

## CONCLUSION

This book has examined the inception, development, and modernization of Japanese-style organization. Japanese-style organization was closely linked to the development of the samurai social order. Its foundation was the household (*ie*), which grew out of the apparatus used by medieval warriors for territorial control and culminated in the provincial administration known as the domain. Having developed from the household, the most prominent feature of public administrations in the early modern period was their attempt to resolve or harmonize the inherent contradictions within them, as between bloodlines and talent, traditionalism and progressivism, patriarchy and group discussion, and groupism and individualism. Japanese-style organization, as defined in this text, took form when these various problems were successfully overcome through repeated conflicts and trial and error. The modes of organization that resulted facilitated the modernization of Japanese society. Modernization in Japan can be viewed in terms of the growth of these types of organizations.

While the distinct organizational structure of the warrior household served as the basis for the development of Japanese-style organization, it is also fruitful to examine the organizations utilized by commoners and merchants. Households become evident among commoners, both farmers and city-dwellers, at the beginning of the Tokugawa period. The constitution of commoner households was the same as for samurai: single entities that maintained family capital, occupation, and name. The

most important element for farmers was family capital, consisting of fields used in cultivation, which differentiated them from townsmen and merchants who prioritized the distinct techniques and economic rights belonging to family businesses. In spite of these differences, all commoner households preserved and transmitted family wealth, occupation, and the family name.

The organization of the prominent dry-goods merchants, the Echigoya 越後屋 Mitsui 三井 house, can serve as an example of Tokugawa-period merchants.<sup>1</sup> The Mitsui house consisted of a large familial group of main houses and branch houses. Each of the Mitsui-run shops had an operational organization consisting of a hierarchy of ranks and positions with a master (*shujin* 主人) at the top, followed by the *ōmotojime* 大元締, *motojime* 元締, *kaban myōdai* 加判名代, *motokatagakari myōdai* 元方掛名代, *kanjō myōdai* 勘定名代, *myōdai* 名代, *kōken* 後見, *tsūkin shibai* 通勤支配, *shibai* 支配, *kumigashira* 組頭, *yakugashira* 役頭, *ren'yaku* 連役, *kamiza* 上座, *hirayaku* 平役, and *kodomo* 子供.

The *kodomo*, or child, was at the bottom of the hierarchy started work at age twelve or thirteen, and served as an apprentice or novice. After working eight to twelve years, the *kodomo* usually advanced to ordinary worker (*hirayaku*), and then to the post of *kamiza* after a few more years, gaining promotion on the basis of age up to the post of group leader (*kumigashira*). Around the age of thirty, work performance took precedence over age. In this regard, there was a marked difference in rank between controller (*shibai*) and commuting controller (*tsūkin shibai*). Officers holding posts up to the rank of controller lived with the given Mitsui household, but those above the rank of commuting controller could marry and maintain their own households, separate from their work place.

Advancement to a managerial post, such as commuting controller, was limited, and most employees were dismissed at this point. Retirement in this system was amicable, with the former employee allowed to take the family name (*noren wake* 暖簾分け). If a regular clerk worked for a minimum of ten years, he was allowed to take the Echigoya name and the family crest. He received a retirement allowance and could establish an

independent business as a branch family of the Mitsui. Thanks to this process, Mitsui was a form of merchant clan composed of different households.

The scale of Mitsui's business operations was quite large. There were seven main houses started by the seven sons of the founder Mitsui Takatoshi. The household of Takatoshi's eldest son was the leader of the houses. The business consisted of the various main houses and the branch houses created by long-serving employees. These houses held the organization's capital jointly and managed business operations.

Mitsui's business organization possessed many of the features of samurai households, including a hierarchy of ranks, a seniority system, a bureaucracy, distinct groups within the organization, and perpetuity. However, the peculiarities of this merchant organization also deserve notice, such as the length of employment, the establishment of branch houses, and the strength of the main houses over the whole of the family's business operations. Warrior organizations of the Tokugawa period determined office by heredity, but occupational groups run by merchants and tradespeople did not employ people on that basis, and there was only limited interaction between villagers and workers in cities. Moreover, the formation of independent businesses by employees allowed to establish branch houses was distinct to the economic organizations of merchant households. The other side of the custom of creating branch households was the strong economic control exercised by the main house over the other houses.

