

Economic Development of Japan



No.2 Edo Period

Topics for Discussion

- ❑ Was Edo Japan a backward and suppressive feudal society, or a uniquely advanced non-Western society?
- ❑ What were the pre-conditions prepared by Edo Japan for the subsequent economic takeoff in the Meiji period?
- ❑ How were these pre-conditions generated? What made them possible?

I. Emperor's Rule



NARA

Centralization

Jinshin War × 671

Taika Reform × 645

Clan fights

Hunting & gathering

HEIAN

Court politics, decentralization

II. Samurai's Rule

1603



**KAMAKURA
MUROMACHI
SENGOKU**

Internal wars, dynamic & fluid society



EDO

Tokugawa Shogunate

Peace, isolation, conservative class society

III. Modern-ization

1867

MEIJI

Westernization, industrialization, militarization



IV. Postwar



Rapid recovery and growth

WAR

1937-45



XXXX

XXXX

XXX

Rice

Buddhism

Chinese culture & political system

WEST: guns & Christianity

WEST!!!

US occupation 1945-52

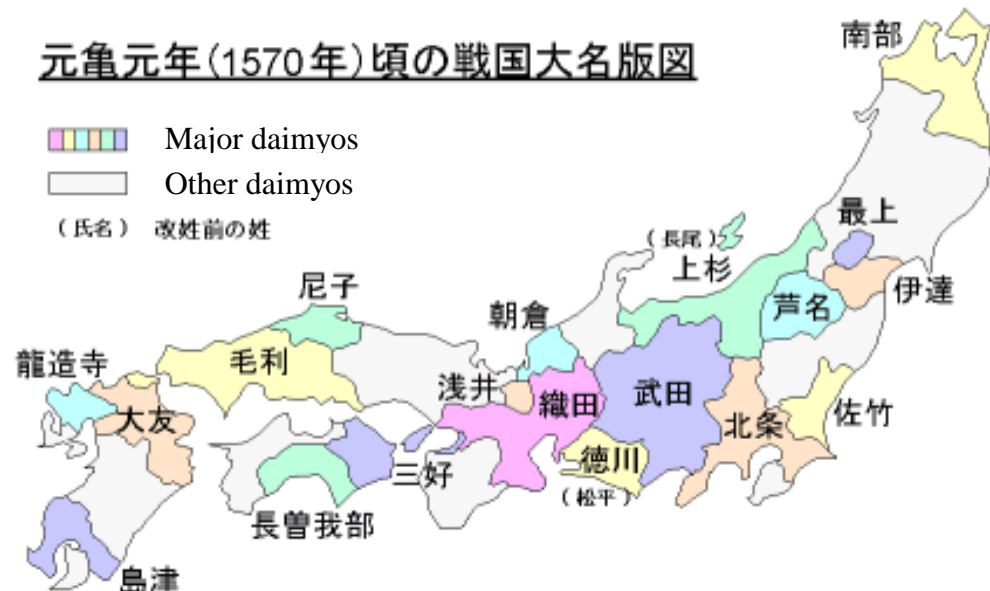
The Early Age of Samurai, 12c to 16c

(Kamakura鎌倉, Muromachi室町, and Sengoku戦国 period)

(Sengoku=Warring States)

- ❑ Internal fights for dominance continued--samurai were real fighters and protectors of land.
- ❑ Religion for self-discipline, pragmatism and coping with life-or-death situation emerged (Zen Buddhism禅).
- ❑ Society was dynamic and fluid. Power and outcome, not family name, mattered.
- ❑ External trade was active; foreign invasion and piracy were also carried out.

Sengoku Daimyo's spheres of influence around 1570 (just before reunification)



Transition from Sengoku to Edo

(Late 16c to early 17c)



