

Tokugawa: Era of Peace

“Great Peace throughout the Realm,” or *Tenka Taihei*, was the phrase used to describe the peaceful conditions which prevailed over two and a half centuries. There were intermittent peasant uprisings and disturbances connected with masterless samurai, but altogether the mood of peace and prosperity prevailed during the entire period when the Tokugawa family governed the country.

The long-lasting stability did not come by accident. It was a result of the deliberate policies adopted by the Tokugawa *bakufu* when it formally took power in 1603. Tokugawa Ieyasu improved on Hideyoshi's policy of indirect rule through the familiar *daimyō* system, by establishing three major categories of *daimyō*. There were the *shimpan* which consisted of collateral descendants of the Tokugawa *shōgun*, the *fudai* which were comprised of descendants of those loyal to Tokugawa Ieyasu before the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, and the *tozama* or outer *daimyō* who were enemies or allies of Tokugawa Ieyasu at the time of the battle of Sekigahara and became Tokugawa vassals only after the battle. In the assignment of domains, care was taken to reward the Tokugawa vassals and allies, and to ensure loyalty of the *tozama*. The *bakufu* possessed the power of reassigning domains or confiscating them. An effective system of surveillance was maintained through the *metsuke* (inspectors). *Daimyō* families were not allowed to contract marriages without approval from the *bakufu*, and major *daimyō* families were bound to the Tokugawa through marriages. A system of leaving hostages in Edo became compulsory in 1634, and the following year the system of alternate attendance (*sankin kōtai*) became institutionalized (Document 1 through 3).

The domains where the *daimyō* ruled were called *han*. They maintained governments which were replicas of the Tokugawa *bakufu*. The Japanese historians often call this juxtaposition of the *bakufu* and *han* governments the *baku-han* system. On the one hand was the *bakufu*, representing the centralizing power,

and on the other hand, the *han*, representing the remnants of feudalistic tendencies. Yet the system did work. If the *bakufu* realized no tax revenues from the *han*, it was nevertheless relieved of the burdens of local government by the latter. It could also order the *han* governments to engage in the building of the Edo castle and other civil engineering duties or to perform military services. The existence of the *han*, which numbered as many as 295 in the early Tokugawa period, ensured the continuation of local diversity. This in turn served to infuse vitality in the cultural attainment of the period.

The economic basis of both the *bakufu* and *han* governments was in agriculture. Thus control of the rural area became of paramount importance. The Tokugawa legislation generally aimed at controlling farmers and the lands. The cadastral surveys conducted by Hideyoshi and the later ones under Tokugawa served as the basis of taxation. The Tokugawa *bakufu* directly controlled one-fourth of the lands, and its magistrates (*daikan*), working under the *kanjō bugyō* (commissioner of finance), came into close contact with the day-to-day affairs of the rural areas (Documents 4 through 9).

In spite of their generally agrarian oriented mentality, control of major urban areas was not neglected, and two *machi bugyō* (town commissioners) each were assigned to Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. (Documents 10 and 11). Buddhist temples, along with Shintō shrines, were also placed under a rigid system of control, and the Buddhist temples were made an arm of the government in its system of surveillance of its citizens (Document 12).

The decision to close the country was a momentous one. The pros and cons of that decision cannot be debated here. However, suffice to say, it did contribute to the stability and peace that the Tokugawa rulers sought from that decision (Documents 13 through 17).

The Tokugawa peace, in turn, brought forth prosperity. The rich varieties of commercial activities experienced during this period are contained in Documents 18 through 22. Students of economic history may find in the training of apprentices, described in Document 20, practices akin to the training of employees undertaken by modern Japanese corporations. Some of today's famed Japanese management practices, such as *nemawashi* and corporate philosophy, can also find their precursors in the Tokugawa period. They are included as Documents 23 and 24. Growth of commerce gave the *chōnin* class an opportunity to redefine their role in society. Documents 25 and 26 relate to this subject.

CONTROL OF VASSALS

In 1611, Ieyasu felt strong enough to exact an oath of fealty from the daimyō of central and western Japan, and in 1612 he imposed a similar covenant of submission on the daimyō of the northern provinces. The initial oath was taken by the daimyō at the Castle of Nijō in Kyoto. At that time the Toyotomi forces were

in Osaka, and the capture of Osaka Castle was still four years away. In exacting these terms, Ieyasu had especially in mind the loyalty of those *tozama daimyō* who had been vassals of the Toyotomi. The oath was the first ordinance which defined the duties of the Tokugawa vassals. (Document 1).

Buke Shohatto (Document 2) was issued in 1615, a year before Ieyasu's death. It laid down fundamental rules for the conduct of the entire military class. It was amended frequently, and here the amendments of Kanei (1635) which gave specific instructions on the system of alternate attendance (*sankin kōtai*) are reproduced (Document 3). Otherwise the substance of Buke Shohatto remained the same and was reaffirmed on the accession of each new shōgun. It enjoined the samurai to the virtues of obedience, sacrifice, and frugality. Its attempt to lay down standards of dress and food reminds one of similar attempts made by Yoritomo, the Hōjō Regents, and the sengoku daimyō (see Documents 3 through 6 in Chapter 7). Each of the articles was accompanied by comments drawn from earlier authorities, such as historical works and old laws. Frequently these comments consisted of appropriate quotations from the Confucian classics. The document was drafted by the Zen monk, Sūden (1569–1633) in collaboration with other scholars. After approval by Ieyasu who was in his retirement, the document was sent to Shōgun Hidetada. The second shōgun in turn promulgated the laws in Fushimi Castle before the assembly of the daimyō who had also come to witness a performance of Nō.

1 Oath of Fealty, 1611¹

1. We will respect the laws and formularies established by the *bakufu* for generations since the time of the General of the Right (Yoritomo); out of concern for our own interest, we will strictly obey any regulations which may be issued by Edo hereafter.

2. If there will be anyone who violates the laws and regulations or goes contrary to the instructions given from above (Edo), we will not harbor any such person in our respective domains.

3. If any samurai or other subordinate officer in our employ is found guilty of rebellion or homicide, and that fact is reported to us, we pledge to each other that we shall not take the offender into our employ.

In case any of the foregoing articles is violated, upon investigation conducted by Edo, we shall be immediately liable to be severely dealt with in accordance with the laws and regulations.

Sixteenth year of Keichō [1611], fourth month, 16th day.

Jointly signed by the *daimyō* in Kyoto

¹Ishii Ryōsuke, *Gotōke Reijō* (Codes and Regulations Issued by the Tokugawa Bakufu), in *Kinsei Hōsei Shiryō Sōsho* (A Compendium of Documents on Early Modern Legal and Institutional History), Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1959), p. 1.

2 Laws of Military Households (Buke Shohatto), 1615²

1. The study of literature and the practice of the military arts, including archery and horsemanship, must be cultivated diligently.

“On the left hand literature, on the right hand use of arms”³ was the rule of the ancients. Both must be pursued concurrently. Archery and horsemanship are essential skills for military men. It is said that war is a curse. However, it is resorted to only when it is inevitable. In time of peace, do not forget the possibility of disturbances. Train yourselves and be prepared.

2. Avoid group drinking and wild parties.

The existing codes strictly forbid these matters. Especially, when one indulges in licentious sex, or becomes addicted to gambling, it creates a cause for the destruction of one’s own domain.

3. Anyone who violates the law must not be harbored in any domain.

Law is the foundation of social order. Reason may be violated in the name of law, but law may not be violated in the name of reason. Anyone who violates the law must be severely punished.

4. The *daimyō*, the lesser lords (*shōmyō*), and those who hold land under them (*kyūnin*) must at once expel from their domains any of their own retainers or soldiers who are charged with treason or murder.

Anyone who entertains a treasonous design can become an instrument for destroying the nation and a deadly sword to annihilate the people. How can this be tolerated?

5. Hereafter, do not allow people from other domains to mingle or reside in your own domain. This ban does not apply to people from your own domain.

Each domain has its own customs different from others. If someone wishes to divulge his own domain’s secrets to people of another domain, or to report the secrets of another domain to people of his own domain, he is showing a sign of his intent to curry favors.

6. The castles in various domains may be repaired, provided the matter is reported without fail. New construction of any kind is strictly forbidden.

A castle with a parapet exceeding ten feet in height and 3,000 feet in length is injurious to the domain. Steep breastworks and deep moats are causes of a great rebellion.

7. If innovations are being made or factions are being formed in a neighboring domain, it must be reported immediately.

Men have a proclivity toward forming factions, but seldom do they attain their goals. There are some who [on account of their factions] disobey their masters and fathers, and feud with their neighboring villages. Why must one engage in [meaningless] innovations, instead of obeying old examples?

²*Ibid.*, pp. 1–3.

³Traditionally left takes precedence over right.

8. Marriage must not be contracted in private [without approval from the *bakufu*].

Marriage is the union symbolizing the harmony of *yin* and *yang*, and it cannot be entered into lightly. The thirty-eighth hexagram *kuei* [in the *Book of Changes*], says "Marriage is not to be contracted to create disturbance. Let the longing of male and female for each other be satisfied. If disturbance is to take hold, then the proper time will slip by."⁴ The "Peach Young" poem of the *Book of Odes* says "When men and women observe what is correct, and marry at the proper time, there will be no unattached women in the land." To form a factional alliance through marriage is the root of treason.

9. The *daimyō*'s visits (*sankin*) to Edo must follow the following regulations:

The *Shoku Nihongi (Chronicles of Japan, Continued)* contains a regulation saying that "Unless entrusted with some official duty, no one is permitted to assemble his clansmen at his own pleasure. Furthermore no one is to have more than twenty horsemen as his escort within the limits of the capital. . . ." Hence it is not permissible to be accompanied by a large force of soldiers. For the *daimyō* whose revenues range from 1,000,000 *koku* down to 200,000 *koku* of rice, not more than twenty horsemen may accompany them. For those whose revenues are 100,000 *koku* or less, the number is to be proportionate to their incomes. On official business, however, the number of persons accompanying him can be proportionate to the rank of each *daimyō*.

10. The regulations with regard to dress materials must not be breached.

Lords and vassals, superiors and inferiors, must observe what is proper within their positions in life. Without authorization, no retainer may indiscriminately wear fine white damask, white wadded silk garments, purple silk kimono, purple silk linings, and kimono sleeves which bear no family crest. Lately retainers and soldiers have taken to wearing rich damask and silk brocade. This was not sanctioned by the old laws, and must now be kept within bounds.

11. Persons without rank are not to ride in palanquins.

Traditionally there have been certain families entitled to ride palanquins without permission, and there have been others receiving such permission. Lately ordinary retainers and soldiers have taken to riding in palanquins, which is a wanton act. Hereafter, the *daimyō* of various domains, their close relatives, and their distinguished officials may ride palanquins without special permission. In addition, briefly, doctors and astrologers, persons over sixty years of age, and those who are sick or invalid may ride palanquins after securing necessary permission. If retainers and soldiers wantonly ride palanquins, their masters shall be held responsible. The above restrictions do not apply to court nobles, Buddhist prelates, and those who have taken the tonsure.

