Chapter 8

Migration: The Intersection of Interclass Mobility and Geographical Mobility

1. *Dekasegi* and *Hōkō*

According to a survey of the population of Edo (now Tokyo) conducted by the Tokugawa government towards the end of the era, one-third to a quarter of Edo residents were actually born outside of Edo.[1] Through an examination of the SACs for Shijō Nakatachiuri street, Kyoto, I also found that, in 1845, 16% of family members, 55% of servants, and 23% overall were born outside of Kyoto city itself.[2]

In this way, according to the records of residents' places of birth in the urban sources, a considerable part of the population was born outside of the cities. The colloquial proverb "Edo natives don't continue three generations" was clearly founded in reality, at least from a historical demography standpoint. Indeed, the fact that the urban population did not shrink can only be because during the Tokugawa period, large numbers migrated from rural areas to the cities.

This sort of population migration from the villages to the cities could probably never have happened if the peasants had been completely "bound to the land." In this chapter, I would like to transfer our gaze to the rural villages and examine by means of the population registers of Nishijo-mura, what sort of peasants moved to which cities and other villages, and what demographic effect this movement had on the villages.

During the Tokugawa period, the domain lords did not want peasants to leave their land, and therefore passed laws accordingly. In particular, as far as is clear to date, many regulations of this kind were issued at the beginning of the Tokugawa period. However, this did not in reality make peasant migration impossible. More than two hundred castle towns were built all across Japan during a short span at the beginning of the Tokugawa period. The completion of small regional towns as post stations and so on, also progressed, making this period one of an explosive increase in the urban population. As a matter of course, this increased urban population was made up of migrants leaving villages and the borders of their territories, so there is no way that the lords' regulations can be thought of as effective.

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1 Sekiyama 1958, p. 221.
2 Hayami 1981.

Generally speaking, in the Tokugawa period the ruling warrior class (with the exception of a small number, such as the warriors of Satsuma domain), gathered to live in the castle cities as a result of the separation of the warriors and the peasants, and only a very few warriors were dispatched to the rural areas as administrative officers, so there were almost no methods for authorizing just how far these regulations were enforced. In light of this, it would be a very hasty interpretation to take at face value the effectiveness of laws that forbade peasant migration, as well as other regulations pertaining to the activities of peasants. Granted, there is some significance in the fact that such regulations were enacted in the first place. Also, in the case of Satsuma domain, a unique form of government was possible because the warriors lived in the villages and, aided by the topography of the region, established checkpoints at their domain's borders, so that migration of their subjects was strictly controlled, but this can be considered an exceptional case.

What characterizes the population fluctuations of Nishijo-mura is the fact that many men and women migrated from the village. By examining the lives of the men and women who appear in the SACs for this village vertically, that is, by applying personal history surveys using the methods cited in Chapter 6, accurate and extremely interesting observations result. In this chapter, we shall examine the results obtained by the exclusive use of these methods. In the period under examination, there were 992 births and 722 deaths in the village. Because this difference is a net gain of 270 people, if there had been absolutely no migration, the village population would have increased by just that amount. As has been stated above, however, population changes during this period amount to a net gain of 15 only, and the 255 others joined the drain out of the village. Since, in reality, people also immigrated to Nishijo-mura, this rate represents a net migration figure.

The fact that certain men and women are listed in the SACs and other sources as "servants" (*hōkō*) or "working away from home" (*dekasegi*) means that they had left the house of their birth and entered into some kind of relation with an employer. The employment relationships of the times, however, took many different forms, distinct from the modern employment relationship. In the case of farming villages, salaries were not, for example, paid directly to the employees themselves, but in the majority of cases, to the middlemen or their parents, while the former received only occasional pocket money.[3]

In urban cases as well, servants lived in their employer's house and often received payment in food and clothing called *oshikise* (literally, "clothes provided by the employer"). One other point that must be considered is that *hōkō* was often described as *dekasegi*. This reflects the domain lord's intention to keep the peasants within his territory. In other words, when migrating, the peasants legitimized their migration by pretending through use of the word *dekasegi* that the migration was only temporary. Consequently, the entry "working away from home" in the records cannot be taken literally, and ought not to

3 Hayami 1968.

be viewed as temporary labor migration. In reality, a considerable number of people "working away from home" never returned to the place of their birth, and died at their work destination or moved permanently. This is examined in detail later, but the meanings of both temporary and permanent migration are mixed together in the term *dekasegi*.

When we examine the population migration for Nishijo-mura by cause, there are 204 people (178 of them women) who entered and 97 people (83 of them women) who left the village through marriage or adoption. This village suffered from "an excess of immigration." When we examine cases of *hōkō*, which implies labor migration, the 275 people who entered the village as *hōkō* servants were balanced by the 277 people who left. The problem is the trend for people born in this village to go and work as servants elsewhere.

When this is calculated, of an outflow of 394 people, the number of people returning only totals 92. Since, however, people who married immediately upon return from service are classified as married, the actual numbers returning to the village may exceed this figure, although it never reaches 394. In other words, this village was a major source of labor supply for other areas. Consequently, the population of Nishijo-mura appears on the surface to have been stagnating, not because the birth and death rates balanced each other, but because, despite a high fertility rate which clearly exceeded the mortality rate, population increase was prevented by the large numbers of out-migrants.

What was the extent of the population drain and where did the migrants go? This is calculated in "person-year" units. When one person left to be a servant for one year, this is counted as being one person-year. Consequently, one person leaving to be a servant for five years and five people leaving for one year both total five person-years. Measurement in person-year units is the most appropriate means for apprehending the total extent of service.

In this chapter, the whole period is divided into four periods of approximately twenty-five years each. These have been labeled Period I (1773–1800), Period II (1801–1825), Period III (1826–1850), and Period IV (1851–1869). In some cases, however, rates are calculated at ten-year intervals.

2. Servants within the Village

Taken as a whole, this village suffered a great population drain as people left to be servants, and on balance had the strong character of a labor supply source. Labor demand within the village, however, was not non-existent. Until the end of Period I in particular, there were households which employed considerable numbers of servants. Before commencing the main discussion, I would like to look briefly at these servants.

Firstly, Table 8-1 shows the number of servants for each interval of ten years according to whether they were born inside or outside of the village. The number of households with

servants is also shown. "Commuting" is defined as when the servant has multiple entries for both the birth household and the service destination household in Nishijo, which is frequent in the case of the head of a household. In this case, whereas ordinary servants lived in the house of their employers, the servant is judged to have lived in the house of his or her birth, and probably "commuted" to work. Although the number is not great, it must be pointed out that this can lead to an overlap in the calculations for the total population at the end of the SACs.[4]

The number of servants peaked in the 1780s and declined thereafter, and from the end of the 1790s only two households (the house of village officer N and temple S) regularly

Table 8-1 Servants in Nishijo

Years	Number of HH having servants	From Nishijo		From outside		Uncertain		Commuting		Total		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
1773	9	8	2	2	2	1	1			11	5	16
1780	10	4	1	5	5			4	1	13	7	20
1790	10	4	2	7	4		1	1		12	7	19
1800	2		1	5	1					5	2	7
1810	2	1		1	2					2	2	4
1820	1			2	2					2	2	4
1830	1	1			1					1	1	2
1840	2			2	2					2	2	4
1850	2	1		1	2					2	2	4
1860	2	1		2	1					3	1	4
1869	2	1		1	2					2	2	4
Total	43	21	6	28	24	1	2	5	1	55	33	88

employed any. This hints at the possibility of changes in the manner in which servants were recorded in the SACs. What is referred to as *hōkō* in the sources is at best no more than servitude for half a year, and there are no entries for short-term servants and those employed either seasonally or on a daily basis. Consequently, the above observations may indicate the decline of annual service, but not necessarily the extinction of all employment of servants.