Samurai and merchant organizations were different structurally according to their function; yet, the distinct organizational features that developed in the Tokugawa period remain part of the traditions of present-day government and business organizations in Japan. Unfortunately, these characteristics have not received sufficient scholarly and historical analysis. In fact, in the field of economics, the dominant scholarly arguments deny the continuity of Japanese traditions.<sup>2</sup> Characteristics that are referred to as Japanese-style management — lifelong employment, the seniority system, and company unions — are not recognized as the continuation of long standing traditions, but rather as being recent trends in

management and labor organization that started in America in the 1930s and spread throughout the world. These scholars argue that it is a mistake to view the new, universal trends as related to traditional forms of business and organization in Japan.

According to this dominant view, so-called Japanese-style management today is encapsulated by the system of on-the-job training that resulted from the industrial revolution and was adopted by businesses throughout the world in the 1930s as a way to foster highly skilled labor through a course of education within a given company. The system of on-the-job training produced forms of management and labor, such as local industrial unions, lifelong employment, and a seniority-based system of pay. Because these trends are viewed as universal, they are studied in the context of American companies, such as IBM, not as they appear in specific Japanese cases. This explanation merits weight, given that it was formulated from data drawn from research on a variety of specific types of management. Moreover, it is false to assume that the historical roots of both Japanese-style management and of Japanese-style organization, described in this book, stem from Japan alone. Nevertheless, it is one-sided to ignore traditions within Japan and only focus on theories derived from study of the world economy. Characteristics described in this book, such as loyalty to an organization, the promotion system, and the *ringi* method of decision making found in traditional Japanese organizations, have a direct bearing on Japanese society today.

Study of traditional organization in Japan and of trends in the world economy are not mutually exclusive. Without any relationship to Japanese traditions, forms of management and labor characterized by on-the-job training appeared throughout the world beginning in the 1930s, and these had an impact on Japan. However, the characteristics evident in the forms of management and labor accompanying the development of on-the-job training — namely, seniority-based promotion and pay, lifelong employment, and corporate familialism — all conform to traditional elements in Japan, particularly those that matured in the Tokugawa period. In other words, imported characteristics were well suited to Japan.

The arrival of Western culture during the Meiji era, especially liberal



economic ideas, was antithetical to traditional elements of Japanese organization, which were challenged as outmoded, and changed. Circumstances changed greatly in the 1930s when on-the-job training made its debut around the world. Traditional modes of management and labor as well as organizational characteristics, which had earlier been suppressed, received new support. The practices related to on-the-job training which appeared throughout the world in the 1930s were highly appropriate due to the distinct latent capacities remaining from traditional Japanese society.

One might assume that there would be resistance to the introduction and adoption of new types of management and labor relations since these were appropriate to different circumstances and long-standing conceptions of individualism in the West. Yet, there was almost no opposition of this sort in Japan. Indeed, Japan interpreted and applied the universal characteristics accompanying on-the-job training in terms of traditional modes of management and organization.

The side-by-side analysis of the characteristics of Japanese tradition and of universal modes of management and labor raises the contentious issue of whether Japanese culture is unique or universal, which is unresolvable. Yet, the distinct qualities of Japanese culture do not simply overlay universal characteristics. Traits found throughout the world are given concrete form in the cultural traditions of different countries, giving rise to a wealth of distinct phenomena. While it is important not to forget about universals, it is also necessary to examine the distinct cultures of various societies. The aim of this book was to analyze Japanese-style organizations, and the author will be pleased if it has made a contribution to this larger discussion.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER 1. THE FORMATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WARRIOR RULE

1. Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei bushidan*, vol. 12 of *Nihon no rekishi* (Shōgakusan, 1974).
2. Ishii Susumu, *Kamakura bushi no jitsuzō* (Heibonsha, 1987).
3. Uwayokote Masataka, *Nihon chūsei seijishi kenkyū* (Hanawa Shobō, 1970).
4. Murakami Yasusuke, Kumon Shunpei, and Satō Seizaburō, *Bunmei to shite no ie shakai* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1979).
5. Toyoda Takeshi, *Myōji no rekishi* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1971).
6. These familial organizations preserved and transmitted landholdings patrilineally and used the same family name, but were different from households (*ie*). Inheritance was divided, but the main heir (*sōryō*) controlled the distribution of inheritances, held the bulk of the family's landholdings and wealth, and served as chief administrator. The *sōryō* also led his family into battle. The so-called *sōryō* system was prevalent among warriors in the Kamakura period and was replaced by the household starting in the late fifteenth century with the practice of a single male heir inheriting everything, including all landholdings, the family occupation, and status. Second and third sons typically received nothing and might be adopted out, or be allowed to form a branch household. Unlike the *sōryō* system, branch households maintained independence over their inheritances.
7. Yasuda Motohisa, *Shugo to jitō* (Shibundō, 1964), p. 108; Ōyama Kyōhei, *Kamakura bakufu*, vol. 9 of *Nihon no rekishi* (Shōgakusan, 1974), p. 131.
8. Kishida Hiroshi, *Daimyō ryōgoku no kōseitēki tenkai* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), pp. 65, 193; Imatani Akira, *Shugo ryōgoku shibai kikō no kenkyū* (Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1986).
9. Nagahara Keiji, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to kokka* (Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1982), p. 147; Kurokawa Naonori, "Shugoryō kokutaisei to shōen taisei," *Nihonshi kenkyū*, 57.

10. Ikegami Hiroko, *Sengoku no gunzō*, vol. 10 of *Nihon no rekishi* (Shūeisha, 1992), p. 90; Kawai Masaharu, *Chūsei buke shakai no kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973), p. 387; Fujiki Hisashi, ed., *Mōrisbi no kenkyū*, vol. 14 of *Sengoku daimyō ronsbū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1984).
11. Kasaya Kazuhiko, ed., *Kuge to buke: "ie" no hikaku – bunmeisbi teki Kōsatsu* (Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1999).

## CHAPTER 2. ODA NOBUNAGA'S ORGANIZATIONAL REFORMS

1. Tokutomi Iichirō, *Kinsei Nihon kokuminshi: Oda Nobunaga hen* (Kōdansha, 1991); Wakita Osamu, *Oda Nobunaga* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1987). The description here derives from chapter 1, section 3 of Kasaya Kazuhiko, *Kinsei buke shakai no seiji kōzō* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993).
2. Imai Rintarō, *Oda Nobunaga* (Chikuma Shobō, 1966).
3. Asao Naohiro, *Tenka itfō*, vol. 8 of *Taikei Nihon no rekishi* (Shōgakukan, 1988), p. 50; Asao Naohiro, "Shōgun kenryoku no sōshutsu," part 2, *Rekishi hyōron*, 266; Asao Naohiro, *Shōgun kenryoku no sōshutsu* (Iwanami Shoten, 1994).
4. *Nobunaga kōki*, chapter 8 (Kadokawa Shoten, 1969).
5. Fujimoto Masayuki, *Nobunaga no sengoku gunjigaku* (JICC Shuppanyoku, 1993).
6. Miki Seiichirō, "Oda seiken no kenryoku kōzō," in vol. 1 of *Kōza Nihon kinseishi*, ed. by Fukaya Katsumi and Katō Eiichi (Yūhikaku, 1981); Murakami Yasusuke et al. (1979), p. 366.
7. Asao Naohiro (1988), p. 146.
8. Nagahara Keiji, "Daimyō ryōgokusei no kōzō," in vol. 4 of *Chūsei, Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi* (Iwanami Shoten, 1976); Asao Naohiro, "Shōgun kenryoku no Sōshutsu," part 3, *Rekishi hyōron*, 293.
9. *Dainihon komonjo: Mōrike monjo*, no. 1226.
10. Tokutomi Iichirō (1991); Takayanagi Mitsutoshi, *Akechi Mitsuhide* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1985). When Mitsuhide attacked the Mōri family, Nobunaga allegedly confiscated Ōmi and Tanba provinces which were under Mitsuhide's control and commanded that Mitsuhide's new territory be the lands taken from the Mōri. Kuwata Tadachika concludes that these circumstances probably occurred, citing the existence of a letter dated from the fifth month of the tenth year of Tenshō (1582). In the letter, Nobunaga's son Kanbe Nobutaka, who was commanding troops in Shikoku, was appointed lord of Tanba. See Kuwata Tadachika, *Kuwata Tadachika chosakushū* (Akita Shoten, 1979), vol. 4, p. 286.

