

## Edo in the seventeenth century: aspects of urban development in a segregated society

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**ABSTRACT:** Seventeenth-century Edo was a city built by and for the shogun. The immense concentration of power in the shogun imposed stability in the city, and this made it unnecessary for the authorities to interfere directly in the city's general administration and economic affairs. Even given the overwhelming power of the shogun, however, the city did not develop a distinct culture at that stage.

Edo (present day Tokyo) became a major metropolis in the seventeenth century, as did London and Paris. The historical setting in which Edo developed, however, was quite different. First, social classes in Edo were rigidly separated and the samurai (warriors), clergy and *chônin* ('townspeople', i.e. merchants, artisans, etc.) all resided in segregated parts of the city. Each was governed with a separate ruling system. Partly for this reason, the city had a multi-layered administration. Second, the diplomatic and commercial isolation of the country, which had been consolidated by the 1630s, meant that foreign relations and international trade did not have a direct impact on the city's formation and development. Third, although up until the end of the sixteenth century Edo had been mainly a provincial town, from the seventeenth century on it developed in ways that were quantitatively and qualitatively different from what had prevailed before. Edo's past, however, was of little matter, because it was rebuilt into a metropolis literally through the tremendous influence of the shogun's presence there. And fourth, with the establishment of the *bakufu* (shogunate) in Edo, the centre of political power in Japan shifted from Kyoto to Edo. However, the Kinai region continued to be the country's economic and cultural centre. Thus came into being what were later known as the 'Santo', or 'three metropolises': Edo the political centre, Osaka the commercial

\* Macrons are used for extended vowels on Japanese words, except for prominent place names (Kyoto, etc.) and well-known Japanese words in the English dictionary (daimyo, etc.). Japanese words other than proper nouns are italicized on first mention only. Names are given in traditional Japanese order, surname first. The maps included in this paper were produced by Hatano Jun, and I am grateful to him for his immediate agreement to their inclusion.

centre and Kyoto the cultural centre.<sup>1</sup> This meant that not all power was concentrated in Edo.

Bearing in mind the four points mentioned above, let us look at the various aspects of Edo's development in the seventeenth century. The discussion is rather general for the following reasons. First, by giving a bird's-eye account of each of the aspects, I hope to bring into relief the features of the seventeenth-century development of Edo as a whole. Another reason is the limitations of historical materials. Extant historical sources on the city of Edo, including statistical data, documents and records, are rather scarce. Sources on seventeenth-century Edo, in particular, are limited, and most were compiled in later times. The Edo city administration is discussed here, but it should be kept in mind that the documents and records of the city magistracy, the office that played the leading role in the Edo city administration, come from no earlier than the eighteenth century and the majority are from the mid-nineteenth century. Many documents and records compiled by 'city elders', neighbourhood organization heads and *chô* (or 'town') authorities were destroyed or lost in the turmoil of the Meiji Restoration. Most documents that did survive vanished either in the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923 or the Tokyo air raids in 1945. Only fragments remain today. Records and other writings of merchant houses headquartered in Kyotô or other parts of the country that had a branch shop in Edo survived the above-mentioned disasters when they were preserved at the head office. Such documents have been useful in research on the history of Edo-period business management and commerce, but have rarely been taken up for study of the city of Edo itself and are in any event only fragmentary. Among the daimyo, who were forced to observe the system of alternate-year residence in Edo, there are some whose records and writings of their lives in the city have been handed down in relatively large numbers, but the compilation and study of these documents has only just begun. Due to these limitations as far as source materials are concerned, a detailed examination of specific aspects of the development of Edo during the seventeenth century must necessarily be limited in scope.

### **Building of the city**

After the seige of Odawara, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98) defeated the Hôjô clan, which had controlled the Kantô region, and unified the country. Under his regime, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) and his vassals were transferred to the Kantô region in the seventh month of 1590. Ieyasu chose Edo as a base from which to rule his new territories, but the Edo fortress that existed at the time (built also as a residence for the

<sup>1</sup> Yokota Fuyuhiko, 'Kinsei shakai no seiritsu to Kyoto' [Kyoto and the making of early modern society], *Nihonshi kenkyû*, 404 (1996), 50–70.

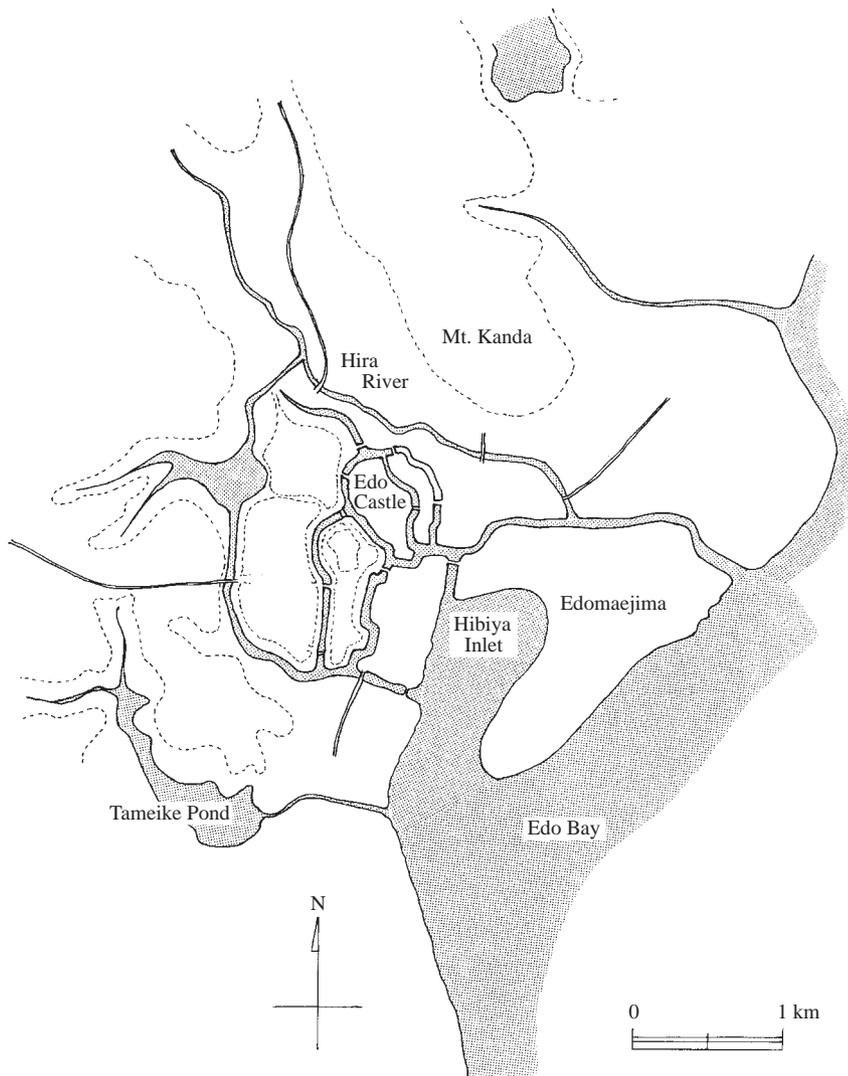


Figure 1: Edo at the end of the sixteenth century

Tokugawa family) was considered not adequate for the most powerful daimyo under the Toyotomi regime. In addition, the castle town, apart from the hilly area in the north-west, lay on low and swampy ground, making it unsuitable for the residences of a large number of vassals. For these reasons, Ieyasu took steps, along with strengthening control over his new domain, to improve the headquarters of his power – Edo castle and the surrounding castle town (Figure 1).