⁴In arriving at this interpretation, I have consulted Honda Hitoshi, *Eki (Book of Changes)* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1965), pp. 284-285.

12. The samurai of all domains must practice frugality. When the rich proudly display their wealth, the poor are ashamed of not being on a par with them. There is nothing which will corrupt public morality more than this, and therefore it must be severely restricted.

13. The lords of all domains must select as their officials men of administrative ability.

The way of governing a country is to get the right men. If the lord clearly discerns between the merits and faults of his retainers, he can administer due rewards and punishments. If the domain has good men, it flourishes more than ever. If it has no good men, it is doomed to perish. This is an admonition which the wise men of old bequeathed to us.

Take heed and observe the purport of the foregoing rules.

First year of Genna [1615], seventh month.

3 Amendments of Kanei to Buke Shohatto, 1635⁵ It is now settled that the *daimyō*, and *shōmyō* are to serve in turns (*kōtai*) at Edo. They shall proceed hither (*sankin*) every year in summer during the course of the fourth month. Lately the numbers of retainers and servants accompanying them have become excessive. This is not only wasteful to the domains and districts, but also imposes considerable hardship on the people. Hereafter suitable reductions in this respect must be made. However, if they are ordered to go to Kyoto, follow the instructions given. On official business, however, the number of persons accompanying him can be proportionate to the rank of each *daimyō* or *shōmyō*.

13. When an occasion arises that the hostages given by subvassals to their lords can be punished by banishment or death, that punishment must not be meted out before receiving a consent order from the above (the *bakufu*). If the circumstances are such as to necessitate instant execution of a hostage, a detailed account must be given to the higher authority (*bakufu*).

15. The roads, post horses, ferries, and bridges must be carefully attended to ensure continuous service. Do not permit any impediment to efficient communication.

16. No private toll bars, or new toll bars over river crossings or harbors may be erected.

17. No vessels of over 500 *koku* burden are to be built.

METHODS OF RURAL CONTROL

The official policy of the Tokugawa bakufu was to emphasize agriculture to the neglect of commerce and industry. This in its idealized terms placed the samurai at the helm with farmers—who were primary producers—as second in the social

⁵Ishii, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4.

hierarchy of four classes. In reality, farmers were nothing but pawns in the bakufu's and daimyō's quest for economic stability, and different measures were adopted to control them.

Document 4 was an order issued by the domanial lord of Echizen in 1632. It sought to establish a group of five (*goningumi*), which was given joint responsibilities in mutual surveillance to prevent crimes and absconding, and in the payment of taxes. In a modified form this was widely practiced throughout the country, including the urban areas (see Document 10). Document 5, dated 1603, gave the farmers the rights to move from one district to another, and to appeal to the higher authorities directly, if there were any wrongdoing committed by the domanial lord or the magistrate. In this way, farmers could be utilized to inform on the offending officials, and thus strengthen the control of the bakufu over them. Meanwhile the bakufu could continue to collect a set amount of annual taxes from the peasantry. An example of how the peasants were treated by their domanial lord and magistrates can be found in Article 7 of the same document.

The two proscriptions of 1643 against the sale of lands in perpetuity are given in Document 6. These measures were issued in an attempt to prevent the appearance of large farmers who could in turn reduce small owner-cultivators into minor tenant farmers. The same fear of creating a large number of tenant farmers, and of rendering a once productive farm desolate, led the bakufu to issue an order prohibiting parcelization of land (Document 7). The commentary gives a rationale similar to the ones which advocated the institution of primogeniture (see Documents 26 and 27 of Chapter 6).

The main concern of the domanial lords was to have good farm workers who could bring in sufficient tax revenue for them. They would ask the farmers to work hard, and also ask the wives and family members to serve producing members in such a way as to ensure high productivity. Document 8 was written by one Naoe Kanetsugu, a retainer of the daimyō of Aizu by the name of Uesugi, in 1619. His injunctions show the attitudes of the lords over the peasants. There was no regard for their rights, and if the peasant's wife was not useful as a worker, a divorce was strongly suggested. The regulations for villagers (Document 9) issued by the bakufu in 1643 give in minute detail what the peasants could wear and what they could eat. There was no room for luxury which would endanger the peasants' ability to pay taxes. Included in the categories of luxury was consumption of rice by the peasantry.

4 The Group of Five (*Goningumi*), 1632⁶

1. If there is anyone in the group of five who is given to malfeasance, that fact must be reported without concealing anything.

⁶Tōdai Bungakubu nai Shigakukai, ed., *Shiryō Nihonshi (A Documentary History of Japan)*, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppansha, 1952), p. 39.

2. If there is anyone in the group of five who fails to pay his annual taxes or perform the services required, other members of the group must quickly rectify the situation.

3. If there is anyone in the group of five who runs away, those who are remaining must quickly search for and return him [to the original domicile]. If the return of the runaway cannot be secured, the group of five will be rendered culpable.

4. No one in the group of five may ask to work outside the domain, or to work in a mine elsewhere. Even if he wishes to work within the domain at places such as Maruoka, Oné . . . he must secure permission from the authorities ahead of time.

5. If there is anyone in the group of five who is exceptionally strong, that fact must be reported.

6. Members of the group of five must not permit anyone who absconds, or any stranger who is not beyond suspicion regardless of being man or woman, to lodge in his house. Nor can they provide lodging for any single person. However, if the stranger is an express messenger, lodging may be provided after his letter box is examined.

If there is anyone who violates any of the provisions above, that fact must be reported to the office of the village head (*shōya*) without delay. The village head must report the same to the *tedai*'s (minor magistrate's) office immediately. If there is any violation of the above rules, we [as members of the group of five] shall be deemed to be culpable, and at that time we shall bear no grudges.

In witness whereof, we have jointly affixed our seals for the group of five.

5 Farmers and Annual Tax, 1603⁷

1. If farmers leave the domains directly controlled by the *bakufu* or by the *daimyō*, because of wrongdoing by the magistrates (*daikan*)⁸ and domanial lords, even if their former lords make report of the fact, they shall not be returned to the original domiciles arbitrarily.

2. If there is any tax due which has not been paid, the commissioner's office (*bugyōsho*) shall determine the amount due by considering the rates established for neighboring villages. And once that payment of the tax is completed the farmer may be permitted to reside elsewhere.

6. If there is wrongdoing by the magistrates, without any prior report [to the local magistrate], a brief (*meyasu*) may be addressed directly to higher authorities.

7. It is forbidden that farmers be killed without cause. Even if a farmer has

⁷Ishii, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁸The term "*daikan*" refers to magistrates of those areas under direct Tokugawa control (*chokkatsuryō* or *tenryō*).

committed a crime, he must be arrested first and be placed under the judgment of the magistrate's office, before a sentence can be pronounced.

The above articles are communicated thus by the order of our superiors.

Eighth year of Keichō [1603], third month, 27th day.

Naido Shuri no suke

Aoyama Hitachi no suke

(Jointly Commissioners of Edo and of Kantō).

6 Sale of Land in Perpetuity Forbidden, 1643⁹

(a) Proscription Against Sale of Wet and Dry Fields in Perpetuity:

3. In view of the fact that those farmers who are well-off may purchase more wet and dry fields and become even wealthier, and those farmers who are not in good health are forced to sell their wet and dry fields, hereafter sale and purchase of wet and dry fields is forbidden while farmers are unable to tend to their own personal affairs.

(b) Penalties for the Sale of Wet and Dry Fields in Perpetuity:

1. The seller shall be expelled after a period of imprisonment. If the seller is dead his son shall be punished in the same manner.

2. The purchaser shall be imprisoned in lieu of other penalties. If the purchaser is dead, his son shall be punished in the same manner. However, the wet and dry fields so purchased shall be confiscated by the magistrate (*daikan*) or fief holder (*jitō*).¹⁰

3. The one who witnesses the sale shall be imprisoned in lieu of other penalties. However, if the witness is dead, his son shall not be punished.

4. If someone acquires lands as a result of default of a mortgage, and takes away all the yields, and places the burden of payment of annual taxes on the mortgager, then the penalties shall be the same as for the sale of land in perpetuity. . . .

Twentieth year of Kanei [1643], third month.

7 Proscription on Parcelization of Land, 1672¹¹

(a) An Order by the *Bakufu*, 1672:

No one is permitted to divide his land willfully by the amount of *koku*, if his landholdings do not produce approximately twenty *koku* in the case of a

⁹Kodama Sachita et al., eds., *Kinsei Nōsei Shiryōshū (Documents on Early Modern Agricultural Administration)*, Vol. 1, *Edo Bakufu Hōrei (Laws and Regulations of the Tokugawa Bakufu)*, part 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1966), pp. 30–31.

¹⁰During the Tokugawa period the term *jitō* referred to those fief holders, including the *hatamoto* and those vassals under the *daimyō*, who exercised the right of collecting rent or taxes. They administered the lands granted to them.

¹¹Ōkubo Toshiaki et al., *Shiryō ni yoru Nihon no Ayumi (Japanese History through Documents)*, *Kinseihen (Early Modern Period)* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1955), pp. 92–93.

village headman, or ten *koku* in the case of a plain farmer. If anyone disobeys this, he is liable to be prosecuted. Notify all concerned.

(b) Exposition of the Above

Altogether the proscription [against parcelization of land] by farmers owning land which produces less than ten *koku* has been in force for some time. This is done in order to prevent division of land into small lots for children who are brothers. Otherwise, the position of the head family will be weakened, and later, all the brothers will become destitute peasants. This fact is understood initially, but as one gets older, he becomes indiscreet and wishes to divide land. The oldest son may have little discretion, and may feel that to contradict his father's unorthodox views, even for a moment, is to engage in an unfilial act. With this kind of mentality, he fails to warn his younger brothers, and the land which produced ten *koku* is divided into three portions, with the oldest son receiving five *koku*, the second son three *koku*, and the third son two *koku*. Meanwhile, the oldest son assumes the responsibility for ten *koku*, and on festive occasions everyone comes to him for gifts. There is no benefit accruing from the fact of inheritance. The second and third sons become independent and hold small pieces of land, and sooner or later they cannot maintain themselves. The same lot awaits the eldest son. Unless they can work together, their relations will be strained. If one must sell his own land, and become a tenant farmer, and receive scorn from other people, that comes from the old man's division of the land. . . .

8

Injunctions for Peasants, c. 1619¹²

1. Consider the Lord of your domain, the sun and the moon. Respect your fief holder (*jitō*) or magistrate (*daiken*) as the patron deity (*uji gami*) of your place. Treat your village head (*kimoiri*) as if he were your own father.

2. During the first five days of the new year, pay respect to those around you in accordance with your position. Within the first fifteen days, make more than enough ropes needed to perform your major and minor public services (corvée labor for the year). After the first fifteen days, when mountains and fields are covered with snow, accumulate all the firewood needed for the year. Use a sleigh to pull nightsoil on the fields. At night make sandals for horses. Daughters and wives must sew and weave China-grass to make clothing for their menfolk. If there is a housewife who makes an excessive amount of tea to entertain others, visits around in the absence [of menfolk], and gossips, then she must have a hidden lover. Even if a man has a child with her, that kind of woman must be sent away. . . .