## CHAPTER 3. DAIMYO HOUSEHOLDS AND DOMAINS

1. Shinji Yoshimoto, ed., *Edo jidai bushi no seikatsu* (Yūzankaku, 1962), p. 42; Takagi Shōsaku, *Nihon kinsei kokkeishi no kenkyū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1990), p. 309; Kasaya Kazuhiko,

*Shukun "oshikome" no kozo: Kinsei daimyō to kashindan* (Heibonsha, 1988), p. 189.

2. *Awa han minsei shiryō* (Tokushima, 1916), vol. 1, p. 332.

3. Izumi Seiji, "Awa han ni okeru kashindan no kōsei," *Rekizhiron*, 5; Tokushima Kenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., vol. 3, *Kinseiben, Tokushima kenshi* (Tokushima-ken, 1965), p. 39; Kokuritsu Shiryōkan, ed., *Tokushima han shokusei torishirabe kakinuki* (Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1983), vol. 1.

4. Hanseishi Kenkyūkai, ed., *Hansei seiritsushi no sōgō kenkyū: Yonezawa-han* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1963), p. 370.

5. Mizubayashi Akira, *Hōkensei no saihen to Nibonteki shakai no kakuritsu* (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1987).

6. Hanseishi Kenkyūkai (1963), p. 416.

7. Kanai Madoka, *Hansei* (Shibundō, 1962), p. 39; Kanai Madoka, *Hansei seiritsuki no kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975), p. 177; Suzuki Hisashi, *Kinsei chigyōsei no kenkyū* (Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1971), p. 469.

8. Sasaki Junnosuke, *Bakuban kenryoku no kiso kōzō* (Ochanomizu Shobō, 1964; revised edition 1985), p. 199.

9. Asano Yōkichi, *Inatsugu Inaba Masasane den* (Chikugo Kyōdo Kenkyūkai, 1938). This case is not mentioned in Kasaya (1988), but judging from the circumstances, it can be considered an example of *oshikome*.

10. Yamamoto Hirobumi, "Satsuma han ni okeru kan'eiki no ichi," in *Bakubansei no seiritsu to kinsei no kokusei*, ed. by Yamamoto Hirobumi (Azekura Shobō, 1990); Kanzaki Akitoshi, "Sagamikuni no hatamotoryō settei," in *Bakubansei kokka seiritsu katei no kenkyū*, ed. by Kitajima Masamoto (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978); Shirakawabe Tatsuo, "Hatamoto aimusubi chigyō ron," in *Hatamoto chigyō to sonraku*, ed. by Kantō Kinseishi Kenkyūkai (Bunken Shuppan, 1986).

11. Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokanzō, Kyūbakufu Hikitsugi Monjo, *Kyōbō sen'yō ruijū*, "Beikoku no bu," vol. 9.

12. The "share" (*mochibun*) corresponds roughly to the amount of a retainer's hereditary stipend, or in the case of the daimyo, the *kokudaka* of his domain.