Oda Nobunaga (1534-82),
merciless fighter
織田信長



Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-
98), witty operator
豊臣秀吉

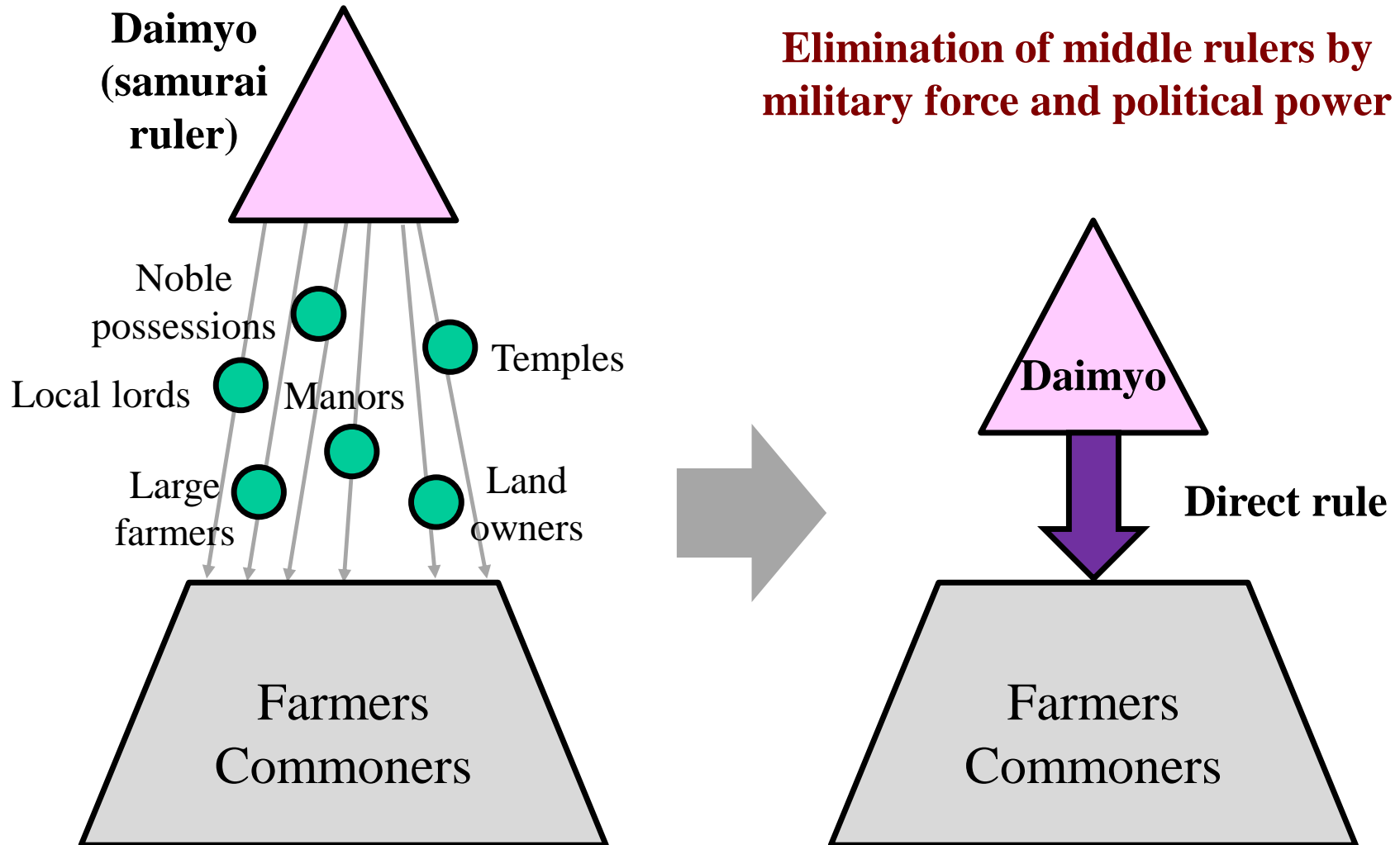


Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-
1616), patient winner
徳川家康

- Daimyo's direct rule of land and farmers was established (removal of middle powers such as influential temples, manors, landlords).
- Rigid separation of samurai and farmers
 - *Kenchi* 検地 (land survey and registration) → creation of family farms
 - *Katanagari* 刀狩 (confiscation of all arms from non-samurai classes)
 - All samurai required to live in castle town, receive rice salary
 - All farmers required to live in villages, till allotted land, and pay rice tax

Impact of Kenchi & Katanagari

From Indirect to Direct Rule



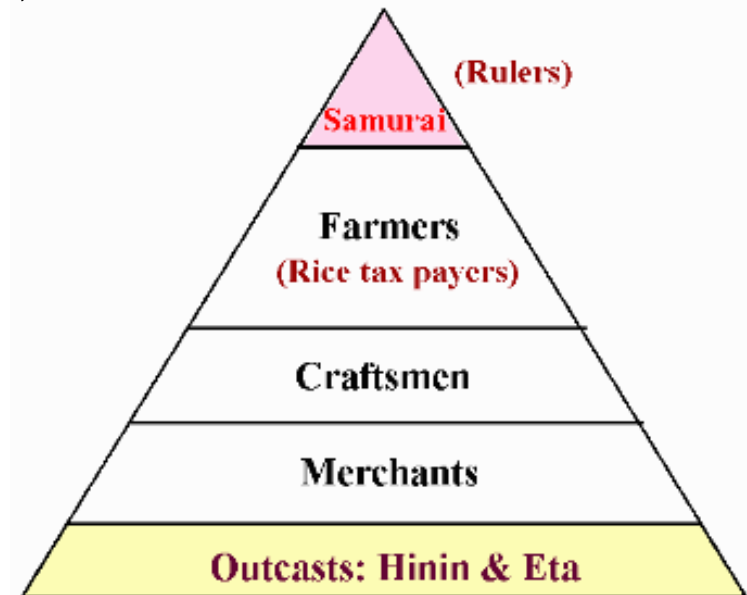
Key Features of the Edo Period

- 1. Political stability under the Bakufu rule**
- 2. Rising agricultural output and productivity**
- 3. Improved transport infrastructure and emergence of nationally unified markets**
- 4. Development of commerce, finance and a rich merchant class**
- 5. Development of pre-modern manufacturing**
- 6. Industrial promotion by local (han) governments**
- 7. High achievements in education at both government and private schools as well as for children**