Residences for the lower-ranked vassals were built in the existing areas near Edo castle, and on the periphery for the higher-ranking samurai. The swampy lowlands were drained to create residential districts for the chônin. At the same time, water transportation was developed by building a network of canals, and the earth removed in digging the canals was used to build up and solidify land for urban development. As a result, chônin districts sprang up along the Yaesu riverbank, and on both banks of Dôsanbori, as well as in Honchô. Gold mints (*kinza*) and the offices of the *machi-doshiyori* (city elders) were situated in Honchô, so this became the centre of chônin territory. In addition, settlements that existed prior to Ieyasu's arrival, such as Ôtemon-mae, Asakusa, Kôjimachi, Akasaka-hitotsugi, Ushigome and Shiba, were also developed into chônin quarters. The temples and shrines that had been situated within the walls of the fortress were moved to new sites in Kandadai and Shitaya, and new temples were also built. Gradually, Edo was reshaped as the castle town of the biggest feudal lord under Toyotomi rule.

In 1598, Toyotomi Hideyoshi died. In 1603, following his victory in the Battle of Sekigahara (1600) against the western forces loyal to the Toyotomi family, Ieyasu became shogun (*sei-tai-shôgun*, 'barbarian-subduing generalissimo'). With the whole country effectively under his rule, he established a feudal regime (the *bakufu*) in Edo. From this point on, Edo began its transformation; it grew from simply one seat of daimyo power to the centre of political power of the entire country, in other words, the national capital. The development of the city involved the parallel construction of Edo Castle and its surrounding urban parts, initiated by the shogun, who mobilized the resources of the feudal lords (daimyo) throughout the country. To carry out their assigned contributions to the city's development, each daimyo requisitioned necessary goods and labour from their domains and obtained in Edo what they lacked. In other words, the capital of Edo was built using goods and labour from throughout the country.

Improvements to the business district of the city began in the third month of 1603, with the development of the Nihonbashi and Kyôbashi districts. After that, the centre of the chônin quarters shifted from Honchô to Nihonbashi. Construction of the castle continued intermittently between 1606 and 1636. This involved additions and repairs to the main enclosure and the castle donjon, and the creation of the inner and outer moats. Coinciding with the construction of Edo Castle, daimyo and direct vassals of the shogun were granted land for their residences, so in the 1630s residences of a large number of daimyo were concentrated in such areas as Ôtemon Nishinomaru-shita Daimyô-kôji and Sotosakurada. In particular, the residences of the important governmental officials, such as senior councillors (*rôjû*) and junior councillors (*wakadoshiyori*) were situated in Nishinomaru-shita. The part of the city



**Figure 2:** Edo, c. 1630

inhabited by *chōnin* spread in the 1600s from Nihonbashi and Kyōbashi to Kanda. There were about 300 urban districts (*chō*) in the 1630s (Figure 2). With the construction of the castle, religious edifices were also moved to outlying areas. By the 1630s, temple-centred towns came into being in Kanda, Sakurada and Hatchōbori.

The construction of Edo as the nation's capital reveals the great extent of the power of the shogun, which is also reflected in the construction of the commercial part of the city. Merchants and master craftsmen who served the shogun were granted residential land of one *chō* or more. This spurred the formation of Kōyachō (the dyers' quarter), Teppōchō (the gun quarter), Kajichō (the blacksmith quarter), Tatamichō (the

tatami mat quarter), Okechô (the cooper's quarter), Tenmachô (the post-horse quarter), and many other communities where merchants and artisans of the same trade lived. These people were also granted exclusive rights to an impressive array of commercial activities in exchange for the *kuyaku* (corvée) and *kuniyaku*, or supply of dyed textiles, guns, metal wares, barrels (*oke*), tatami mats, horse furniture and many other articles.<sup>2</sup>

In order to expand the castle and to give residential land to daimyo, land was taken away from peasants who had previously lived there. The villagers of Takarada and Chiyoda prospered after they were moved to compensatory lands in the neighbourhood of Nihonbashi. But other villages, such as those of Sakurada and Imai, were less lucky. Some appealed directly to the senior councillors, requesting the return of their lands or compensatory land. They remained in the slowly disappearing farming or fishing trades, on the brink of survival, or turned their tiny pieces of land into tenement houses, living off rents, or small-time merchants.<sup>3</sup>

### Population growth and expansion of the city

There is no reliable statistical data documenting the growth of the population of Edo. Estimates based on the results of research place the population at just under 150,000 *chônin* in 1634,<sup>4</sup> and over 500,000 in 1721.<sup>5</sup> The *chônin* population did not change much after that, levelling off at around 500,000 (Table 1). If an estimated 500,000 samurai is added, the total population comes to about one million. We cannot establish the size of the population at the time with certainty, but it is more important to look into the reasons why Edo would attract one million people.

With the establishment of the bakufu in Edo in 1603, all daimyo voluntarily visited Edo to serve the bakufu, offering their families as hostages to guarantee their fealty, and Ieyasu gave the daimyo residential land in Edo.<sup>6</sup> The practice of the daimyo effectively serving in Edo was later institutionalized as the compulsory system of alternate-year residence in Edo (*sankin kôtai*) under the Buke Shohatto (Laws for Military

<sup>2</sup> Takeuchi Makoto *et al.*, *Tôkyôto no rekishi* [A History of Tokyo], 'Kenshi' series 13 (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997), 146–54.

<sup>3</sup> Matsumoto Shirô, *Tôkyô no rekishi – Ô-Edo Dai-Tôkyô shiseki kengaku* [Tokyo History: Historic Sites in Edo/Tokyo], 'Iwanami Junior Shinsho' series 136 (Iwanami Shoten, 1988), 22–24.

<sup>4</sup> Komiyama Yasusuke, *Edo kyûjûjû* [Past Events in Edo], vol. 2 (Yoshikawa Hanshichi, 1892).