Another striking fact shown in Table 8-1 is that, whereas there are far more male servants born within the village than elsewhere, the numbers of female servants born inside and outside the village are almost perfectly even. Although not shown in the table, the most common period of continuous service for servants within the village is one year. For example, in examining 113 cases of male servants born in the village, 63 of them were

4 Because the totals of population and family numbers from the SACs and NACs often contain both duplications and omissions because of the principles by which the sources were compiled, in addition to simple errors of calculation, it is essential to be very careful when using them. If accuracy is required, it is best not to become disheartened, but to count the number of people and the number of households individually.

hired for one year (56%), 23 for two years (20%), 13 for three years (12%), and 14 for four years (13%), with the longest being 13 years and the mean being 2.1 years.

However, as the number of servants fell overall, the period of a single term of service tended to lengthen. For example, if we examine male servants who entered servitude in the latter half of Period II and after, the most common cases are for two years, making up half of the total number of cases, with the mean number of years being 2.7. These circumstances are thought to have probably been common to all servants in neighboring farming villages. In other words, servants employed annually from among village servants declined conspicuously.

When ages are established for servants born in the village, the lowest age is 7 for boys and 9 for girls, and the highest are 55 and 41 respectively. Table 8-2 shows the age distribution for servants by sex, place of birth, and period in service. Although there is no concentration around a specific age, the men are gathered comparatively more densely in the 16 to 30 age group, and the women in the 16 to 25 one. These can both be viewed as the age groups with the highest productivity. The difference in age according to place of birth of the servant does not exceed a negligible range, except for the difference between the periods before and after 1800 for the men, with somewhat lower ages for the later period both within the village and without, and a particularly marked drop for people born within the village. This probably means that the number of cases increased whereby servants left after working in the village, concomitant with a reduction in demand for agricultural servants within the village.

Table 8-2 Age Distribution of Servants in Nishijo

Age	Male				Female		
	In Nishijo		Outside		In Nishijo	Outside	
	Before 1800	After 1801	Before 1800	After 1801	Total years	Before 1800	After 1801
6–10	10	6	1		3		
11–15	15	25	4	3	8	11	6
16–20	43	14	16	18	13	72	40
20–25	46	6	46	54	6	41	34
26–30	40	6	35	21	3	8	10
31–35	24	2	11	1	3	7	1
36–40	14		4	1	2	2	
41–45	10		6		1	1	
46–50	5		1	1			
51–55	3						
Uncertain	2		1	2		5	
Total	212	59	125	101	39	147	91
Average age	25.7	21.8	26.0	23.1	20.6	21.0	20.3

Among the birthplaces of servants from other villages, Naka-mura, the neighbor to the immediate north, boasts the highest number of person-years for both men and women at over fifty, equivalent to approximately 20% of the whole. Next is the parent village of Niremata at twenty-six person-years. Villages that supplied ten person-years or more are, in descending order, Nanjō-mura, Ōyabu-mura, Nanba-mura, Niremata-shinden, Sato-mura, and Fukuzuka-mura. We shall reexamine these patterns when we come to investigate the destinations of those working away from the village.

3. Nature of Out-migration

It is in observing out-migration that individual life history surveys show their greatest effectiveness. A servant's place of birth, age, and destination upon entry into service, duration of service, and reasons for termination can all be most effectively grasped through the individual life history. The results obtained by gathering multiple cases of this sort, classifying them, and examining the distribution and its features enable us to apprehend the conditions in a specific year cross-section and are clearly more accurate than any time-series method.

However, there are still several problems. As will be seen below for example, even if "in *hōkō*" is entered in the sources, when the individual history is examined, cases emerge in which the person was in service in a fixed location across a lengthy period of several scores of years. Is it truly viable to believe an entry that still reads "in *hōkō*" when the person is aged eighty or more? Conversely, there are also entries reading "in *hōkō*" for five and six year-olds. Doubt still remains as to whether we should handle these in the same way as for servitude during the productive years.

Hōkō that continues for a lengthy period until old age at a fixed location probably means "moved away" in reality. Furthermore, *hōkō* by very young children probably has the meaning of the child having been "put out to nurse" (i.e., given away) or being adopted and brought up. However, since these cases are extremely few in terms of the overall numbers of servants (approximately 8% of all servants aged eleven to sixty), and, since it is also impossible to determine what *hōkō* means on the basis of the sources alone, here all entries as *hōkō* are treated uniformly.

In addition, when the destination is either the servant's own or another farming village, in nearly all cases both the village name and the name of the head of the household where the servant is working are recorded, so that it is possible to measure the length of service in each case. In the case of the cities, however, the majority only have the location entered as, "in *hōkō* in such-and-such a town," and so there is no way of determining whether the servant changed employers within that location. Also because of this, in the

case of the cities, there is no way of elucidating whether the employer is a merchant, an artisan, or a farmer. We may know the character of the employer's city, but it is not the case, for example, that all of the employers in a regional city with a developed textile industry were in the textile business. Consequently, it is not possible to compile statistics for the employer's occupation. Even given this kind of flaw, however, this does not mean that no observations on service away from home are possible using the SACs, nor that the results of any analysis are meaningless.

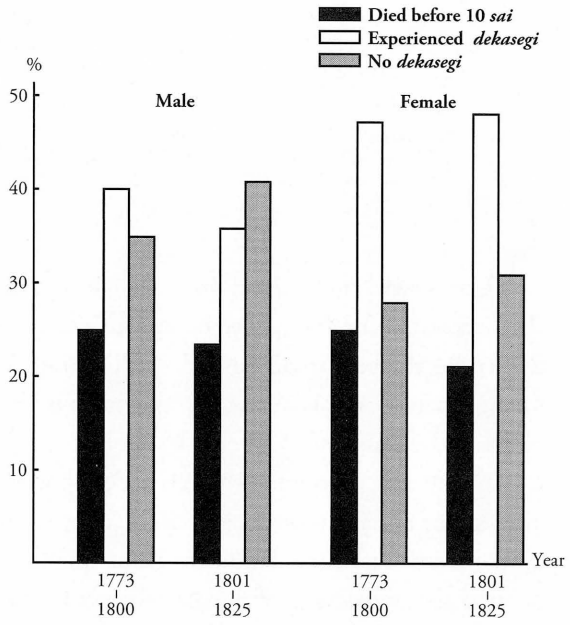
(1) Rate of Entry into Service

What proportion of the village population left to enter service, and what percentage did not? These measurements seem easy, but are in fact difficult. In order to prove that a given person did not leave to work away from home, we can only count people for whom it is possible to compile a life history either from birth till death or until they left the village for some other reason. For example, people born in 1840 were thirty *sai* in 1869, the final year for which this book uses SACs, but, even if they had not entered service by this date, they may have done so subsequently (an example of "right censoring").

In the same way, even if people who were twenty *sai* in 1773, the first year for which we have sources, can be verified as not having entered service subsequently, we cannot exclude the possibility that they were in service prior to the compilation of the first source ("left censoring"). Consequently, to be precise, we must limit the range of observation to cases of individuals born in the village during a certain period, for whom it is possible to trace their movements at least up to a certain age.

Here, I have decided therefore to base the analysis on the birth cohort (groups born at the same time). Figure 8-1 shows the proportion of people who disappeared from the sources for reasons other than to go into service from the age of eleven onwards, the ratio (called the rate of entry into service hereafter) for people (including those from the village) who entered service out of all those who survived to the age of eleven, and the ratio of those who died before eleven *sai* out of the total number born for

Fig. 8-1 Rates of Entry into Service



the two birth cohorts of Period I and Period II. Because the year of the final birth cohort is 1825, people born in this year would have been forty-five *sai* in 1869.

Cases in which people entered service for the first time from the age of forty-five onwards are extremely rare. Consequently, these two birth cohorts can be taken to have homogeneous characteristics that can be compared. The rate of entry into service is quite high, with approximately half of the men who reach the age of eleven entering service, and 60% or more of the women. In addition, because the people who did not become servants include those who died in their teens or left the village for other reasons, the majority of both men and women who reached productive age entered service, and the percentage for women in particular can be called extremely high. As far as can be seen from this figure, however, the percentage of men in service declined somewhat.

What was the ratio by class of birth for people leaving to enter service? Table 8-3 shows the percentage (from among those reaching the age of eleven) entering service according to whether the household into which they were born was wealthy and landholding at the time or not. Among the men, there is a sharp difference in the ratio between the tenant class and the others, so that it is clearly evident that men working away from home were almost exclusively tenants. The number of men in service in the two birth cohorts is ninety-six, but of these, seventy, or approximately 73% are from the tenant class. In other words, nearly three-quarters of male servants were born into the tenant class.