5. During the fourth month, men must work in the fields from dawn to dusk and make furrows as deep as the hoe can penetrate. Wives and daughters must make meals three times, put on red headbands and take the meals to the fields.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 94.

Old and young alike must put the meals in front of the men who are soiled from their work. By seeing the wives attired in red, men, old and young alike, can be so encouraged . . . to the extent of forgetting their fatigue. Once men are home after dusk, give them bath water, and let them wash their feet. Sisters-in-law and female cousins must put the chapped feet of the man on the stomach of his wife and massage them. Let him forget the toil of the day.

Near the end of the fourth month, put a harrow on the horse and rake the fields. Cut miscanthus grass from nearby mountains and put them on the China-grass field. If the field is located near a house, always check how the wind is blowing before burning the miscanthus grass. If time is appropriate, sew millet, barley, and wheat seeds.

13. During the twelfth month, if there is a notification from the fief holder or magistrate about a tax overdue, quickly make the payment. For this favor he renders you, send a bowl of loach fish soup accompanied by a dish of fried sardines. Although, according to the regulations, all that is expected of a farmer on such an occasion is a bowl of soup and a dish of vegetables, the ones [just suggested] are more appropriate. If no tax is paid after the due notice, you can have your precious wife taken away from you as security. Do not forget that in your master's house there are many young minor officials and middlemen who may steal your wife. To make sure that kind of thing never happens to you, pay all your taxes before the end of the eleventh month. Take heed that this advice is adhered to. You are known as a man of lowly origin. But even so, you do not wish to see your precious wife exposed to wild winds (misfortunes), being taken away from you, and stolen by younger men. In this fashion you may lose the support of the way of heaven, come to the end of the rope, be scorned by your lowly peer groups, and regret the incident forever. Always remember that such a misfortune can befall you. Be diligent in delivering your annual tax rice and in doing work for the magistrate. Once all the annual taxes are paid, prepare for the coming of the new year. Make the remaining rice into rice cake (*mochi*), brew some *sake*, buy some salted fish, and add another year to your life happily. New Year is the time you must be able to chant along with others: I set sail on this journey of longevity. May the moon also accompany me!

9 Regulations for Villagers, 1643¹³

1. Hereafter, both the village headman (*shōya*) and higher village officials (*sōbyakushō*) may not build houses which are not consistent with their stations in life. However, town houses (*machiya*) may be built under the direction of the fief holder (*jitō*) or magistrate (*daikan*).

2. Concerning farmer's clothing, in accordance with the previous *bakufu* edict, the village headman and his family may wear silk, pongee, linen, and

¹³Ishii, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–155.

cotton; lower village officials (*wakibyakushō*) may wear only linen or cotton. Other materials may not be used to make the neckband (*eri*) or waist sash (*obi*).

3. Neither the village headman nor the higher village officials may dye their clothing purple or crimson. Other colors may be used to dye clothing for wear but no design is permitted.

4. Farmers must be told that their normal meals must consist of grains other than rice and wheat. Rice especially must not be consumed indiscriminately.

5. In villages, hot noodles, thin noodles, buckwheat noodles, bean-jam buns, bean curds, and the like may not be traded. This is to prevent wasteful use of the five grains.

6. *Sake* (rice wine) must not be brewed in villages. Nor can it be brought from elsewhere to be sold locally.

7. Do not go to market towns to drink freely.

8. Farmers must be told that they must take good care of their wet and dry fields, and weed them attentively and conscientiously. If there are insolent farmers who are negligent, the matter will be investigated and the offenders duly punished.

9. If a single farmer is unmistakably overburdened, and cannot carry on his share of farm work, not only his five-man group (*goningumi*) but also the entire village must [in the spirit of] mutual help, assist in his rice planting, and otherwise enable him to pay his annual taxes (*nengu*).

10. From this year on, planting of tobacco on either old fields or new fields is strictly forbidden, because its cultivation wastes the lands that can be used to grow the five grains.

11. The village elders (*nanushi*) and higher village officials, both men and women, are forbidden to use any kind of conveyance.

12. Farmers must be told that no shelter can be given in the district to anyone who comes from another village and does not cultivate the fields, and is not reliable. If any farmer gives shelter to such a person, the gravity of his offense is to be investigated, and he becomes subject to arrest and imprisonment.

13. Wet and dry fields may not be sold in perpetuity.

14. Farmers may not, on account of disputes involving annual taxes and other matters, desert their places and take refuge with those who have absconded. Anyone who violates this, after an investigation, may be considered as committing a culpable offense.

15. If the *jitō* or *daiken* administers the area so poorly that the farmers find it impossible to endure it any longer, they may first pay up all the annual taxes, and leave the village. They may even establish their residence in a neighboring county. If there is no tax overdue, the *jitō* or *daiken* cannot punish them with banishment (*kamae*).

16. Even in the matters of Buddhist ceremonies and religious festivals, over-indulgence beyond one's own status must be avoided.

17. Within the city limits of Edo, no one is to ride on top of a horse loaded with wood, hay, goods in straw sacks, and the like.

The above articles must be made known to all the villages, to secure immediate observance of their intent. Care must be taken continuously to conform to these injunctions.

Twentieth year of Kanei [1643], third month, 11th day.

CONTROL OF THE URBAN AREAS

Edo, the present-day Tokyo, was an insignificant fishing village in 1457 when Ōta Dōkan set out to build a castle there. In 1590 it became the headquarters for the Tokugawa, and in 1603 it became the political center of the country when the Tokugawa bakufu was established. It was inhabited by the retainer groups (kashindan), wives, and children of the tozama-daimyō who remained there as hostages, as well as the merchants who served them. In the Kanei period (1624–1643) the system of alternate attendance (sankin kōtai) became formalized and mansions for the daimyō were built along with houses to accommodate their retainers and families.

The bakufu also regulated the establishment of over three hundred chō (wards—or units within the city). The inhabitants of each of the chō (or machi) often consisted of traders or artisans of the same occupation. Initially the bakufu moved the merchants and artisans from Mikawa and other old domains belonging to the Tokugawa. These merchants and artisans in turn called other merchants and artisans from other domains to come and join them in Edo. The bakufu gave lands and official positions (machidoshiyori, or town elders and/or goyō shōnin, or merchants by appointment to the bakufu to the leading merchants and artisans. They served under the town commissioners (machi bugyō), and became part of the system of control of commerce and industry imposed by the bakufu. This system was also employed in other castle towns and urban areas.

Document 10 contains regulations issued by the town commissioners of Edo. Note the functions played by the machidoshiyori and the group of five as well as the detailed regulations on family relations and on inheritance. Document 11 contains regulations on lawsuits which without fail favored those who were in the position of authority.

10 Regulations for the Residents of Edo, 1655¹⁴

1. Parties engaged in public brawls and quarrels are punishable by death according to the law irrespective of whichever party is in the right or at fault.

If a murderer escapes, people in his township (*chōnin*) and his guarantor (*ukenin*) must find him.

Anyone who is beaten by another is asked to forebear it and report the matter

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 143–144, also Ōkubo, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–109.

to the commissioner's office (*bugyōsho*). After an investigation, the judgment can be quickly pronounced. If anyone else is implicated in the same crime, his sentence shall be the same as the original culprit.

2. If an official commits the crimes of public brawling and stealing, these crimes must not be imputed to his master. If there is no guarantor for the official, he must be arrested. After an investigation if he is found wanting, he must be placed under the custody of his master. If he runs away, people in his township and the relatives of the master must find him.

3. Quarrels between children need not be punished, and the parents of both parties may restrain them. However, if the parents enter the disputes, their acts shall be treated as culpable offenses.

4. If a child unintentionally kills his friend, he need not be put to death. However, if he is over thirteen years of age, he cannot escape the punishment.

5. Anyone who follows his own silly will, without consulting the town elders (*machidoshiyori*) and the group of five, is considered to have committed a culpable offense. However, if the town elders are at fault, the entire town may submit a petition. After an investigation, the judgment will be quickly pronounced.

6. If a person dies leaving behind accounts payable and other debts, officials on duty and middlemen may ask for repayment. If there is no document of proof, then no claim can be made. If there is a son who is the heir, he shall be the one to make the repayment. It is natural that the father's debts be paid by the son. On the other hand, the father is not responsible for the debts incurred by his son. However, if the father directly places his seal [on the son's bond of debt], then he cannot escape from his obligation of making repayment.

7. Anyone who does not abide by his father's and mother's words of restraint or by the opinion of the town elders and of the group of five, will be called to our presence and be imprisoned. Thereafter if he does not change his mind, the parents shall disinherit him and banish him. If he still holds a grudge against his parents, he may be arrested by the people of the entire township and sent to us to be put to death.

8. A dispute involving a father and a son may be dealt with by the relatives and people of the township. However, if there is no consensus, and a brief is filed with the higher authorities and the two parties confront each other, after an investigation, if the father is found guilty, an appropriate judgment will be given. If the son is found guilty, depending on the father's disposition, he may be punished as one who is not filial, and either be imprisoned or disinherited and banished.

9. When a dispute arises between brothers, it shows that they lack respect for each other and that they are not given to reason. Thus once the two parties confront each other, the party who is found not given to reason must be quickly reprimanded.

10. In a dispute involving a husband and wife, as written in the regulations of former years, a divorced woman must quickly return whatever belongs to her husband, including the money from his store and clothing items he purchased for her. If she makes this difficult, then she is to be deemed as committing a culpable

offense. If the woman dies, and there is a dispute over the disposition of money belonging to the store and over other matters, it can be treated in accordance with previous regulations.

11. When a merchant and his employee become involved in a dispute, they may file a brief with the higher authorities and confront each other. However, these acts will be regarded as lacking in respect for the relationship governing the master and servant. If the employee is found guilty, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment, and in addition, depending on the disposition of the master, other judgments may be rendered.

12. If the family property is first bequeathed to the oldest son and then again bequeathed to the second son, it is usually caused by the alienation of the oldest son from his father while the latter was living. Therefore, when the oldest son brings a suit, if the youngest brother has a document giving a later date, the father's will must be respected. However, if on account of the stepmother's slander the oldest son has been disinherited without having committed an unfilial act, then the family property must be equally divided.

13. If the father and mother do not agree [on the disposition of their property], and the daughter without reason steals from her parents and otherwise commits all sorts of questionable acts, then the man [in her life] must be reprimanded.

14. If a wife receives her husband's family property, she must adopt one of her husband's relatives as her son, or otherwise find an heir for the husband. If a widow seeks a second husband not long after [the death of the first husband], it is to be considered one of her most unrighteous acts. However, if a widow is still young, the relatives and township may consult each other to determine what may be permissible for her.

15. If a husband dies without leaving an heir, the widow may remain in the house. If she commits adultery with an employee soon after her husband's death, it is a clear sign that she is a woman ungrateful to her late husband, and is not respectful of her relatives. She must be expelled from the town, and the husband's relatives may decide who may inherit the household.

16. In case a man is seeing another man's wife secretly, and the man and woman are found together, then without any further ado, bring forth clearly other available evidence. After an investigation, both the man and the woman may be punished with the same punishment. This being the case, a private revenge is not permitted.

