in debt to Osaka and that of the 24 associations belonging to the Federation, all except 10 were creditors of those merchants. This state of affairs had developed in various ways, during Bunka, Bunsei and Tempo (1803-44) and in 1842 the large amount of 164,000 ryo was outstanding, which naturally hindered trade. The Federation included all the exporters of Osaka, Hyogo and Nishinomiya who sent goods to Edo, except the saké merchants. Some of the members sent goods in fulfilment of the orders of the Edo merchants and others exported them on their own responsibility. The former received payment at a pre-arranged price, though occasionally they were paid at the current price of the day in Osaka. The amount of the commission naturally varied according to the types of goods, but, usually it was not large and sometimes there was none at all. Under the second type of shipment, sent on the responsibility of the Osaka merchants, payment was received according to the prices at which the goods were sold in Edo; the consignors, however, had to pay cash for them before shipment. When the Edo merchants delayed in their payments the situation did not become difficult, provided the amounts were small, as the business connections between the two cities had existed over a long period. From Bunka, (1804-18) however, these outstanding sums began to grow and at last, as a number of Osaka merchants ran short of ready cash, they had to stop the consignments. Further, all traders who were still managing to carry on their business felt the risk of delays in payments and refused to send the amounts ordered by the Edo merchants. Thus orders and goods sent on consignment were both affected, the shipments to Osaka gradually decreased, there was a shortage of goods in Edo and a rise in prices. Abe added that at this stage, the Trade Associations were dissolved and trade could be carried on without interference from these bodies. He con-

1. Quoted in Vol. 5, of the author's History of Osaka City.



Osaka rice dealing. (Rice).

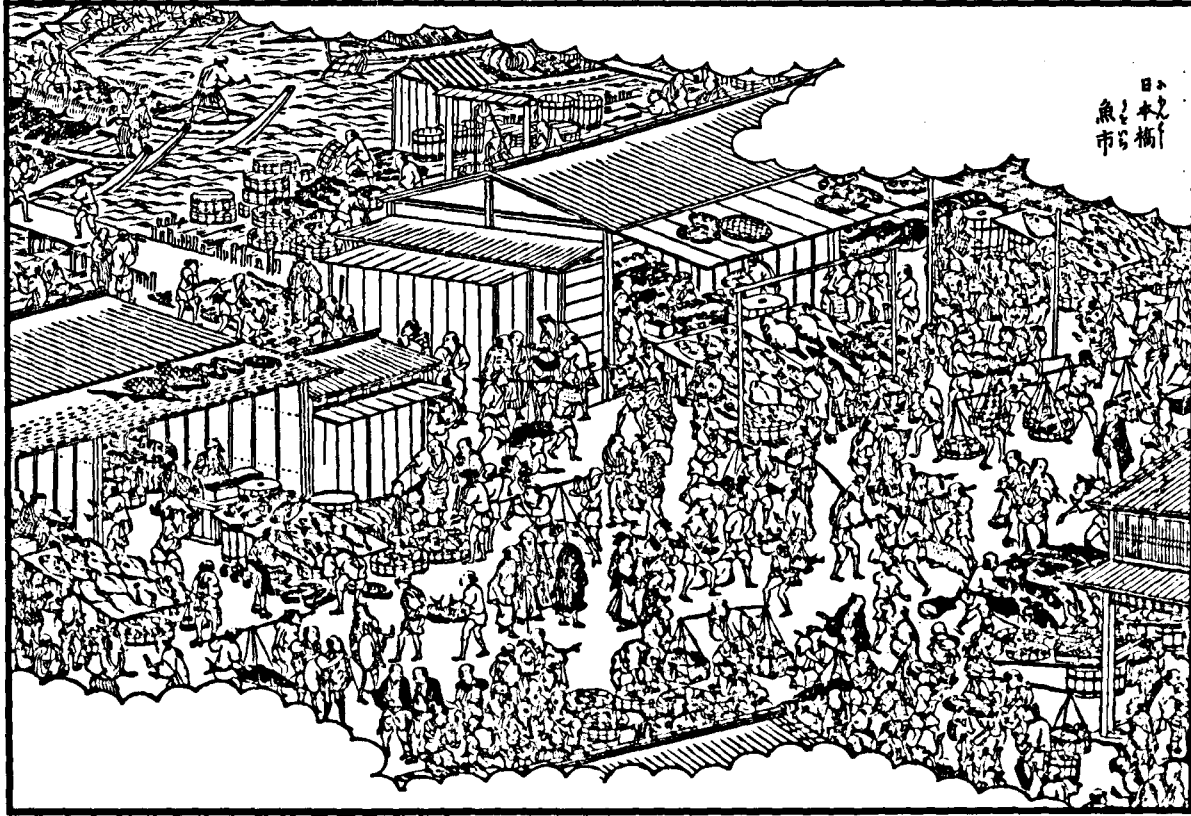
sidered that the policy of abolition would be a good one if it speeded up business, but as there were big accounts outstanding, and the Osaka traders, in view of their experience, felt nervous about carrying on the trade, he thought that the Government Regulations would become ineffective before their aims could be achieved. It was essential for Edo traders to give their suppliers in Osaka firm confidence that their accounts would be settled without delay, and that the Edo Magistrate should help to ensure that their expectation would be fulfilled. If, in spite of this, the delays continued, Abe would support the merchants in their appeal to the Edo Magistrate. Quick payment was necessary "to create confidence, increase shipments, make goods abundant and bring about reasonable prices for all commodities."

c. Methods of Organisation and Sale.

The course of goods from producer to consumer differed according to the type of trade, but generally they passed through the hands of wholesalers (*tonya*—inquiry house) and *nakagai*.¹ The *tonya* sometimes sold the goods, on behalf of the owners, to the *nakagai*, in return for a commission or they bought them directly from the owners and sold to the *nakagai* on their own account. Similarly, the *nakagai* might buy from the *tonya* on their own account and sell them to merchants and retailers in other provinces. This was the usual procedure. Traders, however, were not always classified into *tonya* and *nakagai*.² One definition says that the business of *tonya* was to purchase goods from owners and *nakagai* and sell them to merchants or retailers of other provinces, while that of *nakagai* was to buy from local producers and sell to *tonya*. Sometimes no distinction was made between *tonya* and *nakagai* and both types were just called merchants and were classified according to the goods in which they

1. Editors Note. This is usually translated "broker." But in the strict sense a broker is a man who brings buyers and sellers together, and does not buy and sell on his own account. The literal translation of "nakagai" is "intermediary buyer."

2. The *Shoji Kwanrei Ruishu* (Collection of Commercial Customs) which is as yet untranslated, seems to contain a considerable amount of detail on these points. See Chapter 5.



Part of the city fish market, Nihon-bashi, Edo; a number of auctions can be seen in progress. (Edo).

dealt. Again, the nakagai were sometimes more influential than the tonya and sometimes both types were on an equal footing. Intermediaries known as "Tonbi" (interloper or bucket-shop) and "Suai" (broker?)¹ also appeared in some trades.

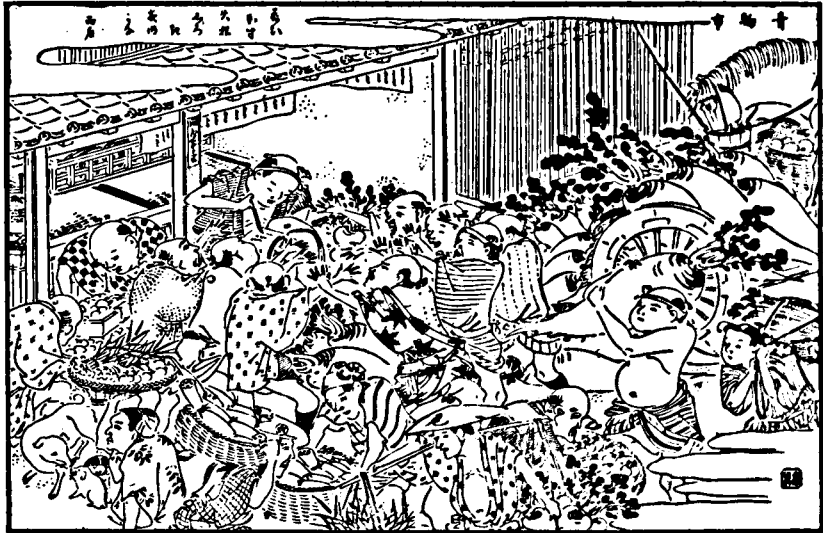
Sales were made by word of mouth, accompanied by a clapping of the hands, and formal contracts were seldom exchanged. Where they were used, the sellers drew them up in a simple form and presented them to the buyers. Should the buyer wilfully raise a dispute with the seller in order to avoid his contract, the seller was able to prove the sale from the records of his sales book. Once a buyer or seller broke a contract, his credit would sink and thus it was rare for oral contracts to be avoided. It was also uncommon for a deposit (bargain money) to be required before a deal was made. Normally, all terms were fixed after the buyer had seen the actual goods or samples. There was one particular kind of contract known as "makase chumon" (lit. entrusting order) or indent, under which a seller who, for example had received an order say, for "100 pieces of Chichibu striped cloth" would send the goods to his customer after checking the quality, price, etc. In sales by sample, difficulties sometimes arose as the result of price fluctuations, but under the "makase chumon," little trouble occurred as the business was done on mutual trust.

d. Forestalling; regrating, etc.

On the whole the Osaka merchants were very sound, but there were some who carried out such doubtful practices as hoarding, cornering, or the buying up of goods en route for Osaka, all of which raised prices. In the latter case, if merchants thought that prices were likely to rise, they would journey across the Inland Sea and buy goods at above the current rates. There were frequent ordinances forbidding such practices, which only go to show, however, that they continued to exist. Also during the "funama" (literally ship-interval) or periods between the arrival of ships, prices were high, but when many vessels arrived in Osaka

1. Editor's Note. Prof. Koda tells me that the etymology of "Suai" is not clear, but perhaps is connected with the idea of "dealing between".

"Tonbi", literally "a black-kite" is ever ready to snatch anything eatable.



Nagoya. Vegetable auction. (Owar).

simultaneously, the merchants would buy their cargoes at such low prices that the cargo-owners and captains were compelled to take their ships to other ports or sell the goods en route, particularly at Akamagaseki (now Shimonoseki). This was a very convenient port of call, where many ships gathered and many merchants went to buy goods which consequently fetched high prices. Similar sales were carried out at numerous other places round the Inland Sea, all of which raised prices in Osaka. When ships entered port, some of the owners or captains might not claim their goods or order their unloading at once, but would allow them to remain in the hold of the ship. This keeping of goods off the market was known as "ne-machi" (waiting for a price). Again, a merchant might use money which had been lent by an Osaka wholesaler for making purchases on the wholesaler's behalf, simply for the purpose of supplying goods to other wholesalers. These were the main reasons for which the shipments to Osaka began to decrease. In addition there were the effects of the "Utsumi-bune" (ships from Owari Province, in which Nagoya is situated). Originally these vessels went to Osaka, Hyogo, Sakai and other ports to buy rice and salt for sale elsewhere. Later, however, they would buy up goods destined for Osaka at the entrance to the Inland Sea, using money lent them by their customers. By Tempo (1830-1844), there were as many as 200 of these ships. It can thus be seen that a considerable part of the shipments to Osaka were bought en route.

Towards the end of the Tokugawa period, the daimyo, in the hope of making a profit, would increase the amount of "kura-mono" (goods held in the daimyo's warehouses) and this led to a rise in prices although there was no physical shortage of goods. Until then, "naya mono" (goods stored by the people) had been sent to Osaka by farmers and the common people, but now the lords would buy these up and send them to the Osaka warehouses. Should the farmers and common people still wish to send their goods direct to Osaka for sale they would find themselves obstructed, as they would be competing with the goods stored in the official warehouses. The more unscrupulous fief governments would buy products from outside provinces and

declare them to have been produced in their own territory. Also some, who had issued silver notes, would buy goods from their people with these and later would redeem the notes for cash at a discount, for they usually circulated below their nominal value. . .

By the beginning of the 19th century, owing to the decrease in goods coming into Osaka, prices rose greatly, and this, as we have seen, was not only due to the activities of the Osaka merchants. The effects spread at the same time to Edo. The problem was how to make supplies more abundant and lower prices. Mizuno, Echizen no kami, who was the Chief Councillor of State at that time, carefully considered the matter and finally decided to abolish all the Federations, starting with the Higaki.

It was perfectly easy for the Federations to interfere with prices and the theory was prevalent at that time that they were the cause of the trouble. Already, in 1729, Shundai Dazai, in his *Keizai-Roku* (Vol. 5) had referred to such evil actions of wholesale merchants. "In spite of the fact that the world is so large, combinations of merchants can raise or lower prices as easily as messages can be carried." Later towards the end of the 18th century, Chikuzan Nakai of Osaka in presenting his ideas to Rakuo Matsudaira¹ in his "Sobo kigen," in the 3rd. volume declared that "during the last 20 or 30 years, gifts ("thank-offerings" to the authorities) from the Federations have become very frequent and those who have to provide these have been forced to raise prices. Also they have formed combinations to gain monopoly profits at the expense of others." These two opinions only took into account the disadvantages of the Federations, but a dialogue between Toko Fujita and Yabe, Suruga-no-Kami, the Edo Magistrate, in "The Toko Miscellany" (*Toko Zuihitsu*) throws some further light on the subject. Yabe considered that the Federation of 10 associations which had been established since the time of Iyeyasu² was not fundamentally evil, but it was hated

1. Editor's Note. Chief Councillor of State and Adviser to the Shogun 1787-93. Sobo-kigen means literally "High words of the low". In the English table of contents to the *Nihon Keizai Sosho*, it is rendered "Bold words of a Burgher." This illustrates some of the problems of translation.

2. Prof. Koda remarks, "This was a mistake on the part of Yabe." The Federation had been founded considerably later. See page 95.

by the people owing to the abuses of Government officials. Until then, goods had been carried from Osaka to Edo in ships of both the Higaki and Taru lines, but on the recommendation of the Kishu daimyo, the Taru line was abolished. This was due to the fact that he was short of funds and was induced to make this unfair proposal by a dishonest merchant, Mojuro Sugimoto, at a time when a repayment to the Bakufu of a loan to Kishu was falling due.

The Development of the Kabu Nakama.

a. Reasons for their Establishment.

The main general reasons for the formation of the Federations (kabu nakama) were as follows :

1. To establish an association of persons engaged in the same occupation, to protect their common interests.
2. Orders from the Government to form an association which would make control of various occupations more convenient.

When a Federation was officially recognised, it received a license and usually had a monopolistic right to limit the number of shares issued, arrange for the payment of "thank offerings" to the Government, and submit a list of members with their seal-stamps, as well as to draw up an agreement regulating its internal administration. Some of the Federations were allowed to function only for a limited time, or their activities were restricted to a particular district, though these limits might be extended on application to the authorities. Their monopolistic privileges were such, that in any particular occupation, business with non-members was absolutely forbidden, and should infringements be discovered, the Federation could immediately appeal to the authorities for its suppression. In the appeals appear such sentences as, "We are being hindered by the actions of non-members", and as the requests would without doubt be supported by the Government, the plaintiffs would win their case. Misuse of such monopoly rights, however, led to a raising of prices and a selfish

organisation of the business of distribution, so that the people complained against their activities.

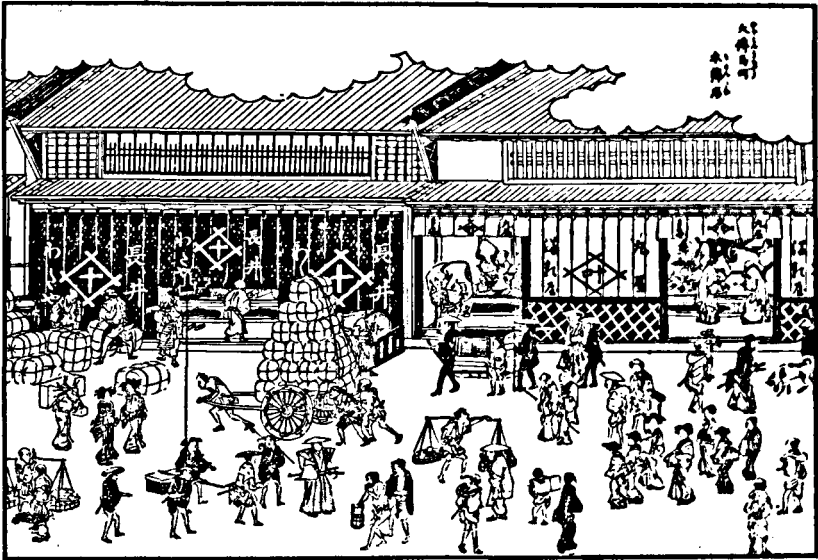
b. Demarcation Disputes.

In the above examples, the Federation sued individuals, but there were cases in which one Federation sued another. For example, in the Osaka fish market, the fresh fish merchants brought an action against the dried and salted fish dealers at Utsubo, and the case lasted several years. The line of demarcation between fresh and salted fish was clearly fixed, but the dispute arose over intermediate commodities, the half-dried fish. . . . The magistrates made no attempt to settle such disputes quickly but waited and hoped that a mutual compromise would be reached.

c. "Thank-Offerings" and other contributions to the Government.

In order to obtain the good-will of the Government, a Federation had to present "thank-offerings" (myoga-kin—good fortune gold) to the authorities. When discussion arose as to the amount which should be paid, the members of the Federation naturally wanted the sum to be as small as possible, while the authorities tried to obtain the maximum they could; so that agreement would only be reached after repeated consultations between the parties. Usually the amount of the offering fixed was greater in the first year than in later years.

Instead of myoga-kin, some Federations had to supply goods and labour free of charge. For example, the Nihonbashi fresh fish market provided fish for the Bakufu as required, in return for money, but at rates very much lower than the prices of the day. The difference had to be borne by the merchants. Again the Edo hairdressers had to attend the prison of the machi-bugyo (city magistrate) in cases of emergency and the Osaka hairdressers were compelled to take turns in guarding the prisons of their city, while the "tsuchi—bune" (earth boats) association of Edo had charge of the cleaning of the moat surrounding the



Wholesale trade in textile materials, Edo. (Edo).

Shogun's palace. There were, nevertheless, some specially favoured Federations, exempted from both "thank-offerings" and labour services, among whom were the rice nakagai at Dojima and the exchange-houses, presumably because their business was of widespread national importance.

d. The Share System.

The Federations had to give the authorities a list of members, with their seals, and report on the number of shares issued, the amount of "thank-offerings" paid, the nature of their business and the terms of membership. This register had to be revised when any changes were made.

The limitation in the number of shares meant the restriction of membership, for in order to become a member it was necessary to obtain a vacant share. The higher the rate of profits which members earned, the higher was the price which a new entrant would have to pay. In the Federation of the 10 Associations, . . . this meant 2, 3 or even 4 thousand ryo. Among the wax merchants or the cotton dealers of Odenma-cho, 1000 ryo was needed. The Federation of Fudasashi¹ demanded 1000 ryo, while anything from fifty to several hundred ryo were necessary even for hairdressers. Generally, the number of shares in a Federation were limited, but some of those in Osaka, such as the Federations of pawn-shops, second hand clothes dealers, and old metal and furniture dealers were exceptional. For these businesses it was only necessary to pay a certain entrance fee and naturally there was no price quoted for shares. In the other Federations, the shares had definite values, and loans would be made on the security of the share-certificates. Next to loans on houses or buildings, these were the most important as a basis for pledges and helped the circulation of money in the city. During Meiwa (1764-72), an office was established in Osaka for the certification of pledges of houses, and in the early days it was anticipated that it would add to its revenue by certifying pledges of shares as well.