Table 8-3 Experience of Working as a Servant by Class* (%)

Birth cohorts/class	Male			Female		
	1773–1800	1801–1825	Total	1773–1800	1801–1825	Total
Tenants	62.7	63.5	63.1	73.2	75.0	74.0
Very small farmers	_	31.3	27.8	_	66.7	64.7
Small farmers	29.4	30.0	29.6	60.7	56.3	59.1
Landlords	52.4	14.3	39.4	40.9	22.2	32.5
Total	53.5	46.7	50.3	63.0	60.8	62.0

*Rate of persons who survived to age 11

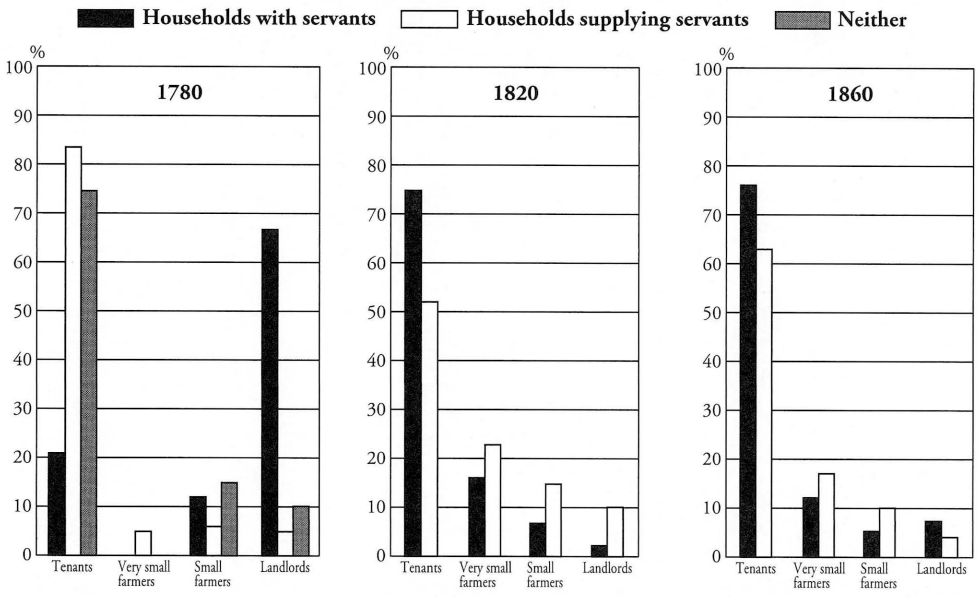
Conversely, of the ninety-five men who did not leave to enter service, the tenant-farmer class accounts for forty-one, or approximately 43%. The percentage of men entering service for the very small farmer, small farmer, and landlord classes is unreliable because the number of cases is so few, but the mean is about 30%, so there is almost no difference between the classes.

In the case of women there is a clear correlation between service and class at birth. The rate of entry into service declines across the classes in the order: tenant—very small farmer—small farmer—landlord. Three-quarters of the tenant class went into service, but because the percentage of female servants is also high in other classes, when the results

are combined, a total of 77 out of 127 female servants, or approximately 61%, were born into the tenant class. The rate of entry into service among the tenant class tends to rise slightly for both men and women, whereas the percentage from the remaining classes tends to fall.

In addition, Figure 8-2 shows the distribution for the three time periods, this time not based on individual cases but households, broken down into households employing servants, households from which servants came, and households with neither. In 1780, the percentage of tenant households which did not send out servants was relatively high because there were many solitary households (eight in total) that did not have people of a suitable age to enter service. This is further testified to by the fact that these houses died out rapidly thereafter. As far as can be seen from the figure, as expected, the percentage of tenant households sending people into service was the highest.

Fig. 8-2 Households with and without Servants by Class



The number of households that did not send people into service decreases the closer we come to the landlord class. By contrast, that there were households among the tenant class employing servants in 1780 may seem slightly strange. This is because households are entered as "tenants without land" (*mizunomi* or "water drinkers") immediately after they branch away from the landlord class, and in this village, there was a tradition whereby branch families were classified as *mizunomi* for several years after the branching.

(2) Age on Entry into Service

The age on entry into service can be thought of as influenced by both conditions of supply and demand in the labor market. Table 8-4 shows the age on entry broken down by social class, according to whether the destination employer lived in a rural or an urban area. As far as can be seen in this table, there is a slight difference by class of birth in the age at which service commenced for both men and women. Men in the very small farmer, small farmer, and landlord classes started two years later than those in the tenant class, and women one year later.

Table 8-4 Age Distribution upon Leaving Nishijo for Servant Work by Class and Destination

Sex	Male								Female							
Original class	Tenants				Other				Tenants				Other			
Destination / Age at leaving Nishijo	Rural	Urban	Other	Total	Rural	Urban	Other	Total	Rural	Urban	Other	Total	Rural	Urban	Other	Total
5			1	1												
6	1			1						1		1				
7	1			1					3			3				
8	2	2		4		1		1	2	1		3				
9	5	2	2	9					4	1		5		1		1
10	1	3		4		2		2	7			7	1	1		2
11	7	7		14		2		2	5	2		7		1		1
12	6	3		9		2		2	9	3		12		5		5
13		6	1	7	1	2		3	14	1	1	16		4		4
14	4	4		8	1	2		3	6	12		18		5		5
15	6	2		8					6	4	1	11	2	4		6
16	4	5		9		1		1	4	8		12	1	8		9
17	4	3	2	9					4	2		6		3		3
18	1	1		2	2	2		4	1	4		5	1	1		2
19	1	2		3		1		1	3	1		4		1	2	3
20						1		1	1	1	2	4		1		1
21	1	1		2		1		1	2			2		1		1
22		1		1		1	1	2	1			1				
23											1	1				
24		1		1						1		1				
25									1			1			1	1
26	1			1												
27							1	1								
28		2	1	3												
29	1	1		2												
32						1		1								
33			1	1		1		1								
38		1		1												
47		1		1												
Total	46	48	8	102	4	20	2	26	73	42	5	120	5	36	3	44
Average age	13.5	15.9	*	14.9	*	16.4	*	16.9	13.4	14.7	*	14.1	*	14.7	*	15.2

*Not calculated, as the number is small

When only the *mizunomi* (tenants without land) are taken from among the tenant class, the age for men is 14.7, and for women 13.6, considerably lower than for the tenant class as a whole. When we classify the age according to the place of residence of the employer, as expected, there is a difference between the farming villages and the cities. Excluding women from the very small farmer class and above, the age is considerably higher in all classes for servants going to the cities. Consequently, the youngest servants are those from the tenant class who went to rural areas, with a mean age of 13 for both men and women.

The fact that labor migration began at a younger age for those going to work in villages than for those going to the cities is thought to be because labor in a rural area was simply an extension of everyday life for them, and therefore required no particular special training. Conversely, service in the cities meant migration to a different world, so that attaining a certain age was presumably desirable from both the supply and the demand points of view. Probably they were requested to count numbers and to read simple letters, skills which were learned at *terakoya* (temple schools).

When we examine the first service destination, we find that, among those born into the tenant class, whereas the proportion of men going to both the city and the village is roughly equal, for women the proportion going to village employers was clearly higher, while in the very small farmer class and above, the concentration of both men and women in the cities was extremely high. Consequently, which of the two destinations received the lion's share of the servants was also highly dependent upon the mean age. The sample here is limited to the first destinations of villagers upon entering service and does not concern destinations in later life, including any change of employer. This is examined in later paragraphs.