17. Arson is a crime originating in one man's malice which can give hardship to many people, and it is one of the worst crimes. Especially if a person first commits robbery and then engages in arson, heavy penalty must be imposed. In accordance with the precedents set, the culprit's father, sons, and brothers may also be punished with the same punishment.

18. When a lawsuit (*kuji*) is brought to the township and both parties do not wish to abide by [its verdict] and an appeal is brought forth, render a judgment as soon as possible after both parties confront each other. This is a means to show justice to the disagreeing parties.

19. If there is anyone who engages in forgery to documents and seals, as soon as that crime is reported, a severe punishment must be given. Of course, the person who helps in the writing of such documents will be punished with the same punishment.

First year of Meireki [1655], tenth month, 13th day.

11 Regulations Regarding Lawsuits (Kuji), 1633¹⁵

1. On matters relating to the succession to a townsman's (*chōnin*) profession, during the lifetime of the said townsman, the group of five (*goningumi*) must be consulted, and the decision must be put in a record book before three town elders (*machidoshiyori*). If the heir proves to be insolent, again the succession issue may be brought up for decision. At the deathbed, the townsman must not make his last will inconsistent with reason.

2. Any dispute arising between a master and his servants must, of course, be judged in favor of the master. However, if the master is found to be culpable in certain respects, then judgment may be rendered in accordance with reason.

3. Any dispute arising between a parent and a child must be judged in favor of the parent. However, if the parent is found to have committed an unrighteous act, he must be duly reprimanded according to reason.

5. After the seal on the back of a brief (*meyasu*) by the plaintiff has been affixed for so many days, and after being notified in writing [of the pending lawsuit], if the party does not appear, then he is to be imprisoned. However, five days must be allowed to elapse before witnesses can be summoned to confront each other.

9. Briefs (*meyasu*) involving retainers (*kyūnin*) of the office of the magistrate (*daikansho*) and townsmen and farmers must be judged by the commissioner (*bugyō*), magistrate, or their retainers in the same jurisdiction, and their judgment must be accepted. If their judgment is found improper, an appeal may be made to Edo. However, if a suit is not first brought before the commissioner, magistrate, or their retainers, even though reason may be on his side, no judgment can be given.

10. Briefs involving retainers and townsmen and farmers under the jurisdiction of domanial lords may be settled by the domanial lord of that particular domain.

11. Briefs involving farmers residing in territories belonging to shrines and temples are to be brought to the magistrate in the same jurisdiction, and his judgment must be accepted. If his judgment is found improper, an appeal may be made to Edo. If a suit is not first brought to the magistrate, no judgment can be rendered.

12. Disputes involving temples must be settled in accordance with the judg-

¹⁵Ishii, *op. cit.*, pp. 250–251, Ōkubo, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106.

ment rendered by the main temple. If the judgment of the main temple is found improper, an appeal may be made [by a branch temple] to Edo. If a suit is not first brought to the main temple, even though reason may be on its side, no judgment can be given.

13. Without making an objection [at the time of the trial], and later making an appeal on the ground of unreasonableness is an offense punishable by death or imprisonment in the jurisdiction [in which the suit is brought].

16. Anyone bearing false witness may be subjected to the death penalty or to imprisonment, in accordance with the gravity of the offense.

Tenth year of Kanei [1633], eighth month, 13th day.

CONTROL OF BUDDHIST TEMPLES

Memories which were still fresh when the Tokugawa bakufu came into existence were those of monk soldiers, economic and spiritual powers exercised by religious institutions, along with the threat they posed against the temporal power. Thus exercising strong control over the temples became one of the important tasks for the bakufu. It did so (1) by restricting the right held by the imperial court to grant the highest Buddhist ranks (purple robes, and the title of shōnin) after 1615, making temples and monks far more responsive to the will of the Tokugawa bakufu, and (2) by eroding the financial bases of the major temples. Strict regulations were also imposed on the conduct of monks, which are given in Document 12 below.

On the other hand, the temples were given the function of keeping census records, which had the effect of making them an administrative subdivision of the government. Initially, the idea of registering with the temple of one's own faith was put forward as a means of suppressing Christianity (see Document 16). However, in later years the original intent was lost and the temple registry simply noted the parishioners' names, dates of births and deaths, marriages, and movements from one place to another. While this measure nominally increased the rolls of the temples, it had very little religious significance. Most of the temples were made economically dependent on their parishioners. Article 4 of the document given below must be read in this context.

12 Regulations for Temples in Different Domains, 1665¹⁶

1. The doctrines and rituals established for different sects must not be mixed and disarranged. If there is anyone who does not behave in accordance with this injunction, an appropriate measure must be taken expeditiously.

2. No one who does not understand the basic doctrines or rituals of a given

¹⁶Ishii, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–71, Ōkubo, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

sect is permitted to become the chief priest of a temple. Addendum: If a new rite is established, it must not preach strange doctrines.

3. The regulations which govern relationships between the main temple and branch temples must not be violated. However, even the main temple cannot take measures against branch temples in an unreasonable manner.

4. Parishioners of the temples can choose to which temple they wish to belong and make contributions. Therefore priests must not compete against one another for parishioners.

5. Priests are enjoined from engaging in activities unbecoming of priests, such as forming groups or planning to fight one another.

6. If there is anyone who has violated the law of the land, and that fact is communicated to a temple, it must turn him away without question.

7. When making repairs to a temple or a monastery, do not make them ostentatiously. Addendum: Temples must be kept clean without fail.

8. The estate belonging to a temple is not subject to sale, nor can it be mortgaged.

9. Do not allow anyone who has expressed a desire to become a disciple but is not of good lineage to enter the priesthood freely. If there is a particular candidate who has an improper and questionable background, the judgment of the domainial lord or magistrate of his domicile must be sought and then act accordingly.

The above articles must be strictly observed by all the sects. . . .

Fifth year of Kanbun [1665], seventh month, 11th day.

CLOSING OF THE COUNTRY

Between 1633 and 1639, the Tokugawa bakufu issued a series of edicts which effectively closed the country from the outside world—with the exception of the Dutch and the Chinese—until 1853 when Commodore Perry reached the shores of Uraga. Fear of the spread of Christianity and the belief that Christianity was the vanguard of aggression by the Spaniards and Portuguese were among the reasons which prompted the bakufu to embark on the policy of seclusion, which lasted for 214 years.

The desire to monopolize all the benefits from foreign trade in the hands of the bakufu also played a part. Nagasaki was directly governed by the bakufu, and a strict monopolistic control was enforced there. The bakufu could set the price on the raw silk it acquired from foreign traders, and then set quotas for its distribution to merchants from five cities (the ito wappu system). In 1609 the western daimyō were forbidden to maintain large ships. In 1635, prohibition of Japanese ships going overseas became total (Document 13).

Playing on the bakufu's fear of the subversive nature of Christianity, the Dutch skillfully maneuvered the bakufu into taking the position of excluding all

their trading rivals. The British earlier found their Japan trade not profitable and closed their factory (1623), while the Spaniards found themselves expelled from the country (1624). The Portuguese were excluded from Japan in 1639 (Document 14), and when they sent an embassy from Macao in a futile hope of regaining trading privileges, the envoys were put to death (Document 15). The fear the Japanese felt toward Christianity is well reflected in the renunciation of the Christian faith reproduced in Document 16.

Incidentally, the prohibition of Japanese ships to trade overseas (Document 13) did eliminate one important source of competition—the Japanese-run overseas commerce—against the Dutch trade, and Dutch duplicity in this respect must be noted. The nature of the Dutch trade is given in an account by Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) (Document 17), a German doctor, who served the Dutch traders at Dejima between 1690 and 1692.

13 The Edict of 1635 Ordering the Closing of Japan: Addressed to the Joint Bugyō of Nagasaki¹⁷

1. Japanese ships are strictly forbidden to leave for foreign countries.
2. No Japanese is permitted to go abroad. If there is anyone who attempts to do so secretly, he must be executed. The ship so involved must be impounded and its owner arrested, and the matter must be reported to the higher authority.
3. If any Japanese returns from overseas after residing there, he must be put to death.
4. If there is any place where the teachings of padres (Christianity) is practiced, the two of you must order a thorough investigation.
5. Any informer revealing the whereabouts of the followers of padres (Christians) must be rewarded accordingly. If anyone reveals the whereabouts of a high ranking padre, he must be given one hundred pieces of silver. For those of lower ranks, depending on the deed, the reward must be set accordingly.
6. If a foreign ship has an objection [to the measures adopted] and it becomes necessary to report the matter to Edo, you may ask the Ōmura domain to provide ships to guard the foreign ship, as was done previously.
7. If there are any Southern Barbarians (Westerners) who propagate the teachings of padres, or otherwise commit crimes, they may be incarcerated in the prison maintained by the Ōmura domain, as was done previously.
8. All incoming ships must be carefully searched for the followers of padres.
9. No single trading city [see 12 below] shall be permitted to purchase all the merchandise brought by foreign ships.
10. Samurai are not permitted to purchase any goods originating from foreign ships directly from Chinese merchants in Nagasaki.
11. After a list of merchandise brought by foreign ships is sent to Edo, as

¹⁷Ōkubo, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–129.

before you may order that commercial dealings may take place without waiting for a reply from Edo.

12. After settling the price, all white yarns (raw silk) brought by foreign ships shall be allocated to the five trading cities and other quarters as stipulated.

13. After settling the price of white yarns (raw silk), other merchandise [brought by foreign ships] may be traded freely between the [licensed] dealers. However, in view of the fact that Chinese ships are small and cannot bring large consignments, you may issue orders of sale at your discretion. Additionally, payment for goods purchased must be made within twenty days after the price is set.

14. The date of departure homeward of foreign ships shall not be later than the twentieth day of the ninth month. Any ships arriving in Japan later than usual shall depart within fifty days of their arrival. As to the departure of Chinese ships, you may use your discretion to order their departure after the departure of the Portuguese *galeota* (galleon).

15. The goods brought by foreign ships which remained unsold may not be deposited or accepted for deposit.

16. The arrival in Nagasaki of representatives of the five trading cities shall not be later than the fifth day of the seventh month. Anyone arriving later than that date shall lose the quota assigned to his city.

17. Ships arriving in Hirado must sell their raw silk at the price set in Nagasaki, and are not permitted to engage in business transactions until after the price is established in Nagasaki.

You are hereby required to act in accordance with the provisions set above. It is so ordered.

Kaga no-kami Hotta Masamori et al., seals.

To: Sakakibara Hida no-kami, Sengoku Yamoto no-kami

14 Completion of the Exclusion, 1639¹⁸

1. The matter relating to the proscription of Christianity is known [to the Portuguese], however, heretofore they have secretly transported those who are going to propagate that religion.

2. If those who believe in that religion band together in an attempt to do evil things, they must be subjected to punishment.

3. While those who believe in the preaching of padres are in hiding, there are incidents in which that country (Portugal) has sent gifts to them for their sustenance.