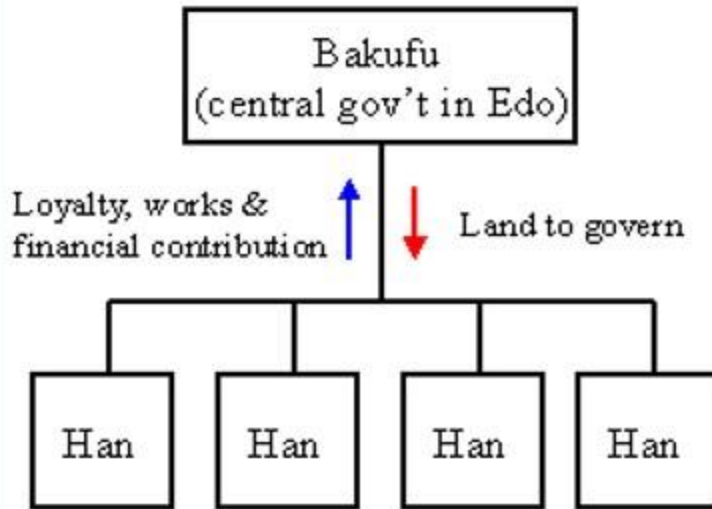
- ❑ Although Edo Japan did not have the science or technology equivalent to the West, the above features provided a fertile social ground on which Western ideas and technology could later be rapidly absorbed.
- ❑ Today's latecomer nations are not necessarily equipped with all these conditions. Some even lack most of these conditions.

Basic Facts about the Edo Period

- ❑ Tokugawa family ruled for 264 years (15 shoguns). Daimyos were strictly ranked, and given domains (hans) to rule in exchange for loyalty and submission.
- ❑ Agro-based feudalism and tax system were installed. Peace was restored and samurais became urban bureaucrats.
- ❑ Foreign travel and private foreign trade were banned. The Bakufu monopolized and controlled trade with China and the Netherlands.
- ❑ Edo society distinguished four classes, *Shi-No-Ko-Sho* (Samurai-Farmer-Craftsman-Merchant) in this order. The gap between ruling samurais and the rest was greater than differences among the ruled.
- ❑ An outcast class of *eta* and *hinin* was also institutionalized.



<Political structure>



Three types of hans:

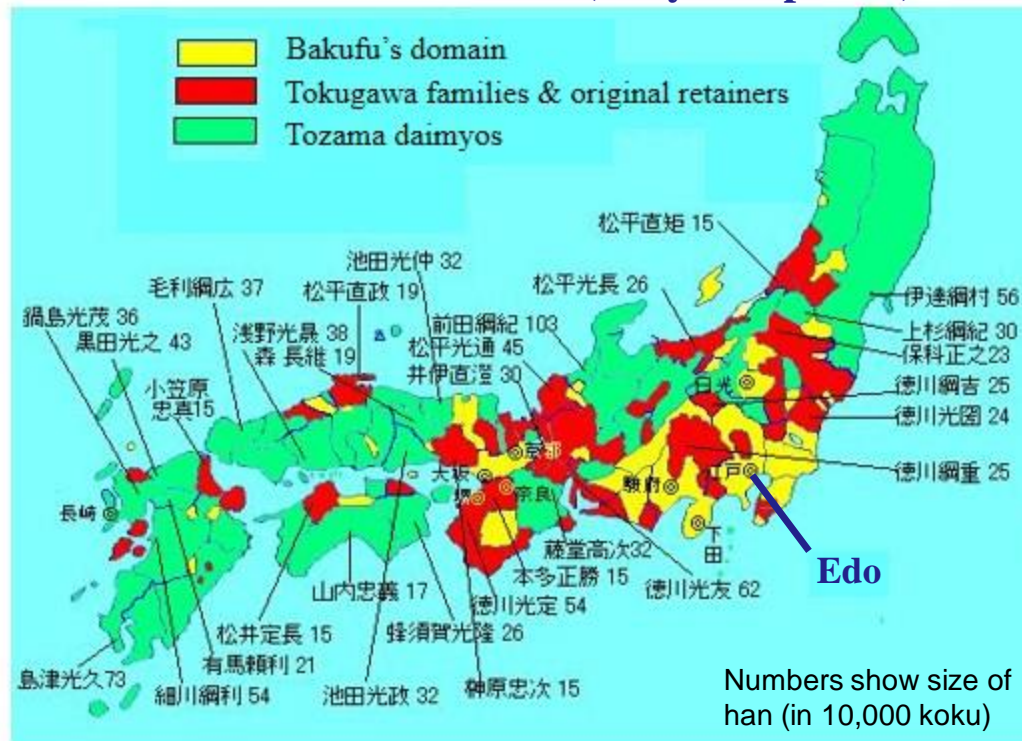
- Shinpan (Tokugawa family)
- Fudai (original followers)
- Tozama (new followers)

Bakuhan Taisei (Bakufu-Han System)

How to keep daimyos at bay

- *Seppuku* (ritual suicide) and termination of family at any sign of disobedience
- Limits on military capability (one castle per han, no military shipbuilding, etc.)
- Relocation & downsizing of hans at Bakufu's will
- *Sankin kotai* requirement (daimyos must reside in Edo and at home every other year)
- Ad hoc assignment of charges and public works

Land Allocation in 1664 (early Edo period)



City & Town Views



Daimyo in castle



Daimyo Procession in Edo



Terakoya (private school for children)



Urban ladies (dramatization)



Merchants & samurai police



City scape (virtual reality)