As we have seen, the Federations were collections of individuals

1. See Ch. 5, p. 119.



Second-hand metal goods shop, Edo. (Edo).

carrying on a particular kind of business. Sometimes the members were fewer than 10, but at others they exceeded 1000 and these would draw up an agreement which varied according to their needs, and appoint two managers, one for a period of a year and another for a month only. If the number of members was very great, various methods of grouping would be employed.

The most significant rule in the Federation agreement was that concerning the sale of shares. Most commonly, shares were made over by a father to his son or by a member to his brother. After this, came the custom of giving shares to relatives, clerks or servants, but of course, if the number of shares was limited the receiver had to wait for a vacancy. All new entrants had to pay an entrance fee, but naturally the cost of transferring membership from father to son would be made cheaper than that for other entrants. Other fees collected from members were, Introduction Fees (kao mise gin—face-showing silver), and Drink Charges (taru-dai—barrel price) and sometimes entertainments were given on the entry of a new member, but these customs varied in different associations. The technical terms used in connection with the shares were numerous. Yasumi kabu (rest shares or shares not being used), aki kabu (vacant shares or those for which there was no existing holder), mashi kabu (increased shares or new shares which had to be created). Agari or toriage kabu (taken away shares) were those forfeited by the authorities as a punishment for some misconduct. Tsuru kabu (pending shares) were shares in danger of being forfeited but for which the association was appealing to the authorities for permission to allow them to be retained, and which meanwhile could be bought and sold.

e. The Earliest Kabu Nakama and their Growth.

The oldest of the Federations in Osaka was that of the pawnshops, which was founded in 1642. Next came the two Federations of second-hand clothes dealers and old metal and furniture stores, established in 1645. Among the goods handled by these three classes of business, many stolen articles might be included and as it would be helpful to the police in their search for thieves to be able to trace stolen goods through these firms, a license was

given to them very early. After Genroku (1688-1704) numerous new streets were opened in Osaka and to encourage their development, Federations were formed among refreshment-houses (tea-houses), restaurants, bath houses, hairdressers, theatres and hotels. These were, however, not the same as the Federations of merchants, which were first permitted mainly between 1764-89, under the rule of the famous minister, Tanuma. According to investigations, there were in Osaka by 1804, 100 or more associations of share holders in which the Federation of the 24 associations were counted as one, so that if we treat these as 24, the total number of associations in Osaka would have been just over 120.

In Edo also, there were, in the early days, Federations of pawn shops and second-hand clothes dealers. As it was forbidden to buy old metal in the streets or on the bridges, it seems that there must already have been some such buyers. Representatives were appointed in 1692, for pawn shops, and in 1701, for second-hand clothing stores, who had to obtain licenses for the members of their trades. From one point of view this may be looked upon as the first establishment of Federations in Edo, but it is possible that the giving of licenses to certain dealers and the restriction of the business to such firms began as far back as 1659, when licenses were issued to peddlars and hairdressers in return for a fee. . . . During Kyoho (1716-36), and Kwansei (1789-1801), Edo merchants and artisans were ordered to form Federations and by the end of the century 63 were already organised. In Bunka (1803-18) the Federation of 10 associations was divided into 63 kumi (smaller associations). Thus the total number of Federations in Edo was between 120 and 130 or about equal to those of Osaka.

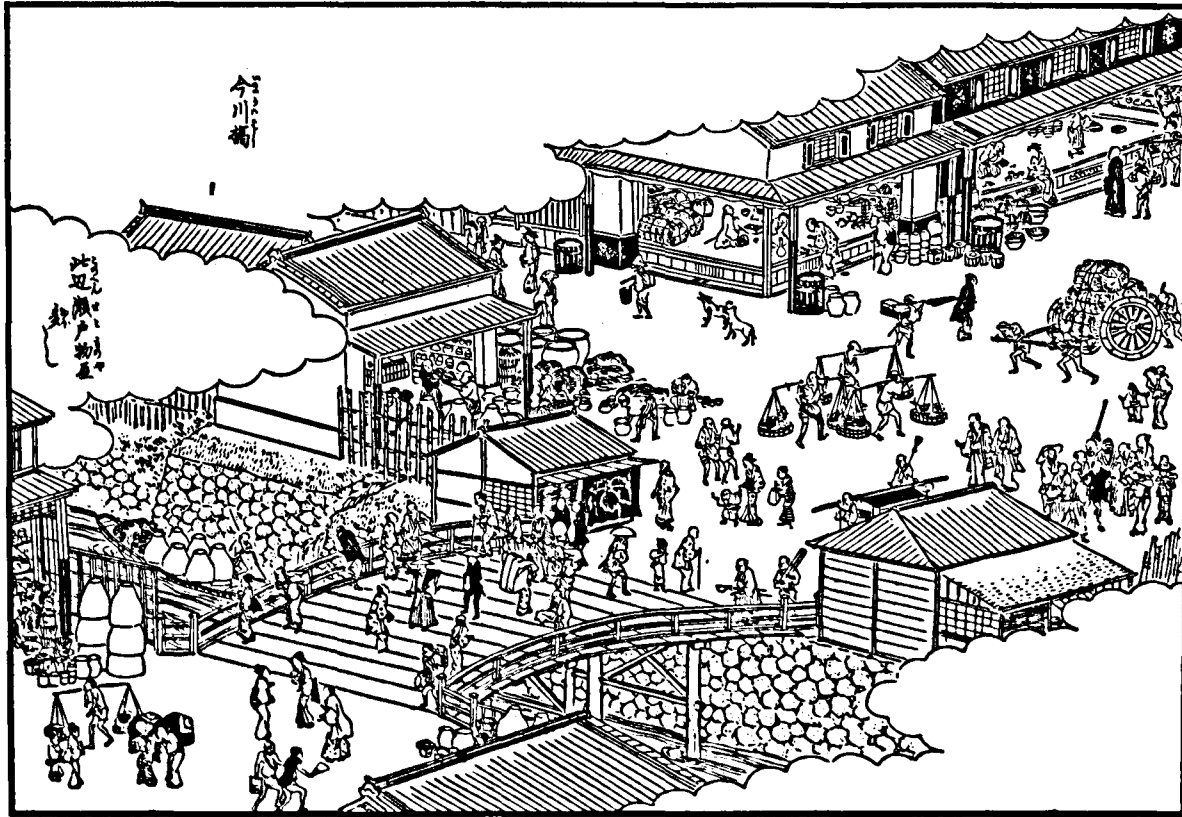
The Abolition of the Kabu Nakama and its Results.

a. The Abolition Decree.

In 1843, the Bakufu issued ordinances to the effect that although the Higaki line had been in the habit of giving 10,200 ryo per annum to the authorities, abuses had been discovered and this money should not be offered in the future. Their licenses

therefore became void. Further, they might no longer style themselves as *tonya*, *kumiai* or *nakama*, and all persons, even non-traders, were free to deal in any of the goods which had previously been carried by this line. In this way, freedom of trade was introduced in the products of the fiefs and in Edo goods.

Three months later the Bakufu issued another ordinance worded as follows: "Some groups of traders mistook the meaning of the last proclamation and seeing that wholesale dealing was open to anyone, retained the title *tonya*, neglected to dissolve their *kumiai* and have prevented their fellow traders selling at lower prices than themselves, to other traders in need of goods. From now on, the terms *kumiai*, *nakama* or *tonya* may not be used, and merchants must style themselves, simply "oil merchants" (*aburaya*), "charcoal merchants" (*sumiya*), etc. In addition, sellers must not restrict their dealings to *nakagai*, but must be willing to undertake retail trade. Should there be a scarcity of goods, they must sell retail without restraint even though such action may hinder their wholesale trade. Also combinations of *nakagai* are forbidden to raise retail prices. It appears that certain persons misunderstood the last proclamation and supposed that it only applied to the Federation of 10 associations (*Higaki* merchants), but, for the future, licenses will not be given to any *tonya* or *nakama*. To compensate for the loss of this advantage the duty of providing free goods or labour will be cancelled. Even though there may be a growth of competition among merchants this should not cause trouble. Such freedom in buying and selling, however, does not permit the sending of money in advance to other provinces for the storage of goods there, nor any interference with the transport of goods to the city, as this means profiteering (*shime-uri*—to hold the selling) and is bad conduct. As bath houses and hairdressers have no direct effects on the price of goods they have not been subject to these regulations, but it has been learnt recently that they are complaining against those members of their trade who are lowering prices. Therefore, no further licenses will be granted to them and they also may no longer use the titles of *kumiai* or *nakama*." These two proclamations dissolved all the *kabu nakama*. In the



Wholesale and Retail Trade, Edo. Earthenware dealers, Imagawabashi. (Edo).

first, it was stated that "the Ten Associations had acted unfairly and that as a result they and all the other nakama must be dissolved," so that it seems that it was the action of the ten which settled the fate of the others. However, another proclamation, in making arrangements for the appointment of 41 supervisors of commodities from among the Edo nanushi (head-men), stated that "the prohibition against the tonya, kumiai and nakama was intended to bring down the prices of goods and help the lower classes, so the commissioners must try and instruct the masses under their charge to understand the purpose of the proclamation. The lowering of prices is mentioned, but sometimes, it will not be convenient to fix definite prices for certain types of goods and the commissioners must after due consideration, devise satisfactory means of control." We can presume from this that the dissolution of the kabu nakama was ordered with the aim of lowering prices and not simply owing to the misbehaviour of the Ten Associations.

b. The Effects of Compulsory Price Reductions.

The commissioners appointed under the proclamation strove to bring about the desired results and gradually they met with success, but for some goods a number of quite unintentional results were realised. For example, sales were made at lower prices, but in addition quality was lowered and short weight or measure was given; so that two months later a price-reducing order was issued in Edo as follows (and a similar one with some additions in Osaka), "You are enabled to reside in this castle-town and carry on business with security, owing to the favour of our lord, and your actions should be just. Should you aim at excessive profits or otherwise misbehave, an official will be despatched to your office with a strict order to buy up your goods. Discussions must be held with the places of production concerning ways which may be devised for lowering prices, and if you fail to achieve this aim, an account of your discussion, in writing, must be produced to the authorities. If necessary, suit may be made to the Magistrate and we will prosecute the offending party."

This proclamation did not mention the degree to which prices

were to be lowered, but in the next month, the authorities in Osaka ordered an all-round reduction of 20% on all goods, regardless of their nature and also on wages, rents, fees for artisans and day workers, etc. They added that 20% was only the minimum figure, and that attempts should be made to lower them still further if possible. "The lower the prices, the more will the aim of the authorities be achieved. A public notice must be posted in front of all business premises showing the wholesale and retail prices charged."

It does not seem that such a 20% reduction was planned in Edo, but the commissioners in charge were ordered to report to the authorities the results of their investigations into the lowering of prices. However, do what they could, the value of copper coins remained very low at this period. In the middle of the year, 6½ kwan would only exchange for 1 ryo gold,¹ and the town authorities could not be blamed if prices were high with the value of the smaller coins at this level. In those price lists (Bukka Kakiage) which were first issued in the 8th month, the manuscripts of which still exist, were mentioned the official prices of such daily necessities as thread, tea, paper, sake, vinegar, soy, bean paste, sugar, candles, firewood, charcoal, etc., which are quite usual commodities but there were even included quotations for such unimportant and even trivial items as boiled fish, steamed minced fish, boiled beans, bean curd, and incense stick. It seems that the Tempo reforms failed owing to the detailed and troublesome tasks which they had to undertake. There are still several lists in existence for the remainder of the year and the following year. From the 8th month, it seems that all changes in price had to be reported, while price tickets had to show both cost and selling prices in figures and no code-letters were allowed. Such restrictions certainly cannot be called freedom of trade. . . .

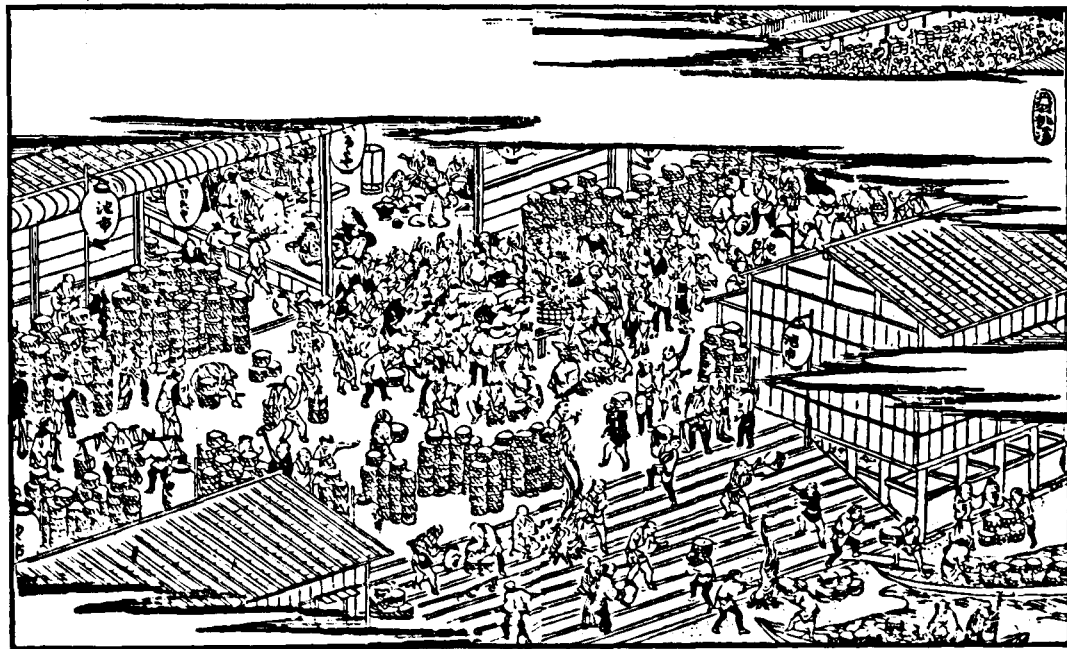
As the aim of the dissolution was to enable business to be done more freely, make goods more abundant and lower prices, the daimyo were also subject to regulation as well as the chonin, and were forbidden to buy up the products of their fief or those of

1. Editor's Note. The official rate was 4 kwan to 1 ryo.

other fiefs in order to hoard them with a view to re-sale at a higher price. Nor might they unjustifiably interfere with other men's transactions or demand "myogakin." The authorities threatened to take action, if the daimyo did not reform their habits. Also ship-captains were forbidden to undertake "nemachi." While it was quite reasonable to forbid the unfair actions of lords and sea-captains, seeing that those of chonin had already been prohibited, it was very doubtful whether the Bakufu had sufficient power to stop such evils.

Thus it cannot be said that the living of the people could become more secure simply through lower prices for daily necessities. The Bakufu, however, wanted, in addition, to reduce land and house rents, wages of artisans and the interest of money-lenders, and pawn shops. Kwansei (1789-1800) was taken as a standard, and in any street (or ward) where there were no documents available for that period, the standards of a neighbouring street in a similar situation had to be followed. A regulation of 1842 stated that "although circumstances in the wards are constantly changing and ground and house rents change with these, in recent times rents have gradually been rising in all wards. Lately this movement has been unreasonably accelerated, and is likely to affect gravely the life of the lower classes and the prices of goods. We previously ordered that the ward expenses should be lowered, and accordingly, we now order that ground and house rents should be reduced with them. This may seriously affect the incomes of landowners but it will not make life hard for them and will greatly help the tenants." No direct reason was given for this attempted lowering of rents apart from the decrease of the city expenses.

Copies of the Kwansei regulations were sent to every ward and if it were found by the officials that the order to decrease the expenses could not be obeyed, they were ordered to put their case before the Magistrate who would help them in the matter. But of course the expenses were the responsibility of house-owners and even if they were lowered, it is difficult to imagine the effect upon rents, which did not depend simply upon these expenses. Such an impossible task was well compared to "dropping a drug



The vegetable market, Odemma-cho, Osaka. (Settsu).

into the eye from upstairs." The ordinance stated, "As rents are lowered, the prices of goods, wages, and labour charges must follow suit," but it is not to be supposed that this actually took place. According to the "price-lists," hand carters wages were reduced by 5%, but this was probably reported under stress and did not actually come about. As for loans, an oppressive ordinance was issued in the ninth month decreasing interest from 15% to 12% and three months later, pawn-shop interest was regulated as follows:—"In the third month of this year, pawn-shops proposed to keep their rates 25% below those of the Genroku regulations, but as the ordinary rate of interest is now 12% this rate must be lowered." It was ruled that for Zeni pawning (zeni—sen—copper coin, hence pawning of low value articles) the rates should be half, and other rates about half, those of Genroku. In dismay, the pawn brokers closed their shops, and as it was the end of the year¹ their customers were at a loss to know what to do. Rowdy scenes occurred in various parts so that twice during the next year, the rules were changed and they were allowed to follow the Genroku regulations, which meant loss of face for the Bakufu. Thus the reductions in rents, wages and interest were not highly successful, though it must be admitted that they were not a complete failure. Meanwhile the dissolution of the kabu nakama had similar results.

c. The Results of the Reforms.

In the first place, there was trouble in the transport of goods between Osaka and Edo, for when shipwreck occurred, the responsibility for damage was not clear and the settlement of average became very difficult. In the 3rd month of 1841, the officials in charge of prices and of city regulations sent a note to the authorities that Osaka merchants were hesitating to forward goods, and Edo merchants to give orders, which conditions, if continued, would bring about a very serious state of affairs. Accordingly, it was necessary to make regulations concerning shipwrecks for

1. Editor's Note. All debts in Japan are supposed to be settled before the New Year.

every port between Osaka, Hyogo and Shinagawa. In the sixth month, the Government issued, in reply, an order that damage from shipwreck should be shared equally by all parties, but the meaning of their regulations concerning the inspection of wrecks was somewhat ambiguous. Thus one drawback of the dissolution was that it interfered with transport and prevented the abundant supplies of goods necessary to bring about lower prices.

Secondly, although it was proposed to institute complete freedom of trade, there were some kinds of goods which could not be dealt in by outsiders. For example, the Fudasashi¹ and exchange firms required huge capital and credit. No newcomers into the business could compete strongly. For such business, freedom was useless and in those occupations which anyone could enter, the established merchants would lose interest. The natural result was that business was hampered, the distribution of goods became very uneven and prices continued to fluctuate.

Thirdly, the shares of the Federation had now lost their value and could no longer be used as security for loans. If other security, such as the mortgages on houses and land, had to be employed, a high rate was charged, in spite of the fall in incomes from property. If a debtor was forced by the high interest to abandon his security, his creditor, it is true, obtained the property but would have the greatest trouble in dealing with it. Thus the dissolution also led to the dislocation of the money market.

Fourthly, the existence of the associations of pawnshops, second-hand clothing dealers and old metal buyers had helped to preserve the peace through their assistance to the police, but now stolen goods could no longer be discovered so easily and police investigation became impossible.

Finally, the reforms strictly forbade luxuries and placed restrictions on the use of certain kinds of clothing, ornaments and trifles, food-stuffs and furniture and regulated all places of enjoyment such as theatres, shows, houses of prostitution, etc. The conditions of life of the people were already dull enough but when the dissolution came on top of this, popular resentment was aroused.

1. See Chap. 5, p. 119.

d. The Restoration of the Kabu Nakama.