In view of the above, hereafter entry by the Portuguese *galeota* is forbidden. If they insist on coming [to Japan], the ships must be destroyed and anyone aboard those ships must be beheaded. We have received the above order and are thus transmitting it to you accordingly.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 129–130.

The above concerns our disposition with regard to the *galeota*.

Memorandum

With regard to those who believe in Christianity, you are aware that there is a proscription, and thus knowing, you are not permitted to let padres and those who believe in their preaching to come aboard your ships. If there is any violation, all of you who are aboard will be considered culpable. If there is anyone who hides the fact that he is a Christian and boards your ship, you may report it to us. A substantial reward will be given to you for this information.

This memorandum is to be given to those who come on Chinese ships. (A similar note to Dutch ships.)

15 The Fate of the Embassy from Macao, 1640, by Antonio Cardim, S.J.¹⁹ Because many serious crimes have been committed over a number of years by the propagation of the Christian religion in defiance of his decree, the *shōgun* last year forbade under grave penalties all voyages from Macao to Japan, laying down that if any ship were to come to Japan despite this prohibition, the vessel would be burnt and the sailors and merchants executed. This edict was promulgated both summarily and in detail. Nevertheless, these men have blatantly violated the aforesaid decree by their voyage and are seriously at fault. Furthermore, in spite of their assertion that on no account will they send hereafter ministers of the Christian religion to Japan, the ambassadorial letters from Macao are silent on this point. Since, therefore, the *shōgun* has prohibited such voyages on account of the Christian religion and since no mention of this matter is made in these letters, it is quite evident that the entire legation is but a pretence. For this reason, all who have come hither in this ship are to pay the extreme penalty.

It has accordingly been decided that the ship shall be consumed by flames and that the principal ambassadors shall be put to death along with their companions so that nothing may remain of this harbinger of evil. Thus the example which the *shōgun* has made of them will be noticed abroad in Macao and the home country; as a consequence, all will learn to respect the rights of Princes and Kings. We nevertheless desire that the rabble among the crew be spared and sent back to Macao. But should any other ship come hither by force of adverse circumstances or for any other reason whatsoever, let it be known that, in whatsoever port it may call, one and all will be put to death.

Given on the 3rd day of the 6th moon of the 17th year of the Kanei era, that is, the 25th day of July in the year 1640.

At the same time they also asked what they would say about this punishment

¹⁹Michael Cooper, ed., *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1955 edition). Reprinted by permission of the editor.

to foreign peoples in the Orient and even in Europe, if by chance they should go thither. They replied that they would tell the truth; to wit, that the *shōgun* of Japan had put the Portuguese ambassadors to death and had set fire to their ship because they professed the Christian religion and had disobeyed his edict, and that they, to the number of thirteen, had been spared this punishment and sent back so that they could recount what had happened; but they added that the kings and all the peoples of the world would most certainly condemn what had been done as a crime against international law.

They were then taken thence to the mount of execution in order to identify the heads of the executed men, which they found affixed to boards in three groups. The heads of the ambassadors were set apart from the rest; they did not appear pale or washed out, but rather the freshness and beauty of their features well indicated their fate. Now they were set up near a large pole, from the top of which hung the Tyrant's proclamation. Not far away they espied a house wherein the corpses had been buried and cairns of immense stones had been set up over them; thus if at any time the Japanese should be silent about these men, the very stones would speak.

Inscribed on a pole which emerged from the midst of these stones was the name of the legation and the reason for the executions; it was indeed their monument for posterity and an everlasting trophy of their glory. With unfeeling barbarity the Tyrant had added this inscription: *A similar penalty will be suffered by all those who henceforward come to these shores from Portugal, whether they be sailors, whether they come by error, or whether they be driven hither by storm. Even more, if the King of Portugal, or Shaka, or even the GOD of the Christians were to come, they would all pay the very same penalty.*

16 Renouncing the Kirishitan Faith, 1645²⁰ *Vow of Namban* (Southern Barbarians): We have been Kirishitans for many years. But the more we learn of the Kirishitan doctrines the greater becomes our conviction that they are evil. In the first place, we who received instructions from the padre regarding the future life were threatened with excommunication which would keep us away from association with the rest of humanity in all things in the present world, and would cast us into hell in the next world. We were also taught that, unless a person committing a sin confesses it to the padre and secures his pardon, he shall not be saved in the world beyond. In that way the people were led into believing in the padres. All that was for the purpose of taking the lands of others.

When we learned of it, we "shifted" from Kirishitan and became adherents of Hokkekyō while our wives became adherents of Ikkōshū. We hereby present a statement in writing to you, worshipful Magistrate, as a testimony.

²⁰Yosaburo Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), Vol. 2, pp. 88–89.

Hereafter we shall not harbor any thought of the Kirishitan in our heart. Should we entertain any thought of it at all, we shall be punished by Deus Paternus (God the Father), Jesus (His Son), Spirito Santo (the Holy Ghost), as well as by Santa Maria (St. Mary), various angels, and saints.

The grace of God will be lost altogether. Like Judas Iscariot, we shall be without hope, and shall be mere objects of ridicule to the people. We shall never rise. The foregoing is our Kirishitan vow.

Japanese Pledge: We have no thought of the Kirishitan in our hearts. We have certainly “shifted” our faith. If any falsehood be noted in our declaration now or in the future, we shall be subject to divine punishment by Bonten, Taishaku, the four deva kings, the great or little gods in all the sixty or more provinces of Japan, especially the Mishima Daimyōjin, the representatives of the god of Izu and Hakone, Hachiman Daibosatsu, Temman Daijizai Tenjin, especially our own family gods, Suwa Daimyōjin, the village people, and our relatives. This is to certify to the foregoing.

The second year of Shōhō [1645]

Endorsement

To the Honorable Magistrate.

To step on the image of Christ, after “shifting” from the Kirishitan and giving such a pledge, is a rare thing never heard of before in any country. How, and for what reason, can such persons return to the faith again? They will not be reinstated as Kirishitans except through the mediation of a padre. They will not be able to return of their own accord.

Chuan Bateren, converted in Namban.

Ryojun and Ryohaku Bateren, converted in Japan.

I hereby certify that the foregoing Kyūsuke and his wife have truly become Ikkōshū converts.

The second year of Shōhō [1645].

Shusan of the Seishōji

17 Of the Dutch Trade in Japan, 1692²¹ The Dutch, allured by the advantageous trade of the Portuguese, resolved, not long after the establishment of their East India company, and in the very infancy of their navigations into the Indies, to make proper settlements in Japan. . . . The then reigning *shōgun*, Ieyasu, granted the Dutch, in the year 1601, a free trade to all his dominions by an express *Goshuin* (vermilion seal letter). . . .

²¹Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, tr. by J.G. Scheuchzer, F.R.S., Vol. 2 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906), pp. 170–174, 195, 209–210, 215.

In the year 1638 [the Dutch] were commanded by the *shōgun* (Iemitsu) to demolish the factory and warehouse, which has been lately built by them upon the Island Hirado, and to lay the same even with the ground, so suddenly, that one would think they had been his greatest enemies, and this for no other reason, but because they were built of hewn stones, handsomer than the buildings of the country, and because the year of our blessed Savior's nativity was engraved in the front. . . . Not long after, and the very same year, the Court scrupled not to make them undergo a still severer trial, and to exact most convincing proofs, which of the two was the greater, their regard for the *shōgun*'s orders, or the love for their fellow Christians. The case was this: About 40,000 Christians, reduced to most desperate counsels by the many unparalleled cruelties and torments, which many thousands of their brethren had already suffered, rose up and retired into an old fortified place in the neighborhood of Shimabara, with a firm resolution to defend their lives to the utmost of their power. The Dutch, upon this, as friends and allies of the *shōgun*, were requested to assist the Japanese in the siege of this place, and the impending total destruction of the besieged Christians. Mr. Kockebecke, who was then the director of the Dutch trade and nation at Hirado, having received the *shōgun*'s order to this purpose, repaired thither without delay, on board a Dutch ship . . . and within a fortnight's time battered the town with 426 cannon balls, both from on board his ship, and from a battery which was raised on shore, and planted with their [the Dutch] own guns. This compliance of the Dutch, and their conduct during the siege, was entirely to the satisfaction of the Japanese. . . .

In the year 1641, soon after the total expulsion of the Portuguese, orders were sent up to quit our old factory at Hirado, to exchange the protection of a good and indulgent Prince, for the severe and strict government of Nagasaki, and under a very narrow inspection to confine ourselves within the small island, I should rather say, prison, which was built for the Portuguese. So great was the covetousness of the Dutch and so great the alluring power of the Japanese gold that, rather than to quit the prospect of a trade indeed most advantageous, they willingly underwent an almost perpetual imprisonment, for such in fact is our stay at Dejima . . . [they] chose to suffer many hardships in a foreign and heathen country, to be remiss in performing divine service on Sundays and solemn festivals, to leave off praying and singing of psalms in public, to avoid entirely the sign of the cross, the calling upon Christ in the presence of the natives and all the outward marks of Christianity, and lastly, patiently and submissively to bear the abusive and injurious behavior of these proud infidels towards us . . . nothing could be presented as more shocking to a generous and noble mind. . . .

No Japanese in general who seems to have any regard or friendship for the Dutch is looked upon as an honest man, and true lover of his country. This maxim is grounded upon the following principle, that it is absolutely contrary to the interest of the country, against the pleasure of their sovereign, nay, by virtue

of the oath they have taken, even against the supreme will of the Gods and the dictates of their conscience, to show any favor to foreigners. Nay, they pursue this false reasoning still further, and pretend that a friend of foreigners must be of necessity an enemy to his country, and a rebel to his sovereign. For they say, if the country should happen to be attacked or invaded by these foreigners, the laws and ties of friendship would oblige him to stand by them, and consequently to become a traitor to his country and sovereign. . . .

The Dutch ships are expected in the harbor sometime in September, toward the latter end of the southwest monsoon, that being the only one proper for this navigation. As soon as the spy-guards with their glasses discover a ship steering towards the harbor, and send notice of her approach to the Governors of Nagasaki, three persons of our factory are sent with the usual attendants to meet her, about two miles without the harbor, and to deliver to our captain the necessary sealed instructions from the director of our trade, with regards to his behavior. The interpreter, and the deputies of the Governors, demand forthwith the list of the cargo and crew, as also the letters on board, which are carried to Nagasaki, where the Governors first examine, and then deliver them to our director. The ship follows as soon as possible, and after entering the harbor, salutes every imperial guard with all her guns, then casts anchor opposite the town about a musketshot from our island. If the wind be contrary, rowing boats (kept for this purpose by the common people of the town) are sent at our expense, but not at our desire, to tow her in by force. In still weather they send about ten of these boats; if it be stormy, and the wind contrary, they increase the number to fifty, and sometimes a hundred, so many as they think necessary, that is, at least twice the number there is occasion for. When the ship is entered in the harbor, two guard-boats with a good number of soldiers are put one on each side of her, and continued, being mounted with fresh troops every day, till she has left the harbor and has got to the main sea. As soon as the ship has dropped anchor, a great number of officers come on board, to demand all our guns, cutlasses, swords, and other arms, as also the gunpowder packed up in barrels, which are taken into their custody and kept in a store-house built for this purpose, till her departure. . . .