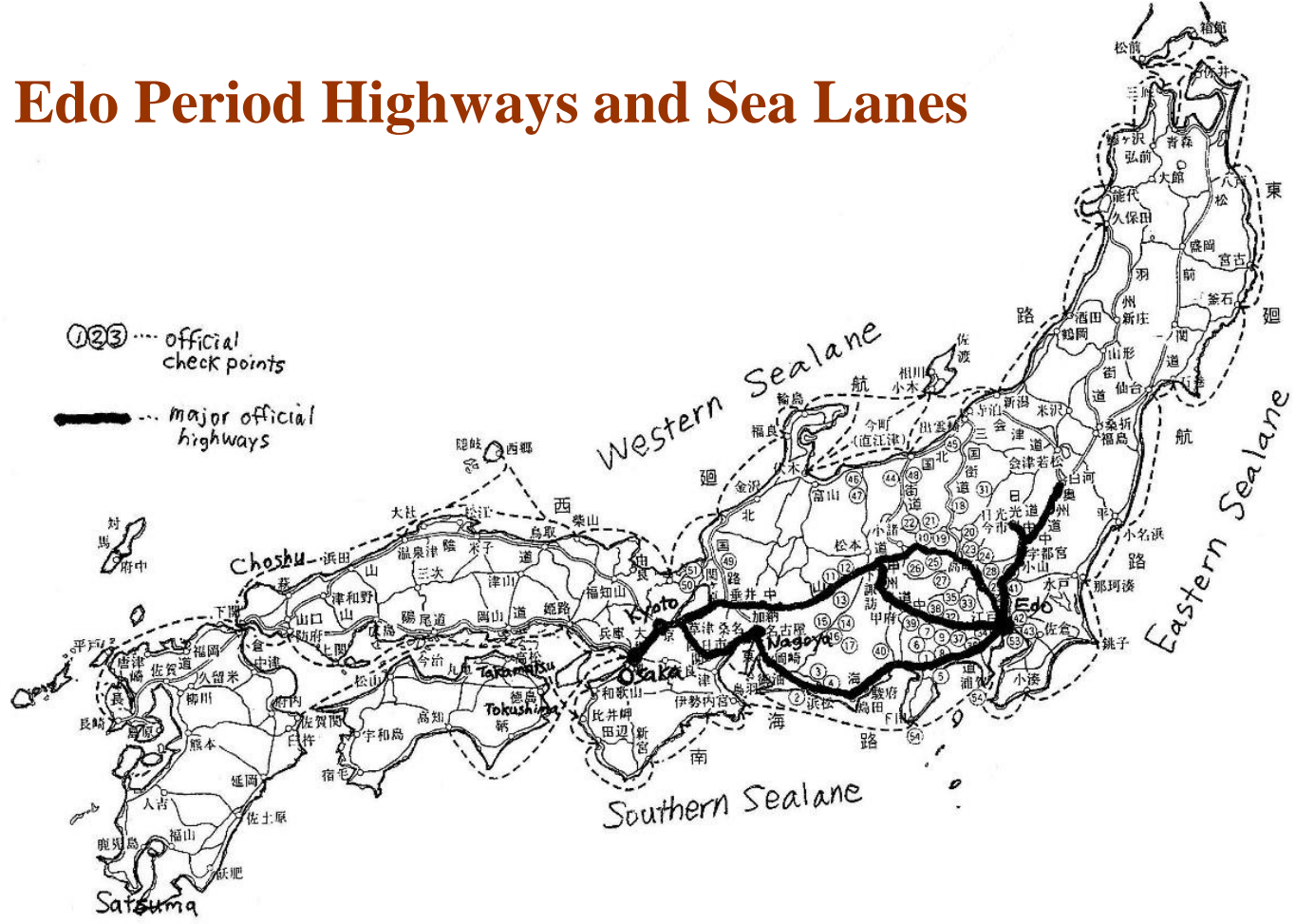


Toiyaba (logistic arrangement service at each post town)

Hikyaku (long-distance relay runners dispatching letters)

Hatagoya (travel inns for commoners)

Edo Period Highways and Sea Lanes



Kitamae-bune (serving on the Japan Sea side)