In the 9th month of 1843, Mizuno, Echizen-no-kami, was dismissed, the reform showed signs of weakening, and, although instructions were given that the regulations must continue to be enforced, they became a dead-letter. In 1845, Toyama Sayemon-no-jo, was re-appointed City Magistrate and the re-construction of the kabu nakama was discussed. In his opinion, to which the Bakufu assented, it was desirable to re-establish only those tonya which were absolutely essential for traders and not those whose goods were slightly affected by the restrictions. In 1846, Tsutsui, Kii-no-kami, proposed to re-establish the kumiai, and the City elders and Toyama took this opportunity to talk the matter over with the Finance Magistrates. In 1851, the unions of tonya were set up once more under an ordinance which pointed out that in 1842, kabu licenses, tonya, nakama and kumiai were supposed to have been abolished and with them the obligations to present free goods and services to the Government. However, as this upset commercial customs, it did not bring about lower prices and, contrary to all expectation, hindered the circulation of money. With the re-establishment of the union of tonya, however, no kabu licenses were issued and no myogakin was demanded. "We trust that people will make no attempt to monopolise supplies," stated the proclamation, "nor to supply goods of inferior quality, undersized or underweight. Prices should be as low as possible and business done fairly. Anyone who wishes to enter into an association must be allowed to do so and membership must never be limited unless satisfactory reasons are given. Excessive entrance fees or expensive entertainments at the entry of new members are prohibited. On the publication of this announcement, an investigation into the present conditions of tonya and nakama shall be undertaken and reports made on them by each nanushi to the City elders and City Magistrates' Office."

It might seem that this investigation into the associations of tonya would have been an easy matter, but such was not the case. Ten years had already elapsed since the dissolution, and some of

the former nakama still existed while certain new ones had started business. On the other hand, there were some which had entirely disappeared and the former managers of a number of old tonya were not known.

Further, a number of traders, not only in Edo but in other districts, who had previously not belonged to any nakama, now wished to become members. So, from every province, enquiries flowed in and the nanushi, elders and magistrates found the greatest difficulty in coping with the demands. By the first month of 1852, 110 nakama had decided to register, and certain provisional associations were formed among those which had started after the Tempo reforms and were not certain whether they would be admitted into the old established organisations. As it was not natural for two nakama to exist where formerly there had only been one, in 1857 they were ordered to combine or retire from the field.

In spite of the fact that the limitation of members and presentation of myogakin was prohibited, in Osaka the provisional unions were instructed to combine with the main organisations and those nakama which had presented myogakin to the authorities before the reform, were compelled, in the following year, to offer it once more. The amounts payable were only officially decided in 1861, but they were actually collected from 1858. If the number of members of the nakama had not been fixed, the amount of myogakin could not have been settled, so the numbers may have been decided in the same year. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say what was done in the matter. It may have been that myogakin was also given in Edo, for we know that in 1864 every saké shop there was ordered to pay a tax of 6 silver momme per barrel. There are very few historical materials available for the last ten years of the Bakufu rule, as the end was in sight and much confusion developed. It is essential that investigations should be made to fill this gap. This applies not only to economic history. From every point of view, I would emphasize the need for the study of history of this period, which must be undertaken, however great the difficulties facing the student.

A Brief History of the Shipping Federation.

a. The Edo and Osaka Federations.

Shipments of privately owned goods, between Edo and Osaka were at first arranged by individuals, but even in ordinary times this naturally caused much trouble and dispute, while in the event of shipwreck it led to considerable losses to cargo-owners, captains and crew. In 1694, Osaka-ya, Ihei, of Edo organised all cargo owners into a Federation of 10 associations according to their trade. Each association was put in charge of a manager (gyoji) who was elected from among the members, in rotation. The chief shippers of goods acted as superintendents (gokuin moto) and each voyage they gave certificates to ocean going vessels describing their draught and equipment. Osaka also formed a union of shippers of goods to Edo (Edo-kaitsugi-tonya) which later became the Federation of 24 associations. The list of the members of the Federation of 10 associations illustrates the nature of the goods sent from Osaka to Edo and was as follows: Dealers in (1) Lacquer-ware, (2) Silk textiles, ginned cotton, dry-goods, festival dolls and other goods, (3) Dry goods, textiles, kitchen wares, lacquer and hardware, (4) Drugs and sugar, (dry salters), (5) Nails, copper, and hardware, (6) Cotton-wool, (7) Matting, (8) Oil, (9) Paper and candles, (10) Saké.

b. The Secession of the Saké Shippers.

In 1730, the saké shippers withdrew from the Federation, as competition had arisen between the Osaka firms and those at Denbo who were supported by the brewers at Nishinomiya, Hyogo, Nadame, Itami, and Ikeda. The shipping organisation for saké then came to be known as the Taru Kwaisen (Barrel Line). The monthly records of goods loaded at Osaka for Edo, between 1724 and 1731, mention the following: rice, bean-paste, charcoal, firewood, saké, soy, water-oil, fish oil, salt, raw cotton, and cotton goods. (No actual shipments of bean paste or charcoal were made during this period). In addition, shipments of saké ranged from 170,000 to 260,000 casks per annum and averaged 200,000

casks. As the Taru Line aimed mainly at speed, other goods were, occasionally, sent by it and this led to competition with the other Federation (Higaki Line).

Some forty years later, in 1772, eight of the Taru shippers obtained a license to form an association for shipping saké and miscellaneous goods to Edo, and in the same year six Taru shippers from Nishinomiya, and in the following year nine Higaki shippers from Osaka, also obtained a license. An agreement between the two groups was arranged under which the sharing of the cargoes was determined as follows: The Taru Line was to control the shipping of saké, while that of rice, rice-bran, indigo balls, Nadame vermicelli, vinegar, soy and Awa candles was to be divided between the Taru and Higaki. In 1723 the number of vessels owned by the Higaki was 160 while the Taru had 106.

c. Methods of Handling Shipments :

The captain of a ship was known as Oki-sendo (sea-going commander) and there was also the I-sendo (commander on land). The Oki-sendo, however, had complete responsibility for the cargo, including loading and unloading and sometimes even its sale as well, so that he had to obtain the confidence of cargo-owners.

The collection of shipments was the business of shipping agents (*kaisen-donya*) who sent round shipping notices containing the name of the ship, the captain's name, the date of sailing, etc. The cargo-owners forwarded the goods to agents with an invoice, and the Higaki took them on board within 11 days from the issue of the notice. The ship would leave port the next day. The figures of the goods shipped would be copied on to a document to which the agents would set their seals and which would then be handed to the captain. This was known as a "Te-ita" (lit. hand-board) and was a kind of bill of lading. The captain was then responsible if any article was lost on the voyage. All Edo bound ships called at Shimoda, where the "te-ita" was officially inspected. (In 1720 this office was transferred to Uraga). When the goods reached Edo, the shipping firm handed them over to the consignee in the presence of the captain. Such was the ordinary

procedure in the shipping trade at that time.

A notice was erected in 1667 at every sea-port,¹ which laid down the following stipulations :

1. Help must be given to every ship which is wrecked.
2. Salvagers of wrecks will receive 10% of sunk goods and 5% of floating goods, which they salvage.
3. In the case of jettison, an inspection must be made in the presence of the daikwan,² tedai (clerks) and head of the village and a list must be made of the goods which remain. If a captain conspires with someone in a port to steal the goods under the pretence that they have been jettisoned, he will suffer capital punishment.
4. If a ship stays a long while at the wharf, the reason for its delay must be asked and it must sail as soon as the wind is favourable.
5. Official rice (lit. castle-rice) shall not be despatched on a ship which is short of equipment or crew. Should the ship break up for some cause not due to wind or waves, the ship-owner and the captain will be punished.
6. Goods drifting ashore must be brought to the authorities and possession shall be granted to the finder if the owner is not identified within six months.
7. Speculation is forbidden.

All the above clauses except the fifth, constituted the laws for general business.³

d. The Federation of Twenty Four Associations in Osaka.

In 1784, about ten years after the establishment of the Taru and Higaki lines, the Osaka guilds of shippers to Edo were permitted to form a Federation of 24 Associations. The application stated : "The Osaka merchants who ship goods to Edo, hand them to the nine Higaki members, who load them on their vessels and

1. Editor's Note. A very similar document dated 1711, is reproduced in Simons and Wigmore, T. A. S. J. Vol. XIX 1891, pp. 215-216.

2. Shogun's deputy.

3. Editor's note. Further details of average adjustment and marine insurance will appear in a later volume.

send them to Edo. On arrival, these goods are handed to the firms who have ordered them, in the presence of one of the three Edo shipping agents and the captain. The Osaka merchants receive from the buyers, from 3-15% commission and in addition 8 fun¹ per 10 silver momme of freight, which is known as "ship-commission." This payment includes "money advanced to the captain before departure." However, it was ruled at some previous date which is not known, that freight should be paid at Edo, and there is therefore no reason for charging such commission, which should be stopped. This extra charge amounts to 2700 ryo per annum. (Author's Note. From this we can estimate the value of one year's freight charges as about 34,000 ryo. $2700 \times \frac{100}{8}$). Recently, shipwrecks near Kumano in Kishu, and Toba in Shishu, have become frequent and the associations of shippers to Edo, who in the past have borne the cost of building new vessels, have been forced to refuse further contributions. Consequently, the Higaki ships, which used to number 200, now consist only of 90. This small number encourages overloading and has caused the wrecks to increase. Further, quite apart from wrecks, navigation has been delayed with the result that prices in Edo have fluctuated violently. Therefore, the associations' right of collecting the "ship commission" should be abolished and the money should be left in the hands of the petitioners who in return will give 1000 ryo of the total to the authorities as a "thank offering." The remaining 1700 ryo could be used for building two new ships annually. (Author's Note. This gives us an estimate of the cost of building a Higaki ship). The present number of merchants belonging to the associations which we wish to federate is 500, but as they are unlicensed there are others in addition who receive orders for shipments to Edo. Should the license be granted, such outside associations will not be permitted." This application was transferred back to Osaka and was fully discussed. The shipping agents did not object to it, but the associations of shippers to Edo vigorously opposed it, thinking that the loss of "ship commission" would be a serious

1. 1 fun = 1/10 momme

blow to them. However, as the petitioners were proposing to pay myogakin, the authorities did not think it reasonable to refuse until a thorough examination had been made. Accordingly the magistrate discussed the matter with the merchants, and they proposed a "thank-offering" of 300 pieces of silver during the first year, and 100 pieces in later years, in return for being allowed to do business under the title of "The Federation of 24 Associations of Merchants engaged in sending goods to Edo." The discussions over the myogakin became rather troublesome but it was finally decided that they should give 300 ryo in the first year and 100 ryo per annum from then on, with the prospect of some increase in later years. In 1784, the license was issued.

The members of the 24 Associations (kumi) or the goods they dealt in were as follows :

1. Cotton buying and loading firms.
2. Oil dealers.
3. Iron nail shippers.
4. Cotton textile buyers and shippers.
5. Paper dealers No. 1 kumi.
6. Tatami (floor matting) dealers.
7. Lacquer dealers.
8. Paper dealers No. 2 kumi.
9. Cotton goods.
10. Dealers in various kinds of sea-weed, face powder, incense sticks, wooden clogs, clog-thongs, umbrellas, and paints.
11. Tori-cho associations—dry goods, old clothes, clothes boxes, bamboo-peel, parasols, ivory ornaments, etc.
12. Porcelain.
13. Drug dealers.
14. Coarse matting of new straw.
15. Dried food dealers.
16. Anei No. 1 kumi, (Anei is the name of the period from 1772-81),—Paper.
17. Anei No. 2 kumi,—Hardware, iron, copper, cotton, old clothes, sandal-tops, new coarse matting, charcoal boxes, etc.
18. Anei No. 3 kumi,—Varnishes, wood for oars, grind-stones, etc.
19. Anei No. 4 kumi,—Cutlery, wire, grindstones, etc.
20. Anei No. 5 kumi,—Tobacco, sail-cotton, sea-weed.
21. Anei No. 6 kumi,—Carpenters' squares, fertilisers, dried fish, dried bonito, sea-weed.
22. Anei No. 7 kumi,—Dried bonito, umbrellas, willow baskets, face powders, grind-stones, cotton goods, etc.
23. Anei No. 8 kumi,—Wax.
24. Anei No. 9 kumi,—Cotton goods, ashes, paper, rags, wire, old cotton wool, oar wood, old clothes. Also Anei No. 9 kumi, (supplementary) including the following eight associations :—a. Dried bonito. b. Paper, cotton, cotton-wool. c. Tabi (single-toed socks),

clogs, leather-soled sandals. d. Books. e. Face powder, bamboo-peel, cotton goods. f. Books, fancy goods, hemp cloth, matting., miscellaneous shipments, wax and paper.

Some of the rules of membership of the Federation of Twenty-four Associations, which were placed in the register-book on its formation, were as follows :

Officials shall comprise a President (Torishimari kata), a Managing Director (Dai-gyoji—big manager), a General Manager (Sogyoji) and a Tsuronin (lit. Passage official).

The number of members shall not exceed 347.

Goods ordered shall be bought for shipment at the lowest possible prices.

Invoices must show the cost prices of goods.

Should the Edo cargo owners ask for a marine-guarantee or a deduction of the amount of "ship commission", this shall not be granted.

Goods shall only be loaded on boats of the Higaki line.

In cases of unforeseen calamities, members shall not be responsible for shipments after they have handed them over to the stevedores of the shipping organisations.

Entrance fees shall vary according to whether the candidate for admission is :—

- a. The natural son of a member.
- b. An employee of a member.
- c. A person with no relations in the Federation.

Fees shall be decided by the Officials.

For an enrollment to become valid, it is necessary for the applicant to sign a Membership Agreement and produce 100 ryo.

e. Competition between the Higaki and Taru Lines.

In spite of the licensing of the Higaki and Taru organisations and an agreed division of the main cargoes between them, irregular shipments were not completely prevented. Owing to a shortage of saké cargoes, the Taru lowered their freight rates, and on the other hand, the Higaki did not carry out sufficient repairs and so delays continually occurred. Between 1784 and

1803 marine losses amounted to about 360,000 ryo and according to figures of 1808, the Higaki then possessed only 38 ships, a quarter of those in the Anei period, and these were in a bad condition.

f. The Schemes of Mojuro Sugimoto.

If this state of affairs had continued, the Higaki Line and the Federation of 10 Associations at Edo would have been forced into collapse, but between 1808-10, Mojuro Sugimoto, Osaka-ya, a citizen of Edo, re-organised the Ten Associations with himself at the head. Born in a peasant family, he was the adopted son of a Hikyaku agent (Express forwarding firm), and acquired a thorough knowledge of the Ten Associations during the time he was engaged in the express work. He re-formed the Federation after paying a "thank offering" to the Government and at the same time established the San Kyo (Three Bridges) headquarters to re-build and keep in repair the three bridges over the Sumida river (Eitaibashi, Shin-Ohashi and Okawa-bashi). He was an able man and fortune seemed to favour him.

Mojuro realised that the decrease in shipping would cause a shortage of goods and that the Ten Associations, on account of their scanty capital, were relying on the support of Osaka merchants. Whenever they were unable to obtain this, they became behindhand in their payments, as a result of which the Osaka merchants added to their charges the interest on the sums which they had advanced, which prevented any lowering of prices. He estimated that by repairing existing ships and building new ones, it would be possible to keep in service at least 100 vessels, and on the assumption that these would make the return journey between the two ports four times a year, he calculated that he could collect a commission of 200 momme, silver, per voyage, or a total of 80 kwan silver (1333 gold ryo) per annum. This could be used for outside investment and in addition there would be available, money obtained from rich members of the Federation, and half the amount of the "thank-offering" to be paid to the Govern-

ment.¹ These funds could be lent to merchants with scanty capital at 8% interest, and provide funds with which the work on the bridges could be undertaken. Any surplus could be kept as savings, and when these reached four or five hundred thousand ryo, he would request the merchants of Osaka and elsewhere to lower the prices of their goods, and in return his Federation would for the future, influence the Edo merchants not to become behindhand in their payments for cargoes received. His plan was thus fairly comprehensive.

g. The Decline of the Shipping Lines. (Editor's summary of Prof. Koda's Account)

Mojuro seems to have forced the members of the 10 associations (comprising 65 small guilds) to contribute 10,200 ryo of "thank offerings" to the Government. In return, he was made head of the Federation. He also carried out official town business, for which he received a rice allowance sufficient to support three persons, and became one of the senior men of the town.² In 1813, as a reward for various services rendered to the authorities, the 10 associations received a license and its holdings consisted of nearly 2000 shares belonging to 1271 firms. As planned, half of the "thank-offerings" paid in 1809 were re-lent to Mojuro's organisation, and, in addition, premises for the Federation headquarters were given by the Government in return for the bridge-repairing and re-building enterprise. These two sources, with money lent by merchants, had reached some 70,000 ryo by 1811. However, Mojuro's leadership was not to last long, for much of the money was wasted in providing luxurious banquets for the members and a number of abuses arose, so that in 1819 he was discharged. After this the Federation of Ten Associations was put in charge of three City Elders.

The Higaki Line then once more met with strong competition from the Taru Line and various attempts were made to get the

1. Editor's Note. This, Mojuro planned, was to be borrowed back from the Government.

2. Mojuro also established the first important rice exchange in Edo, in 1813. See page. 125.

two to work together, but many difficulties arose and trade diminished. In 1841, came the Tempo dissolution, with its attendant confusion. In 1851, there was a modified restoration of the kabu nakama, but trade still seems to have been poor, until the coming into use of Western-style steamships, a few years before the Restoration. From then on, the fate of the two lines was sealed, and Japanese-style ships were no longer generally used for long voyages, though, of course, to-day they are still employed in large numbers for fishing and short-distance transport.

CHAPTER V.

TRADE (II). THE RICE TRADE.

a. A General View. Summary of, and extracts from, the works of Professors Wigmore, Koda and Honjo.

Rice was by far the most important trading commodity in Tokugawa Japan, its transport and sale being controlled by both government and private merchants with the help of huge financial and marketing organisations. In fact the ramifications of the trade with its influence upon Government revenue, the income of daimyo, samurai and peasants, the shipping trade and the speculative or purely commercial transactions of merchants were so wide that it is impossible to give an adequate summary in a few pages. The following consists either of further extracts from, or summaries of, Dr. Wigmore's introduction, Prof. Koda's "Edo and Osaka", a short article by Dr. Zensaku Sano and Prof. Sentaro Iura and a contemporary guide to the buying and selling of rice, published in 1748.

The bulk of the rice which found its way to the various markets started originally as tax-rice, that is, rice collected from the peasants under the taxation system. This was prepared for transport to the government warehouses under the supervision of the *dai-kwan*. "The farmers themselves packed the rice, each bale furnished with an inside and outside tag bearing the payer's name and address, and placed them in the village storehouse. When all was collected the farmers transported it again to the central official warehouse, where official inspection was made. From there to the shipping port the risk was the Government's, while the farmers, as a labor service, effected the transportation; but if the distance exceeded 5 *ri* they received payment. This operation of getting the rice from the field to the port furnished fully one-half of the causes for petition and complaints by the people

1. Wigmore. Introduction page 183.

to the daikwan,¹ and was a subject of inexhaustible interest and endless adjustment in the life of the rural community."

The sea-transport of tax rice from the Shogun's domains was arranged for by contractors who would make a tender for handling the supplies from the whole province, at the same time describing the type of vessel which would be employed. "The contractor deposited security money (some 60 ryo for every 10,000), and hired private vessels (which might be owned by a merchant or by the captain), subject to the Government's regulations."²

When the vessel arrived and had taken on the rice, the official in charge of loading would issue a kind of bill of lading describing the cargo and the ship, its destination and the arrangements concerning freight charges, but this document was not sufficient to form a contract of carriage (such as that contained in modern bills of lading) and a government supervisor was despatched with the goods to see them safely to their destination, and bring back a receipt.