Table 8-5 shows cases where people born in the village left to enter service for the first time by destination; that is, villages (rural), cities (urban), and warrior-class households,

Table 8-5 Distribution of Destinations after Leaving Nishijo (by decades)

Decades	Male					Female				
	Rural	Urban	Warrior	Other	Total	Rural	Urban	Warrior	Other	Total
1773–1780		1		1	2	3	1			4
1781–1790	9	10		1	20	9	9			18
1791–1800	8	4			12	5	11	2		18
1801–1810	8	8	3		19	14	11			25
1811–1820	6	13	3		22	16	17	1		34
1821–1830	4	12			16	11	12	3		26
1831–1840	6	8	1	1	16	8	5	2		15
1841–1850	4	10		1	15	10	8			18
1851–1860	6	9			15	6	6			12
1861–1865	3	9	1		13	1	2	1		4
Total	54	84	8	4	150	83	82	9		174

for each period at approximate ten-year intervals. There is a peak in the 1810s for both men and women in the total numbers, both for cities and villages. Whereas in the first period the numbers of men going to cities and villages are almost equal, in the latter those going to the towns are almost double the numbers heading for a village.

(3) Continuation of Service and Destination

First, as regards the duration of continuous service, in order to make an accurate measurement, the sample must be limited to individuals for whom the period of continuous service can be ascertained as falling within the scope of the observations, and who ended their service for reasons other than death. Consequently, the number of cases for observation is small: a total of forty-three men and ninety-two women. Table 8-6 classifies the period of continuous service for these using various standards, in order to determine the mean rates.

Table 8-6 Duration of Working as a Servant (years)

Classification		Male		Female	
		Persons	Average years	Persons	Average years
Original Status	Without land	28	13.8	36	13.5
	Within 2 *koku*	10	12.1	33	14.5
	Over 2 *koku*	5	8.6	23	15.2
Birth cohorts	1773–1800	27	13.9	49	12.6
	1801–1825	16	10.9	43	16.2
Destinations	Only urban	18	8.7	36	13.7
	Only rural	18	12.4	42	12.5
	Urban and rural	7	24.3	14	21.4
Total		43	12.8	92	14.3

The number of cases is too few to yield any definite trend, but when the results are put in order, the length of service for men is correlated with birth class, being at its longest in the *mizunomi* (tenants with no land) class, and with service in the cities being shorter than that in the villages. This characteristic cannot be seen among the women. Instead there is in fact a trend in the other direction, albeit a slight one. The fact that service lasted longer among people with mixed destinations is because the figure includes data for those who entered into the service of samurai families.

Table 8-7 divides the destinations of people leaving to enter service into three: villages, towns, and cities, and over time periods of approximately twenty-five years, shows the classification of each in person-years, mean number of people per year, and percentage of the total. The mean number of people leaving to enter service in a year is greatest in Period II, which corresponds to the Bunka/Bunsei eras (1804–1830). The number going

as servants to the cities is highest for both men and women, showing an increase in labor demand in the urban centers of the time. Village servitude tended to decrease gradually, while service in the towns increased. For women in particular, in the final quarter-century, there were more servants than in any other period, showing an increase in labor demand concomitant with economic development in the twilight of the Tokugawa period in the medium and small-size provincial towns.

Table 8-7 Lineup of Destinations for Servant Work

1. Male

Periods	Person-years				Servants per year				Lineup (%)		
	Villages	Towns	Cities	Total	Villages	Towns	Cities	Total	Villages	Towns	Cities
1773–1800	309	25	540	874	11.0	0.9	19.3	31.2	35.4	2.9	61.8
1801–1825	325	87	501	913	13.0	3.5	20.0	36.5	35.6	9.5	54.9
1826–1850	170	115	496	781	6.8	4.6	19.8	31.2	21.8	14.7	63.9
1851–1868	138	112	354	604	7.3	5.9	18.6	31.8	22.9	18.5	58.6
Total	942	339	1891	3172	9.7	3.5	19.5	32.7	29.7	10.7	59.6
2. Female											
1773–1800	405	69	427	901	14.5	2.5	15.3	32.2	45.0	7.7	47.4
1801–1825	382	86	577	1045	15.3	3.4	23.1	41.8	36.6	8.2	55.2
1826–1850	377	125	445	947	15.1	5.0	17.8	37.9	39.8	13.2	47.0
1851–1868	151	228	203	582	8.9	12.0	10.7	30.6	26.0	39.2	34.9
Total	1315	508	1652	3475	13.6	5.2	17.0	35.8	37.8	14.6	47.5

Because destinations are recorded for servants going to village households, it is possible to measure the length of continuous service for each case individually. Table 8-8 shows results of an examination of the length of continuous service in all cases for village service which can be measured. The same characteristics can be seen as were found for the cases of servants moving into Nishijo-mura, examined earlier, namely, the number of servants hired annually fell, and the mean period of service for a single master lengthened. In the case where service commenced during Period I, 42% of the men and 52% of the women were indentured for a year, but this falls thereafter to 22% and 29% respectively.

Let us examine in detail the employment destination for these male and female servants respectively. As regards village service, Table 8-9 divides the destinations into four territories according to distance from the village as the crow flies—under two kilometers, two to four kilometers, four to eight kilometers, and over eight kilometers—and shows the volume of servants (person-years) for each territory as a ratio of the whole. Initially, the majority or almost half are concentrated in the territory closest to home, yet one can see a gradual shift to destinations outside. From Period III onwards, women in particular seem to have lost nearly all employment opportunities in the neighboring villages within the two kilometers ring. However, because this period predates the establishment of the modern labor market, there is a problem in apprehending this from the perspective of

Table 8-8 Duration of Village Household Service

Years	Male			Female		
	Before 1800	1801–1825	After 1826	Before 1800	1801–1825	After 1826
1	90	21	4	46	22	2
2	29	14	7	20	13	
3	22	5	4	8	10	3
4	14	7	2	7	9	1
5	7	7	2	4	6	3
6	3	2	1	7	3	1
7		1	1	2	3	1
8	1	1	1	3	2	3
9	3	1	2	2	3	4
10	1			3	1	1
11			1	1	2	1
12				1	2	
13	1		1			1
14				1	1	
15						
16	1					
17		1		1		
18	1					1
19						1
20				1		
22						1
23				2		
24					6	
25						1
26	1					1
35					1	
42		1				
Total	174	61	26	109	84	26
Average	2.5	3.6	4.3	3.7	5.7	9.5

Table 8-9 Distribution of Distances of Village Service Employment Destinations from Nishijo (%)

1. Male				
Periods	Within 2 km	2–4 km	4–8 km	Over 8 km
1773–1800	48.5	23.0	8.4	20.1
1801–1825	41.8	50.2	7.7	0.3
1826–1850	40.0	34.1	10.0	15.9
1851–1868	23.2	42.8	31.2	2.9
Total	41.0	37.3	11.8	10.0
2. Female				
1773–1800	58.8	33.6	7.4	0.2
1801–1825	45.8	39.5	7.3	7.3
1826–1850	8.2	55.4	17.8	18.6
1851–1868	12.6	47.7	4.6	35.1
Total	35.2	43.2	10.0	11.6

employment opportunities only.

Nevertheless, the above results still show that village servants were having difficulties in finding nearby employers in the same way as they used to, and that, instead, they concentrated on finding employers in specific villages, regardless of the distance. For example, if we examine Periods III and IV, most employers of women are within the two to four kilometer territory, primarily in Hottsu-mura, Nakashima-gun, and Suga-mura and Hongō-mura in Haguri-gun, which are on the opposite bank of the Nagara river within this territory. This pattern can be considered the result of factors (thought to be the growth of rural industry) that amplified employment within the area.

Table 8-10 shows the names of the villages to which one or more servants went on average in one year for each of the periods. When this is compared with the place of birth of the servants coming into the village, the various villages of Niremata, Naka, Nanjō, and Ōyabu can be seen to have been both out- and in-migratory locations. The labor force was exchanged reciprocally between these neighboring villages. In general, though, out-migration is clearly greater the more outlying the village.