Of all the imported goods, raw silk is the best liked, though it yields the least profit of any. All sorts of stuff and cloth yield a considerable and sure profit, and should there be ever so much imported, the consumption in so populous a country would be still greater. Brazilwood, and hides, are also to be disposed of to very good advantage. The most profitable commodities are sugar, catechu, storax liquids (fragrant gum-resin or balsam of the tree *Liquid-ambar orientale*), patchouli, camphor of Borneo, looking-glasses, and several other things of this kind, but only when they have occasion for them and when the Chinese have imported them in small quantities: Corals and amber are two of the most valuable commodities in these Eastern parts of the world, but Japan has been so thoroughly provided by smugglers that at present there is scarcely fifty percent one may get from them, whereas formerly we could sell them ten, nay an hun-

dred times dearer. The price of these things, and of all natural and artificial curiosities, varies very much according to the number and disposition of the buyers, who may be sure to get cent-per-cent clear profit by them, at whatsoever price they buy them. Formerly, when as yet we enjoyed full liberty in our trade and commerce, we seldom sent less than seven ships a year laden with the goods above mentioned. At present we never send above three, or four, one whereof goes first to Siam to make up part of her cargo with the commodities of that country. What remains unsold is laid up in our warehouses against the next year's sale. . . .

GROWTH OF COMMERCE

Money economy spread from urban areas to the countryside by the Genroku period (1688–1704) and the economic power of the merchants became entrenched. This trend was bitterly attacked by the noted neo-Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) when he responded to a request from Shōgun Yoshimune (r. 1716–1745) for his political views (Document 18).

Among the famous merchants of this age was one Mitsui Takahira Hachirōuemon (1655–1737) who created a "cash only" department store by the name of Echigoya in 1683, and laid the foundation for the later success of his family. He drew up the first formal household code for his family to follow and also provided his own recollections for his son to compile into a book entitled, Chōnin Kōken Roku (Some Observations on Merchants). Document 19 is an excerpt from this work which exercised considerable influence over the practical business methods of later Tokugawa merchants.

Behind the success of many great chōnin enterprises was the great care that was taken to train their employees. Document 20 is taken from Osaka Shōgyō Shūkanroku (Records of Business Practices of Osaka) which was compiled by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce of the Meiji Government in 1882–1883 in an attempt to preserve for posterity the records of business practices of the Tokugawa period. Note the exacting training process, and the paternalistic control the master was able to exercise over all of his employees.

As commerce grew, the volume of shipping between Edo and Osaka substantially increased. Initially marine transportation was handled by individual merchants and was a risky and costly affair. In 1694, under the leadership of one Ōsakaya Ibē of Edo, a shipper's association was formed which was called Tokumi Doiya.²² It divided owners of the cargos in ten groups (tokumi) which took turns administering the affairs of the association. The names of the merchants belonging to this association, given in Document 21, also show what commodities were imported to Edo from Osaka.

²²Or *tonya*, a wholesale merchant. The term *doiya* is a variation of *toiya*, with a phonetic change from "t" to "d" (voiced sound). *Toiya* is an older form of the word *tonya*.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, one of the member merchants, Ōsakaya Mohē, reorganized the Higaki Shipping Association which also divided the membership into ten groups (tokumi). It made forced contribution (myōgakin, literally thanks-offering) to the bakufu for the privilege of exclusive association (Document 22). It was able to establish its own trading center, and did a large amount of bridge repair work for the city of Edo. Its success was most noted in 1808–1810. The irregularities in their practices, however, led to various official sanctions and in the Tempō reforms of 1841, its association of share-holders (kabunakama) was a target for immediate suspension.

18 Spread of Money Economy, 1716–1735²³ In olden days, the countryside had hardly any money and all the purchase was made with rice or barley but not with money. This is what I [the author, Ogyū Sorai] experienced while living in the countryside. However, I have heard that from the Genroku period on, money economy has spread to the countryside, and they now use money to purchase things. . . .

Nowadays [i.e., the Kyōhō period, 1716–1735], samurai are forced to live in castle towns in discharge of their duties. Living away from home, in a manner similar to travelers seeking lodging, requires cash for sustenance. They must sell rice [the stipends that they receive from their lord] for cash, and purchase their daily needs from merchants. In this way, merchants become masters while samurai are relegated to the position of customers, unable to determine prices fixed on different commodities. In olden days when samurai lived on their own lands, they had no need to sell their rice. Merchants came to buy rice, and under such circumstances, samurai remained masters and the merchants their customers. Prices of different commodities were dictated by the samurai class. This is the law that was established by the ancient sage [i.e., Confucius] in his infinite wisdom. It must remain inviolable through the ages. One recommendation I have is to charge an exorbitantly high price for the rice and force the merchants to eat grains other than rice.

19 On Being a Good Merchant, 1726–1733²⁴ In Edo, some merchants take on building for the government or other speculative ventures and make a fortune at one mighty bound, but they only go to prove the common adage that “he who lives by the river drowns in the river.” It is like a gambler’s

²³Ogyū Sorai, *Seidan* (On Politics) as quoted in Kasahara Kazuo et al., *Seisen Nihonshi Shiryōshū* (Selected Documents on Japanese History), rev. ed., (Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppansha, 1970), p. 127.

²⁴Adapted from E.S. Crawcour, “Some Observations on Merchants: A Translation of Mitsui Takafusa’s *Chōnin Kōken Roku*,” in *TASJ*, 3rd Ser., Vol. 8 (1962), pp. 114–122.

money, which, as everyone knows, finally is lost in the way in which it was made.

. . . In business bargaining, you should concentrate on following the opportunities of the times, and in observing the times, you should consider how they might change. If you do not give some thought to your business from time to time . . . your shop's business finally will fall off, and you will lose a good patrimony. Never waste your attention on matters which have nothing to do with your work. Merchants who ape samurai or think that Shintō, Confucianism, or Buddhism will preserve their inner hearts will find that they will only ruin their houses if they become too deeply engrossed in them. . . . Remember that it is the family business which must not be neglected for a moment.

In this connection, there was a man in Edo called Fushimiya Shirōbei. His father was a timber merchant who made the most of his opportunities. When Shirōbei took over, he was very much the type who has to keep up with the neighbors and was extremely fond of ostentation. . . .

Later, Shirōbei sought permission for an exchange of goods at Nagasaki to the value of five thousand *kamme*.²⁵ His request was granted on payment of a contribution, and he proceeded down to Nagasaki for two years. He distributed large sums to the people of that place and to local temples and shrines. . . . However, just when he was astonishing everyone with his luxury, a petition was put in by Takagi Hikoemon, a town elder of Nagasaki, offering a bigger contribution than that paid by Fushimiya. As a result, Fushimiya had his license revoked, and Takagi got the concession. Shirōbei's position was therefore hopeless, and after twenty years he eventually ran out of food and died of starvation.

Now Takagi Hikoemon applied for permission to wear swords on the grounds that the above activity was on behalf of the government and took charge of government ships at Nagasaki, making a display of his authority. . . . With the little authority that he had, he despised local people, and as a result the servants who were his retainers learned from their superiors, as they say, and thus, through a brawl [with a low-ranking samurai of Lord X, a retainer of Lord Nabeshima] started in the action of a few attendants, Takagi's house perished.

Again, a merchant called Ishikawa Rokubei, of Obune-*chō*, Edo, who started off in the brokerage business, had a wife who was extraordinarily extravagant and went to the limit in finery. Retribution finally caught up with them. Along the route of the valiant Shōgun Tsunayoshi's first progress to Ueno, when this Rokubei's wife and her servants were watching in their ornamental dresses, the valiant *shōgun*, thinking that she was the wife of a *daimyō* or of some family of high rank, graciously had his aides make inquiries and was told that she was the wife of that fellow. After he had returned to the palace. Rokubei and his wife were summoned to the office of the town magistrate. It was considered that their extravagance was beyond their station and particularly their lack of respect for

²⁵Of silver by weight. One *kamme* of silver weighed 10.05 pounds (troy) or 3.76 kilograms.

their superiors was outrageous. Their family property was forfeited, and, by the *shōgun*'s mercy, they got off with banishment from Edo. As they say, a curse always falls on the house where the hen does the crowing. . . .

Isoda, Iguchi, Ishiuchi, Horiuchi, Higuchi, the Fushimiya crowd, Kurata and Kinokuniya, merchants famous in Edo at that time, have all crashed or, if still carrying on, might as well not be. Merchants always have been in the position of having no fixed stipends, and so they grow rich through having a time of good fortune. However much wealth their children inherit, it is as though they were, thanks to their fathers' labors, holding in trust for a time money which is common currency. Thus, when the trustees fail to look after it properly, it immediately is dispersed.

In recent years, after their families die, young persons seclude themselves on the pretext of illness and behave as though in retirement. As they give themselves over to idleness, their behavior naturally deteriorates. Having no regard for reputation or appearances, they lose their sense of responsibility toward other people and carry on just as they please. By acting in this way, they start the decline of their families. They are not acting as human beings should. It is the law of nature that birds and beasts and in fact all things which dwell between heaven and earth—and, above all, human beings—should seek their sustenance by working at their callings. This being so, such behavior on the part of people far from being in their dotage displays ignorance of the will of heaven.

A Buddhist priest aims to spend his old age as head of a great temple and pass on his understanding of the Law to the congregation. *A fortiori*, anyone born a layman who prefers pleasures from an early age is doing nothing else but preferring hardships later. To make one's own house prosperous, to nurture one's family properly, to have a long life and to pass away with a clear conscience would be to be a living Buddha. On the other hand, to love pleasure when young, to have one's house decline in old age and not to be at ease at the end, is this not to go straight to eternal hell? . . . Everything changes in various ways, depending on where the heart is. Is it not true that things turn out as they do because people do not think highly of their calling or family?

A thing which is called good by people [need not be shared by the merchants]. When merchants become sages, their houses decline. In ruling the empire, there are the Way of the King and the Way of the Tyrant. Kings dislike fighting. They act not in their own interest but in the interests of the empire and the people. That is the Way of the King. Tyrants assume an outward appearance of benevolence but act in the interests of their families and themselves. That is the Way of the Tyrant. Realize that, from olden times, famous and clever generals have followed the Way of the Tyrant. To depart from benevolence for even a day is to be inhuman. On the other hand, however, to go too far in charity without counting the cost is stupid. You should understand this in a way which brings benefits in trade. It is, for example, the practice of benevolence for a

commander to respect his officers and men. If in the future there should be further instances of the rise and fall of merchants, you should preserve them in these writings as instructive for later generations. . . .