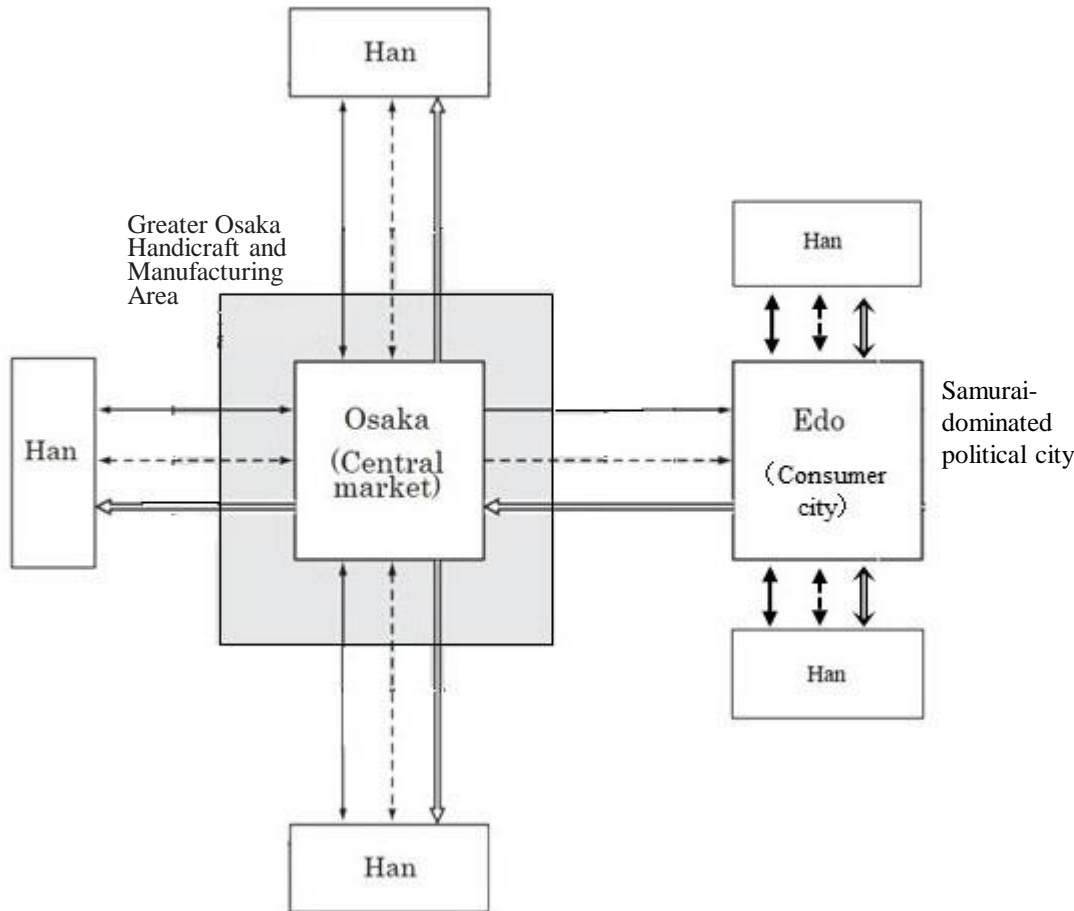


Higaki-kaisen (serving on the Pacific Ocean side)

Early Edo Period Economy

Osaka (economic center) vs. local markets

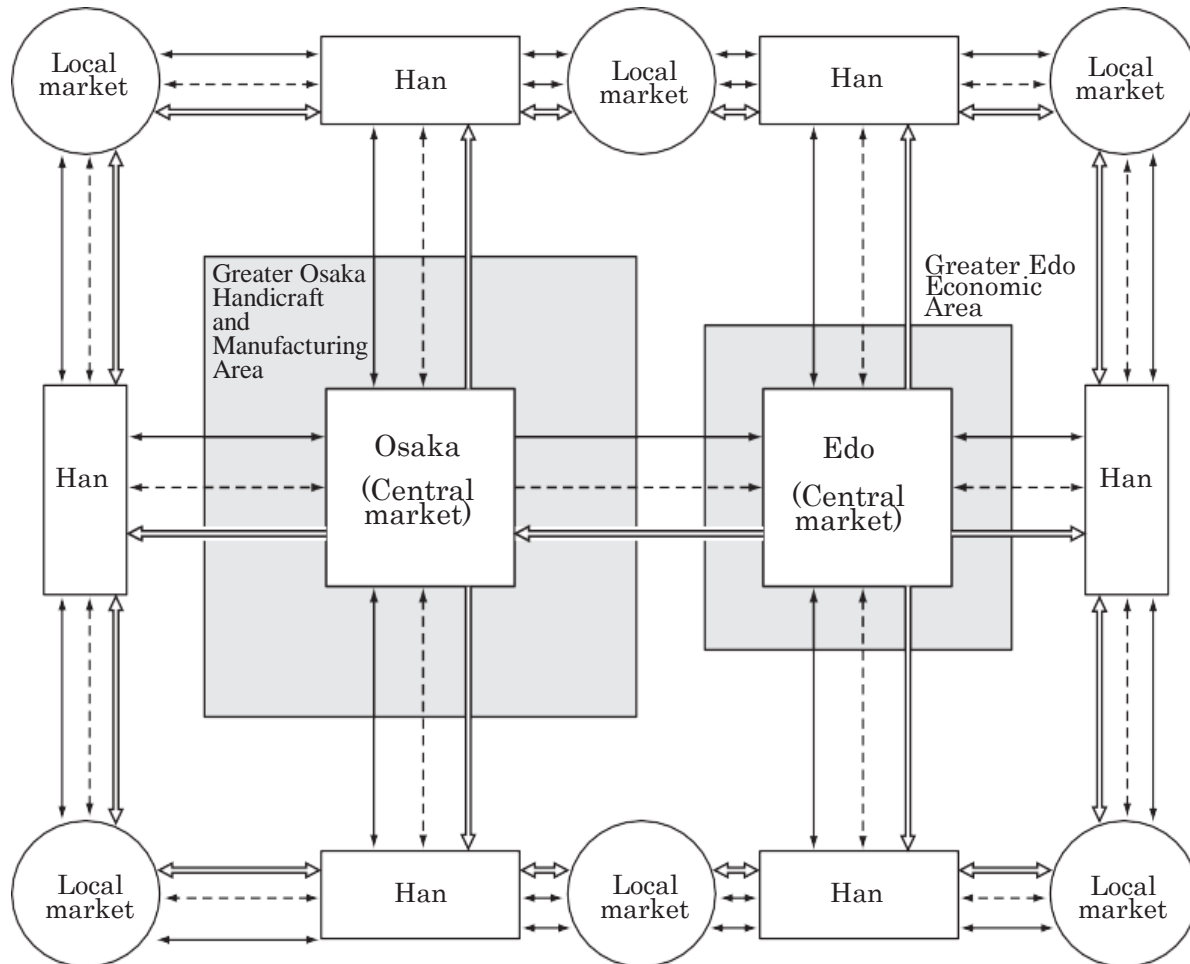
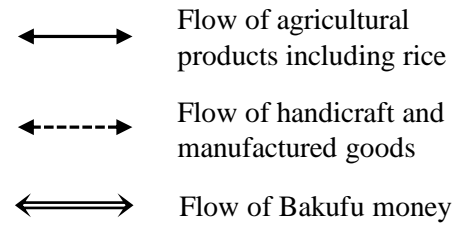
- ↔ Flow of agricultural products including rice
- ⇄ Flow of handcraft and manufactured goods
- ↔ Flow of Bakufu money



- In early Edo period, Osaka was the center of production and commerce. Edo was a political city with large consumption demand.