The ship would probably go either to Osaka or Edo according to circumstances, taking into account current prices, which might vary between the two centres. At Edo, the rice would be stored in the numerous store-houses at Asakusa and Honjo until the time came for paying it out to the retainers of the Shogunate at one of the three distributions of salaries which took place in the 2nd, 5th, and 10th months of the year. The best rice would be paid out to the higher retainers and the lowest qualities to the labourers on public works and dancers (*sarugaku*) employed by the Government. "Even where the salary was measured in rice, a portion might be paid in money, according to the state of the markets or other considerations."

It is at this stage that, apart from the contractors mentioned previously, private enterprise first enters the distribution system in the person of the "fudasashi" in Edo, and the "kakeya" of Osaka whose origins were as follows:

1. Shogun's deputy.

2. Wigmore. Introduction p. 182.

At Osaka, the selling of rice belonging to a fief was put in charge of a "kuramoto" (lit. first man in the warehouse), but there was also another person known as the "kake-ya" or crediting house¹ appointed to receive the proceeds and forward them to the fief buildings in Edo. In a number of instances the two offices were held by the same man. The leading exchange houses of Osaka took up this work and owing to their financial influence over the daimyo, they were sometimes treated like the karo (daimyo's chief retainers). Zenyemon Konoike, for example, acted as "kakeya" to as many as five fiefs, and as at the same time he was a supplier to two of the Tokugawa families, his rice salary alone amounted to 70,000 koku. In Edo, the equivalent of the kakeya were the "fudasashi" (lit. wooden label offerors). This name originated from the fact that the distribution of rice salaries by the Bakufu took a number of days, and the choice of receivers for any particular day would be decided by the officials, who wrote the names of the retainers of each particular grade on a bamboo ticket, placed these in a basket and shook out a sufficient number for one day. The fudasashi who attended this would pick out his master's name and then receive his warehouse warrant. "The² fudasashi no doubt had their origin in the dislike of the upper samurai of lowering their dignity so far as to go personally and take delivery of their stipend-rice. In the olden days, it is related, the simplicity of habits was such that no one thought it beneath his dignity to go to the storehouse and sit about in the tea-houses waiting for his turn; even the greatest vassal sent some chief retainer. But gradually more luxurious ways came about. Those whose mansions were in distant wards deputed the receiving of the rice to the masters of these tea-houses where they had been accustomed to wait and make out their receipts. Then the well-to-do restaurateurs began to lend money to their patrons on the rice due to them, and finally were trusted

1. Prof. Honjo points out that the word is an abbreviation of Ginkakeya (silver credit house) and refers to the crediting of the silver gained from the sale of the daimyo's rice. Although it originated from this, the business later largely involved supplying the daimyo with credit.

2. Wigmore. Introduction page 192-3.

with the whole business of receiving and selling rice. In some cases the ordinary creditor who had loaned to the vassal was allowed to go and take delivery of the rice and pay himself from the proceeds. In this way the fudasashi houses came into existence, and acted regularly as the go-betweens and as the capitalists of the vassals. Their familiarity with the details of delivery, and their position as creditors, made them masters of the situation, and put the nobles who were always running ahead of their income and always in need of money, entirely in their power."

On the whole, about 400,000 koku of rice were distributed in the three periods of the year, through the fudasashi. Some times a portion of the salaries were receivable in money in accordance with official rates of exchange posted on the harigami (hanging paper), a specimen of which Dr. Wigmore reproduces as follows: "The spring payments shall be made at the rate of one-third rice and two-thirds money. The value of rice shall be reckoned at 40 ryo gold per 100 hyo."¹ Actually, however, the fudasashi would lend money to the retainers on the security of their salary and the settlement of these debts would be made by the fudasashi when he had obtained the salary rice from the Government, by deducting what he considered fit. The fudasashi began in Keian (1648-52), developed through Genroku (1688-1704) and in 1724 they were formed into a kabu nakama consisting of three kumi, totalling 109 members. "By² the custom of the guild no member could accept the business of a samurai who had broken his connection with another member unless the consent of the latter was obtained, and all arrears due him from the samurai were repaid."

"But the fudasashi were only on the outskirts of the rice-trade proper. They seem to have been peculiar to Yedo and a few smaller towns where numbers of samurai were constantly to be found in attendance on their lords. The rice delivered from the Tokugawa storehouses in Yedo was by no means the largest part

1. "It is said that up to Kyoho (1716-36) this official value was greater than the market value of rice; but after that it steadily declined until it even reached 60% of the market value." *Op. cit.* page 190.

2. *Op. cit.* 193.

of the rice that reached Yedo for sale. There were besides, the large stores put upon the market by the great lords for whose dominions Yedo was the natural market, as well as the importations of surplus rice from the people in the interior by the wholesale house." Dr. Wigmore gives as an example, the following figures of the amounts sold in Edo in 1860 ;

<i>Source of Supply.</i>	<i>Amount in thousand bags ;</i>
West of the Hakone Pass	99
Kwanto and the North	1046
Daimyo of Sendai, Nambu and other	
Northern daimyo	532
Government storehouses in Edo	490
	2167

The Government rice was thus at this period less than a quarter of the total, and in Osaka the proportion would have been almost negligible. "The distribution of the rest was effected by the ordinary brokers (*nakagai*) who bought from the wholesale importers and the daimyo and sold to the lesser dealers."¹

These rice dealers were divided into three guilds consisting of the Western rice wholesalers, the Kwanto rice wholesalers and the brokers. "They all originally applied their trade in the Ise ward, near the banks of the river, where the rice-vessels were moored. This quarter is still known as the *koku-cho* (grain wards) or *kome-gashi* (rice-banks). The Western-rice wholesalers were comparatively few,—some half dozen in all. The Kwanto dealers were known as the 'Three Companies of Kwanto-grain Wholesalers'. They numbered 20 or more, and were divided into 3 *kumi*, one for each 3 wards. The brokers known as the 'Rice-brokers of the Eight Wards of the River-banks' were found in 8 wards near the river. They bought from the storehouse-keepers of the daimyo and from the wholesale importers and distributed to the large non-importing houses. Their operations on the rice exchange equalized the prices and determined the market quotations for Yedo rice. After these three

1. Wigmore *op. cit.* page 195-6.

classes, who enjoyed the greatest consideration and were known as *kome-gashi* (men of the rice banks), came two classes intervening between the ordinary retailers and the brokers and large wholesalers. The first was that of the 'Local Grain Wholesalers' (*ji-mawari beikoku toiya*).¹ These indeed imported directly to some extent the rice of the regions neighboring about Yedo, which came by river boats; but they sold at retail as well as wholesale. The number was upwards of 300 houses, divided into 11 *kumi*. The original 60 odd *kumi* had been in later times consolidated into these 11, but the original numbers of the *kumi* absorbing the others were retained, so that the numbers remaining were the 1st, 3rd, 18th, 22nd, 26th, 29th, 40th, 44th, 47th, 48th, and 56th. The second class was that of the 'Eight Companies of Lesser Rice-dealers' (*waki-mise hakka-asho komeya*). Their number was 250 odd, and in later times the companies were 11, and not 8. They obtained some of their rice from the local grain wholesalers and some from the brokers, and, with the former class, they served as the immediate suppliers of the petty rice shops. One of the richest of their companies dealt directly, it seems, with the *daimyo's* storehouse-keepers."

"These greater branches of the trade were sometimes known as the 'Five Guilds,' or the importing and wholesale buying stopped with them, and the further distribution was in the hands of the petty rice-shops. These were of two sorts. The ordinary retailer (*ko-uri komeya*) bought the rice, still uncleaned, of one of the above houses, and cleaned it by pounding in mortars. Hence their name of 'pounding rice-dealers' (*tsuki-komeya*). These numbered perhaps 2000. There was also a highway rice pounder (*daido-tsuki*), who sent his men daily about to large houses to pound rice for the household. They placed their mortars on the streets and prepared the rice then and there. They are reckoned among the dealers, but seem rather to have been workmen."

1. "Mawari means (brought around), in allusion to the usual voyage around the coast of Edo; the tax rice thus brought was known as 'on-mawari-mai.' Here the *ji* may mean that it was brought by land, that is, on rivers, not on the sea. The idea involved is expressed by our word, 'local'."

2. "Side or lesser shop, as distinct from the *komegashi*."

b. The Development of the Rice Exchanges. S. Koda. "Edo and Osaka"

The phrase "rice market" first appears in a proclamation of 1660 which states, "Ordinances have frequently been issued prohibiting the buying and selling of rice and dealings in futures¹ in the Osaka streets. These ordinances must henceforth be strictly observed." From this we can imagine that there was a rice market before the middle of the 17th century. The famous market at Dojima, Osaka, used to hold its first annual session on the 4th day of the first month of the year in front of the site of the former business premises of the house of Yodoya, on the south side of the present Yodoya bridge, in memory of the active market which had developed there in olden times. . . .

Yodoya was the leading founder of the Osaka rice market, but after his property had been confiscated by the Bakufu, those who had previously gathered in front of his premises used to meet on the south side of Shinchi (new ground), at Dojima.

There were two kinds of transaction at this market; dealings in spot rice (shomai bai-bai) which were carried out by means of paper warrants (kitte) and "futures" dealings (choaimai).² The futures contracts described the standard of the rice dealt in and the time limits within which the rice bought had to be sold, or what had been sold had to be bought.³ They would be used

1. Editor's Note. The Japanese phrase here is "tegata wo motte sakizaki ye shobai itashi" which means literally "To do a transaction with a note for the future." Prof. Koda writes that under this system "A sold a tegata (bill, document) to B, and B to C and so on. The last buyer went to the daimyo's storehouse and received rice in exchange for the tegata."

2. Editor's Note. Dr. Wigmore throws some light on this term. "A term frequently met with and related to the more complicated transactions is ku (empty, wanting)-mai, in opposition to sho- (real, actual) -mai,—that is rice sold in name, without any intention to deliver. On the Exchange the term cho-ai-sho (sales made to fit the register) was sometimes employed, because the law forbade such sales, and they had to be entered on the register as if they were bona-fide sales of rice to be actually delivered." Introduction page 202.

3. Prof. Koda has kindly supplied the following further information. These re-sales or re-purchases were a basic feature of the "choai-mai" dealing as *actual delivery of rice only took place when buyers or sellers, could not set off their transactions against each other*. The procedure was known as uri-ume (to fill or make-up a sale) and kai-

as today for hedging purposes by means of what was known as "uritsunagi" (literally, to tie with a sale), which involved selling futures at a time when stocks of actual rice were being held; and "kaitsunagi" (literally, to tie with a purchase) which meant the purchase of futures against spot sales or future sales of a different date. These dealings were not at first openly permitted and in a number of cases the authorities intervened, arrested, and punished the offenders, but in Kyoho (1716-36) such uses of rice warrants and future dealings were allowed. To understand why this change of official policy took place, it is necessary to glance at the rice prices of the time. In 1722, good harvests brought about very low rice prices. . . .¹ The slump in rice prices was bad for the samurai and farmers, and when it became worse, even the artisans and merchants got in a bad way. Accordingly, the Bakufu felt that some adjustments were necessary and one of the policies they adopted was to permit these market dealings. In 1728, the re-sale of rice warrants was publicly sanctioned as it was thought that it would raise prices. . . .

Next came the licensing of a rice exchange (kome-gaisho—rice meeting house). The first Osaka exchange was established in 1727 by Genbei Kinokuniya of Zaimoku-cho, and two of his neighbours. In this institution the brokers dealt in rice warrants which had been given in exchange for rice brought into the kurayashiki (daimyo's warehouses), and could be re-exchanged for actual rice whenever necessary. The buyers of these warrants at the first Osaka exchange, paid 2 fun ($\frac{2}{10}$ momme) silver per koku² as commission, which went to the three founders and all the brokers. The exchange lasted only a year. Another was later founded by a certain Seizaburo Nakagawa and two partners, but this also ended after a year. From the outset, the Dojima brokers were opposed to these exchanges and were continually

ume (to fill or make up a purchase) and was therefore different from that on the modern exchange; but both institutions regulate (a) standards dealt in and (b) the time-limits within which transactions may remain outstanding.

1. Editor's Note. Further details of rice prices will be given in a later volume. It is sufficient to point out here that prices fell still further.

2. A koku is about 5 bushels.

pressing the Town Magistrate for their abolition and even went to Edo to attain their object. In 1730 another exchange was established . . . which lasted only a few months. . . . Meanwhile under the ordinance allowing the Osaka merchants freedom to deal in futures, 50 rice broking firms (*komekata ryōgai*) were given an authorisation to start a rice exchange, with the proviso that they must keep a reserve fund of silver collected from both sellers and buyers, to be used for balancing the sales and purchases against one another. This permission was freely given by the Bakufu as they considered such dealings would raise prices.

In Edo, also, many kinds of efforts were made to raise prices and in 1730, on the application of a certain Rokubei and the Five Guilds, an exchange was licensed by proclamation for dealing in futures¹ and the buying and selling of rice warrants, . . . This, however, did not fulfil the functions for which it had been established, namely to increase the purchase of rice by means of warrants, decrease supplies and raise prices, but only became a place for registering "choaimai" transactions. It was abolished at the end of the year. As a result, Dojima became the only rice exchange for futures transactions in Japan. . . . The first active rice exchange in Edo was established at Isecho in 1813, by Moju-ro Sugimoto, the director of the Three Bridges corporation² and this again was allowed in the expectation that it would raise prices. . . . In 1816, the Mito fief established an exchange in the Edo compound of Ishiokiba, Hitosume, Honjo, while other exchanges were set up in the Edo compounds of the Sendai, Bishu (Owari), Kiishu (Kii), and other fiefs.

Sugimoto, in return for permission to start his exchange, which began with 120 brokers, promised to pay 1000 ryo per annum to the authorities. Ostensibly they carried on business dealings in actual rice, but actually their transactions were in "futures" sold for delivery in 60 days, with middle grade Musashi rice as the unit. In 1819, the exchange was abolished. Thus, Edo had no

1. Editor's Note. Prof. Koda's more recent researches show that between 1729-30 more than half a dozen "komegaisho" (rice-meeting houses) were permitted—nominally to deal in rice through warrants, but actually they dealt in futures.

2. See p. 114.

huge rice market and distributing centre like that at Osaka, although, of course, rice came in to provide salaries for the numerous samurai and food for the people.

c. The Dojima Rice Market. Editor's summary based on Tohaku's Guide 1748.

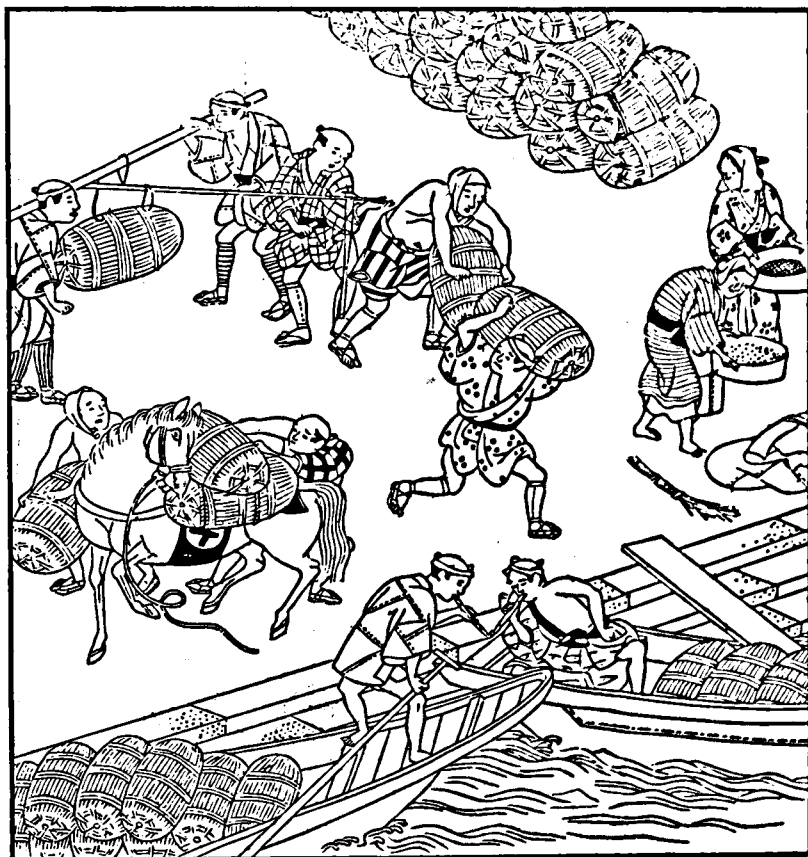
In the first volume of the Tsuzoku Keizai Bunko is an interesting, though sketchy, popular and illustrated "Guide to the Buying and Selling of Rice," by a certain Tohaku, published in 1748. In the preface, the author states, "It is quite appropriate for the ruler of a nation to believe that our fate is governed by heaven, but in the eyes of heaven such a thing as the wealth of business men is very insignificant. So business men must study commerce for themselves as they would the finer arts of life and nothing will be impossible for them." The first part of this work, however, deals mainly with the superstitions and omens (including earthquakes) of rice speculation, but in the second we find a number of useful facts about the Dojima Market.

Unloading Rice at the Osaka Warehouses.

"Shipments come in large vessels from the various districts to Hyogo (part of present-day Kobe) or the mouth of the river at Osaka. At Hyogo the cargoes of these ships (Hyogo tokai) are transhipped into smaller vessels of from 40-100 koku capacity ($6\frac{1}{2}$ -16 tons) and are landed on the warehouse wharves. The cargoes taken to the river-mouth of Osaka are transferred into barges of 20 koku or into "cha-bune" (lit. tea-ships) of 10 koku which take them to the warehouses. The Hyogo shipments are landed by the crews of the vessels, whereas at Osaka the crews hand over the cargo to labourers of the warehouse organisation, whose foreman supervises the examination of the bales and the business of picking out those which are under-weight, or which have been damaged by sea-water. These workers will handle heavy bales of 3-5 to (2 to=1 bushel) as though they were made of papier mâché and will take four or five bales at a time into the high warehouses. Their activities are one of the finest acrobatic shows in Japan. The picture shows the warehouse



Unloading rice at the Osaka Warehouses. (Rice).



Rice Trade. The various kinds of "nakashi" (Rice).

officials supervising the proceedings at the entrance to the warehouse."

The Various Kinds of "Nakashi".

"A company of people is known as a "nakama-shu", but sometimes the "ma" is omitted and we have the word "nakashi" which has come to mean dock-labourers. When the rice arrives at the warehouse, members of this company will inspect the bags for lightness or damage by sea-water and will tighten any ropes which have become loose. These are known as "hyobetsu nakashi" (bag-separating labourers). Others carry the rice into, or out of, the warehouse under the supervision of the warehouse officials and these are known as "kura-nakashi" (warehouse labourers). Those who distribute the rice to the wholesalers are known as "tonya-nakashi" (wholesalers' labourers) or "dashimono-nakashi" (taking out goods labourers). The foreman of the "tonya-nakashi" is also responsible for various minor labourers who are colloquially known as "ni-bu kiri nakashi" ($\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch labourers), "shitanakashi" (under-labourers), "orai-nakashi" (street labourers), "miso-nakashi" (bean-paste labourers) or "anko-nakashi" (bean-jam labourers) and so on. . . . All those who get a living by assisting the nakashi to carry goods to, and from, the warehouses are known as "choroku", for they move to the rice-trading cities (cho) and receive a wage (roku) for the work."

The Selling of Rice at the Warehouse.