<sup>5</sup> Kôda Shigetomo, 'Edo no chônin no jinkô' [The *chônin* population of Edo], *Shakai keizai shigaku*, 8, 1 (1938). Later included in vol. 2 of *Kôda Shigetomo chosakushû* [Collected Works of Kôda Shigetomo] (Chûô Kôron Sha, 1972), 244–65.

<sup>6</sup> Mizue Renko, *Edo shichû keisei shi no kenkyû* [A Study of the Development of the City of Edo] (Kôbundô, 1977), 115–38.

Table 1: *Population of chônin (townspeople) in Edo (1634–1867)*

Year	Number of households	Population total	Male	Female
1634	35,419	148,719		
1657	68,051	285,814		
1693		353,588		
1721 (Nov.)		501,394	323,285	178,109
1733 (Sept.)		536,380	340,277	196,103
1742 (Sept.)		501,346	316,357	184,989
1747 (Sept.)		513,327	322,752	190,575
1762		505,858		
1774		482,747		
1780		489,787		
1791		535,710		
1804		492,053		
1810		497,085		
1822		520,793		
1832 (May)	142,215	545,623	297,536	248,087
1840 (Apr.)		551,369	296,414	254,955
1850 (Apr.)		559,115	288,362	270,753
1860 (Apr.)	139,146	557,373	282,924	274,449
1867 (Apr.)	133,850	539,618	272,715	266,903

Houses) of 1635. The preparation of building sites and the building of new residences were financed by the daimyo themselves.

From the late sixteenth century until the early seventeenth century, samurai were separated from farming communities throughout the country. Daimyo expected their vassals to live in the local castle town. The same was true with the clan of the Tokugawa shoguns. Residences for its direct vassals began to proliferate in Edo in the 1630s. This and the attendance at Edo castle of daimyo and their vassals from all over the country created a considerable samurai population in the city from the early seventeenth century.

In order to serve the needs of this large samurai population, for house construction and regular household consumption, merchants and artisans also congregated in the city in large numbers. Some had followed Ieyasu from his former territories in Hamamatsu and Sunpu. Others, who had long-standing ties with Ieyasu, were summoned from Kyoto, Fushimi, Sakai and other towns in the Kinai region. Some migrated from the former Hôjô headquarters in Odawara in the Kantô region, while others, hailing from places such as Ise and Ômi and already actively trading throughout the country, flocked to the burgeoning capital in search of new opportunities. Finally, there were those who had resided in Edo since Hôjô times.

In addition to this, when the Tokugawa toppled the Toyotomi regime in the course of centralizing power in the early seventeenth century, it created 400,000 *rônin*.<sup>7</sup> Seeking service in the government, these masterless samurai began to congregate in Edo, which was already heavily populated by daimyo and their vassals. Furthermore, peasants, mobilized from the countryside by their daimyo for various forms of labour, often stayed on in Edo and settled down there after completion of their work. Many of them took up service under other daimyo or merchants, becoming day labourers (*hiyô*) for simple tasks in public works and construction, or turned into pedlars (*botefuri*), selling miscellaneous goods in the city streets.<sup>8</sup> Priests and a variety of entertainers were constantly passing through the city, together with a steady influx of itinerant or displaced people. The concentration of population in Edo originating from all over Japan, therefore, was the result of the location there of shogunal power, which brought a large number of samurai to the city, and drew, in turn, commensurate numbers of *chônin* to serve their needs.

To keep pace with the population explosion, the city itself expanded quickly. Initially, the outer moat had marked its boundaries. By the time the construction work of the 1630s was completed, however, shops were already springing up along the main streets of Asakusa, Shiba and other towns outside the outer moat. However, it was not until the destruction wrought by the Great Meireki Fire of 1657 that the opportunity came for further spread of the city.

After the fire, the bakufu undertook urban improvement plans designed to prevent similar disasters. The city was surveyed and maps drawn to serve as basic documents for redevelopment. These maps extended further than the original area of Edo, including the surrounding areas of Fukagawa, Honjo, Asakusa, Hongô, Shitaya, Koishikawa, Kobinata, Ushigome, Yotsuya, Akasaka, Azabu and Shiba. The residences of those daimyo whose houses had previously been within the inner moat, were moved outside it. The three branches of the Tokugawa family were moved as well, the Mito to Koishikawa and the Owari and Kii to Kôjimachi. The abandoned areas were turned into horse-riding grounds and medicinal herb gardens, thereby creating a firebreak. Daimyo who lived in Tatsunokuchi, Takebashi, Tokiwabashi, Daikanchô and Kijibashi were moved outside the inner moat. The vacated areas were for the use of bakufu, leaving a large open space. Daimyo were given land there for suburban residences (*shimo-yashiki*), where they could escape in case of fire. Those daimyo and retainers who were

<sup>7</sup> Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Edo orusuiyaku no nikki – Kan'ei-ki no Hagi hantei* [The Diary of the Rusuiyaku (the office of caretakers of domaniaal affairs in Edo while their daimyo was back in the domain): Hagi Domain during the Kan'ei Era] (Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1991), 51.

<sup>8</sup> Matsumoto, *Tôkyô no rekishi*, 25–6.

excluded from such grants purchased farmland to build villas to serve as refuge in case of fire. Shrines and temples surrounding the castle were moved outside the walls as a precaution in the event of fire. Sacred sites were established in the peripheral towns of Mita, Shiba, Akasaka, Ushigome, Yotsuya, Asakusa, Yanaka, Shitaya and Honjo.

In conjunction with the relocation of samurai residences and temples and shrines, chônin quarters were moved to areas such as Reiganjima, Tsukiji, and Honjo. To accommodate the samurai, temples and shrines, and chônin, new urban land was made available. Honjo and Fukagawa underwent large-scale development, with residences for *hatamoto* (direct shogunal vassals or 'bannermen') and rowhouses for chônin. In 1659, the Ryôgoku bridge was built over the Sumida river. The official Yoshiwara licensed quarters was also moved from near Nihonbashi to Asakusa.

These urban redevelopment measures caused the city to spread into surrounding areas. Both in terms of population and area, Edo became very large, and as the city expanded, so the city magistrates (*machi bugyô*) had to readjust continually the limits of their jurisdiction to include the new areas. Until the middle of the seventeenth century, the city magistrates' jurisdiction extended only over the area within the outer moat. In 1662, it had extended to incorporate 300 chô outside the outer moat that had previously been under the jurisdiction of rural magistrates (*daikan*) (Figure 3). In 1713, there were 259 chô established in areas under the jurisdiction of rural magistrates, clustered around Honjo, Fukagawa, Asakusa, Koishikawa, Ushigome, Ichigaya, Yotsuya, Akasaka and Azabu, that also came under the Edo magistrates' jurisdiction. This brought a total of 933 chô under the city administrative system. The land tax for the newly incorporated areas (*machinamichi*) was collected by rural magistrates as previously; they were now managed by two authorities. The Honjo magistrate, which was established in 1659, and was responsible for the development of Honjo and Fukagawa, was abolished and authority taken over by the city magistrate. In 1745, control of 440 sites outside the gates of temples and shrines and 227 chô within their precincts were transferred to the city magistrate. Thus the scope of the city magistrates' jurisdiction, with Edo castle as its centre, was extended over a radius of about 5 kilometres. Another, wider circle, was established around this, where clergy were given permission by the temple and shrine magistrates (*jisha bugyô*) to collect contributions for the construction and repair of shrines or temple buildings. This shows how the residential areas of samurai expanded on the outskirts of the chônin areas (Figure 4).<sup>9</sup>

### Political structure

Theoretically it can be said that Edo was governed solely by the shogun. In Edo, samurai, priests, chônin and other groups in society lived in

<sup>9</sup> Takeuchi, *Tôkyôto no rekishi*, 162–70.