Late Edo Period Economy

Inter-regional Economic Linkage Develops



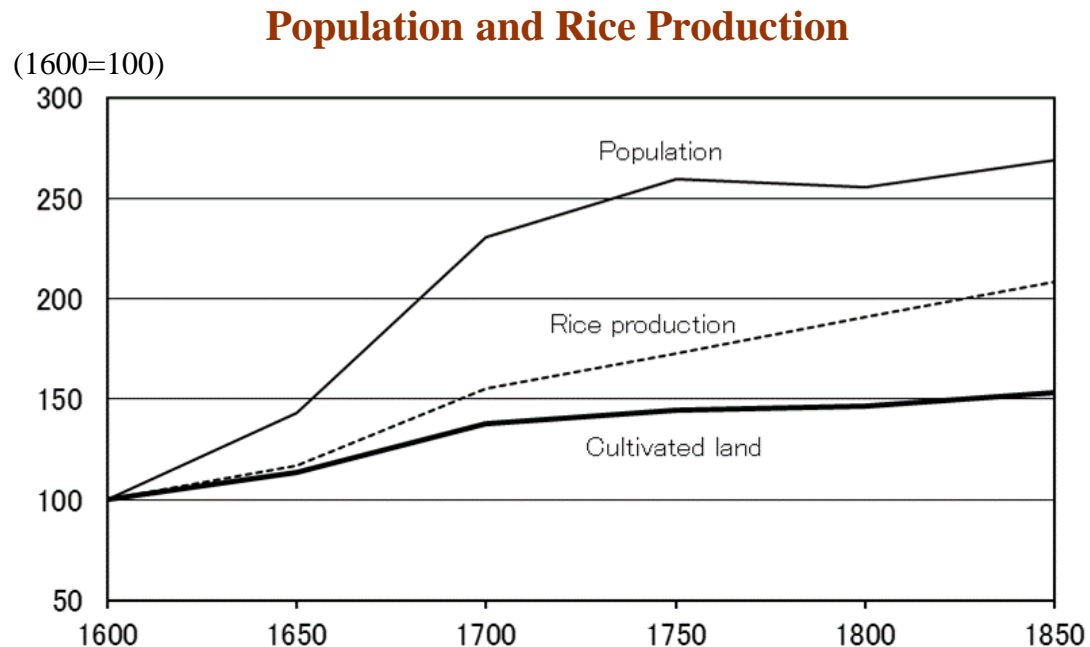
- As the economy developed, manufacturing and processing activities further expanded around Osaka, and a similar area also formed around Edo.
- Hans initially traded mainly with Osaka, but they later traded directly with each other in local markets without intervention of Osaka merchants.
- The national market was highly integrated. The weight of economic activities shifted gradually from Western to Eastern Japan.

Suppressed Peasants?

- ❑ Until recently, Japanese historical research was dominated by Marxist scholars who tried to prove the brutality of feudal and capitalist rulers. They argued that Edo peasants were very poor and highly suppressed.
- ❑ Farmers' uprisings (*ikki*) were frequent before and during the Edo period. The number increased at times of famine and toward the end of the Edo period. Main complaints included high taxes, corrupt officials and unreasonable Bakufu or han policies.
- ❑ *Ikki* were well-organized under designated leaders and followed preset rules. Shops and official residences might be attacked but people were never harmed.
- ❑ Some peasants did face hardships. Major famines caused mass starvation. Infanticide was practiced to curb population growth. Landless farmers increased toward the end of the Edo period.

Agriculture: Positive Aspects

- ❑ Recent research sheds light on brighter aspects of Edo farming. Farmland expanded, new technology was adopted and land productivity rose. Rural living standard generally improved. These occurred even though farmers bore heavy tax burden.
- ❑ Villages had autonomy. Village leaders were elected, tax burden was allocated to families, village rules were set and enforced, common properties (irrigation, woods, etc.) were collectively managed, and mutual assistance in labor and finance was practiced.
- ❑ Productivity rose thanks to double cropping, new species of rice, organic fertilizer (dried fish) and new farming tools.
- ❑ Many farming guidebooks were published to teach farmers how to produce crops effectively.



Source: Hayami & Miyamoto, 1988.

From Subsistence Farming to Commercial Agriculture

- ❑ Peasants initially produced mainly for family consumption (after paying tax). As land productivity rose and agricultural surplus was created, peasants began to sell their rice and other crops to the market which was integrated nationally.
- ❑ Farmers in advanced areas, especially near Osaka, specialized in cash crops and purchased rice for consumption.
- ❑ Locally unique food and agro-products emerged in many regions. Examples were tea, tobacco, wax, indigo, salt, lacquer ware, silk, cotton, soy sauce, sake, paper, etc. Manufactured goods also emerged. These were mainly the result of private effort, but some han governments also provided support.