Table 8-10 Distribution of Villages with Many Residents Leaving for Servant Work

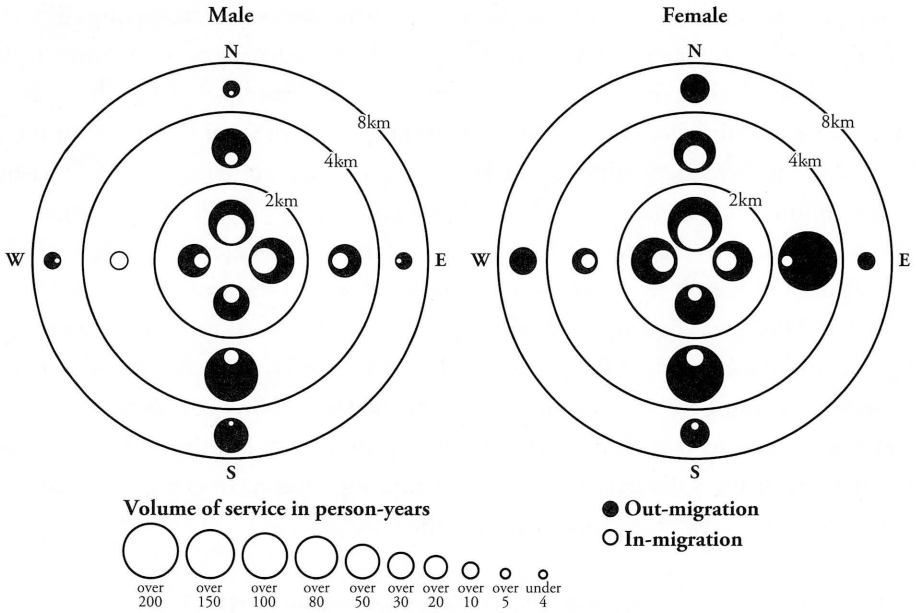
1. Male

Periods	Within 2 km	2–4 km	4–8 km
1773–1800	Niremata, Naka		
1801–1825	Niremata, Naka	Hottsu (NA), Shimoōgure	
1826–1850	Naka		
1851–1868	Niremata	Shimoōgure-shinden, Katsu	Funatsuki (TA)
2. Female			
1773–1800	Niremata, Ōyabu, Kamiōgure, Naka, Nanjō	Gotan-gō, Nakagō-shinden	
1801–1825	Niremata, Nakagō, Naka	Nakagō-shinden	
1826–1850		Suga (NA), Hottsu (NA), Hongō (HA)	Funatsuki (TA)
1851–1868		Hongō (HA), Nakasu	

Without parenthesis=Anpachi-gun; (NA)=Nakashima-gun; (HA)=Haguri-gun; (TA)=Tagi-gun

Figure 8-3 shows in graphic form the nature of the exchanges between the labor markets, with the added consideration of distance and bearing from each other. The size of each ring shows the volume of the overall service in person-years. With the exception of one case for both men and women, there is a greater volume of migration north-south than there is east-west. This is thought to be because the east-west passage was blocked by the Nagara and Ibi rivers, which flow north-south on both sides of the Fukuzuka *wajū* (dike ring) to which these villages belong. Also, the Fukuzuka *wajū* itself is a long ellipse running north-south. On the western bank in particular, there are few access points compared with other areas. One other interesting feature is the direction from Nishijo-mura of the locations from which servants came and to which they went. Out-migration exceeds in-migration in

Fig. 8-3 Migration Patterns of Servants



all areas, but on close inspection, the majority of departure points for in-migrants are from the north and west, and the majority of destinations for out-migrants are to the east and south. In other words, this village absorbed the labor force coming from the north and west, and expelled it towards the east and south. Expressing this numerically, the total number of servants leaving for the various villages in the north and west is approximately three times that coming in from the same region when both men and women are added together (810 person-years leaving, 272 person-years entering), but in the case of the east and south, the same calculations yield an approximately sevenfold difference (1,220 person-years leaving, 175 person-years entering).

It will only be possible to arrive at a conclusion regarding the meaning of the directional tendencies in this labor migration when research in the region has progressed further, and the nature of employment opportunities and conditions of each village, as well as the difference in wages, are known. For the time being, however, although the observations are for one village only, the following traits can be suggested. First, it is not so difficult to explain the direction of migration from the northwest to the southeast that can be seen here. The textile industry belt of South Mino and West Owari provinces developed on the opposite banks of the Nagara and Kiso rivers in a southeasterly direction from the village, creating an enormous labor demand, including non-agricultural labor.[5] Also, if we continue a little further in this direction, we arrive at Nagoya, the central city

5 See Matsuura 1973. See Chapter 3, Note 20 in this monograph.

Table 8-11 Servants Going to Work in Urban and Town Areas (person-years)

Sex	Male						Female					
Periods / Destination	1773–1800	1801–1825	1826–1850	1851–1868	Total	Component ratio (%)	1773–1800	1801–1825	1826–1850	1851–1868	Total	Component ratio (%)
Edo	45	19			64	3.4						
Nagoya	134	75	199	182	590	31.2	117	229	290	91	727	44.2
Kuwana			17	18	35	1.0	12				12	0.7
Tsu		9	48	2	59	1.5	16	39	5		60	3.6
Ōgaki	13	33		19	65	6.0	22	95	17	43	177	10.8
Hikone		10	34	17	61	1.4	9	1	1		11	0.7
Kyoto	340	230	148	27	745	33.4	223	170	44	18	455	27.7
Osaka	8	87	50	71	216	16.6	27	38	87	51	203	1.3
Sakai		38		18	56	5.6						
Urban sub-total	540	501	496	354	1891		426	572	444	203	1645	
Noma (Owari)									14	94	108	21.0
Biwajima (Owari)	4				4	1.2						
Kiyosu (Owari)								4			4	0.8
Hagihara (Owari)								23	14		37	7.2
Yokkaichi (Ise)		10			10	2.9						
Hamada (Ise)		5	49	36	90	26.5			24	18	42	8.2
Seki (Mino)							8				8	1.6
Gifu (Mino)			1	3	4	1.2		2			2	0.4
Kanō (Mino)										7	7	1.4
Kasamatsu (Mino)	17	50	14		81	23.9	31				31	6.0
Takegahana (Mino)	1	13	32	19	65	19.2	8	3	66	96	173	33.7
Sunomata (Mino)							4	2			6	1.2
Kurigasa (Mino)							1	38	4		43	8.4
Takada (Mino)							1	13			14	2.7
Imao (Mino)	1	1	19	18	39	11.5	8	1	3		12	2.3
Takasu (Mino)	1	7			8	2.4						
Samegai (Ōmi)				8	8	2.4						
Maibara (Ōmi)	1	1			2	0.6	7				7	1.4
Nagahama (Ōmi)				28	28	8.3	1			13	14	2.7
Ōtsu (Ōmi)								5	1		6	1.2
Towns sub-total	25	87	115	112	339		69	91	126	228	514	

of the Nōbi region, so it is perfectly possible to understand the southeastern direction of the labor migration. Another important point is that, although there was direct migration of servants towards these cities, we can, as will be seen next, also assume gradual migration from village to village in this direction.[6] Even within the context of labor migration in a premodern society, although the distance covered by a single migratory movement is often short, when such movements are added up over a lifetime, individuals traveled a considerable distance. Ravenstein's laws[7] of migration thus hold true.

6 The author first described this phenomenon as the "venus flytrap" metaphor (in Japanese, an "ant lion") in Hayami and Uchida 1972, p. 251. In the West, the same phenomenon is described as the "urban graveyard" effect.

7 E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48 (1885), pp. 167–235.

Let us then look at migration to the towns and cities. Table 8-11 shows the volume of service (in person-years) for each period by destination, whether town or city. In this case, migration is unidirectional. There is only one case of a servant migrating from a town to a village, which has been ignored. There is a difference in the trends of migration to these destinations for men and women. For men, Kyoto shows the consistently highest rates. In Periods I and II, approximately 50% of all male urban servants headed exclusively for Kyoto.

From Period III onwards, however, these rates fall sharply, and instead, Nagoya, in the number two position, comes to occupy a greater proportion. Third is Osaka, which excluding the initial period, shows comparatively constant rates of immigration. Migration to the closest city, Ōgaki, which was also the castle town of the territorial lord, is unexpectedly low, as is migration to Sakai. Male labor can be said to head exclusively for the major urban metropolises.