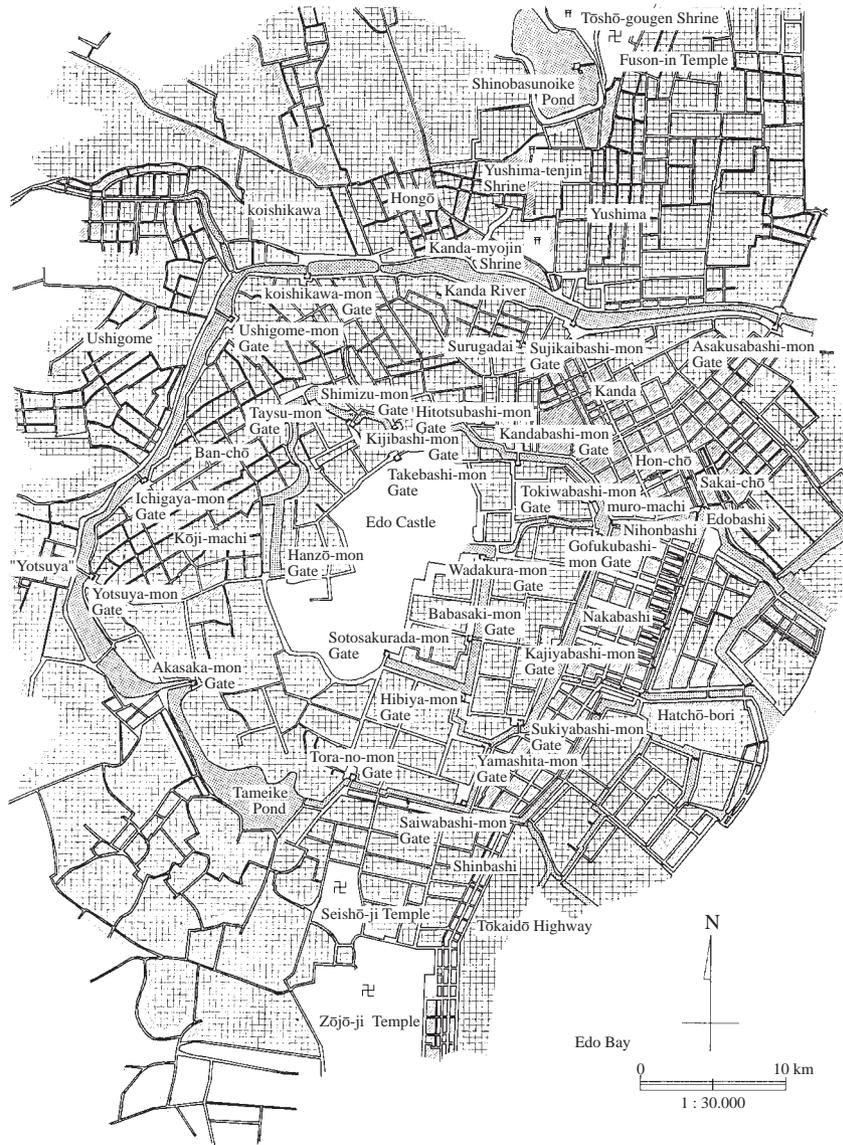


Figure 3: Edo, c. 1670

clearly distinct parts of the city. The administrative system of a particular area differed depending on the social class residing there. Residential areas for daimyo were under the control of the senior councillors. Areas populated by direct vassals of the Tokugawa (hatamoto [bannermen] and lower-ranking *gokenin* [housemen]) were overseen by junior

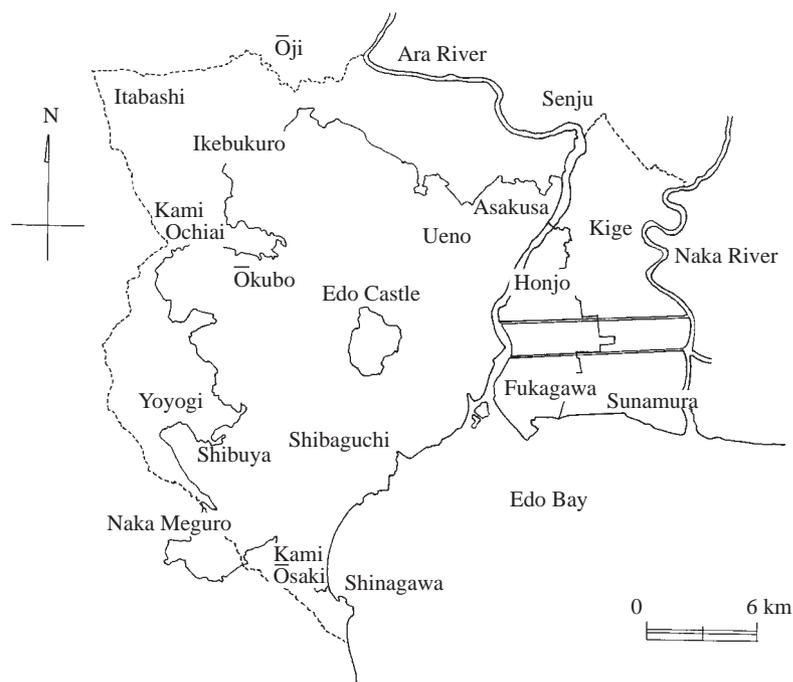


Figure 4: 'The lords' city' in the early nineteenth century

councillors. Shrine and temple sites were under the control of the shrine and temple magistrates, while the *chōnin* areas were supervised by the city magistrates. These were the parts of the multi-layered city administration.