"The rice is sent to various parts of the country, but sufficient is kept back for rice-retailers or saké-store-keepers in the neighbourhood, who come to the market to buy the rice specially suited for their purpose. The rice is sold in the warehouse compound and a "kitte" (literally, slip) which acts as a warehouse warrant is handed over to the successful bidders. The seller takes the kitte to the buyer's house and receives payment in silver from the buyer, who in turn can take it any day he wishes to the "nakashi" at the warehouse and get the rice through the delivery official (kitte-age)."



Rice-Trade. Buying and selling at Watanabe Bridge, Dojima. Those in the foreground are anxiously studying the sky. (Rice).

Rice Bidding at Watanabe Bridge. Dojima.

"This is a well-known and busy centre where people of all ranks from different parts of the country gather at all times of the day and night, and eager buyers and sellers go up on the bridge, in the hope that they may be able to forecast the summer or autumn winds and rains.¹ Each morning, apart from holidays, the clerks and other employees have to register the warehouse rice quotations of the day for the different qualities of rice and the amounts which have been moved in or out of the warehouses. At about three o'clock in the afternoon, they again enter the quotations in their books from the notice boards at the warehouses, and the bidders pay their silver to the ginkakeya and get in exchange, either a silver receipt or a rice warrant, with which they can draw their rice from the warehouse.

The Rice Market. Dojima.

"This is the world's greatest market which exports and im-

1. Dr. Wigmore points out that one of the terms of the rice market was "totan-sho" or "earth-and-charcoal traffic." "The forecast of the weather was obviously a matter of the highest consequence to the brokers. In Japan the farmer has perhaps gone as far as in any country in reducing to rules the results of long observation of the weather. The greater part of the rice crop, for instance, reaches in September a stage which puts it beyond danger from any but extraordinary tempests; yet in the same month rains and typhoons are to be expected. Accordingly experience has settled on the 210th, 220th days of the year (old calendar) as crucial stages in the development of the crop, the 220th day being the outside limit of danger. Thus at this season the forecast of even a single day's weather is of consequence to the rice speculator. The direction of the wind, too, was an important factor in determining the time of the arrival of the rice cargoes. The speculators of the old days did not fail to utilize such empiric knowledge as they possessed. Every day, morning and evening, they made observatories of their houses, and, mounting to the clothes-drying platforms so common to town-houses, they surveyed the sky for weather indications. The Exchange kept a 'sky book', in which nothing was written but the daily changes of weather. One of the chief expedients consisted in hanging balanced quantities of earth (to) and charcoal (tan) in small nets from opposite ends of a bamboo pole working on a fulcrum. They knew that on the approach of stormy weather earth becomes damp and heavy, while on a dry and clear day it yields its moisture abundantly. Accordingly about the winter solstice the pole was hung and the balance adjusted; and thereafter the advent of a weather change in either direction was announced by a disturbance of equilibrium in the homemade barometer. Thus it was that the epithet totan-sho came to be applied to the traffic at the rice-exchange". Introduction page 202.



大坂米商會
 快合米商會
 享保七年二月
 米方五拾六千石
 株札價每石十圓
 十圓、株札價、又曰
 十九子、米中、實已
 石形、米、株札價、
 米中、實、合、千、石、
 別、大、享、保、十、七、年、
 至、享、保、十、七、年、
 七、年、
 七、年、

Rice Trade. Section of the Dojima Rice Market. (Rice).

ports rice to and from the provinces, to say nothing of soy beans, red rice, barley, small peas and all kinds of cereals which come to Osaka, the centre for quotations. To accelerate the business in actual rice, dealings have been instituted in which actual rice does not figure, but which are based only on quotations. Transactions in 10 and 20 koku units can also be done. From all parts of the country, traders flock here daily, and some make their fortune in the twinkling of an eye while others suffer heavy loss. Only in this market is it possible to be fortunate enough to gain 1000 kwan of silver from 1 momme. The trade of this market is also particularly noteworthy, in that while it may import millions of koku, dealings can be carried on without any of the rice being touched. Such things happen nowhere else and for this reason we may call it the chief market in Japan.

Among the 1300 brokers, there are 24 Kyoto wholesalers and recently, 13 Kyoto freight agents, making 37 altogether from the Western Capital. Also there are Osaka wholesalers and commission merchants from many different districts. Through the brokers, some of these do spot transactions and others those on quotations or in 10 and 20 koku lots. The starting price of these transactions is the closing quotation on the preceding day and must be paid in currency. At the sound of wooden clappers, a 1 inch fuse is lighted when the bidding begins and continues until the fuse is burnt out. The commission on the transactions is 10 momme per 100 koku."

Dr. Wigmore describing a similar scene in Edo, writes in his Introduction: "The description of this occasion by a Japanese antiquarian (who has never stepped inside the Tokyo Exchange of today, and has gained his knowledge entirely from the records and documents of past generations) brings before us the very counterpart of what may be observed daily at the sessions of modern exchanges. The transactions were noted by the registrar in his book; and after a short time the first selling ceased. The same scene was repeated several times during the day until 4 in the afternoon. . . ."¹

1. Introduction page 200.

Tohaku continues: "There were formerly fifty affiliated warehouses, but as 10 more have recently been established there are now 60, all of whose members are licensed. There are also 1300 licensed brokers, of whom, five in turn are chosen to carry through the routine business for the half-years between the 4th and 10th month and the 10th and 4th month. Choai-mai are book transactions for the buying and selling of actual rice, but for which the date is some time in the future.¹ The brokers buy and sell the choai-mai and record the transactions on a paper slip which is given to the exchange officials, who set them off against one another and calculate the profit or loss on each purchase or sale. The Exchange now charges a commission of 1 fun per kwamme silver (1%), but it is said to have been formerly higher, reaching 1.5 or even 1.8 fun."

Then begins a short but complex description of the Exchange organisation, which so far has defied accurate translation. It seems definite, however, that the purchases and sales of each broker were set off against one another by the Exchange and only the differences paid in money. Also the deposit of margins (*shiki-kin*—literally support or mattress money) was compulsory as on modern exchanges. The work ends with a glossary of some of the terms used, a number of which correspond with present-day usage. For example, *tsunagu* (lit. to fasten) is defined as "buying actual rice and selling choaimai, or selling actual rice and buying choaimai," while "*hodoku*" (lit. to unfasten) is defined as the reverse of this procedure. Presumably this means that if you have "fastened" or "covered" by buying spot and selling futures, you then "unfasten" or "complete the hedge" by selling spot and buying futures. *Saya* was a margin (probably equivalent to "basis") and *uwazaya* (upper margin) meant that the choaimai price was higher than the shomai, while *shitazaya* (lower margin) meant that the choaimai position was below the shomai. The working out of the exact parallels of all these terms in modern Exchange technique would be a fascinating study.

1. Compare Dr. Wigmore's note on page 123.

d. Note Based on an Article on "Commodity Exchanges in Japan" by Dr. Zensaku Sano and Prof. Sentaro Iura.¹

This article, draws attention to the fact that whereas in the West, stock exchanges came first and produce exchanges after; in Japan, exchanges dealing in rice, oil, cotton, and precious metals were established a century and a half before the Restoration, while the stock exchange is an innovation.

The writers state that in Osaka, there were at one time no less than 600 rice warehouses which contained in a good year as much as 9 million bushels.

Of the forward delivery contracts, the article states that the "authorities, in putting their seal of approval upon this practice, took the view that, although only a form of gambling, it was useful as a means of hedging and also because it tended to raise the price of rice, thereby benefiting the ruling, and therefore, the rice receiving, classes of the shoguns, the daimyos, and the samurai, as well as the farmers, whose prosperity, in turn, was thought to stimulate the commercial and industrial communities. The measure was of an epoch-making nature, because it led to the eventual separation of the real and speculative markets in Japan, thus causing a deplorable demoralisation of the latter and making the sound growth of our exchanges extremely difficult."

e. Remarks on Rice Speculation.

Banto Yamagata. Yume-no-shiro (Things of Dreams)
Nihon Keizai Taiten. Vol. 37. Translation provided
by Mr. Teikichi Nakamura.

The system of rice speculation in Osaka is the essence of wisdom which controls the blood circulation (of the economic system). . . . For rice is sent from almost all districts to Osaka. Edo receives it from the Kwanto, Oshu, and Tokaido districts, but any shortages must be made up for by supplies from Osaka. . . . Therefore Edo and Osaka rice prices are linked together.

Damage done by locusts to rice plants in western provinces

1. "Commodity Exchanges in Japan". *Annals of American Academy*. May 1931.

will lead to a rise in price, while a rich harvest in the north means a fall. Similarly prices are affected by such things as a storm in Shikoku, favourable weather in the north, floods in the Kwanto, purchases made by the Government, an eruption at Asama or Shimabara, an earthquake in Dewa or a tidal wave in Chugaku. These have as reliable an effect as the edicts of a god or the commands of a general. However, they are not decrees of heaven nor the result of secret consultations. Whether you buy and sell in the north, east, south or west, prices will rise, fall or remain stationary, in accordance with the action taken, as quickly as an echo answers the voice. Whatever the causes of buying and selling, the result will be a higher or lower price.

That is the essence of the question. It is the result of human feeling and hundred of thousands of people cannot prevent its working. . . .

There is a way to make these transactions flow as smoothly as the circulation of the blood and to concentrate wisdom in one place . . . but medicine is useless if doctors do not explain its use. Rice collected in local areas cannot be used, as a buyer must pay the cost of transport and run the risk of damage by rats or mould. A seller cannot sell unless he has the rice by him.

Why then does this great wisdom concentrate in Osaka? It is because there is there a system of "rice certificates" (*kitte*) and "dealings in futures" (*choaimai*). . . . If a man buys a rice certificate instead of actual rice, he need not worry about costs of transport or damage by rats or heat, and he can easily save them if his house catches on fire. Nevertheless, such a certificate, though easy to buy, is difficult to sell as it is not actual rice. But "time rice" (*choaimai*) can easily be bought and sold and may be said to represent the blood circulation. Certificate rice and time rice may be compared with day and night, they work together and not against each other.

There is usually a difference in price between them but in such clearing (*kiri—limit*) periods as the 4th, 10th, 11th, and 12th months, the prices for *choaimai* and actual rice are the same. Thus they are closely connected. In the winter, when the *daimyo* sell more than a million *koku* of rice, prices do not fall, owing to the

use of these two methods. . . . There is no rice certificate in Edo, and if one bought actual rice it would have to be taken on horses into warehouses, and be liable to destruction by fire or damage by rats and sweating. Formerly this used to be done, but now the disadvantages are known and people do not buy. Rice sent from the various districts must be sold privately. There are thus plenty of sellers and few buyers. However, in Osaka there is the rice certificate and buying is easy. . . .

Editor's Note. The main point of this important argument seems to be that merchants prefer to push the risks of storage back to producers and thus an even flow of rice to market is prevented. On the other hand the organised rice market enables buyers not only to withdraw their rice at any time after they have bought, but also to buy earlier and therefore, presumably, make it profitable for specialists to undertake the storage.

III. The Oil Trade.

Shigetomo Koda. Edo and Osaka.

The most important staple commodity and article of consumption after rice, was oil. Today, owing to the widespread use of gas and electricity, this commodity is not mentioned very frequently, but in the Tokugawa era it was the only means of lighting, apart from candles. A report of 1841, on the oil wholesalers of Honfuna-cho, Nihonbashi, Edo, contains a statement that the estimated quantity of oil that they supplied annually was about 96,000 barrels from the Osaka region (kudari) and local sources (jimawari :—i.e. the eight Kwanto provinces, particularly Musashi, Kozuke, Hitachi, Shimotsuke, and Shimoso and to a much lesser extent Awa, Kazusa, Kotsuke and Sagami). About 70–80 per cent of the total quantity going to Edo came from Osaka, and the remainder from local sources (jimawari), though, of course, conditions varied from year to year.

The local oil had some effect upon prices in Edo, but the main influence was exerted by the Osaka supplies. (The Edo price had of course to include the cost of barrels and freight charges from Osaka). The price of oil in Koka (1844–8) was between



A water-wheel. These were used for rice-pounding or oil-pressing. (Daily Life).

450-550 silver momme per koku, and on this basis it must have been something between 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ and 36 ryo for 10 barrels in Edo. The total value of the Edo consumption must, it seems, have been in the neighbourhood of 300,000 ryo and as fluctuations in its price had a great effect on the citizens, it was natural that the Baku-fu should be greatly concerned with this commodity and its price. There were a number of oil shortages in the history of the city, the most serious being in 1826, when the Government sent officials of the finance department to Osaka to discover the trouble and bring about improvements in the production and distribution.

The types of oil produced were several. First came rape oil, known as tane abura (seed-oil) or mizu abura (water-oil). Sometimes, however, the term "mizu abura" was used generally to cover all kinds of oil. . . . Next came white oil (shiro-abura), which was extracted from cotton seeds. Formerly this had been known as black-oil, but it was found that the addition of lime would turn it white. . . . In addition there were the oils obtained from fish, and the so-called "coloured oils" from sesame, bramble and miscanthus.

A number of oil kabu nakama existed in Osaka and in 1770 they drew up a constitution establishing the following divisions in the trade :—

1. The Two-Seed Wholesalers, who dealt in rape and cotton-seeds. In 1759, there were 20 rape and 10 cotton-seed wholesalers who, working on a commission basis, took in the seeds brought from the provinces and handed them on to the pressing firms. At the time of the drawing up of the new constitution, the pressing firms were permitted to buy their raw material direct from the producers, but the wholesalers were given half the former commission on every purchase. In 1771, the two sets of dealers combined into one association with 45 members, and were compelled to give a gold "thank-offering" to the Government. They were forbidden to pledge or hoard their seed and had to report rape-oil prices to the Magistrate, six times a month.
2. The Rape-seed Pressing Firms. There were 250 members belonging to this group, which also had to make a "thank-offer-



Oil pressing by hand. (Sketches).

ing" to the Government.

3. The Cotton-seed Pressing Firms. The members of this group were only 35 in number and they paid no "thank-offering." Both the rape and cotton-seed pressing firms bought their materials from the "Two-Seed wholesalers" as well as from the daimyo's Osaka warehouses or direct from the producers in the provinces (Kinai). . . . They pressed the oil on commission and passed it on to the Osaka wholesalers supplying Edo and Kyoto, and were not allowed to sell retail. The power used for the extraction was of two kinds, human and from water-wheels. Human power was used in Osaka City and the production amounted to 36,000 barrels (13,600 koku) and in addition there was some production of the same type in the provinces of Settsu, Kawachi and Izumi. The most important water-wheel presses were the "Twenty Five Water-wheels" of Ubara-gun, Settsu and in addition there were 56 other concerns in Ubara, Yabe and Muko of the same province. These were known as the Two Nadame associations. Needless to say, all the products of these two types of presses in the three provinces were forwarded to the Osaka oil dealers (de-aburaya), through the various transfer points established at different places in the district. It was because of the keen competition of the rape-pressers that the cotton-seed pressing firms were not required to make a "thank-offering" to the Government.

4. The De-aburaya or Oil Dealers. There were nominally 13 members of this group, (though actually only 7), which had to make its offerings to the Government. They bought the oils which had been extracted in Settsu, Kawachi and Izumi and sold them to the Edo and Kyoto suppliers. Like the cotton-seed pressing firms they were not allowed to sell retail. In 1723, a distinction was made between oil wholesalers and the De-aburaya and only the latter were entitled to receive the oils coming into Osaka from the provinces.

5. The Oil Brokers. These were 250 in number and paid a "thank-offering". They handled what was known as "Mixed Oil" (Seiho-yu) of which the main type was a combination of rape and cotton-seed oil. The buyers had to pay them a mixing

commission of 15 silver momme per koku. They sold the oil to retailers in Osaka and elsewhere and also carried on a retail trade themselves, as well as forwarding cargoes to very many parts of Japan . . .

6. The wholesalers were also classified into the Edoguchi (Edo suppliers) and Kyoguchi (Kyoto suppliers), a division which was clear even in Kwanei (1624-44). . . . Each bought oil from the oil merchants and the pressing firms of Osaka and sent it to Edo or Kyoto.

The Edoguchi sent their oil to Edo by Higaki ships and at one time the freight was some 52 momme per 10 barrels, but was reduced to 49 momme in Tempo (1830-44), when oil once more became one of the cargoes of Higaki ships in rivalry with the Taru line.

According to the "De-aburaya Densho" (Book on the Traditions of the Oil Dealers), which is probably reliable, there was in the early days no oil market in Osaka and some of the sellers would come to the wholesalers, while others would wait for the wholesalers to call on them; but by the end of Kyoho (1716-36) a market was set up at Kyobashi Go-chome, Osaka, where dealings were henceforward carried on. The Kyo-guchi had the privilege of entering this market, though how and when they obtained it we do not know. . . .

It seems that the aim of the Bakufu in allowing the establishment of oil associations was to concentrate the seed and oil trade in Osaka and thus lower prices. . . . (All kinds of seeds produced in the provinces were shipped to Osaka). . . . Those who bought these seeds were not only the Two-Seed Wholesalers but also the two groups of pressing firms and this double demand led to a rise in prices. Further, forestalling seems to have been very frequent (michigai i.e. buying on the way and hashike shitagai i.e. buying from the barge). Again, even in the provinces the whole crop was not sent to Osaka as the pressing establishments in Settsu, Kawachi, and Izumi were allowed to buy various kinds of seeds. Their demand for rape-seed was small, but for cotton seed it was fairly large. These purchases were regulated, and oil produced outside Osaka had to be shipped to

the city. Nevertheless, domestic hand presses (for the use of the producers) were allowed by law and no district liked the idea of producing oil, sending it to Osaka and then re-importing it from there for consumption, so it is to be imagined that secret pressing went on all over the place. Accordingly, this limited degree of control over the old system of production and distribution met with no success. . . . In 1826, oil became scarce in Edo, which led to great anxiety among the inhabitants, and Kenjuro Narahara, a senior financial official was sent to Osaka to inquire into the matter. With the help of the officials of the Western Office of the Magistrate in Osaka, he gathered together the oil wholesalers and brokers and hearing from them the course of events during the previous ten years he issued his report in 1828. What sort of reception this report received from the Bakufu is not known, but continual and long discussions concerning possible changes in the oil trade were carried on, until in 1832, a reform was enacted. This consisted of twenty very complex items, the main points of which were as follows :

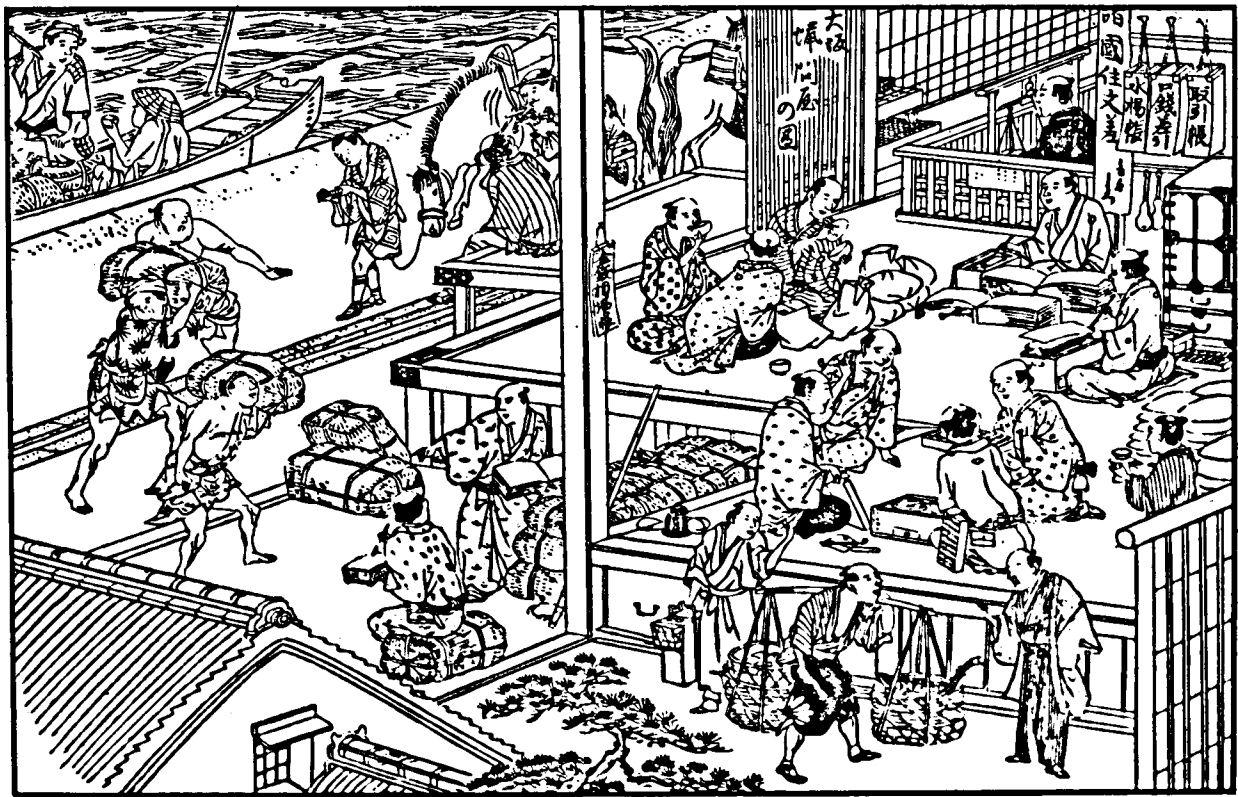
1. Two-Seeds Wholesalers were to be set up at Sakai and Hyogo, in addition to those at Osaka.