In contrast, women headed overwhelmingly for Nagoya, but the second city, Kyoto, was also high in the initial period. As for men, however, migration to these urban centers fell sharply from Period III onwards. Osaka was a small target for women, compared with men, closely resembling Ōgaki. Women never went to Edo or Sakai, which did attract men. The range of territories where women went to work away from home tends to be narrow compared to that for men.

On the other hand, the migration patterns of women to towns underwent more dynamic change than for men. The men were comparatively concentrated in Hamada (adjoining Yokkaichi-shuku in Ise province), Kasamatsu (adjoining Gifu, with its office of magistrate), and Takegahana (currently the center of Hajima city, with its textile industry). Conversely, concentrations of women in Takegahana and Noma (a port town on the west bank of the Chita peninsula) were extremely remarkable from Period III onwards.

When we reach Period IV, the migration of women to these towns exceeds their migration to the cities and villages, and came to constitute the highest proportion of female migration. This was probably in response to proto-industrial development in these towns. Takegahana in particular evidenced an increase in labor migration parallel with that to Hottsu-mura and Suga-mura in Nakashima-gun, and to Hongō-mura in Haguri-gun, which have been treated here as farming villages, and clearly depicts the employment opportunities due to both the textile and related industries in the region. The fact that servants heading for this region were exclusively female probably reflects the creation of demand within proto-industry for female labor, which was probably employed in spinning and weaving.

Although the nature of this form of service differed from others, there was also a slight outflow of labor in the form of servants to warrior-class households. Table 8-12 shows the trends to warrior-class (samurai) households expressed in person-years, according to the work destination. It is only natural that many people from this village aspiring to work

Table 8-12 Servants Going to Work for Warrior Households (person-years)

1. Male

Destination \ Periods	1773–1800	1801–1825	1826–1850	1851–1869	Total
Edo	7				7
Nagoya		3		17	20
Ōgaki	3	22	19	18	62
Takasu		7	25	18	50
Hikone		84	38		122
Kyoto	2				2
Total	12	116	82	53	263
2. Female					
Nagoya	14	31	34	4	83
Ōgaki	53	57	92	56	258
Hikone	55	50	39		144
Total	122	138	165	60	485

as servants for samurai families went to the nearest castle town, Ōgaki, but the fact that many went to samurai families in the Hikone domain is also conspicuous. This was more common for men in particular. Here, too, the geographical range for men was broader. Generally, servants to samurai families were older and remained in service longer than for service in a village, town, or city. This is because the object of such employment was household labor. In cases where the first service was as servant to a samurai family, the starting age was 21.3 for men (seven cases) and 19.4 for women (eight cases), which is five to eight years older than compared with other forms of service. Furthermore, the mean length of continuous service for this kind of servant was extremely long compared to the other forms, at 29.3 years for the men (three cases) and 24.0 for the women (nine cases).

Figure 8-4 shows the totals of those working away from home in each region for each year by sex and by destination. There is a clear peak in working away from home during the Bunka/Bunsei eras (1804–1830). In addition, the shape of this peak is a result of an expansion in the volume of migration exclusively to the cities. As can be seen in Figure 8-5, charting migration to the three cities of Kyoto, Osaka, and Nagoya, for which migration was particularly great, the initial order was Kyoto, Nagoya, and then Osaka, but this gradually changed to become Nagoya, Osaka, and lastly Kyoto. We need to spread our observations more widely in the future to consider why these changes came about.

Whatever the reason, the Bunka/Bunsei eras saw the final flourishing of urban culture during the Tokugawa period, and it is believed that there was an explosion in labor demand in the commercial and service industries. Also, in Nishijo-mura, the arable lands of the village were lost in 1815 because of flooding, so the people of the village may well have been forced to find other work. Since, however, the number of people leaving to work away from home was already on the increase before this disaster, the flood cannot be

Fig. 8-4 Out-migration by Destination

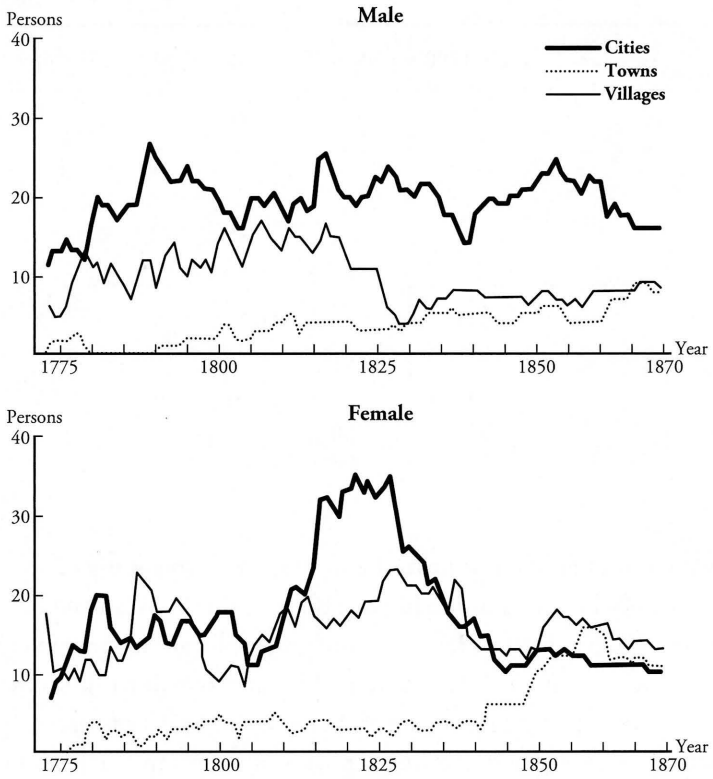
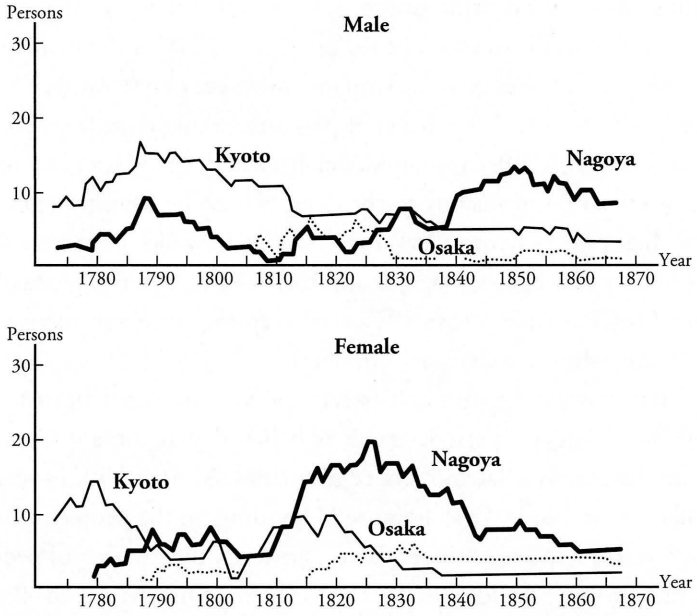


Fig. 8-5 Migration to Kyoto, Osaka, and Nagoya



held solely responsible. At most, it was a contributing factor to the rise in mass migration to the city.

(4) The End of Service and Its Effects

After continuing for several years, service ended because of death, marriage, or the returning home of servants. There are also people who disappear from view while still in service because of the chronological limits of our sources. Table 8-13 classifies and displays the end of service by cause. There are 394 people, both men and women, who left to become servants. Of these, 65 continued in service beyond the final year for which we have sources, so have been excluded. Of the remaining 329, 126, or more than one-third, died at their place of service, whilst almost the same number never returned to the village of their birth because of adoption, marriage, permanent removal, omission, and so forth (accurately speaking, we should say that they migrated outside of the village and never returned to the household of their birth, according to the sources).