20 **Employees in a Commercial Establishment**²⁶ When a commercial establishment first hires a person, he is called a *detchi* (apprentice). . . . The large commercial establishments usually hire children from their branch houses (*bekke*), and call them *fudai kogai* (apprentices from branch families who are brought up in the master's house). If there are not enough children among the branch houses these establishments may hire from other families. They are also called *kogai* (apprentices brought up in the master's house). . . . When hiring children from branch houses, no surety certificate (*ukejō*) is required. However, when children are hired from other families, it is customary that the children's parents and relatives are required to submit surety certificates jointly signed by them. When hiring from other families, preference is given to those other than the first-born. This is so because the first-born will on attaining middle age assume responsibility for his own family's business, and he cannot be employed beyond that point. . . . People are hired when they are about ten years of age. Their tasks are almost exclusively to perform miscellaneous chores around the store. . . . As they become somewhat familiar with their tasks and grow a little older, they are sent out to run errands in the neighborhood. . . . As they reach the age of fifteen or sixteen, they are called one who has attained one-half manhood (*han-genbuku*), and are considered capable of assuming one-half of the responsibilities (*hannin-mae*) given to the clerks (*tedai*). They are allowed to shave their foreheads to give an angular look, and concurrently perform the tasks of handling cargos and money which are responsibilities of clerks (*tedai*), along with their normal tasks. . . .

Unless merchants rise up from the ranks of apprentices, their knowledge of the business cannot be enhanced. Therefore, those wealthy merchants who hire a large number of employees often choose to send their children to other families (establishments) to serve as apprentices. . . .

Those apprentices who are promoted from the position of assuming one-half of the responsibilities (*hannin-mae*) are called clerks (*tedai*). The clerks must be eighteen or nineteen years of age. However, during the three-year period immediately after their promotion, they are still asked to run the errands like their colleagues holding the position of *hannin-mae*. When apprentices are promoted to clerks, they must submit contracts countersigned jointly by their parents and relatives. The contract is required of everyone irrespective of his degree of intimacy with the master's house. Thereafter clerks must follow the manager's or

²⁶ Ōkubo, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–162.

head clerk's directions and engage in buying and selling commodities. They may also be permitted to make their own estimates in business transactions. If they fail, they may be reprimanded by the manager or head clerk, but they need not redeem the loss suffered as a result of their mistakes. . . . Some of them stay at the store front to engage in business transactions and meet customers. Others may do book-keeping, handle receipts and disbursements, or audit books. Still others may substitute for their master in his outside contacts, work diligently in public affairs, or engage in management of the kitchen. . . .

Anyone who is promoted from the rank of clerk is called manager (*shihainin*). He is the presiding officer of all business transactions of the store, and shoulders the gravest responsibility. The rise and fall of business fortunes of the master depend on his business acumen. . . . In the case of a large commercial establishment, there may be times when a branch house (*bekke*) is appointed above the manager to preside over all matters. Under such circumstances, the powers of a manager are greatly diminished, and are no different from those of the clerks. The term "branch house" was originally used to signify the final stage in the scale of promotion of employees who are permitted to commute to work from their own residences [instead of residing in the master's house]. Gradually the term became almost synonymous with a new position. Now, there are two kinds of branch families. One is the employee of a large commercial establishment. In this case, not only the person involved but also his heirs will continue to serve the master's house. While they serve their master's house, they will always follow the directions given by the master's house, including matters relating to their personal courses of action. . . . Another one refers to the employee of a medium-size business establishment. This type of employee, after going through the ladder of promotion as described earlier, is permitted to establish a branch house and receives the needed capital to start his own business. He does not again serve in his master's house. However, neither he nor his heirs will ever be allowed to forget the master-servant relations, and will continue to use the master's sign-curtain (*noren*) at their store front. These types of stores are called stores originating from one main store. In accordance with the regulations established by their association (*nakama*), some of the stores are allowed to engage in a similar type of business as that of the master and others are not. If a *bekke* opens a similar type of store as that of his master, he is enjoined from trading with his master's customers. He is often asked to join an association of his fellow traders. There are different regulations governing the act of joining an association. In general, a person must have served at least twenty years under his master, counting from the day he became an apprentice. He is then permitted to establish his branch house. And only after a proper recommendation is submitted by his master will he be able to engage in the same type of trade.

21 **Organization of Tokumi Doiya, 1792²⁷** From bygone times it was known as the Tokumi Doiya, and, according to the line of trade, names, or any changes of names, and seal and other alterations in the respective interests were reported to the town elders' office, which method is still practiced, and the membership runs up to a large number. The incentive to the organization of the guild was the nefarious actions of the seamen in taking advantage of any damage incurred and feigning to have met with accidents, so that unexpected losses were met by the merchants throughout the places served by the ships in question. Finally, during the Genroku era, these ships were chartered or built by the *toiya*, and when any consignments were made every means were taken toward safe transit in order to prevent loss. Members of the Tokumi Doiya who engaged in commerce on a large scale in the past have been summoned and ordered to tender a full list of names, but owing to the length of time which has elapsed since the last report was made, many changes have not been registered, so that the list will not serve today. In order to bring matters up-to-date, I hereby present the latest census of the Tokumi Doiya and its subsidiary associations:

Torimachi Toiya Guild,²³ 15 members. Silk piece goods, cotton goods, floss silk, ginned cotton, cutlery, lacquered wares, coarse wares, candles, foreign fancy goods.

Torimachi Subsidiary Guild (Shita-gumi).

Maruaikumi, 24 members. Coarse goods, fancy goods, lacquered wares, dye-stuffs, ironmongery, swords.

N.B.—These names have not as yet been reported.

Drug and Chemical Toiya, 25 members (of which 7 are inactive and 18 now in existence).

Omote-mise Toiya Guild, 12 members (of which 6 are inactive and 6 in existence). Tatami covers, green cloth, and mosquito netting.

Uchi-mise Toiya Guild, 10 members. Silk-piece goods, cotton goods, fancy goods, assorted ginned cotton, cutlery, candles.

Uchi-mise Guild's Subsidiary Association.

Kaya-chō Guild, 4 members. Dolls, toys, decoration swords, painted paper-lanterns, *bon*-festival lanterns.

Lacquer-ware Guild, 12 members. All kinds of lacquered wares.

Sake Guild, 45 members. Imported *sake*, vinegar, soy.

Nail and Ironmonger Guild, 14 members. Nails, iron, copper articles.

Paper Toiya, 9 members (of which 2 are inactive and 7 in existence). All kinds of paper, candles, parasols, dried bonito, vermicelli.

Ginned Cotton Toiya, 4 members.

²⁷Takekoshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 512–513.

²⁸The term "guild" stands for the Japanese word *kumi* or *gumi*, meaning an association.

N.B.—These suspended their trade a few years ago, but if taken up again, it must be so reported.

Kashi Toiya Guild, 22 members. Liquid oils.

Kashi Subsidiary Guild.

Cotton Dealers' Guild, 5 members. Ginned cotton.

Paper Dealers' Guild, Paper and candles.

Horidome Guild, 26 members (of which 15 are inactive and 11 in existence). Tatami covers, coarse goods.

Drug Stores, 33 members (of which 15 are inactive and 18 in existence).

Drugs, chemicals, sugar, paints, incense, dyes.

Shimbori Guild, 12 members. Candles, paper, vermicelli, incense, dried bonito, edible seaweed, parasols, fern-rope, tatami covers, green cloth, hemp, taro, sail cloth, nets, locks.

Sumiyoshi Guild, 14 members (of which 4 are inactive and 10 in existence). Paper, coarse goods, candles.

Oil Dealers, 47 members (of which 3 are inactive and 44 in existence). Liquid oils.

Sanbam Guild, 4 members. Paper.

Rice-Bran Guild, 18 members (of which 4 are inactive and 14 in existence). Imported rice-bran.

Dried Articles Guild, 11 members. Dried articles.

Porcelain and Earthenware Guild, 32 members. Porcelain and earthenwares.

The above *toiya* are not new guilds lately organized, but have been in existence for some time, and their names have been registered at my office. . . .

Taru Yozaemon (Town Elder of Edo).

22 An Appeal to the Town Commissioners by Tokumi Doiya, 1803²⁹ We meekly beg to submit our cause in writing. On behalf of the merchants and *toiya* of the Tokumi residing in your territory we beg to present our cause. That we have been treated with favor and benevolence since our immigration to these parts, being permitted to carry on our trade to this day, is true; this we respectfully acknowledge as a blessing, and for it we tender our humble gratitude. The aforementioned *toiya*, known as the Tokumi, the kinds of commodities handled and the numbers are as certified in the books herewith separately annexed.

The said members of the Tokumi engaged in the export of various commodities from the Kamigata Provinces (the Kyoto-Osaka region) loaded and discharged the same through the Higaki vessels from the beginning in order to ensure full supply on your domain. Previously those who were not members of the Tokumi Doiya were unable to import directly from the Kamigata area, but

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 518–519.

lately parties not members of the Tokumi are able without any restraint to import directly from Kamigata just as well as the Tokumi Doiya, so that many are guilty of such violations of the regulations established by the Tokumi. And although we have deliberated on the matter, nothing could be done owing to the size of the territory, and the situation was left to take its own course to this day. As long as the non-*toiya* members traded in lines not handled by the Tokumi, matters ran smoothly, not necessitating any negotiations. However, the growing influence of these merchants and the increase in their number are of great concern to the Tokumi Doiya. If their activities are not checked, many members of the Tokumi may be forced to leave the guild. Although the members of the Tokumi Doiya have frequently discussed the proposition, it is impossible to regulate affairs when many of those engaged in direct import from Osaka do not become members of the guild. Moreover, even if inferior goods are imported there are not means of investigation or prohibiting the practice, to which we humbly call your Honors' attention. If the guild is to be dissolved, all goods imported thereafter will be of different grades, and supervision of importation cannot be made as heretofore; at the same time the random influx of goods will upset the market supply, which naturally will react upon the financial condition of the territory. The number of members of the Tokumi Doiya has in late years decreased, and no one will have any inclination to join if things are left as they are now. Moreover, when an organization in existence for years is allowed to fall, difficulties will naturally arise. . . . Therefore, since the case stands as explained, it is necessary to force the non-members to join the Tokumi Doiya to form a single organized unit. This would be, to our minds, the most convenient means of control. Further, those engaged in direct import, besides the Tokumi Doiya, should be included in one guild or another according to the line of business, and those in the suburbs engaged in direct import should be turned over to the traders in the city. These measures will insure continued existence of the Tokumi Doiya. . . . Although the nature of the Tokumi is one body and a unit, its field of activities covers a large variety of goods, and we endeavor to keep the markets of the city fully supplied. Therefore, if such transactions are also freely entered into by parties outside the organization, no order could be maintained, and, although we desire to attract such traders into the Tokumi, yet it is impossible within the limits of our powers. Such a state of affairs if left to its natural course will plainly dissolve the Tokumi Doiya, so that there is no way but to appeal for succor. We trust you will heed our pleas and lend your authority to restrict the transactions with the Kamigata to the Tokumi, which would be an act of deep benevolence and be greatly appreciated by the members of the Tokumi Doiya.

Third year of Kyowa [1803], fifth month, 17th day.