Illustrations of farming tools



Source: *Nihonshi Zuhyo Shinban* [Japanese History in Figures and Tables, New Edition], Daiichi Gakusyusha, 1999 .

Popular Commercial Crops in Edo Period

●四木 漆 (うるし) Lacquer



漆の実は葉の燃料となり、煮液からは漆樹に流る樹液が取れる。漆は縄文時代からおこなわれていた。江戸時代では水戸・越前・飛騨・美濃・能登・加賀などがある。



江戸時代にはいり、高級織物の原材料であった白糸(生糸)の中国からの輸入禁止にともない、国内産生糸の需要

Mulberry & sericulture (silk making)



桑は養蚕州として江戸中期頃から増殖された。蚕は4回脱皮した後、繭をつくり繭に入る。この繭を鍋で煮て、煮終し5〜7本の糸を合わせて(糸織り)、1本に新しいで糸をつくった。



Tea



茶は葉を摘み採りて加熱し、乾燥させた。石臼で葉を砕いて抹茶にした。江戸時代中期から普及し、庶民にも広がった。



Kozo Paper material



●三草 麻 (あし) Hemp



葉は煮て干し、煮けた後に頭を削いで白色の繊維(青竹)を作る。干した後に麻糸を取って漉糸を造った。漉糸は室町時代から盛られ、漁民の衣料として用いられた。水網の普及で日常衣料ではなくなったが、夏衣の衣料や寝巻などの材料として需要高まった。

■ 藍 (あい) Indigo



藍の実を細かく叩きつぶし、発酵させて「しとめ」をつくる。これを臼に入れてつき餅状にして藍玉をつくる。餅屋は藍玉を臼に入れて水料を集めた。近頃は味噌蔵の桶藍用が著名である。

●紅花 (べにばな) Safflower



初夏に黄色の花弁を摘んで踏み、水を加え発酵させる。さらに臼に入れて踏みつけると同状になる(紅紙)。出羽はこの生産が多い。染料・薬用・化粧用として加工された。

和紙の原料。西薬作物として尊重された。

Bakufu Policy versus Reality

- ❑ All farmers were recorded in the *kenchi* (land survey) book and obliged to till land and pay tax as stipulated. But farmers often resisted high taxes, corrupt officials or unreasonable policies. They even collectively abandoned assigned land in protestation.
- ❑ In principle, no class mobility was allowed. In reality, there were cases of poor and lordless samurai becoming peasants, and rich farmers and merchants with merits or large donation permitted to carry swords.
- ❑ The Regulation of Keian, first promulgated in 1649 and reissued throughout the Edo period, was a collection of prohibitions on farmers—don't smoke tobacco, don't buy sake or tea, divorce a wife who likes to travel for fun, and so on. This document should be viewed not as evidence of strict control on farmers but as the Bakufu's futile effort to enforce the impossible.
- ❑ The Bakufu, insisting on rice-based economy, did not regard agro-processing and manufacturing as something to be strongly promoted or taxed. Some Bakufu reformers tried to tax trade by giving monopoly rights to merchants, but this policy was often reversed subsequently. Due to such policy detachment and inconsistency, the Bakufu failed to capture the dynamism of newly emerging sectors.

Some Hans Succeed in Industrial Promotion and Fiscal Consolidation

- ❑ Bakufu intentionally put hans in dire financial situation. Arbitrary taxes and contributions, orders for public investment, requirement for daimyo to live in Edo every other year, and official travel between Edo and han strained han budget. Many hans fell into deep debt.
- ❑ However, some hans overcame the situation by (i) austerity & economizing; (ii) defaulting on private debt to merchants, (iii) illegal foreign trade; and (iv) effective commercial and industrial promotion.

Satsuma Han—forced austerity on samurai and debt cancellation on merchants; illegal trade with China via Ryukyu (Okinawa); sugar trade generated huge profit

Yonezawa Han—austerity; promotion of R&D; opening new farm land and irrigation; han-supported production of aoso (textile material), lacquer & safflower; elimination of reform opponents

Tokushima Han—supporting indigo farmers; protecting them from exploitation of bakufu & Osaka merchants

Takamatsu Han—after many failures, commercialization of sugar beet production; supporting farmers against bakufu & Osaka merchants

Bakufu Schools and Han Schools

(Official Teaching)

- ❑ The core curriculum was ancient Chinese philosophy, especially Confucianism (teachings of Confucius, 6-5c BC). Confucianism emphasized social order, respect for superiors and elders, role and duties of the ruler, and rituals and ceremonies. The Bakufu adopted this doctrine to legitimize its rule and class society.
- ❑ Eminent Bakufu scholars included Fujiwara Seika (1561-1619), Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) and Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725).
- ❑ Later, the Bakufu also taught Dutch language, Western medicine, military navigation, etc.
- ❑ The majority of hans also organized official han schools to teach youths and children of han samurais. Their curriculums were similar to Bakufu schools.



The Bakufu school at Yushima Seido at Ochanomizu, Tokyo, where Confucianism was taught to the sons of Bakufu samurais. Source: *Seidokoushaku-zu* [Lecture Scene at Seido] owned by Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo.