It is also important to look at the city magistrates, who performed the central role in the municipal government of Edo, and the *chōnin* quarters which came under their jurisdiction. Until the early seventeenth century, the municipal administration of Edo was one of the responsibilities of the general magistrate of the Kantō region (*Kantō sōbugyō*) who had wide-ranging powers. In the early 1640s, city magistrate became the office assigned jurisdiction for the city under the supervision of the senior councillors.<sup>10</sup> The office of the city magistrate consisted of constables (*yoriki*) and patrolmen (*dōshin*) headed by the city magistrate. Also under the city magistrate were *machi-doshiyori*, 'city elders', who

<sup>10</sup> Tokoro Rikio, 'Machi bugyō – Shōtoku izen o chūshin to shite' [The machi bugyō: pre-Shōtoku era (1711–16)], in Nishiyama Matsunosuke (ed.), *Edo chōnin no kenkyū* [Studies of Edo Chōnin], vol. 4 (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975). Later included *Tokugawa shōgun kenryoku no kōzō* [The Structure of the Power of Tokugawa Shoguns] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1984).

oversaw all the chônin quarters. Under this were nanushi or 'neighbourhood organization chiefs' who administered individual chô.

The city magistracy was shared by two persons who rotated on a monthly basis. Chosen from among the hatamoto, they supervised the administration, judicial tasks, legislation, police, fire prevention and other responsibilities in the chônin quarters. These duties were executed by constables and patrolmen. Both magistrates had 25 constables and 100–120 patrolmen each. The administrative duties of the constables and patrolmen in the seventeenth century did not extend further than supervision of the general affairs of the city magistracy, prison inspection and local security. However, as administrative tasks diversified from the eighteenth century onwards, the number of their duties increased. Among the officials, the most important were *toshiban*, or supervisors of the general affairs of the magistracy, and the court inquisitors (*ginmi-kata*). Looking at the structure of the public finances of the city magistrate, we can see that no funds were listed under operational costs – only what would amount to office management and personnel costs. Judging from these records, it is possible to conclude that the work of the city magistrate involved mainly administration-related surveys and policy-making, together with supervision and guidance in putting such policies into practice.

Hereditary rights to the post of city elder were held by the Taruya, Naraya and Kitamura families. The duties of this post consisted of: (i) conveying directives to nanushi (neighbourhood chiefs); (ii) allotment of newly developed residential areas; (iii) collection of census data; (iv) appointment and dismissal of nanushi; (v) control of merchants and artisans through the upkeep of guild membership lists; (vi) collection and handing over (to the city magistrate) of commercial taxes and corvée; (vii) investigation and reporting in an advisory capacity to the city magistrate; (viii) investigating queries raised by the chônin; and (ix) arbitration of civil suits, etc. These duties were established by the end of the seventeenth century. It was in the first half of the seventeenth century that the city elders were made supervisors under the city magistrate over the chônin as a whole.

The nanushi were responsible for chô administration, under the jurisdiction of the city elders, while also representing the residents of their chô. There were approximately 250–260 nanushi, and each of them had jurisdiction over an average of 6 to 7 chô. Their duties included: (i) conveying directives to chô residents; (ii) collecting census data; (iii) commendation of persons distinguished for filial piety and loyalty to the regime; (iv) fire prevention; (v) supervision and directing at the scene of fire; (vi) conducting investigations under the orders of the city magistrate and city elders; (vii) approving written notifications and written petitions to the city magistrate; (viii) inspection and approval of title deeds (deeds related to sale and purchase of dwellings); (ix) arbitration

and mediation of disputes in chô under jurisdiction; (x) admonition of delinquent persons; (xi) auditing of local government expenses; and (xii) supervision and guidance of fairs and festivals. They thus participated in all administration pertaining to the chô. It is thought that the nanushi were placed as chô administrators under the city elders in the mid-seventeenth century.

Judging from these descriptions, the duties of both the city elders and the nanushi, like the city magistrate's office, revolved around the supervision and direction of the chônin quarters, as well as conducting investigations and submitting resulting reports on the advice of the city magistrate. The chô, therefore, served as the lowest-level unit of city administration and it was here that the policies of city government were carried out in practice. It is believed that the chô were positioned thus in the political structure from the early part of the seventeenth century.

The inhabitants of each chô can be divided into three groups: householders (*ie-mochi*), landlords (*ie-nushi*), and tenants of land and shops (*jigari* and *tanagari* respectively). 'Householders' were those who, as landowners, lived in the dwellings they owned. 'Landlords' were those whom landowners put in charge of management of rented dwellings. Landlords were responsible to the landowners for collecting land and housing rents, and for the management and maintenance of property. They were responsible to the bakufu for the housing they managed and all the inhabitants in it. 'Land tenants' were those who built dwellings at their own expense on rented land. The majority belonged to the middle and upper strata of the merchant class. 'Store tenants' were divided into 'front-avenue' tenants (*omote-tanagari*), who rented stores fronting on the main streets, and 'back-street' tenants (*ura-tanagari*), who rented row-houses in the back streets. The majority of front-avenue tenants were middle or upper stratum merchants, while most of the back-street tenants belonged to the lowest classes – day labourers, pedlars and minor artisans. Land and shop tenants were exempt from *corvée*, *kuniyaku* duties, and chô-administration-related duties, but this in turn prevented them from participating in local government in any way.

The early seventeenth-century chô served as territorial and occupational collectives of independent householders who possessed more or less the same type of residence. However, from the mid-seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, wealthy merchants increasingly built their residences in the central areas of Nihonbashi, Kyôbashi and Kanda. This created a large number of absentee landowners. As the administrative duties imposed by the city steadily increased with the growing administration through the seventeenth century, householders began evading those burdens. Chô management was entrusted to landlords, who became representatives of the householders. Ordinary chônin were not allowed to engage in public activities or make direct contact with the city magistrates. Entrusting management of chô to the 'landlords' was a

means of depoliticization of such upper-strata people as landowners/householders, while lower-strata chônin on the other hand were completely excluded from administration.

Consequently, administration of the city was organized in the following way. Landlords formed groups comprised of five members (*gonin-gumi*), each of whom governed chô on the basis of a monthly rotation. The one on monthly duty was called *gachigyôji*, or the representative of a five-family group. His duties were: (i) to convey directives from nanushi to chô residents; (ii) to deal with lawsuits and petitions in the chô, and accompany claimants or petitioners to hearings with the city magistrate; (iii) to be present during investigations by officers from the city magistrate's office, in cases of accidents in the chô; (iv) detention of criminals; (v) supervision of firefighters under the supervision of the nanushi; (vi) fire patrols in the winter to spring period, and night patrol; (vii) arbitration of disputes; (viii) care of deserted children and the sick and dying found in the streets; and (ix) capture of Christians and watch over vagrants, etc. This made the *gachigyôji* responsible for managing practically all matters related to the chô.