2. New water-wheel and human power pressing associations were to be licensed in Harima province.

3. The De-aburaya, Kyo-guchi and Edoguchi wholesalers were to be re-named simply " Oil Wholesalers ". The market at Kyobashi Go-chome, was to be abolished and another established at Uchi Honmachi, at which all wholesalers were to attend daily to obtain and inspect oil. The settlement of payments was to be made fairly, and the mixing of oils and their export to distant places was to be taken out of the hands of the brokers, and put in charge of the wholesalers.

4. Rape oil from the three districts in Settsu province, where domestic hand presses existed, and oil from Harima were to be sent direct to Edo by the Taru line without being first sold in Osaka.

5. Osaka wholesalers might only sell in Osaka and Edo. An oil market was to be established at Reiganjima, Edo, at which all wholesale transactions were to take place.



Wax wholesalers, Osaka.

6. All oil dealers were to be exempt from "thank-offerings" and their rates of commission to be altered.

7. In Settsu, Izumi, Kawachi and Harima, production was to be increased and this extra amount could be sold retail for every-day use inside the producing province. Domestic hand-pressing, however, was prohibited.

The number of oil dealers allowed by this reform were as follows ;

a.	Wholesalers of rape and cotton seeds.	Osaka	55
		Sakai	3
		Hyogo	5
b.	Rape oil pressing firms.	Osaka	250
	Cotton-oil pressing firms.	Osaka	30
	Rape and Cotton oil pressing firms.	Sakai	34
c.	Settsu, Kawachi and Izumi oil pressers	No fixed number	
d.	Shippers of oil of Kawachi and Izumi		7
e.	Osaka oil wholesalers	Deaburaya	7
		Edoguchi	4
		Kyoguchi	2
f.	Oil brokers	Osaka	190
g.	Oil-pressers in the three districts of Settsu and oil packers	Unknown	
h.	Harima pressers		100
i.	Harima packers of oil shipped direct to Edo		3

The aim of the reform was to loosen the restrictions in certain districts and abolish the policy of concentration upon Osaka so that supplies would be adjusted more freely, prices lowered and increased shipments be sent to Edo. . . .

In 1832, at the time of reform, the Osaka price of oil was 275 momme (silver) per koku and the Edo selling price was 21.75 ryo per 10 barrels or 334 momme per koku, which after the deduction of various charges left a profit of 21 momme to the seller. In the years following, the Osaka price gradually rose but the increase in Edo was much smaller, which resulted in a loss on shipments to Edo of 1 ryo per barrel in Osaka and $\frac{1}{2}$ ryo in Nadame. This reduction in prices happened in Edo owing to the fact that oil was now being sent from two places, Osaka and

Nadame. Edo consumers were thus favoured with the realisation of their hopes, but the Osaka and Nadame suppliers became very worried and in Osaka we find the Magistrate Hori, Iga no kami, trying to remedy the shortage in the arrivals of rape-seed. He even went so far as to forbid the retail sale of oil for every-day use in the four provinces of Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi and Harima. The resulting state of affairs among the oil dealers of these districts can be seen from the fact that in Nadame, 30 water-wheels went out of commission, while in Osaka, 11 of the 13 wholesalers were forced to live in rented premises. In 1837, the oil market at Reiganjima was abolished by the Bakufu and all oil had to be sold direct to Edo oil wholesalers in order to ease their difficulties.

Very soon, however, the dissolution of the kabu nakama took place, the oil-dealers associations were abolished, and the Uchi-honmachi market closed. During the dissolution the state of trade became very confused and continued so after the re-establishment of the kabu nakama in 1851. There were four particularly bad developments: 1. The price of oil naturally tended to vary with that of the seed. On the contrary, seed was bought and sold in accordance with the price of oil, so the oil-prices rose in spite of rich seed harvests. 2. So-called "country brokers" who had no connections with oil pressing began to buy and sell seed. 3. Oil pressers sold direct to other provinces, neighbouring retailers, or to Osaka oil brokers. 4. Osaka brokers made irregular purchases from concerns outside the wholesalers' group. These practices were strictly forbidden after the re-establishment of the kabu nakama, and the prohibition was issued again in 1864. The Bakufu attempted to revive the 1832 organisation, but we cannot be clear of the results as there are not, as yet, sufficient materials available on the subject. In 1851, 50,000 barrels were shipped from Osaka to Edo, while in the following year the total reached 70,000 during the first eleven months. These results may have been due to the re-establishment ordinance, but as there are no continuous figures after 1853, this cannot be asserted definitely. 1859 saw the opening of foreign trade, and the demand for oil in Osaka increased so much that the prices of rape

oil rose to between 420 and 485 momme per koku. . . .¹

IV. Foreign and Retail Trade.

I. Foreign Trade.

Much has been written in Western languages on the experiences of foreign traders in Japan and at present a special study of the subject is being made of the Japanese side of the subject in later Tokugawa days, by a group of scholars at the University of Commerce, Tokyo. The following short extract from Professor Honjo's *Nihon Keizai-shi Gaisetsu* is, therefore, with the exception of a short note by Hakuseki Arai, the only item given in this volume on Foreign Trade.²

E. Honjo. *Nihon Keizai-shi Gaisetsu*.

Iyeyasu, at the beginning of the Tokugawa period, had intended to increase the wealth of the country by foreign trade, but later, owing to the evils caused by the spread of Christianity, a policy of isolation was inaugurated and overseas voyages by trading ships were forbidden. Portuguese and Spanish traders were refused admittance into the country; leaving only the Dutch and Chinese who were restricted to Nagasaki. In addition, Tsushima had some trading relations with Korea, while Satsuma had connections with China, through the Loo-choo Islands.

The trade at Nagasaki, with China and Holland, was mainly in imported raw silk and piece goods, and usually trading in other articles was not allowed until the silk prices had been decided. Traders who had the privilege of buying these silk goods (then known as shiraito) were called shiraito wappunin

1. Prof. Koda also gives an interesting account of the organisation of the Oil Trade in Edo.

2. Prof. Chozo Muto of Nagasaki Higher Commercial College has made detailed researches into Anglo-Japanese Relations which were, of course, mainly economic. His bibliography has been published by his College (in English). Two English lectures of his under the title "A Short History of Anglo-Japanese Relations" were published by The Hokuseido Press, Tokyo, in 1936. For the history of the Dutch East India Company see Capt. Boxer's "Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600-1817." (The Hague 1936).

(raw silk allotment men) or members of the shiraito wappu guild. In 1655, this restriction on buying was cancelled and trade by mutual agreement between buyers and sellers was allowed. Owing, however, to the resulting competition among buyers, the prices of goods rose, and in 1672, an ordinance was made which selected the merchants who might buy imports, arranged for prices to be fixed by the tenders of sellers and forced the buyers to re-sell to domestic merchants at a fixed margin above this price. In 1685, the old system of allotment was resumed and the quantity of the trade and the amount of gold and silver to be exported in exchange were limited.

Although shiraito were the main goods imported, there were besides such articles as drugs and sugar. As the Japanese sericultural industry developed, the silk imports gradually decreased. The goods were paid for by gold and silver, and later some accounts were settled in copper, though in the Chinese trade other articles, including tawara mono (articles—usually foodstuffs—packed in straw), and occasionally lacquer-ware, were exported in exchange. Normally, however, only metals were used and the trade was one-sided or passive. . . .

Ultimately, the loss of precious metals was looked upon as a great evil as the available quantity was limited, and the opinion developed that foreign trade was bad for the country.

Hakuseki Arai. Currency Proposal No. 6. 1711-13.¹

The Chinese say that gold and silver are the bones of the economic body, while other commodities are the blood, flesh, skin or hair, which will grow again if removed. But bone once removed does not grow again. . . . Among the goods received from foreign countries, medicine alone is indispensable, but the remainder, for example, cloth and other merchandise, are not necessities. It is a great pity that treasure produced abundantly for the first time in the days of Iyayasu should be lost through the purchase of luxuries. If we amend our ways and consider

1. From "An Introduction to Some Japanese Economic Writings of the 18th Century," by the Editor. P. S. King. 1935. page. 31.

posterity, the descendants of the Tokugawas will always be prosperous, the needs of the people be well supplied and the country be peacefully administered.

E. Honjo. Nihon Keizai-shi Gaisetsu.

At first, the authorities did not place any limits on the amount of actual trade allowed, but as the outflow of metals continued, in 1685, exports of silver to China were restricted to 6000 kwan (or kwamme) and those to Holland, to half this amount. From 1715, only 30 Chinese ships were allowed to call annually, while the restrictions on metal exports were extended to copper, only 3 mn. kin (of 160 momme) being allowed to go out. Holland was not allowed to send more than two ships and take out more than half the Chinese allowance of metals. Continual changes were made in these regulations, until by 1813, the figures were 10 ships and 3,500 kwan of silver for China, and for Holland, 2 ships and 1700 kwan. Further changes continued until the downfall of the Bakufu.

Nevertheless, contrary to this trend, a considerable quantity of gold and silver was imported from China and Holland in the latter part of the Tokugawa period. Also, in spite of the prohibitions against clandestine trade, there were a number of law-breakers who dealt in smuggled (or "escaped") goods. In Kwansei (1789-1801), new forms of smuggling arose under which, according to a pre-arranged plan, foreign ships would pretend to lose their bearing, or in which traders would visit the out-of-the-way shores of Kyushu and ship gold in small boats, or would carry on trading in those parts of the coast not visited by official ships. In 1853, Zeni-ya Gohei was punished for such kind of secret trading.

Towards the end of the period, relations with foreign countries became very complicated, for at the end of the 18th century, Russia began to ask for trade relations to be opened up, while later the Americans and British joined in the demands, which were refused. In 1853, with the arrival of Perry, the situation entirely changed and treaties were concluded with America, Russia, Britain, Holland and France, and Hakodate and Shimoda

were made open ports. Later Kanagawa was substituted for Shimoda, and Nagasaki, Niigata and Hyogo were also opened, while foreign settlements were started in Osaka and Edo. Ultimately Hyogo became Kobe, and Kanagawa, Yokohama.

2. Retail Trade.

Foreign travellers during the past three hundred years have expressed astonishment at the great number of retail shops in Japan. Kaempfer writing on Kyoto says: "There are but few houses in all the chief streets, where there is not something to be sold, and for my part, I could not help admiring whence they can have customers enough for such an immense quantity of goods."

The best way, at this stage, to show the variety and nature of these shops seems to be to reproduce some of the pictures of city and suburban life which we have been able to obtain.

It seems that the system of apprenticeship and "branch-houses" as well as the guild organisation applied, with modifications, both to retail and wholesale trade, and that in fact the distinction between the two types of traders was frequently not clearly marked.

In modern Japan, apart from the growth of larger department stores and some foreign style shops, as well as the more frequent separation of producers and retailers, the general nature of retailing appears little changed. Unfortunately, however, for a number of reasons, including the misuse of Western architecture and decorations and the hideous effects of innumerable telegraph and electric light supply poles placed close to the buildings, the shops have lost most of their old artistic appearance. At night, however, when the lighting focusses attention on the interior of the shop, away from its surroundings, much of the old atmosphere can be regained.

1. Kaempfer's History of Japan (Glasgow University Press: 1906 reprint of English edition first published in 1728) Vol. III pp. 20-24.



• Nagoya. Matsuzakaya textile shops. (Owari).

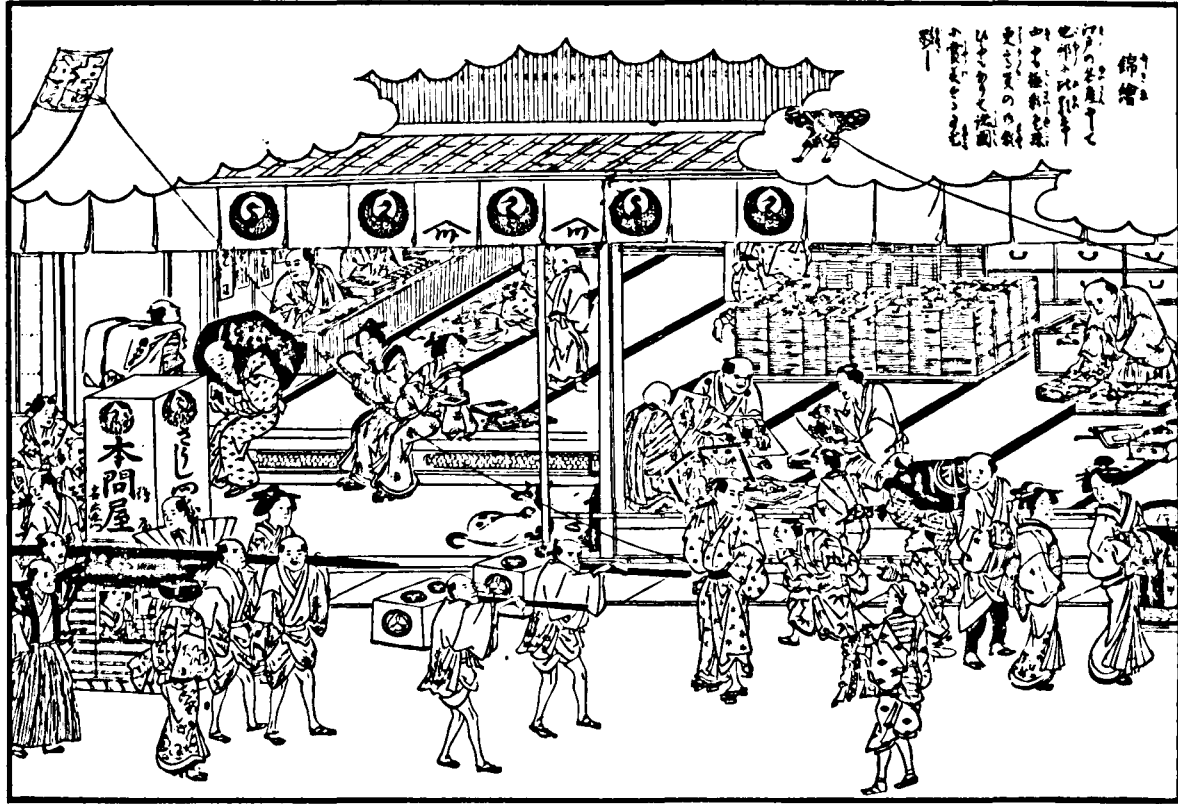


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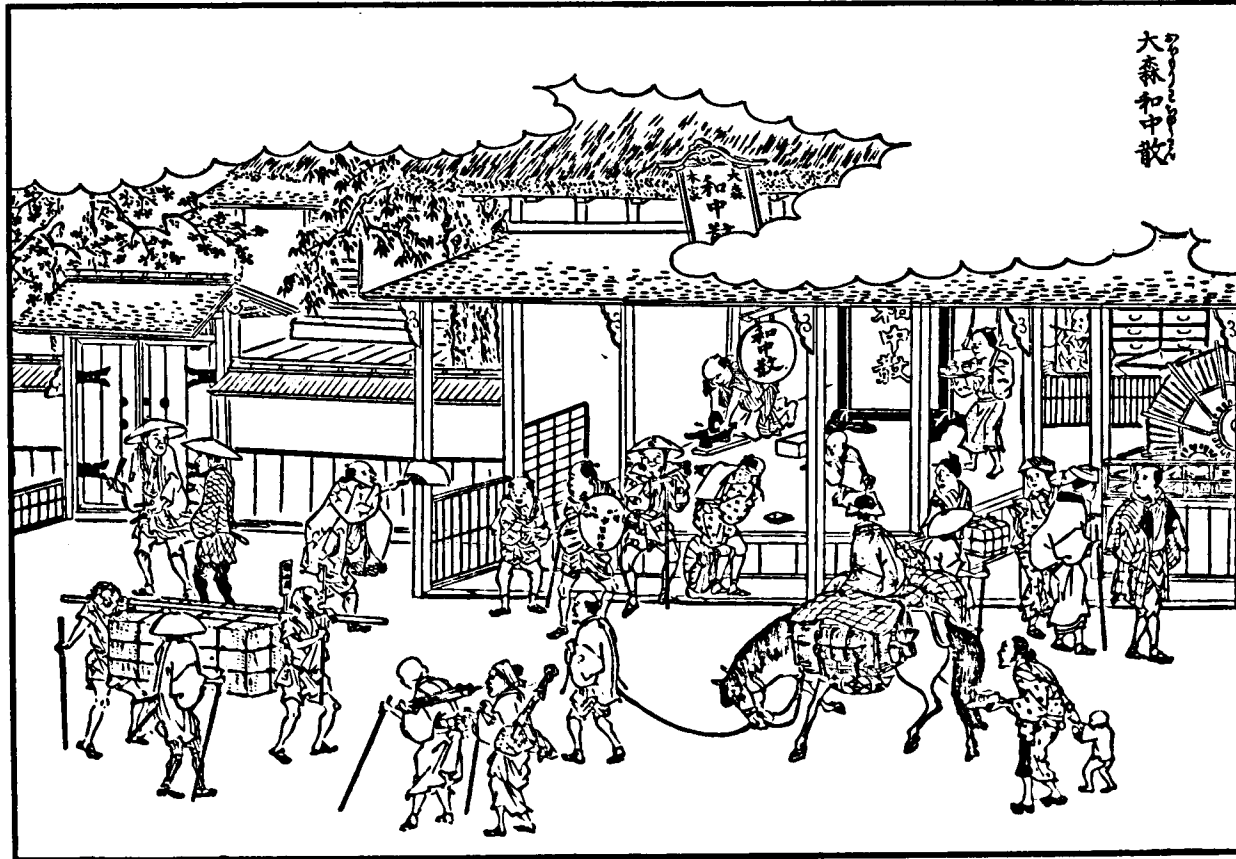
The Daimaru Textile store. (Edo).