Table 8-13 Termination of Servant Work

Reasons	Male	Female	Total
Continued in 1869	34	31	65
Deaths	62	64	126
Returned to Nishijo	48	18	66
Marriages (in Nishijo)	4	10	14
Marriages (not Nishijo)	1	93	94
Adoptions (in Nishijo)	2		2
Adoptions (not Nishijo)	6		6
Branch families	5		5
Moved out	1		1
Dependents	3		3
Temple disciples	1		1
Disappeared	6	2	8
Uncertain	3		3
Total	176	218	394

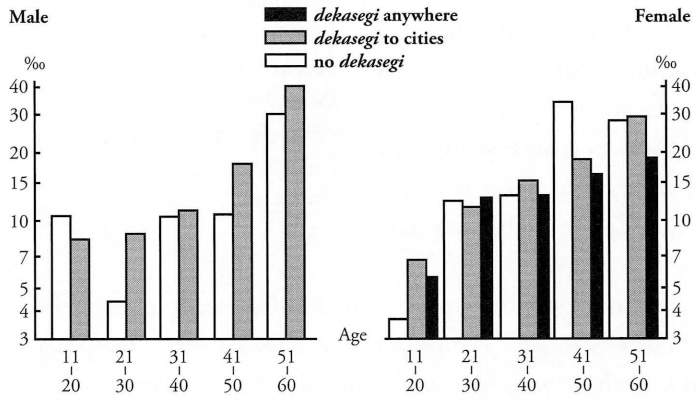
Consequently, ninety-two people returned to Nishijo-mura, which is less than 30% of the total number who left. The notion that *dekasegi* was a temporary form of labor migration and that those who left would someday return is not viable. Moreover, since the mean age of entry into service was fourteen to fifteen, if we assume that one-half of the population of this age went into service, if two-thirds of servants never returned, then one-third of this age group was permanently drained away from the village. It is true that out-migration in order to marry was counterbalanced by in-migration for the same reason, at least between farming villages (of the marriages to people from outside of the village cited in Table 8-13, a city was the destination for twenty-two people, equivalent to 24.2%, while sixty-nine people, or 75.8%, left for villages). The mean age at the time service ended for people who left for reasons other than death was 30.3 *sai* for the men (54 cases) and 27.8 *sai* for the women (113 cases).

Turning to cases of those who died while in service, the number of deaths is 62 men and 64 women. When the deaths are examined by location, 39 men were in cities and towns, 12 in farming villages, and 11 were servants in warrior-class households. These figures are 39, 18, and 7 respectively for women. Compared with the ratio of the volume

of servants in cities, towns, and villages expressed in person-years, the number of deaths in the cities is quite large. For men, 70.3% of all the total service (in person-years) was to cities and towns, but in terms of the number of deaths, city/town-goers made up 76.5%. Similarly, of the women, 62.2% was to the cities and towns, and the proportion of their deaths was 68.4%. It is of course important to consider the difference in age for each of these groups, but, as expected, servants in the cities experienced higher mortality rates than village servants.

In order to make this point even clearer, the following analysis was undertaken. Figure 8-6 shows a comparison between the mortality rates by age group calculated from the age at death of people who were servants in the cities, including deaths other than at the place of employment, and people who died without ever having entered service. For men, the mortality rate for those who had been in service in the cities was strikingly high, with the exception of one age group, the eleven to twenty.

Fig. 8-6 Mortality Rates for Servants and Non-servants



If we consider that, in this age group, those who never entered service may include people who could not go away to work because of congenital illness, the exception seems quite understandable. On the other hand, it appears that for women, urban service did not work as a factor to raise the mortality rate. This is believed to be because, in the case of women in the age group shown here, there were comparatively high number of deaths due to pregnancy and birth, so the mortality rates of those who remained in the village were high. It is possible that there was no significant difference between the mortality rates of women who married and stayed in the village and those who left to enter service and work away from home without getting married. In order to determine the reason, in the future far more cases need to be studied.

Consequently, in the case of women, the highs and lows of the mortality rates in

urban servitude require a comparison with those for people who experienced service in the villages. However, because those who were only rural servants are extremely few in number, thus creating a problem for processing the statistics, it was decided to examine the effects of urban service by comparing the mortality rates for people who entered urban service alone with all people who entered service of one form or another. Figure 8-4 shows that, excluding the twenty-one to thirty age group, the mortality rates are higher for urban servants, so, as to be expected, the city wrought some sort of effect on servant life. This difference shows the height of the mortality rates in premodern cities, whereby the city functioned as a kind of graveyard, luring in the population from the villages and then killing them.[8]

4. Demographic Consequences

As stated in the preceding section, of the men and women who went away to work, not all returned to their village—indeed, only a minority ever did. When we reconstruct the life histories of indentured servants, the ratio breaks down as 40% of men and 26% of women who died at their employment destination, and 6% of men and 14% of women who settled there permanently, indicated in the records as "moved." In total, 46% of men and 40% of women clearly never returned to their villages, the majority of whom migrated to the cities.

These rates are calculated without regard to the class of birth of the person in service. When the class of birth is examined, the percentages working away from home in the case of men are: landlord class 39%, small farmer class 30%, very small farmer class 28%, and tenant class 63%. In the case of women, these figures are 33%, 59%, 62%, and 74% respectively. The tenant class produced the most servants.

In this way, the fact that the percentage of the tenant class working away from home was high—for example, almost three-quarters of women had such experience—is because children born into households in this class did not have much opportunity to obtain employment or earn an income in the village, and constituted surplus labor from the point of view of the management of their families' farms, so they would leave home to seek employment elsewhere. On the other hand, among the landlord class, such factors were not so strong. In the middle classes, such factors operated only for women.

An important result of this was the profound effect that out-migration had on the demography of this village. That is, in the direct sense, by taking the surplus labor force that would have stagnated within the village, and by providing labor for the demand elsewhere, particularly in the cities, labor migration gave these people work opportunities,

8 Hayami 1971.

while at the same time working to suppress any population growth in the village above that which was necessary.

In fact, if we examine the productive age population, although there is some variation across the period, 25% of men of productive age (taken to be between the ages of sixteen and sixty) and 30% of the women left the village never to return. This flow acted as an adjustment valve directly reducing the population. If we also examine the shape of the age structure of the population which remained in the village, the pyramid is narrower between the most productive ages of sixteen and forty-five, telling us that this age group was not present in its entirety. This regulatory function of the population through drain to the outside we shall call a "direct adjustment function."

Servants working away from home also had an important "indirect adjustment function." As stated previously, this was the function of lowering the birth rate for Nishijo as a whole, since, even supposing that someone who had left to work away from home, they would have been over a certain age. Women in particular were absent during their early twenties, their most fertile years. When we examine the mean age at marriage for women born within the village according to class at birth and whether or not they worked away from home, the difference can be seen to lie not in class of birth but in whether they ever left for labor migration. In other words, the mean age at (first) marriage for women in the landlord class was 21.6 and in the tenant class, 24.7, but, when classified according to whether they ever left for labor migration, the figure is 25.9 *sai* for those with experience of work away from home and 21.5 *sai* for those with no such experience.

Since there is almost no difference on the basis of class background in the mean age at marriage among those who worked away from home, the age at marriage was exclusively decided by whether they left for labor migration. As stated previously, however, there was a clear difference of class in the percentages of women leaving to enter service, and, because this affected the age at marriage, at first glance the mean age at marriage appears to have been determined by a difference in the class at birth. However, for example, the mean age at marriage for women born into the tenant class but with no experience of working away from home was 22.3, hardly differing from the 21.2 *sai* of the women with no *dekasegi* experience in the landlord class, while the mean age at marriage of 24.3 for women born into the landlord class who worked away from home is similarly close to the 25.6 *sai* of those born into the tenant class.

This difference in the mean age at marriage significantly affects the number of births. Women in their early twenties generally have the highest age-specific fertility, and, in the case of this village as well, the marital fertility rates as determined from family reconstitution peaked at 0.319 in the twenty-one to twenty-five age group (namely, married women in this age group gave birth to an average of 0.319 children or, in other words, it took 3.1 years to have one child. This does not include the deaths of infants that do not appear in the sources. If we take infant deaths to be 25%, the age-specific birth rate becomes 0.425

or, in other words, it took 2.4 years to have one child).

This means that the slight difference in the mean age at marriage greatly affected the number of births. If a marriage was delayed by three years, the number of births was reduced at least by one. The difference in the mean age at marriage between those who worked away from home and those who did not, as cited above, was 4.4 years, which translates into a difference of 1.5 in the number of births.