13. Kasaya Kazuhiko, "Shukun 'oshikome' no kankō to Nihongata soshiki no genkei," in *Nihongata moderu to wa nani ka: Kokuusatka jidai ni okeru merit to demerit*, ed. by Hamaguchi Eshun (Shin'yōsha, 1993).

14. Nakane Chie, *Tateshakai no ningen kankei* (Kōdansha, 1967).

15. Francis L. K. Hsu, *Hikaku bunmei shakairon: Kūran, kasuto, kurabu, iemoto* (translation of *Clan, Caste, and Club*) (Baifūkan, 1971); Hamaguchi Eshun, '*Nihon rashisa' no saibakken* (Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1977). Hioki Kōichirō has employed Hamaguchi's model to analyze corporate management; Hioki Kōichirō, "Kigyō ni okeru kenryoku game no scenario bunseki (1) (2)," in Kyūshū Daigaku Keizai Gakkai, *Keizai-gaku Kenkyū*, 50. 3. 4, 52. 1-4.

16. Kawai Hayao, *Chūkū kōzō Nihon no shinsō* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1982).

17. Hamaguchi Eshun (1977), p. 181.
18. Sasaki Tsuyoshi, *Shuken, teikōken kan'yō* (Iwanami Shoten, 1973); Fukuda Kan'ichi, *Kokka, minzoku, kenryoku* (Iwanami Shoten 1988); A. Vincent, *Kokka no shoriron* (translation of *Theories of the State*) (Shōwadō, 1991).
19. A. P. d'Entrèves, *Kokka to wa nani ka* (translation of *The Notion of the State*) (Misuzu Shobō, 1972), p. 122.
20. This section draws from the excellent discussion of harmony and conflict in Japanese society in K. V. Wolferen, *Nihon: Kenryoku kōzō no nazo* (translations of *The Enigma of Japanese Power*) (Hayakawa Shobō, 1990), vol. 2, p. 144.
21. Sagara Tōru, *Bushidō* (Hanawa Shobō, 1968); Koga Hikan, *Bushidō ronkō* (Shimazu Shobō, 1974); Maruyama Masao, *Chūsei to hangyaku* (Chikuma Shobō, 1992).
22. *Mikawa monogatari, hagakure*, vol. 26, *Nihon shisō taikai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1974).
23. Kondō Hitoshi, *Kinsei ikō buke kakun no kenkyū* (Kazama Shobō, 1975).
24. "Kinsei seidō ron," vol. 38 of *Nihon shisō taikai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1976).
25. "Kinsei buke shisō," vol. 27 of *Nihon shisō taikai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1974).
26. Kondō Hitoshi (1975), p. 92.

#### CHAPTER 4. THE POSITION OF LEADERS IN JAPANESE-STYLE ORGANIZATIONS

1. For information about Yoshimune's life, see Tsuji Tatsuya, *Tokugawa Yoshimune* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1958); Tsuji Tatsuya, *Tokugawa Yoshimunekō den* (Nikkō Tōshōgu Shamusho, 1972); Tokutomi Sohō, *Kinsei Nihon kominshi Yoshimune jidai* (Kōdansha, 1986). This chapter derives from Kasaya Kazuhiko, *Tokugawa Yoshimune* (Chikuma Shobō, 1995).
2. Ōishi Shinzaburō, *Kyōhō kaikaku no keizai seisaku* (Ochanomizu Shobō, 1961); Ōishi Shinzaburō, *Ōoka Echizen no kami Tadasuke* (Iwanami Shoten, 1974); Tsuji Tatsuya, *Kyōhō kaikaku no kenkyū*, (Sōbunsha, 1963).
3. Ōishi Shinzaburō (1961), p. 121; Tsuji Tatsuya (1963), p. 146.
4. Ōishi Shinzaburō (1974), p. 58.
5. Ōishi Shinzaburō, "Kyōhō kaikaku," in *Kinsei 3, Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi* (Iwanami Shoten, 1963).
6. Tsuji Tatsuya (1963), p. 187.
7. Imamura Tomo, *Ninjinshi* (Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1936); Ueda Sanpei, *Kaitei zōho Nihon yakuenshi no kenkyū*, ed. by Miura Saburō (Watanabe Shoten, 1972); Soda Hajime, "Kansei saibai Chōsen shu ninjin (otane ninjin) no hanbai," 1–4, *Igaku Jaanuru*, vol. 27, 1–4; Kimura Yojirō, *Edoki no nachurarisuto* (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1988); Ōishi Manabu, "Nihon kinsei kokka no yakusō seisaku: Kyōhō kaikakuki o chūshin ni," *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, 63. For information about Japan's trade relations with East Asia and manufacturing policies during this period, see Hamashita Takeshi and Kawakatsu Heita, ed., *Ajia kōekiken to Nihon kōgyōka, 1500–1900* (Riburo Pōto, 1991).
8. Tsuji Tatsuya (1958), p. 169.