MANAGING THE ECONOMY

In 1757, devastated by floods and earthquakes, the Matsushiro han (located in the present-day Nagano prefecture) suffered its worst financial crisis. Its samu-

rai received only one half of their stipends, corruption was rampant, and tax payments were in serious arrears. Given full power by the daimyō to restructure the han finance, Onda Moku (1717–1762) took the unprecedented step of consulting everyone whose lives would be affected by his reform measures. As seen in Documents 4 through 9, peasants were considered merely a means of obtaining tax revenue. They suffered the Ricardoian poverty, and their opinion mattered little to their rulers. The same documents show a tradition of arbitrariness, with officials disregarding almost totally the welfare of the people they governed. In contrast, Onda showed a refreshingly new approach. He instinctively knew that he needed the active cooperation of han officials and of the peasantry. In consulting with them and giving them something in return, he was engaged in *nemawashi* (touching base with those who are affected), one of the most cherished principles of Japanese management. Document 23 comes from his *Higurashi Suzuri*, a memoir in the style of occasional essays containing basic Confucian precepts.

Corporate philosophy, another pillar of modern Japanese management, is not a contemporary invention. One of its earliest examples can be found in the founder's precepts of the Sumitomo family completed around 1650 (Document 24). In a modified form, they still serve as the basic tenets for the Sumitomo group which is one of the largest Japanese corporate groupings (*keiretsu*) with enterprises in as diverse fields as coal and non-ferrous metal, mining and manufacture of iron and steel, machinery, electrical and communications equipment, chemical products, ceramics, real estate, finance and insurance and commerce. The common origin of this group is the medicine and book shop opened in Kyoto around 1630 by Masatomo (1585–1652), the first head of the Sumitomo family. Masatomo's precepts, written as admonitions, were given to members of his "household" which meant not just blood relatives but also employees. His precepts were later incorporated in the Sumitomo family code and in its "business principles." These principles, rewritten in 1928, remain the basic principles governing and binding all Sumitomo affiliates today. For the sake of comparison, they are concurrently reproduced below.

23 Restructuring Han Finance, 1757³⁰ Onda called all the clan officials together and said that although payments of stipends had been in arrears or had sometimes failed entirely he intended to see that they were paid accurately in the future. In return he instituted a system of sure rewards and certain penalties. He then ordered village headmen, rich farmers, and police officials to gather and to bring with them people who could speak their minds well and clearly. On the appointed day, Onda said as follows:

³⁰From *Higurashi Suzuri* as translated in Isaiah Ben-Dasan, *The Japanese and the Jews* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1972), translated by Richard L. Gage, pp. 78–85.

"I realize that because of the lord's financial predicament many of you have been caused a great deal of trouble. It may well be that in the future, as I attempt to fulfill my role as financial controller, you will be caused still further trouble, and for that I am sorry. But first of all I promise to propose nothing that is impossible; once I have made a statement I will not alter it. . . . Further, unless you and I discuss all matters openly with each other, it will be impossible to put the clan's financial situation in order. Since I cannot succeed by myself, I ask that all of you talk everything over with me freely. . . .

"Next, not only on auspicious occasions but also at all other times, I will allow no sending of gifts, no matter how inexpensive. I will not term such gifts bribes, since that would create difficulties for everyone. . . .

"In the future I intend to hear everyone's requests and pleas; therefore, there is no need to send bribes to anyone. This goes for all officials as well as for the farmers.

"The next point concerns tax collection. In the past one hundred from each one thousand available foot soldiers have been kept in the castle for various jobs. Each month the remaining nine hundred were sent to the villages to collect tribute rice. But from now on this practice will cease. . . .

"Although it is difficult to predict the distant future, I intend to fill this office for five years. During that time, I will levy no demands on you for regional construction or for various duties in the castle. . . .

[After discussing incidents of advances farmers were forced to pay on their taxes, loans forced on farmers and merchants by the *han*, and non-payment of taxes:]

"Be informed that all unpaid taxes to this point are forgiven. But anyone who fails to pay this year's tributes, though he be stark naked with poverty, will face a punishment worse than death. . . .

"Although we should like to return the advances and the advances on advances that some of you have paid, we lack the funds to do so. Furthermore, as you have heard, we intend to forgive all taxes in arrears to this point. Therefore, I request that all of you who have paid advances accept the loss. . . .

"I want you to return to your villages and tell the other farmers what I have said. All of you must deliberate on the question together before an answer. If you fail to agree, I must commit suicide (*seppuku*). Remember that the things I request are these: all advances paid to the present must be written off as losses in favor of the clan, and everyone must pay this year's tax rice without fail. There are some things to take into consideration, however, that make the picture brighter than you might think. . . . Do not forget that all bribes that were customarily paid in the past have been forbidden. This alone will save the villages about 100 *koku* of rice a year. The foot soldiers who formerly made monthly trips to collect taxes will no longer be lodged in your house. This means great savings in the housing and food that you provided. Furthermore, you will no longer be forced to supply people and funds for duties and services to officials. All the

savings the elimination of these burdens bring to the farmers will amount to about seventy percent of this year's tax assessment. In addition, starting now I should like to put tribute taxes for the Yamashiro clan on a monthly installment basis.

"To those who lent money to the clan, we should like to return what we owe; but we do not have the funds at present. It may be that some of your children or grandchildren will find themselves in financial troubles or in hard times in the future. We should like to pay the money back to them when it becomes needed, but we will be unable to pay interest. All we can return is the principal. . . ."

He then said if any of them had been injured or harmed in any way during the past period of bad political administration they might unhesitatingly write down their complaints, which they might present after sealing them well. . . .

24 Sumitomo's Corporate Philosophy, c. 1630 and 1928³¹

(a) Founder's Precepts (c. 1630)

As in business, likewise in all other things, exercise prudence in all respects.

1. Do not purchase an article offered below the prevailing market price, whatever it is, without knowing its origin. Regard such an article as stolen.
2. Do not give even one night's lodging to anyone, or accept in custody a property of another, not even a (simple) braided hat.
3. Do not act as a guarantor for another.
4. Do not sell anything on credit.
5. Do not become angry and speak intemperately and harshly, whatever the other party says. Whatever the subject, speak patiently, over and over again.

(b) Sumitomo's Business Principles (1928)

1. Sumitomo shall achieve strength and prosperity by placing prime importance on integrity and sound management in the conduct of its business.
2. Sumitomo shall manage its activities with foresight and flexibility in order to cope effectively with the changing times. Under no circumstances, however, shall it pursue easy gains or act imprudently.

COMMERCE AS A CALLING

The prosperity experienced in the Tokugawa period was accompanied by the rise of the merchant class. Once placed at the bottom of the ladder in the four-class system, and scorned by the Confucianists as lesser men who were interested only in profit, the merchants acquired new self-confidence as their wealth and power grew. With it there were also attempts to redefine their role in society and justify the acquisition of profit.

³¹Courtesy of Mr. Sumitomo Yoshiteru and the Sumitomo Corporation.

Document 25 is taken from a Jodo Shinshū (True Pure Land Sect) tract which links commercial activities with Bodhisattva deeds. It was a clear departure from the traditional Buddhist view that termed greed as a cardinal sin and profit seeking as leading to a sure path of destruction. The Shin sect was most prevalent in the Ōmi region (the present-day Shiga prefecture). It was no accident that, along with the Ise region, Ōmi produced more successful merchants and entrepreneurs than the rest of the country in the early Tokugawa period, the same period when this tract was written.

Ishida Baigan (1685–1744) was born in a farm family, and as a young man served as an apprentice under a Kyoto merchant by the name of Kuroyanagi. His experience taught him the importance of frugality, honesty, and other basic values commonly associated with work ethic. He was convinced that merchants were also men, equal in standing in their ability to contribute to society as people from other walks of life. In 1722, he started a school in Kyoto to start propagating his views. This school was known as Sekimon Shingaku, or Shingaku for short. In his lifetime, the number of students did not exceed 400, but in the nineteenth century, it became one of the dominant schools of thought that had a significant impact on commercial practices. Many house codes written in the Tokugawa period show a distinct influence of Shingaku in their adherence to its ethical values. Document 26 is taken from Baigan's Tohimondo, or Conversation between Town and Countryside (1739).³²

25

Just Profit and Bodhisattva Deeds³³ In merchandising we receive remuneration for supplying the consumer with manufactured goods. The artisans receive their remuneration by producing the goods and supplying them to the consumer. What the world calls this remuneration is profit. But the basis of receiving this profit depends on profiting others. Thus both the business of merchants and of artisans is the profiting of others. By profiting others they receive the right to profit themselves. This is the virtue of the harmony of *jiri-rita* (profiting self while profiting others). The spirit of profiting others is the Bodhisattva spirit. Having a Bodhisattva spirit and saving all beings, this is called Bodhisattva deeds. Thus Bodhisattva deeds are just the deeds of mer-

³²You may wish to compare Baigan's word *Shokubun* and Luther's word *Beruf*. Both of these words can be translated into English as "calling." See Robert Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (New York: Free Press, 1957), pp. 115, 123, 125, 164.

³³From Naitō Kanji: "*Shūkyō to Keizai Rinri*" (Religion and the Economic Ethic, Jōdo Shinshū and the Ōmi Merchants). *Shakaigaku* (Sociology), Vol. 8, pp. 243–286, Tokyo 1941, as translated and cited in Bellah, *ibid.*, p. 120. Reprinted with the permission of the Free Press, a division of Simon & Schuster from TOKUGAWA RELIGION: The Values of Pre-industrial Japan by Robert Bellah. Copyright © 1957 by The Free Press. Copyright © by Robert N. Bellah 1984 Trust.

chants and artisans. In general the secret of merchants' and artisans' business lies in obtaining confidence through Bodhisattva deeds.

26 The Role of the Merchants, 1739³⁴ If there were no trade, the buyer would have nothing to buy and the seller could not sell. If it were thus, the merchants would have no livelihood and would become farmers and artisans. If the merchants all became farmers and artisans, there would be no one to circulate wealth and all the people would suffer. The samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants are of assistance in governing the empire. If the four classes were lacking, there would be no assistance. The governing of the four classes is the role of the ruler. Assisting the ruler is the role of the four classes. The samurai is the retainer (*shin*) who has rank from old. The farmer is the retainer of the countryside. The merchant and artisan are retainers of the town. To assist the ruler, as retainers, is the Way of the retainer. The trade of the merchants assists the empire. The payment of the price is the stipend (*roku*) of the artisan. Giving the harvest to the farmer is like the stipend of the samurai. Without the output of all the classes of the empire, how could it stand? The profit of the merchant too is a stipend permitted by the empire. To call this, which is only the profit of your own trade, greedy and immoral is to hate the merchants and wish for their destruction. Why hate and despise only the merchants? As for your saying not to give a profit for trade, if one pays and deducts the profit it will destroy the laws of the empire. As business is ordered from above, profit is received. Thus the profit of the merchant is like a permitted stipend.

. . . As for the Way of the samurai also, if he does not receive a stipend, he is not fit for service. If one calls receiving a stipend from one's lord "greedy" and "immoral," then from Confucius and Mencius on down there is not a man who knows the Way. What sort of thing is it to say, leaving samurai, farmers, and artisans aside, that the merchants' receiving a stipend is "greed" and that they cannot know the Way?

³⁴From *Tohimondō* as translated and cited in Bellah, *Ibid.*, p. 158.

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