Terakoya (Private Primary Schools)

- ❑ Any intelligent person can be a self-appointed teacher and any child (ages about 7-13) can enroll at any time with flexible fee.
- ❑ Terakoya spread to all over Japan with an estimated number of over 20,000 by the end of the Edo period.
- ❑ Children were given individual assignments and instruction unlike modern schools where students were collectively taught. Subjects included reading, brush & ink writing, moral teaching and the use of abacus (arithmetic).



- ❑ A typical day at terakoya: brush & ink writing (8-12am), lunch at home, abacus & moral lessons (1-2pm), go home at 2pm.
- ❑ Three days-off per month. There were also special holidays.
- ❑ Monthly and year-end exams were given, as well as brush writing exhibition in April and August.

A Selected List of Private Schools for Adults (Late Edo Period)

School & location	Teacher & year of establishment	Subject(s)	Prominent students
Kangien (Hita, Bungo Han)	Hirose Tanso, 1817	Confucianism & ancient Chinese literature	Takano Choei (Western studies) Omura Masujiro (military reformer)
Narutaki Juku (Nagasaki)	Philipp F. B. von Siebolt (German), 1824	Western medicine	Takano Choei (Western scholar) Ito Genboku (medical doctor) Ito Keisuke (medical doctor and botanist)
Teki Juku (Osaka)	Ogata Koan, 1838	Dutch language & Western medicine	Fukuzawa Yukichi (founder of Keio Univ.) Omura Masujiro (military reformer) Hashimoto Sanai (Western studies) Otori Keisuke (Bakufu & Meiji statesman)
Zoyama Shoin (Edo)	Sakuma Shozan, 1835	Western studies & military technology	Yoshida Shoin (Shokason Juku teacher) Katsu Kaishu (Bakufu official) Yamamoto Kakuma (politician)
Shokason Juku (Hagi, Choshu Han)	Yoshida Shoin, 1855 (until 1857)	Social and political philosophy	Takasugi Shinsaku (anti-Bakufu fighter) Kusaka Genzui (anti-Bakufu fighter) Ito Hirobumi (prime minister) Yamagata Aritomo (prime minister)
Keio Gijuku (Edo/Tokyo) Later, university	Fukuzawa Yukichi, (1858, school renamed in 1868)	First Dutch, later English and Western political economy	Obata Tokujiro (politician & thinker) Yano Fumio (official & scholar) Nakamigawa Hikojiro (official & business leader) & many others

Toju Shoin

by Nakae Toju (1608-1648)

藤樹書院(中江藤樹)



- Quitting a teaching job at Ozu Han (Shikoku) to take care of old mother in the countryside—because this was the right thing to do.
- Rejecting formal & bureaucratic bakufu studies, pursuing how people could live beautifully as human beings.
- Teaching villagers to be always honest & kind to others; returning lost money to owner even if you have to walk many hours.
- Teaching a boy with weak memory to become a doctor, because he was willing to study hard.

Famous graduates

Kumazawa Banzan (scholar)

Fuchi Kozan (scholar)

Kangi-en

by Hirose Tanso (1782-1856)

咸宜園(広瀬淡窓)



- ❑ Kangi-en was established in 1817, and succeeded by nine rectors until 1897. It was the largest private school in the Edo period, attracting over 4,000 students over the years.
- ❑ Main courses were ancient Chinese literature and philosophy.
- ❑ The three non-selectivity principle was established: anyone can enroll regardless of age, education background or class/family background.
- ❑ Monthly exams classified students into 19 levels. Students were required to live in the school dormitory.

Famous graduates

Takano Choei (doctor, scholar of western studies)

Omura Masujiro (military reformer)



Teki Juku

by Ogata Koan (1810-1863)

適塾(緒方洪庵)



- ❑ Established by Ogata, a medical doctor and Dutch scholar, in central Osaka. About 3,000 students studied from 1838 to 1862.
- ❑ Dutch language was taught, and western knowledge was absorbed through Dutch books. But there was only one Dutch dictionary (photo) and students queued up to consult it.
- ❑ Students were given reading and translating assignments. Good students were allowed to choose best tatami mats to sleep.

Famous graduates

Fukuzawa Yukichi (founder of Keio University)

Omura Masujiro (scholar, founder of Japanese Army)

Sano Tsunetami (founder of Japan Red Cross)

Otori Keisuke (scholar and statesman)



Shokason Juku

by Yoshida Shoin (1830-1859)

松下村塾(吉田松陰)



- ❑ Yoshida Shoin, who studied in Edo and Nagasaki and travelled extensively in Japan, was a strong personality with pro-emperor, anti-bakufu views.
- ❑ He was jailed three times for trying to go abroad and criticizing government. He was finally executed in Edo.
- ❑ In just two-and-half years (1855-1857), he taught and energized young people at Shokason Juku in Hagi, his home town.

Famous graduates

Kusaka Genzui (anti-bakufu fighter)

Takasugi Shinsaku (anti-bakufu fighter)

Ito Hirobumi (Prime Minister)

Yamagata Aritomo (Prime Minister)



Key Ideas for This Lecture

- ❑ Politically, Edo Japan was a feudal class society (pre-modern). But economically, Edo Japan generated many conditions and institutions that led to industrialization later.
- ❑ Agricultural development and local manufacturing backed by nationally integrated markets, transport and commerce were noteworthy.
- ❑ In policy, the Bakufu insisted on traditional agro-based rule despite the development of commerce, industry and finance.
- ❑ Meanwhile, some hans succeeded in local industrial and commercial promotion.
- ❑ Demand for and supply of education were high.