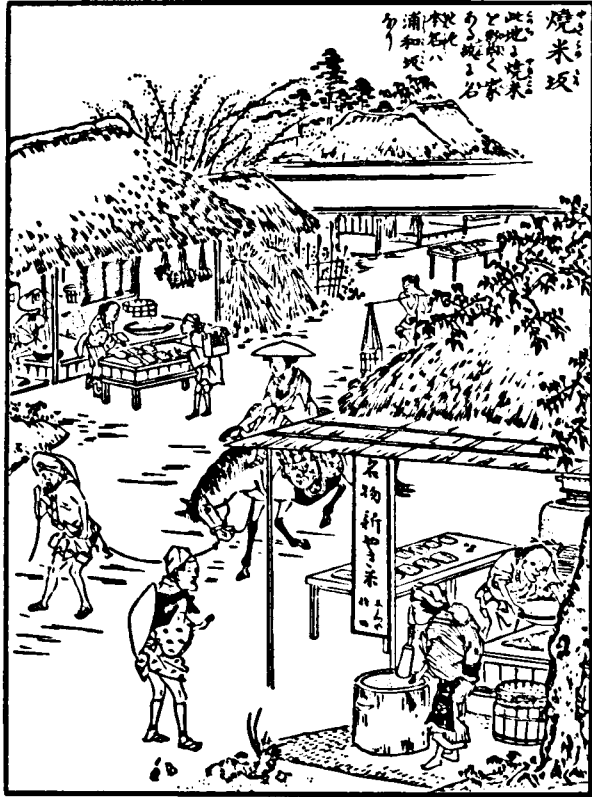
A Porcelain shop. "The shopkeeper yawns because no customers come, owing to the height of his prices. Soon he will go bankrupt and have to retire into the country." (Daily Life).



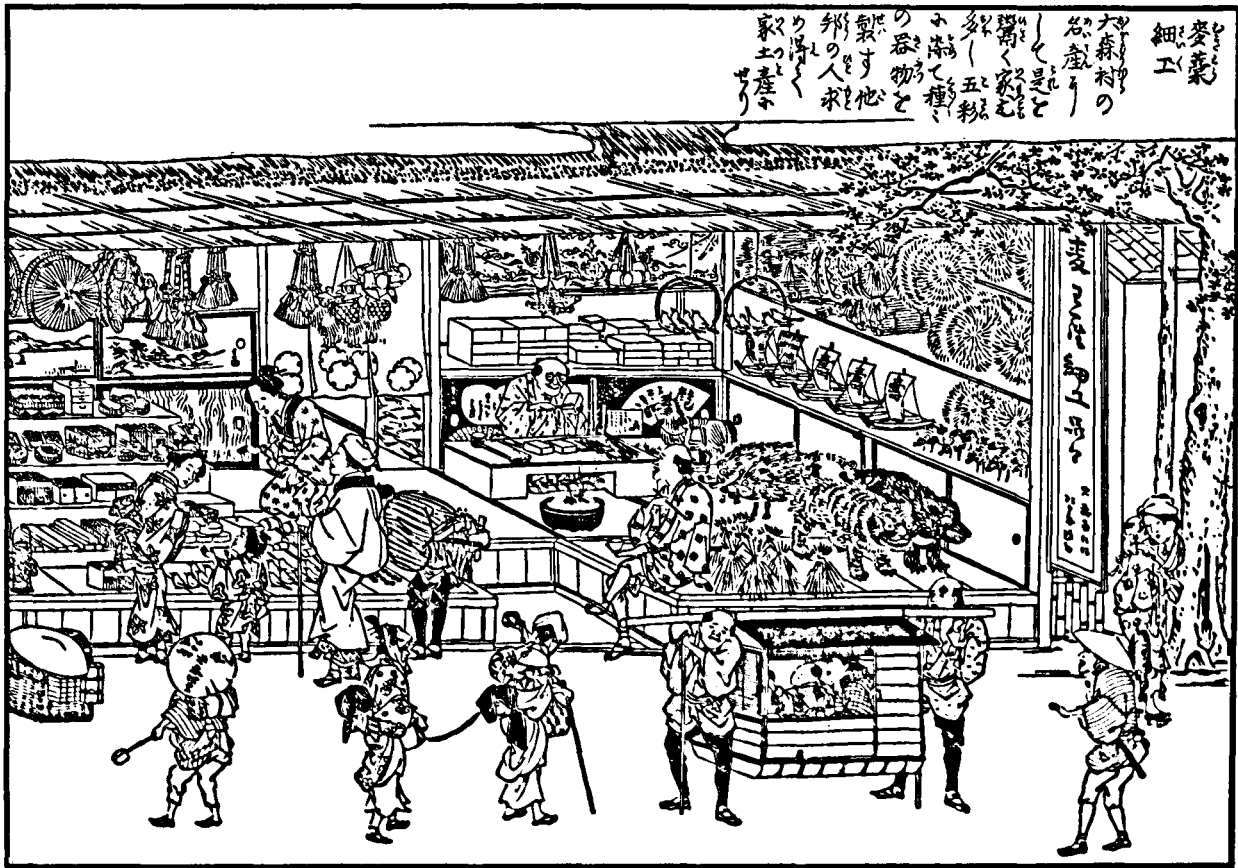
Retail Trade, Edo. A book and colour-print shop. The accounting department is inside on the left. (Edo)



A drug-store along the Tokaido. (Note grinding machine on right). (Edo).



Sellers of "special" cooked rice sweets along the Tokaido. (Edo).

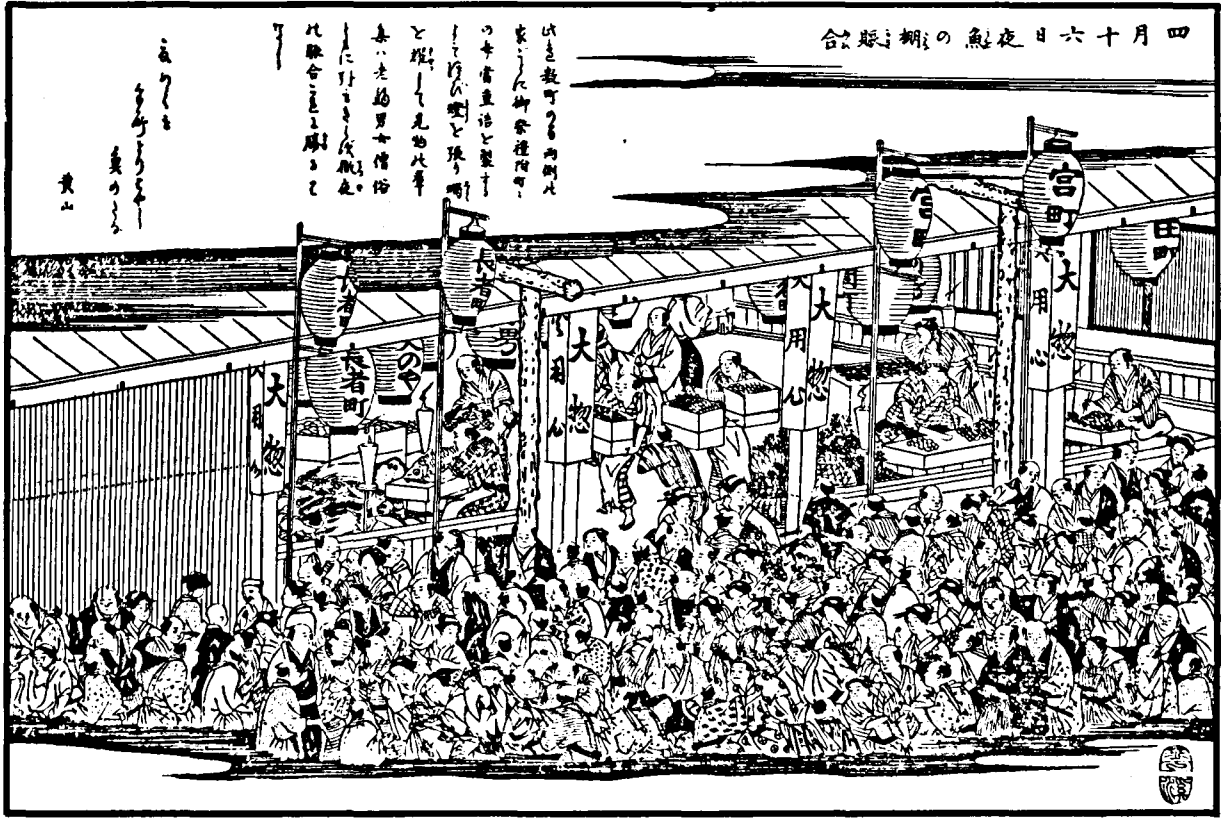


Edo suburb. A souvenir-shop for travellers. (Edo).

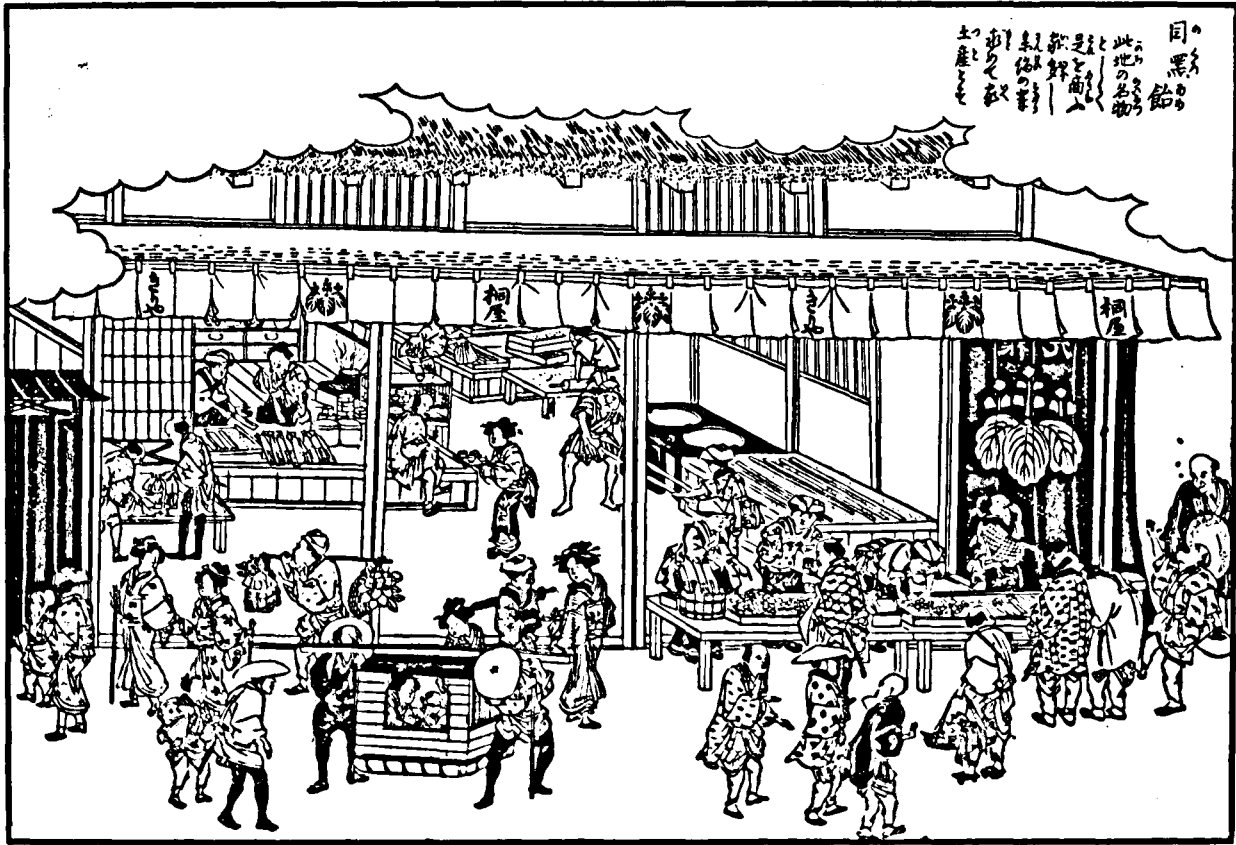
四月十六日 魚夜祭の期 合

はと敷町の魚屋
家々、御座り、
の年當並治と製す
と、御座り、
と、御座り、
真一老翁、
此、御座り、

まがり
まがり
まがり
黄山



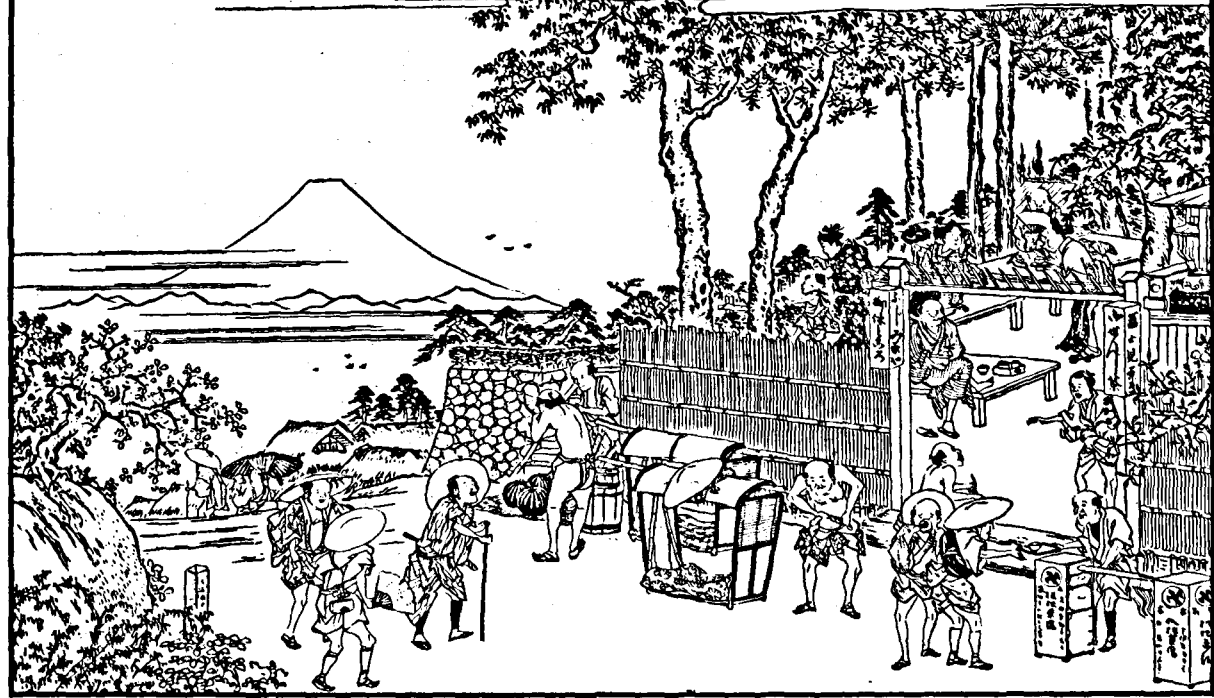
Nagoya. Fish and fruit shops at festival time. (Owari).



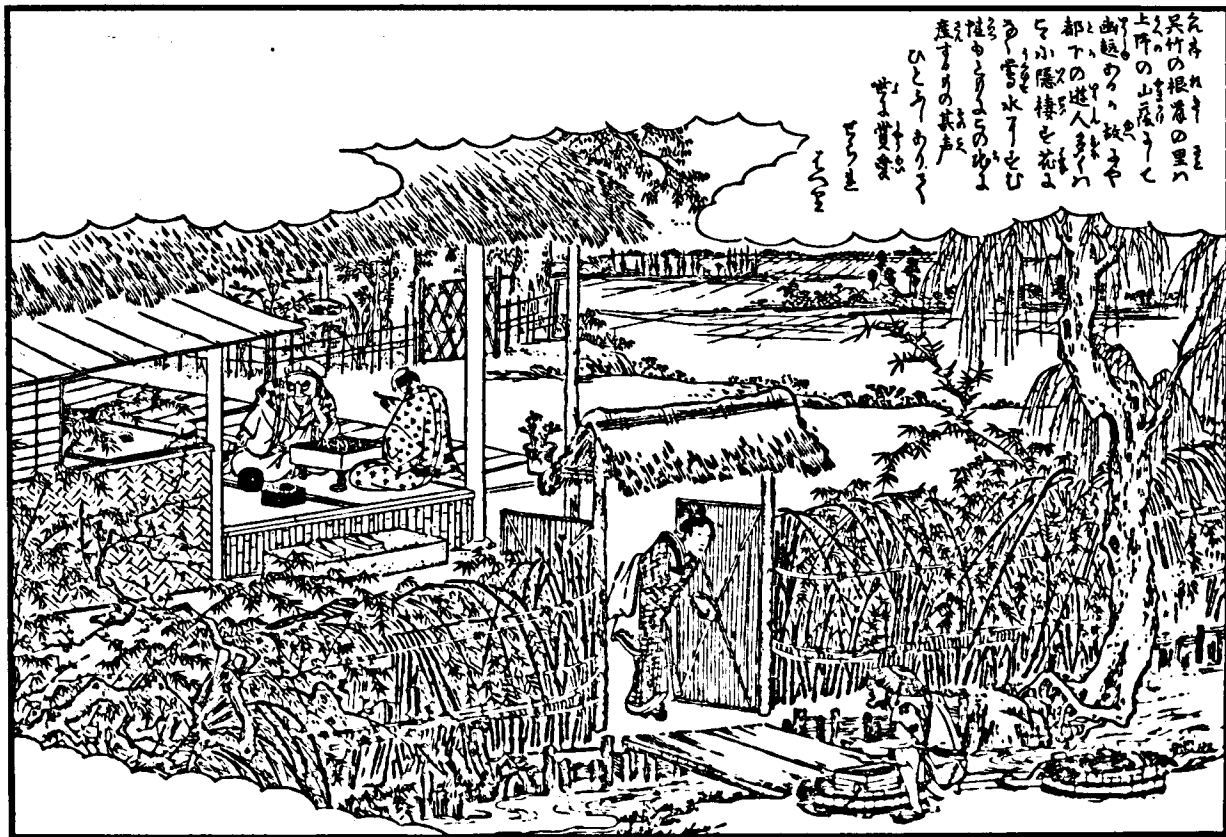
Edo. Manufacturer and seller of a "proprietary" brand of confectionery.

分時る
 命と
 とぬり
 砂り
 入り
 き
 松吉居

三見茶亭
 兩邊より
 く笑答の白
 こぼれぬ
 と柳と云ふ
 今の色ぞあ
 るとれん
 として又云
 かり霞東は
 一ふりく時
 と其觀と
 ひ実と
 佳景あり



Pedlars of medicines and fruit and a tea-garden on the Tokaido. (Edo).



大みねの根原の里の
 上町の山原の里の
 幽い山原の里の
 都下の遊人まじりの
 小橋を渡る
 雪水でとじ
 陸中よりよりの水
 産するの其声
 ひとやありき
 世に賞受
 ことしと

A Fishmonger on the outskirts of Edo. (Edo).

V. Employment and Apprenticeship in Business Houses.

H. Wigmore. Introduction pp. 127-8, 132.

The predominance of the family idea is the key to the methods of Old Japanese commerce.¹ Long before the idea of a guild and its shares (kabu) came the notion of a family as an entity and of its business as a kabu belonging to that family. Since every individual existed only as a member of a particular family, the young man growing up and desiring to become independent could do one of two things only, in the social order of the times ; he could ask to be set up by his father (or by his elder brother, if the latter had become head of the family) in a branch family, or he could enter some other family, either by going to it as a younger son or a son-in-law, or by receiving the headship immediately, in a case where the family was on the point of dying out. . . .