In order to ensure a stable and safe livelihood for the burgeoning population of Edo, maintaining a healthy living environment became increasingly important. Water supply and waste disposal systems were introduced under the direction of the bakufu in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, their day-to-day maintenance and management were left to the chô authorities. The chô had to bear the financial burden for the maintenance and management of not only water supply and waste disposal systems, but also roads, bridges, firefighters and fire-prevention facilities. The fees were covered by payments collected by landowners in accordance with the size of property. Those matters that territorially exceeded one chô were dealt with in co-operation with another chô. This means, in other words, that all the city magistrate had to do was general supervision and direction of the chônin quarters as a whole.<sup>11</sup>

### **Economic structure**

To support the huge consumption economy of Edo a distribution network was built. As can readily be imagined, the lion's share of Edo consumption was that of the samurai class. Total annual consumption by the shogun, his direct vassals, and the daimyo together is estimated to have been around 10 million koku.<sup>12</sup> This means that, since the lands

<sup>11</sup> Katô Takashi, 'Edo no shihai to sono tokushitsu' [The governing of Edo and its characteristics], in Ukawa Kaoru *et al.* (eds), *Edo to Pari* [Edo and Paris] (Iwata Shoin, 1995).

<sup>12</sup> Date Kenji, 'Edo ni okeru shokô no shôhiteki seikatsu ni tsuite I & II' [Daimyo Consumption in Edo, 1 and 2], *Rekishigaku kenkyû*, 4, 4 (1935), 75–91 and 6, 5 (1936), 75–100.

directly held by the shogun and the fiefs granted to his direct vassals and the daimyo are said to have totalled 30 million koku,<sup>13</sup> one-third of the nation's entire domestic production, even nominally, was consumed in Edo. Added to this was consumption by temples and shrines as well as by the merchants and artisans who sustained the consumer life of the warrior elite in Edo.

Nationwide, cultivated land tripled from about 950,000 hectares in the 1450s to some 3 million hectares in the 1720s.<sup>14</sup> Efforts were also made to increase productivity, and production of consumer goods became more vigorous. There emerged places noted for their special products, and clear interregional division of labour developed. Through the adoption of the policy of international isolation in the 1630s, the Japanese economy was one in which all products were consumed domestically. The presence of the immense consumer market in Edo was an important factor in this development.

The productivity of Kantô region farming villages, Edo's hinterland, was still far from adequate to satisfy Edo's needs. Only grain, firewood and charcoal, and such perishable foods as vegetables and seafood were provided by Kantô farmers and fishermen. Moreover, the output of the manufacturing and processing industries of Edo in the early seventeenth century were not sufficient, requiring the shipping of goods from more industrially advanced areas such as Kyoto and Osaka. From Kyoto came high-quality handcrafted armoury, brocade and cosmetic items, and from Osaka goods gathered from throughout the country as well as daily commodities like ginned cotton and oil (made from cotton and rapeseed produced in nearby farm villages), sake and soy sauce.<sup>15</sup>

Transportation of such goods by cargo ship, called *higaki kaisen*, between Edo and Osaka is recorded in 1616. Shipping agents using such ships were opened in Osaka in the 1630s. Wealthy Edo merchant Kawamura Zuiken developed sea routes along the Sea of Japan and Pacific coasts in 1671 and 1672 respectively, thereby establishing a maritime transportation network serving the entire country. Osaka became the centre of the country's economy. Prior to the establishment of such routes to Edo, the major supply route had presumably been via the shogunate and daimyo, who transported goods to Edo from their domains, and released to the market goods in excess of those needed by their family and vassals. Also, Edo was not only a huge market for consumers of the city itself but also served as the central market for the

<sup>13</sup> Kitajima Masamoto, *Edo jidai* [The Edo Period], 'Iwanami shinsho' series, ao-han 332 (Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 36.

<sup>14</sup> Ôishi Shinzaburô, *Edo jidai* [Edo Period], 'Chûkô shinsho' series 476 (Chûkô Kôronsha, 1977), 36–8.

<sup>15</sup> Wakita Osamu, *Kinsei hoken shakai no keizai kôzô* [The Economic Structure of Early Modern Feudal Society] (Ochanomizu Shobô, 1963), 95–9; Nakabe Yoshiko, *Kinsei toshi no seiritsu to kôzô* [The Formation and Structure of Early Modern Cities] (Shinseisha, 1967), 514–32.

Kantô and Tôhoku (north-eastern) regions as well as a relay market linking these regions to Osaka.

As nationwide goods distribution developed, those who engaged in the distribution business underwent change as well. Dominant until the early seventeenth century had been traders and other specially privileged merchants who, attaching themselves to local lords, had been granted a kind of monopoly on the supply of certain military and/or civilian goods. Their activities gradually atrophied, however, due to the changes in economic structure accompanying the tightening of the nation's seclusion. Clothiers (kimono merchants), money exchange houses and rice dealers, whose business was founded on nationwide distribution, came to play a leading role in the economy, and later led to the formation of immense concentrations of commercial capital.

The form of wholesale business that made up the core of Edo commerce, moreover, changed from *niuke-doiya* to *shiire-doiya*. The merchants in the former case mediated between sources of supply and persons ordering goods. They received, kept in store and sold goods on consignment sent from various production centres and derived a profit through commissions and storage fees. In the middle of the seventeenth century, with local speciality products beginning to be made in quantity and at a steady pace throughout the country, and with the improvement of distribution networks, merchants began to purchase goods with their own funds and sell them to distributors and retailers. This business brought in better profits. These merchants, called *shiire-doiya*, who skilfully utilized funds in hand to make profits, became the mainstream of wholesale business. Dealers specializing in a single product, such as rice, oil or charcoal, also increased in number. In the mid-seventeenth century wholesaler associations were organized by industry or on a territorial basis.

In 1694, on the suggestion of merchant Ôsakaya Ihei, the Tokumi-doiya, or Ten Groups of Wholesalers, came into being, a union of wholesaler associations in Edo that handled chiefly goods from Osaka. In those days, there were many cases in which suppliers suffered losses because of fraudulent dealings by shipping operators, captains or crew members following a disaster at sea, for instance. Wholesalers who purchased commercial goods with their own funds were naturally eager to avoid as much as possible losses related to sea transportation. To minimize such losses, the Ten Groups established a rotation duty among themselves to investigate and settle shipwreck cases, a job that had formerly been entrusted to shipping agents. Shipping agents were now placed under the control of the Ten Groups.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Hayashi Reiko, *Edo toiya nakama no kenkyû – Bakuhan taiseika no toshi shôgyô shihon* [A Study of Wholesalers' Associations in Edo: Urban Commercial Capital under the Baku-Han System] (Ochanomizu Shobô, 1967), 11–71.

There had been little significant activity in the manufacturing industry except for production of cotton textiles until the latter half of the seventeenth century when various processing industries developed, apparently as the result of the stabilization and enhancement of the life of Edo revolving around the warriors. Especially lively were the manufacture and sale of armour, art and craft works, foods and medicine, as well as books.<sup>17</sup> Generally, manufacturers in Edo emerged to meet the demands of consumers within the city.