This difference in the number of births created critical problems in some cases, from the standpoint of maintaining the village population, or the continuity of individual families. During the Tokugawa period with its high mortality rates, especially infant mortality rates, it was necessary for couples to give birth to considerable numbers of children in order to maintain both the population and the family. In order for the net reproduction rate to exceed one (in other words, in order for a single woman to pass down to the next generation a minimum of one girl who will reach child-bearing age), it was necessary to give birth to four children, according to a demographic analysis of Nishijo-mura.

In order to achieve this number of births, it was necessary for a woman to marry by age twenty-six at the latest. In reality, however, since there are also occasions in which a marriage is cut short by the death of one or other spouse, remarriage and the sex ratio must also be considered, twenty-four *sai* is the very latest age at which a woman can marry in order to contribute to the reproduction rate. Consequently, it is essential to bear in mind that the difference in mean age at marriage for women depending on whether or not they worked away from home, as mentioned previously, may be crucial with respect to maintaining the population.

This issue will be examined in detail in Chapter 9, but the following results emphasize the gravity of this fact. When we examine the status of families which died out in Nishijo-mura during the period under observation, although in the landlord class there are thirty-four occasions in which the head of a household changed, there is not a single case of a family dying out. In stark contrast to this, however, is the tenant class, where there are 183 changes in the heads of households, and also 64 families which became extinct. The landlord class clearly had the power to continue the line, whereas, in the tenant class, over one-third of the changes in the head of the household ultimately resulted in the family dying out because of the lack of an heir. Demographic factors must also be considered here.

5. Demography and Family

Heirs, successors, branch families, and extinct families among the peasants of Nishijo-mura are the main topic of the next chapter. Here, however, I want to focus on the effect on migration on the household and on the social structure. As described in the preceding

section, among the tenants, many houses died out as a result of *dekasegi*, while, among the landowners, many new branch houses were created. When we examine household histories in the same way as personal life histories, it is possible to apprehend interclass mobility clearly, including that of branch and extinct families. Excluding temples, there were 91 households in the village at the beginning of the records in 1773. This number was composed of 11 households in the landlord class, 10 in the small farmer class, 4 in the very small farmer class, and 66 in the tenant class. By the final year, 1869, the total number of households was 73, and the classification was 5 landlords, 3 small farmers, 10 very small farmers, and 55 tenants. These figures, however, do not reveal changes within the classes. As Table 8-14 shows, although there was considerable movement between the classes, social fluctuations in the peasant households were actually far more severe. Up till now, what has interested researchers studying Tokugawa-period farming villages has been the disintegration of the peasant class, or, more precisely, the tendency toward concentration at the two extremes of the landholding relationship. Such a pattern can certainly be seen in many regions, and, in the case of this village also, the biggest landowner at the outset, worth forty-eight *koku*, had increased his landholdings to eighty-nine *koku* by the end. Often, however, by simply taking the sum rates for a specific point in time, the important issue of interclass mobility among peasant households in the village is overlooked.

Table 8-14 Changes of Households by Class and Reasons

	Class	Landlords	Small farmers	Very small farmers	Tenants	Total	Notes
1773		11	10	4	66	91	2 temples
Increase	Branching	2	2	1	47*	52	
	Class-transfering	6	22	39	30	97	
	Total	8	24	40	77	149	
Decrease	Ceasing	0	2	4	64**	70	
	Class-transfering	14	29	30	24	97	
	Total	14	31	34	88	167	
Balance	Branching/ceasing	+2	0	−3	−17	−18	
	Class-transfering	−8	−7	+9	+6	0	
	Total	−6	−7	+6	−11	−18	
1869		5	3	10	55	73	2 temples 3 uncertain

* Including 1 for which reason is unknown ** Including 1 "moved out"
Landlords owned land valued at over 10 *koku*; small farmers owned land of 5–10 *koku*; very small farmers owned land of 2–5 *koku*; tenants owned land of under 2 *koku*.

The nature of changes, including interclass mobility, in the peasant households as detected through household life history surveys provides a concrete image of the village that is of far greater value than a simple table of the differentiation of the rural classes determined from the sum rates alone. To explain a few of the features, first, the sum total

of 122 branch and extinct houses exceeds the sum total of 97 acts of interclass mobility. Although the classes were determined arbitrarily, and therefore direct conclusions cannot be drawn, the importance of branch and extinct houses as a deciding factor in the composition of the classes is still clear.

An examination of the household life histories yields 52 branch families and 70 extinct ones within the time frame in question. Of the branch families, 15 are branches from the landlord and small farmer classes, a higher proportion than that of the branch families in the very small farmer and tenant classes. On the other hand, nearly all extinct families are from within the tenant class.

Furthermore, as can be seen in Table 8-15, when the mobility of the peasant households among the above four classes is examined, whereas there are sixty-one cases of mobility from the upper classes to the lower, there are only thirty-six cases of mobility from the lower classes to the upper. Although upward mobility should not be ignored, broadly speaking, mobility between the rural classes tended to be downwards. Clearly, a pattern existed whereby peasant households branched off in the highest class, that of the landowner, moved downwards socially, and, upon reaching the lowest class, that of the tenants, eventually died out through the extinction of the household line.

Table 8-15 Interclass Mobility of Households

Class	Increase		Decrease		Balance	
	From upper	From lower	To upper	To lower	Upper	Lower
Landlords	—	6	—	14	—	–8
Small farmers	10	12	2	27	+8	–15
Very small farmers	21	18	10	20	+11	–2
Tenants	30	—	24	—	+6	—
Total	61	36	36	61	+25	–25

Individual peasant families did not alter the makeup of the social classes, but were mobile within its established framework. Since branch houses meant the creation of a new household in a lower class than that of the main house, both branch houses and extinct ones can be said to have the effect of reinforcing this trend towards downward mobility.

Consequently, the cases from Nishijo-mura elucidate for us the geographical movement of peasants in the form of *dekasegi hōkō*, which, in combination with the movement between classes, functioned in the following way. In the upper-class households, the reproduction rate was positive and the mean age at marriage relatively low, because of the small number of people working away from home as servants. As a result, children who were not heirs to a house branched away and created new households in a lower class. On the other hand, in the tenant-farmer class households, the offspring went off to service in large numbers, moving to the cities where the mortality was much higher than that of the rural area. As both a direct and an indirect result of this, their reproductive

rate was negative and there were numerous cases where the house was extinct without ever producing an heir. However, through both the formation of branch houses and interclass mobility, there was a tendency to move downwards, so that there were no major changes in the class composition. In other words, this village, or the central area of Japan, was socially stable.

This kind of social stability can probably be seen not only in this village but also elsewhere, although doubtless there were some villages where this mechanism either did not work, or did not even exist. It is impossible to know in detail unless nationwide research along the same lines is undertaken. From the research on Nishijo-mura, it is clearly evident that the large volumes of people who went to work as servants in the cities affected the village population through both direct and indirect function, and the consequences were extremely important not only for the demographic and social conditions in Nishijo-mura, but also for that of the whole area.

In light of this, we can expect that there was a major difference as regards the operation of this mechanism between villages close to the cities with employment potential, where it was possible for many people to enter service, and those villages without such opportunities or where, if these did exist, their influence was weak. Urbanization had advanced to some extent on the plains of the Nōbi region where Nishijo-mura is located, and, because it is also possible to reach the major metropolises of Kyoto and Osaka easily, this mechanism was able to function highly effectively.

Conversely, in regions where these nearby metropolises or the factors that attract the rural populations either did not exist or were very weak, the mechanism that acted as this kind of stabilizer was absent. Southwestern Japan, which produced many of the figures who played roles during the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the Meiji Restoration, and whose degree of urbanization was low, may have lacked the kind of social stability we have observed in Nishijo-mura.[9] In the future, if the same sort of research is conducted with regard to other regions, some form of conclusion may be possible regarding this hypothesis that two kinds of mobility—geographical and interclass—were connected and functioned as a mechanism to stabilize society.

9 The proportion of urban population in southwestern Japan was under 10 percent in early Meiji statistics. For Japan as a whole, it was 13.4 percent. See Hayami 1975.