Outside the family circle proper, the idea of a business as an entity, the possession of a family, and the constant perpetuation of the spirit of unity, affected especially the apprentices and other employees of a commercial house. These were taken into the household and formed a component element in its daily life. They lived on the premises ; for the residence was also the shop, and back of the shop-rooms whether spacious or contracted, were seen (and may be still) rooms and vistas of rooms, forming the family apartments, with greenery, fountains, and stone-lanterns, the miniature landscape of the exquisite gardens which all the more pretentious houses possessed.² . . .

The normal destiny of the employee who showed himself willing and dutiful was his establishment as a branch-house at the end of a suitable period of service.

Editor : Dr. Wigmore gives in his Introduction a fairly

1. Editor's Note. The same might be said of modern Japanese commerce.

2. Editor's Note. In the central parts of the cities this is becoming a thing of the past, as buildings of concrete or with concrete-faces have been erected. Little change has taken place in the other parts.

lengthy description of the apprenticeship and branch house system. As, however, this may be reprinted shortly it seems better to include some supplementary material.

The following is an account from Prof. Koda's book on the system of apprenticeship in Money Exchange firms and it seems to have been fairly typical of conditions in trade and industry generally :—

S. Koda. Edo and Osaka.

The detchi or apprentices were usually obtained at the age of from nine to eleven¹ from a branch family of the employer. If there were few sons in the branch families they might be brought in from the outside, but in this case a document of guarantee would be required. Eldest sons were not liked as apprentices, as they would be removed as soon as they were old enough to take up their inheritance in their own family, and the long years of training would have been wasted. Also older boys, or men, were not looked upon with favour as it was possible that there might be some undesirable reasons for their being out of work. The first tasks of the apprentice were rather those of a houseboy and he would have to look after the tobacco sets and serve tea and accompany his master when he went out. He was then known as a *kozo* or *bozu* (lit. little priest) as his hair was shaved in *Kappa* style.² At 12 or 13, he would begin to do work in the office, and at 15 or 16 his hair would be grown in "oval front style" (*hiramaegami*) then in "square front style" (*sumimaegami* or *han* [half] *genbuku*) until his coming of age (*genbuku*). Before reaching *hiramaegami* age, he would learn to act as messenger, but for the collection of silver bills only as there was no fear that these would be exchanged for cash even if lost in the street, for they were used solely for settling transactions between

1. Editor's Note. The original reads "ten to twelve." In Japan and China a child is considered as one year old from the day of his birth.

2. Editor's Note. *Kappa* is a mythical river reptile. This style of hair-dressing is that seen on the Japanese dolls, so common in the West in the early years of the present century.



A Ryogae-ya (Money-exchange firm). One apprentice carries a writing-brush in his hair, which is cut in sumimae-gami style. Rice).

exchange-houses by means of book-entries. After hiramagami age, he would be allowed to collect gold bills, which were exchanged for cash. For this he had to learn how to recognise forged money, a task which could be achieved only after he had bought his experience through mistakes. After coming of age, he would be allowed to handle the firm's bill portfolio, the cash notes brought in by customers, and later the scales. Later still he would look after the exchange quotations, pay daily visits to the Kitahama Exchange and eventually become a book-keeper. Over the book-keeper was the manager who was generally responsible for the business. In addition there might be the "rō-bun" (lit. elders) consisting of elderly men who would be consulted on important matters. . . .

The number of apprentices varied greatly from firm to firm. One Exchange House, Sakugoro Kajimaya, had thirty employees, half of whom were apprentices. The family records of Jiroemon Mitsui, who was a governmental exchange agent in Edo, show that in 1843, there was a manager, Kobei, 31 years of age and 23 employees, excluding those who lived out. Each firm had its own particular methods of organisation so that the system of setting up "branch houses" (bekke) varied from firm to firm. Under one system,¹ after a boy had started as an apprentice it would take at least twenty years service and a considerable effort on his part before he could obtain a bekke. However, when he was able to reach this point the treatment he received was very pleasant for him. He was allowed to live separately from his master who would provide his household expenses and give him part of the profits of the business. Should he act as a representative of his master at the daimyo's warehouse (in order to supply funds or transact with the warehouse officials), he, as well as his master, would be given a certain sum in rice. Also his son might later be employed by his master. Thus everything went well if his son became an apprentice to the main house and remained loyal and healthy, but if he failed to do so or died, his

1. Editor's Note. Prof. Koda says that under this type of bekke, the one-time apprentice still went daily to his master's office and helped him with his business. The word here really meant "a branch family" rather than "branch office."

master would have to persuade the father to adopt someone else as his successor. Such relations between employer and employee were very similar to those of an adopted son in samurai families. Under another system, where the bekke meant a separate business, the beneficiary would receive a certain sum as capital and have certain customers allotted to him and his relations with the master's family would be permanent. He would use his master's trade name (noren—shop curtain) and his business would be related to that of his master in accordance with the regulations of his trade association. In order that he might join the same organisation, the master would introduce him to the association and he would be allowed to enter for a fee less than that for ordinary applicants. A branch house which faithfully served its main house was known as "Shinruinami" (lit. equivalent to a member of the family).

The following is a specimen acknowledgment of a former apprentice to his master, at the time of his setting up his own establishment :

11th Month 1803.

I have served you as a Hokonin (servant) since the 4th month of 1785 and through your kindness I became during last year a bekke, and have now received 3 kwan silver as capital and 30 ryo for equipment and furniture. For these I wish to offer my thanks. In addition, through your introduction, I now belong to the Dried Sardine Merchants' Association, for which you provided the entrance fee.

My debt of gratitude is great and I will henceforward obey the orders of the main house.

In sincere token of which I set my seal :

Gohei Omiya,
(Elder brother, Ichirobei),
Tarumi village, Harima

To Chobei Omiya.



Echigo-ya. The Mitsui family's Edo shops. Note delivery boys with bundles on their backs. (Edo).

Summary of certain sections of "The House of Mitsui, A Record of Three Centuries." Tokyo, 1933. (Mitsui Gomei Kaisha)

The most famous of the Tokugawa merchants, whose business today has expanded into one of the largest commercial concerns in the world, were Sakubei Mitsui, the son of Echigo no-kamī and his son, Hachirobei. Sakubei left his work as samurai and established a manufacturing and trading business in saké and soy, at Matsuzaka in Ise, at the beginning of the 17th century. Hachirobei, his youngest son went to Edo in the early days of its expansion, as apprentice to his eldest brother, and after 14 years of service he returned to Ise and carried on the business of money lending for 23 years. In 1673, he took his six sons to Kyoto and set up a business in silk piece goods, chiefly Nishijin products, which he forwarded to Edo for sale in his branch retail store. At the same time he started a banking business in Edo. Later he opened a branch bank in Osaka which enabled him to act, not only for private customers, but as merchant for the Government, whose accounts between Osaka and Edo he settled by bills of exchange. He died in 1694 and branch houses were formed for his numerous children. "His will minutely prescribed the relations between the central family and its collateral houses. Each family was allotted its portion of the inheritance, and provision was made for the organisation and management of the business in fraternal co-partnership."¹

Author and Date Unknown: Maxims for Merchants. (Shoka-Kemmon-shu). Tsuzoku Keizai Bunko.

Both the main and branch houses must be very careful of their daily conduct, and the main house, being the leader, must be

1. The publication also states that the constitution of the firm was based upon his will. "It has been modified to meet the needs of changing times, but the spirit of the inherited family code remains the essential core of the constitution, which today governs the Mitsui family and firm with its world-wide interests, and the Omotokata, the central administrative body, has become the incorporated Mitsui Gomei Kaisha, the Mitsui Partnership Company."

prepared for every event, by which is meant that its head must have a sound moral outlook. If the leader is foolish, the followers will naturally get into disorder. The main house must behave to the branch like an elder brother and the branch, in turn must rely upon it for its instructions. Recently a number of main houses have behaved badly and through immorality have lost their property and ordered the branch to give them financial aid. Such orders, the branch will not receive in good grace and the main house will threaten to take back the family name and shop curtain. Should matters reach this stage, the branch will become determined not to yield unless forced to do so and the quarrel may come before the Courts. The result will be that the two houses will break off their relations with one another, the main house will have no further opportunities of getting money from the branch, and, apart from these business troubles, the main house will have to sell its furniture and other belongings. Its members will have to get rid of their servants, and their life will become very precarious. . . . It must be realised that the house asking for this help is not the same as that which originally set up the branch, whose benefactors lived some generations ago. Also, the property was not given so that the main house might obtain gold from the branch later, but simply because they hoped that the branch would become prosperous, and that perhaps, if in later years, there was trouble through the misconduct of some members of the main house, they might rely upon the branch's advice. The main house originally had no intention of asking for money. . . . If a member of the branch family becomes dissolute, he should be warned by relatives and those who use the same business curtain. Should he disregard this, the main house should warn him. If he still does not reform, the Courts should be asked to settle the matter by deciding upon the sum necessary for his living expenses which will enable him to go into retirement. The main house must not, however, act selfishly in the matter. First of all they should summon the members of the branch house and their own relations and after the opinions of each have been heard, the most suitable course should be followed. If any member thinks the plan unreasonable he should explain his opinion

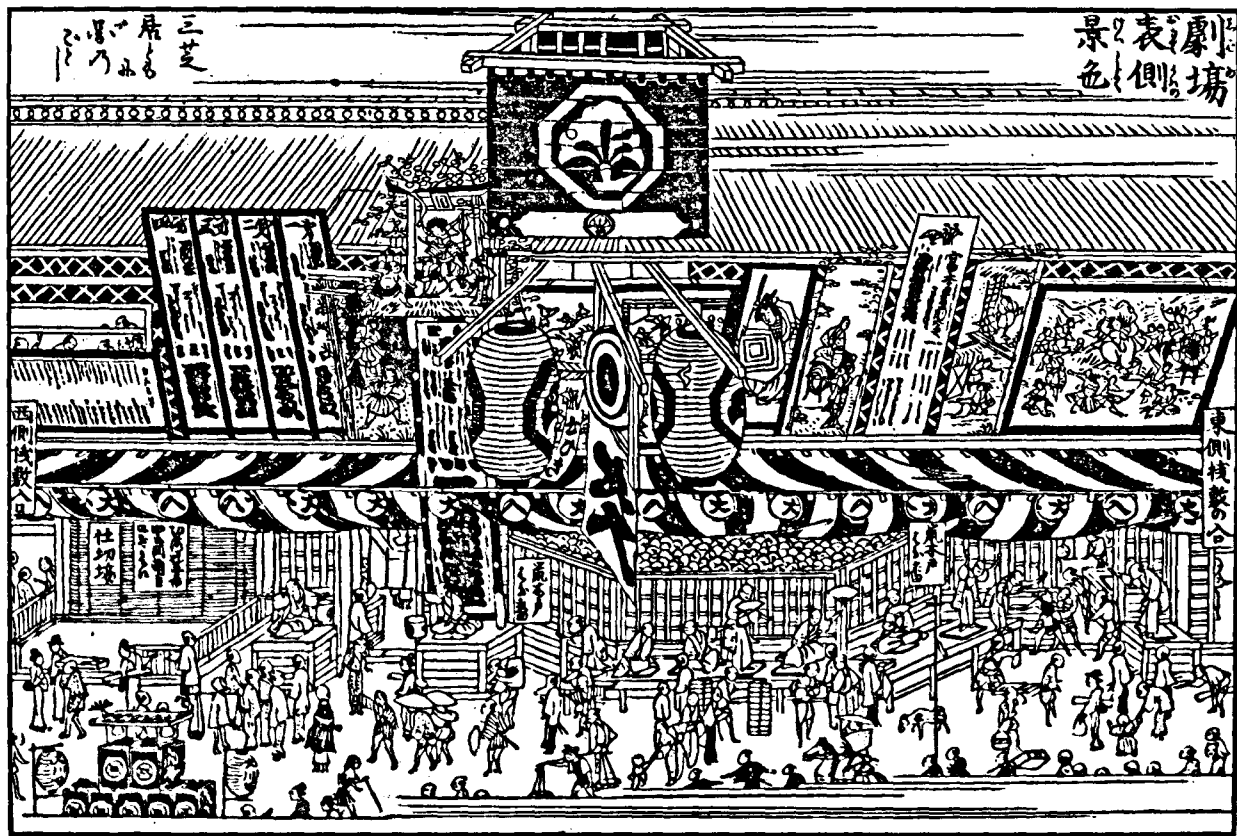
and a decision should be reached which unites the good points of all suggestions.

The bekke being a branch of the main family, is, if necessary, naturally required to provide it with help, not only of a monetary nature, but of all kinds ; just as when a tree shows signs of withering, the branches must be wholly or partly lopped off, in order to preserve the main stem. The branch house should also struggle on behalf of the whole concern to acquire savings. Should the head of the main house be dull-witted and not suited to act as supervisor, a member of a branch house should be sent to the main house to act as guardian. . . .

I am not considering those branch houses started with abundant capital, but rather those which receive only some three to five kwan of silver and which must be very careful about their financial policy. Some people beginning such a branch house, imagine that they will be able to carry on business, simply by opening their premises, filled with a determination to settle down to a life of ease, with the memory of the hardships they had when they were employees. After building luxurious shops, and entertaining their relatives and friends they use up more than half of their capital. This is very wrong-headed. At first it is essential to live economically . . . and it is better to get the master to spread his help over a number of years instead of giving one lump sum. . . .

Hoko-nin (Servants or Apprentices).

“Hoko” literally means dedicating one self to the public, but in the form used here it means devotion to a master. So even for trifling actions, the master’s permission must first be obtained, and the true hokonin must obey the orders of his master, do everything with sincerity and diligence and strive for his advantage. This is behaving like a “chugi-mono” (loyal person). Confucius said, “Reward comes from effort,” so although you may not expect promotion or an increased income, you will get your reward, provided you try to help your master. But even so-called good employees make the mistake of saying, “I am trying hard to do this work, but the master does not realize or



The entrance to a theatre. Edo. (Theatre).

recognise the fact." This is very wrong, for although your master may not acknowledge your efforts, other people know how well you are working and will wish to employ you should you be discharged. Do not change masters but stick to one and try to bring better results than before. . . .

These good results will be brought by divine protection (Myo-ga). Myo signifies dark and ga something extra, and the two together mean that if you act according to the divine will you will get something extra from the dark, namely good-fortune.

On the other hand, some employees act against the divine will. They are taken on as apprentices at the age of 9 or 10, receive various favours, are brought up and reach genbuku. Then, unbeknown to their masters they begin to frequent the one-scene theatres, and carry cloth tobacco pouches.¹

Later they develop more luxurious habits, get their clothes made privately, visit the licensed quarters and work out schemes for borrowing money, ultimately bringing great loss to their masters.² From early October, it is usual to see clerks in commercial houses using cushions when sitting on the matting, yet the families of most of them are not prosperous and in many cases quite poor. Their parents probably always wear straw sandals and are porters or pedlars. Or if they come from country districts they belong to small farming families of the mizunomi (water drinkers)³ class, who in summer suffer from exposure to the sun, in the dry season from a shortage of water, and in winter

1. Dr. Wigmore points out that an apprentice "was obliged to demean himself as became his position, and was not allowed to wear the tobacco-pouch, the outer-garment (haori) or fine shoes, the customs differing more or less, of course, in each house. In some of these, restrictions were enforced even after he had reached a higher grade of service. Sometimes a special dress was worn by the apprentices. In the house of Tennojiya Gohci, for instance, the traditional founder of the Osaka banking business, they were required to wear the long sleeves which children's garments have. In another house their clothes had light-green linings; the customs of each house differing." Wigmore. Introduction Page 128.

2. Compare this and the rest of the section with Matt. Bramble in Smollet's "Expedition of Humphry Clinker," written in 1770. "Every clerk, apprentice, and even waiter of a tavern or coffee house, maintains a gelding by himself or in partnership and assumes the air and apparel of a petit-maitre."

3. The various classes of farmers will be described in the volume on agriculture.

walk out in the early frost and return home by the light of the stars. For such people food and clothing are of the poorest, and even in the most severe cold they do not put on double garments. If only these boys would think of their poor parents, they could not bear to use these soft cushions. Even having matting should make them appreciate their comfortable lot. However, they forget their people's hard circumstances, and turn, as it were, into robbers by running up serious debts and then try to meet their liabilities by speculating in currencies or rice on the exchanges. But in their foolishness they lose divine help, their speculation is unsuccessful and their debts are doubled. . . .

It is the task of a good hoko-nin to support his master when he is sick, or if he dies, his widow and children, and also to try and increase his master's wealth. Some who act in this way, however, pride themselves on their good deeds, adopt a superior manner, raise themselves to the master's level, and wear similar clothes to him. They begin to look down on the other employees, favour those who flatter them and slander those who do not, even though they may be working for the good of the business. As for employees who neglect any of their orders, they hard-heartedly refuse to pardon them. Again, they mix their own interests with those of their master and behave in an immoral fashion towards his widow, who may acquiesce of her own free will or in order to gain advantage to the business. The master must be respected more than his own parents and the widow be considered more important than his mother. . . .

VI. The Shoji Kwanrei Ruishu (Collection of Commercial Customs)

• This basic collection of materials, first discovered for foreigners by Dr. Wigmore, is now contained in Volume 49 of the *Nihon Keizai Taiten*. It was prepared in 1880 by an official Commission under Count Terajima, with the aim of assisting the incorporation of existing Japanese Commercial Customs in the new Commercial Code which was being drawn up. Evidence was taken in all parts of the country concerning the local usages which

had developed over many centuries, but particularly during the Tokugawa period.

“ It consists of reports, including verbatim notes, submitted by merchants, business organisations and provincial governments in answer to questionnaires about the commercial customs that obtained in the various parts of Japan in the period from the closing years of the Tokugawa regime to the early years of Meiji. It forms a good reference volume for all the commercial customs that prevailed in the days preceding the Meiji Restoration.” (Introduction by the late Professor Sei-ichi Takimoto).

Dr. Hermann Roesler in reporting on his Draft Code in 1884, said that “ the native commercial customs have not been incorporated in this Draft Code, because they were not definitely known at the time the work of drafting was in progress.” Also, he regretted “ that these Japanese legal ideas and customs have not so far been brought to the notice of the draftsmen . . . yet it is earnestly hoped that this may still be done.” This state of affairs is difficult to understand as his report was submitted to the Emperor only a month before the presentation of the Shoji Kwanrei Ruishu. Perhaps as so often happened in those forward-looking times, this important material dealing with the past was ignored.

Dr. Wigmore, last year, initiated the translation of the book in Japan. The table of contents and a few sections have now been completed.

The work is divided into sections dealing with :—Merchants, commerce, account books,¹ mortgages and liens, buying and selling agents, sales and purchase contracts, freight contracts, breach of contract etc., and has an appendix discussing kabu nakama, negotiable instruments, sales for future delivery, and employment. There is even one interesting section which gives an account of local opinions on the desirability of businesses run by women. The whole should throw great light on Japanese ways of thought and living.

1. *Editor's Note* (January 1937). Since the above was written, the greater part of the first three sections has been completed. That dealing with account-books is particularly detailed and provides quite new material.

End of the First Part
of
“Tokugawa Japan.”

Further volumes in this Series will contain :

An Outline Economic History of Japan by Takao Tsuchiya, Assistant Professor, Tokyo Imperial University.

Materials (mainly concerned with the Tokugawa period) on :

Agriculture, Sericulture, other Primary Industries and Manufacturing ; Social Classes ; Money, Banking and Prices.

Other suitable materials for which adequate translation and publishing facilities can be arranged.