### Public order

People believed by the bakufu to represent a disturbance or threat to the ruling system of seventeenth-century Edo were called *kabuki-mono*, literally, 'slanted people', deviants. They were made a target of control by the bakufu first in Kyoto and then in Edo in the 1600s. The 'deviants' of that time were mainly people in the service of the samurai, joined by masterless samurai. They were known for forming blood-pledge societies based not on the then acceptable master-subordinate relationship but on a 'decree of heaven'. Their solidarity was strengthened by homosexuality (*shûdô*). They wore extraordinarily showy garments and adopted distinctive mannerisms. If a comrade were in serious trouble, they were sworn to help him out even if that meant defying their father or former master. Because of this anti-establishment energy they were persecuted by the bakufu.

In the 1630s, the kabuki-mono subculture spread among shogunal vassals and *chônin*. Some 'deviant' shogunal vassals and *chônin*, the former called *hatamoto-yakko* and the latter *machi-yakko*, organized themselves into armed bands. Except for a few members of the upper-ranking hatamoto, almost all the hatamoto-yakko were lower- or middle-ranking hatamoto and *gokenin*. The *machi-yakko* were *chônin* who imitated the hatamoto-yakko and vied with them. Many served as employment agents who provided samurai employers with labourers, and they had many followers under them. Among the hatamoto-yakko and *machi-yakko* were also many masterless samurai, and so bakufu control of kabuki-mono was inseparably linked to the problem of unemployment. Kabuki-mono gambled, blackmailed people in the streets, and swaggered in entertainment districts such as the licensed quarter and public bath and theatre areas. There were frequent battles and brawls between hatamoto-yakko and *machi-yakko*, either over territory or matters of honour.

The behaviour of the kabuki-mono grew rebellious the more tightly the bakufu attempted to control them. Concerned with little more than personal honour and guided by steadily degenerating morals, they turned into little more than ordinary villains. After third shogun Iemitsu

<sup>17</sup> Nakabe, *Kinsei toshi no seiritsu to kôzô*, 615–43; Wakita Osamu, *Genroku no shakai* [Genroku Era Society] (Hanawa Shobô, 1980), 159–68.

fell ill and died in the fourth month of 1651, a series of anti-bakufu incidents involving masterless samurai occurred, including the Keian Incident (seventh month) led by martial arts teacher Yui Shôsetsu and an abortive attempt to assassinate a senior councillor masterminded by Betsuki Shôzaemon in the following year. Increasing pressure was brought on the kabuki-mono and by the end of the seventeenth century the kabuki-mono had virtually disappeared.<sup>18</sup>

As another measure to secure public order in Edo, the bakufu made it obligatory, starting in 1661, for each chô to submit to the city magistrate a 'three-item written pledge' every month, assuring that there were no Christians, gamblers or prostitutes within the chô.<sup>19</sup> From 1663 onwards, the frequency was reduced to twice a year. The 'no Christians' item could be considered a formality because no Christians remained by the end of the 1630s as the result of the bakufu's thoroughgoing purge. As for gambling, which was related to the kabuki-mono problem, prohibitory decrees were issued repeatedly, but without much success. Gambling did not cease, and the same was true of prostitution, which was prohibited except at the authorized Yoshiwara quarters. Despite repeated raids and arrests of offenders, unauthorized whorehouses did not disappear. Nevertheless, the bakufu considered control of the above three elements vital to maintaining order in the city of Edo.

The bakufu also sought to strengthen the authority of the police. Although the machi bugyô exercised police authority in chônin quarters in Edo, the magistrate's forces alone were not enough. So, an Arson and Theft Investigators Office (*Hitsuke Tôzoku Aratame*) was set up within the bakufu militia, the post concurrently held by the chief (*sakite-gashira*) of firearms and archery units.<sup>20</sup> Attached to the Office were constables and patrolmen who made the rounds of the city, arresting arsonists, thieves and gamblers. The Office did not have independent judicial power. It contributed to the city's public order, although there arose various problems involving the exercise of police authority due to overlapping jurisdiction between the Office and the machi bugyô.<sup>21</sup>

There must have been many 'vagrants' (*furômin*) in Edo, but they can be treated rather like such members of the lowest class as day labourers,

<sup>18</sup> Kitajima Masamoto, 'Kabuki-mono – Sono kôdô to ronri' [The kabuki-mono: their behaviour and rationale], *Jinbun gakuho* (Tokyo Metropolitan University), 89 (1972), 17–60. Later included in *Kinseishi no gunzô* [Early Modern Portraits] (Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1977), 110–64.

<sup>19</sup> *Shôhō jiroku* (a collection of regulations and directives issued in Edo from 1648 to 1755), vol. 1 (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 1964), 112.

<sup>20</sup> The theft investigators office was founded in 1665, and then the arson investigators office was established in 1683 to arrest suspicious people during storms, and the gamble investigators office in 1702. These offices were combined in 1709 into the Arson and Theft Investigators Office.

<sup>21</sup> Harafuji Hiroshi, *Bakuhân taisei kokka no hô to kenryoku VI – Chihô shihai kikô to hô* [Law and Authority of the Baku-Han System State (Part VI): Law and the Local Governing Structure] (Sôbunsha, 1987), 397–542.

pedlars and samurai servants, for they were sometimes hired for these jobs.<sup>22</sup> The *furômin* were persons temporarily out of work. Their existence was not a social problem and their labour was integral to the growth of the city. This highlights the characteristic of Edo as a consumption-oriented city that required miscellaneous kinds of labour.

No uprisings of significant scale broke out in seventeenth-century Edo. With poor harvests throughout the country in 1641, the price of rice rose sharply in Edo, and the city was inundated with *furômin*. Under orders of the bakufu, the city magistrates contacted daimyo and rural magistrates throughout the country and compelled the *furômin* to return to their places of origin. The bakufu also set up facilities to offer gruel as relief for the poor. When rice prices became extremely high in 1675 and 1681, the bakufu made available rice stores at a low price upon request of *nanushi* who spoke for the *chônin* under their jurisdiction. These measures helped prevent an uprising in Edo.<sup>23</sup>

It can be concluded, therefore, that due in part to the concentration of shogunal power in the city and in part to the administrative organization, public peace and order was maintained in Edo.

### Culture

It is generally said that Kyoto and Osaka were the centres of Japanese culture in the seventeenth century. But in Edo at that time a unique local culture was in the process of appearing, characterized by such arts as kabuki, haikai poetry and ukiyo-e woodblock printing. Certain landmarks also became notable, rising out of the distinctively Edo value system. The publishing industry, which was an essential part of the infrastructure of the unique Edo culture that developed from the eighteenth century, provides useful insights into the patterns of cultural production and consumption.