9. Kukita Kazuko, *Edo bakufu hō no kenkyū* (Gannandō Shoten, 1980).
10. Tsuji Tatsuya (1958), p. 153.
11. *Tokugawa kinrei kō zenshū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1931–1932), vol. 2, no. 799.
12. Fukai Masaumi, *Tokugawa shōgun seiji kenryoku no kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1991), p. 84.
13. Tsuji Tatsuya (1958), p. 102.
14. “*Kyōhō yon’nen shōgatsuzuki murokyū sōshojō*,” Kenzan Hisaku, in *Nihon keizai daien*, vol. 6.
15. *Utokuinden gojikki furoku*, in vol. 9 of *Shintei zōho kokusbi taikai Tokugawa jikki*, p. 198.
16. Fukai Masaumi (1991), p. 117.
17. “*Meiryō tairoku*” in *Kōtei shiseki shūkan*, vol. 11 (Ringawa Shoten, 1994), p. 16.
18. “Ono Hyūga no kami Kuniyoshi,” *Okinagusa* (Rekishi Toshosha, 1970), vol. 66.
19. Hasegawa Tsuyoshi, ed., *Mimibukuro* (Iwanami Shoten, 1991), “Kaisetsu,” vol. 1.
20. Ōishi Shinzaburō (1974), p. 165.
21. For information about Yōzan’s career and life, see Ikeda Nariaki, ed., *Yōzankō seiki* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1906); Yokoyama Akio, *Uesugi Yōzan* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968).
22. Ikeda Nariaki (1906); Yokoyama Akio (1968), p. 58.
23. Amakasu Tsugunari, *Yōzankō isekiroku* (Uesugi Jinja Shamusho, 1934), p. 159.
24. Yokoyama Akio (1968), p. 70.
25. Tenmei 7. 9. 15, *Tokugawa jikki*.
26. See Ikeda Nariaki (1906) on the same date.
27. Ikeda Nariaki (1906), p. 175; Yoshinaga Akira and Yokoyama Nariaki, “Kokusen shōrei to hansei kaikaku,” in *Kinsei 3, Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi* (Iwanami Shoten, 1976), p. 261.
28. Yokoyama Akio (1968), p. 261.
29. Amakasu Tsugunari (1934).
30. This text is the property of Uesugi shrine in Yonezawa.
31. The following description derives from Miyake Masahiko, “Bakuhan shujūsei no shisōteki genri: Kōshi bunri no hatten,” *Nihonshi kenkyū*, 12; Kasaya Kazuhiko (1988), chapter 4, section 4, “Kashin chitsujo to sono shisō.”

## CHAPTER 5. THE ROLE OF JAPANESE-STYLE ORGANIZATIONS IN MODERNIZATION

1. Other works that approach the problem of social organization in the context of Japan’s modernization include Murakami Yasusuke et al., *Bunmei to shite no ie shakai* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1979); Marius B. Jansen, ed., *Nihon ni okeru kindaika no mondai* (translation of *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization*) (Iwanami Shoten, 1968); Kozo Yamamura, *Nihon keizaiishi no atarashii hōhō* (translation of *A Study of Samurai Income and Entrepreneurship*)



(Minerva Shobō, 1976); Ōishi Shinzaburō and Nakane Chie, ed., *Edo jidai to kindaika* (Chikuma Shobō, 1986); Bitō Masahide, *Edo jidai to wa nani ka: Nibon shijō no kinsei to kindai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1992); Sonoda Hidehiro, “Gunken no bushi,” in *Bunmei kaika no kenkyū*, ed. by Hayashiya Tatsusaburō (Iwanami Shoten, 1979); and Mitani Hiroshi, “Meiji ishin to ‘ie’ mibunsei: Bakumatsu Tokugawa shōgunke ni okeru jizoku to hen’yō,” in *Meiji Nibon no seijika gunzō*, ed. by Fukuchi Atsushi and Sasaki Takashi (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993).

2. Baba Ken’ichi, “Edo bakufu kanjōsho no kōsei to shokumu bunka,” *Hōsei shiron*, 3; Baba Ken’ichi, “Edo bakufu kanjōsho kikō no dōkō ni tsuite,” *Nibon rekishi* 340; Nakase Katsutarō, *Tokugawa bakufu no kaikei kensa seido* (Tsukiji Shokan, 1990).

3. Izui Tomoko, “Tashidakasei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu,” *Gakushūin shigaku*, 2.

4. Baba Ken’ichi, “Kanjōbugyō, kanjō ginmiyaku no shōshin katei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu,” *Hōsei shigaku*, 27.

5. Hashimoto Akihiko, *Edo Bakufu shiken seidoshi no kenkyū* (Kazama Shobō, 1993).

6. Max Weber, *Shibai no shoruikei* (translation of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 1956, erster Teil, Kapitel III, IV*) (Sōbunsha, 1970), p. 26.

7. Aimi Shirō, *Igirisu jūshō shugi keizai riron josetsu* (Minerva Shobō, 1960); Chizuka Tadami, “Keizaishijō no jūhassaikei,” in vol. 4, *Kindai, Iwanami kōza sekai rekishi* (Iwanami Shoten, 1970).

8. Harafuji Hiroshi, *Shōzokubō no tokushitsu* (Sōbunsha, 1982).

9. Kamata Hiroshi, *Bakuban taisei ni okeru bushi kazoku hō* (Seibundō, 1970).

10. Yokoyama Akio et al., *Uesugi Yōzan no subete* (Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1989), p. 4.

11. Harafuji Hiroshi (1982), p. 321.

12. Takayanagi Kaneyoshi, *Edo jidai gokenin no seikatsu* (Yūzankaku, 1966).

13. Takayanagi Kaneyoshi (1966); Ogawa Kyōichi, *Edo bakufu hatamoto jinmei jiten* (Hara Shobō, 1990).

14. Baba Ken’ichi, “Edo bakufu gokeninkabu baibai no jittai ni tsuite,” *Komonjo kenkyū* 36.

15. Kawaji Kandō, *Kawaji Toshiakira no shōgai* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1903); chapter 4, “Kawaji Toshiakira,” in Satō Seizaburō, *‘Shi no chōyaku’ o koete: Seiyō no shōgeki to Nibon* (Toshi Shuppan, 1992).

16. “Inoue Kiyonao,” appendix 2 in Kawaji Kandō (1903); A. H. Tamarin, *Nibon kaikoku: Perry to Harris no kōshō* (translation of *Japan and the United State: Early Encounters*) (Kōbundō Shuppansha, 1986).

17. Matsuoka Hideo, *Iwase Tadanari* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1981).

18. Ōno Mitsutsugu, ed., *Kurimoto Joun nenpu*, in vol. 4 *Meiji bungaku zenshū* (Chikuma Shobō, 1969).

19. Ishii Takashi, *Katsu Kaishū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962); Katsube Shinchō, annotator, *Musui dokugen: Katsu Kokichi jiden* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1974).