Until the middle of the seventeenth century most publications on Edo or distributed there were printed in Kyoto. The first guidebook to sights to see in Edo, *Edo meishoki*, was published by Kôno Dôsei in Kyoto in 1662; the oldest extant map of Edo was issued by Kôno Dôsei in Kyoto in 1661. Later, in Edo, Daikyôji Kahei published an Edo map in 1666, and Tsuruya Kizaemon an Edo guide entitled *Edo suzume* [Edo Sparrows] in 1677. Publishing required funds and technology, and so the publishing industry of the early seventeenth century was concentrated in Kyoto. There were book dealers in Edo, but they were merely either sales agents for Kyoto publishers or those who bought books from Kyoto publishers

<sup>22</sup> Yoshida Nobuyuki, 'Nihon kinsei toshi kasô shakai no sonritsu kôzô' [The structure of the presence of urban lowest classes of early modern Japan], *Rekishigaku kenkyû*, 534 (1984), 2–12.

<sup>23</sup> Nakabe Yoshiko, *Kinsei toshi shakai-keizaishi kenkyû* [A Study of Early Modern Urban Socio-Economic History] (Kôyô Shobô, 1974), 160–70.

and sold them. There were none who had enough funds and technology to start up a publishing business. In the mid-seventeenth century, publishers appeared in Edo, putting out literary writings as well as practical books such as guides and maps.<sup>24</sup> A major factor behind their appearance was presumably the growing demand for books in Edo.

It could not be said, however, that Edo publications were locally unique at that point. Most of them were under the strong influence of Kyoto and Osaka publishing. The books that appeared covered a wide range of fields, including Buddhism, Confucianism, history, medicine, mathematics, *cha-no-yu* (tea ceremony), Rikka school flower arrangement, waka and haikai poetry, and *kana-zôshi/ukiyo-zôshi* popular fiction.<sup>25</sup> Reading these books required special knowledge or advanced education, and book prices were also high. It should therefore be understood that published books were first read by samurai and wealthy or privileged *chônin*. This would also apply to Kyoto and Osaka.

The role of booklenders (*kashihon 'ya*) in the promotion of books is highly estimated. In the Kinai region, their activities quickly spread to rural areas on the outskirts of the cities in the seventeenth century, but not as yet in the periphery of Edo.<sup>26</sup>

Publishing contributed greatly to the development from the eighteenth century onwards of unique Edo culture in various fields, including scholarship, literature and painting. But seventeenth-century Edo publishing was still very limited in terms of distinguishing characteristics and distribution. It was at an initial stage, awaiting full development in the eighteenth century and later.

### Conclusion

Various aspects of the seventeenth-century development of Edo have been discussed: construction of the city, population growth and expansion of the city, political structure, economic structure, public order and culture. In conclusion, let me sum up the discussion in the attempt to underscore the distinct features of Edo's development in the seventeenth century.

The construction of the city of Edo as the political centre of the country was realized through the mobilization of feudal lords from across the country by order of the Tokugawa shogun. To fulfil the work assigned to them, the daimyo requisitioned necessary goods and labour from their

<sup>24</sup> Konta Yôzô, *Edo no hon 'yasan – Kinsei bunkashi no sokumen* [Book Dealers in Edo: An Aspect of Early Modern Cultural History] (Nihon Hôsô Shuppan Kyôkai, 1977).

<sup>25</sup> Keiô Gijuku Daigaku Fuzoku Kenkyûjo Shidô Bunko (ed.), *Edo jidai shorin shuppan shojaku mokuroku shûsei* [Collected Catalogues of Books by Edo Period Publishers], 4 vols (Inoue Shobô, 1962–64). A look at the catalogues gives a rough idea of what kinds of books were distributed in those days.

<sup>26</sup> Nagatomo Chiyoji, *Kinsei kashihon 'ya no kenkyû* [A Study of Early Modern Booklenders] (Tôkyôdô Shuppan, 1982).

domains and procured in Edo what was still needed. The fact that the political capital was thus built by mobilizing goods and labour from all over the country demonstrates the power of each daimyo in their domains and at the same time shows in concrete form how the shogun's power was strong enough to mobilize these daimyo. The shogun's power is also reflected in the formation of the 'towns' as residential areas of chônin (merchants and craftsmen) who served bakufu needs, as well as in the forced relocation of temples and shrines and chônin residences. It can be said, therefore, that early modern Edo was born as the shogun's city. To show their loyalty to the shogun and serve him, as a general rule the daimyo were forced to reside in Edo in alternate years and the shogun's direct vassals (bannermen and housemen) had to live permanently in the city. It was thus for political reasons, namely concentration of the shogun's power, that large numbers of samurai resided in Edo and many merchants and craftsmen congregated there to fulfil samurai consumer needs. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the total population exceeded one million. Paralleling population growth, the city expanded into surrounding areas, stretching roughly in a circle with a radius of five kilometres pivoting on Edo Castle.

While Edo was in principle under the direct control of the shogun, it had a multi-layered administration to supervise the clearly segregated residential areas for samurai, priests and chônin, and the governing systems differed according to each social class. The Edo city administration was firmly established in the seventeenth century. Judging from the duties of the city magistrates who had jurisdiction over the chônin quarters and performed the central role in the municipal government of Edo, we can say that it was the chô that actually carried out municipal administration while the city magistracy supervised and co-ordinated their administration. In other words, the higher authorities did not interfere directly in the general affairs of municipal administration. Nevertheless, the shogunate imposed strict controls on people, such as the kabuki-mono, who were believed to disturb the public order of Edo, mobilizing shogunal military forces to supplement the police force of the city magistrates office when necessary. During the seventeenth century, at least, public order in Edo was stable due in part to the concentration of overwhelming power in the shogun and to the solid municipal administrative system and prosperous economic growth of the city.

Under an economic structure resulting from the national seclusion policy in which all local production was domestically consumed, the huge consumer demand centred in Edo played a major role in the nationwide increase of productivity. Securing a constant supply of commodities was a crucial challenge in order to satisfy consumer demand in the city. The bakufu did not directly interfere in commodity distribution or commercial transactions, but it did help improve coastal sea routes linking Edo and Osaka and other parts of the country and, at

times of sharp rises of prices, it did issue orders to lower prices. Even without bakufu protection and control, the seventeenth-century Edo economy grew steadily with a nationwide increase of productivity and vigorous commodity distribution. This was obviously based on the large concentration of consumer population in the capital city of Edo. As the life of Edo centring around the shogun and samurai grew stable and prosperous, various kinds of industries developed to meet demand within the city.

In political terms, therefore, seventeenth-century Edo was a city built by and for the shogun. The immense concentration of power in the shogun imposed stability in the city, and this made it unnecessary for the authorities to interfere directly in the city's general administration and economic affairs. Even given the overwhelming power of the shogun, however, the city did not develop a distinct culture at that stage. In short, seventeenth-century Edo achieved political, economic and social growth under the strong power of the shogun, but culturally it remained immature.