20. He was included among the ranks of shogunal retainers in the second year of

Shōtoku (1712). This name does not appear in Suzuki Hisashi, ed., *Gokenin bungenchō* (Kondō Shuppansha, 1984).

21. *Kansei Chōshū sbogafu*, vol. 19, p. 353.
22. Sakata Seiichi, *Harisu* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1961), p. 237; Yamawaki Teijirō, *Nagasaki no tōjin bōeki* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964), pp. 48, 294.
23. Hiramatsu Yoshirō, *Kinsei keiji soshoō no kenkyū* (Sōbunsha, 1960), p. 21.
24. Sakata Seiichi (1961), p. 243.
25. Nakane Chie, *Tateshakai no ningen Kankei* (Kōdausha, 1967).
26. *Utokein den gojikkei furoku, Tokugawa jikkei*, vol. 9, p. 198.
27. This was also the case with the revival of the finances of Shinshū Matsushiro domain, described in *Higurashi suzuri*. The domain elder, Onda Moku, worked in conjunction with the people of the domain to find the best resolutions for both parties. See Murakami Yasusuke, *Han koten no seiji keizaigaku* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), vol. 2, p. 525. Murakami characterizes this example as a case of autonomous reform in Japan.
28. Harafuji Hiroshi (1982), pp. 172, 419.
29. In Kan'en 3 (1750) in Shinshū Matsushiro domain and in Hōreki 3 (1753) in Dewa Matsuyama domain, groups of *ashigaru* and lower level retainers held a "strike" protesting the reduction of their stipends. These cases may be the first organized strikes in Japan.
30. Fukaya Hakuji, *Sbintei kashizōku chitsuroku shobun no kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973); Nakamura Satoru, *Meiji Ishin* (Shūeisha, 1992).
31. See "Kindaika e no bunki: Richō chōsen to Tokugawa nihon," chapter 2 of Satō Seizaburō (1992), p. 57.
32. "Eikoku ryūgaku," section 3 of *Ito Hirobumi den* (Tōseisha, 1940); "Chōshū han dai niiji ryūgakusei," in chapter 4, section 2, of Inuzuka Takaaki, *Meiji Ishin taigai kankeishi kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), p. 146. Concerning the plans of Yoshida Shōin and other Japanese to travel abroad, see Haga Tōru, *Meiji ishin to Nihonjin* (Kōdansha, 1988), p. 110.
33. *Bōchō kaitenshi*, chapter 34, "Bunkyū san nen zenhan no Mōrishi (sono san).
34. *Denki dai nihonshi*, vol. 11, "Seijikahen, Itō Hirobumi," p. 153.
35. Bunkyū 3.5.11, "Inoue Montara renmei shojo," in *Bōchō kaitenshi*, chapter 34, p. 180.
36. Tsuji Kiyooki, *Nihon kanryōsei no kenkyū* (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1969).
37. Fritz Kern, *Chūsei no hō to kokusei* (translation of *Recht und Verfassung in Mittelalter*) (Sōbunsha, 1968); O. Hintze, *Mibunsei gikai no eigen to hatten* (translation of *Typologie der Standischen Verfassungen des Abendlandes*) (Sōbunsha, 1975).
38. Mitani Hiroshi, "Kaikoku zen'ya: Kōka, kaei nenkan no taigai seisaku," in *Nihon gaikō no kiki ninshiki*, ed. by Kindai Nihon Kenkyūkai (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1985); Mitani Hiroshi, "Ishin to 'kōgi': Saisho no 'kōgi' seitai soshutsu no kokoromi o chūshin ni," in *Meiji Ishin no kakeubin to renzōku*, ed. by Kindai Nihon Kenkyūkai (Yamakawa

Shuppansha, 1992). Both essays are included in Mitani Hiroshi, *Meiji Ishin to nationalism: Bakumatsu no gaikō to seiji bendō* (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997).

39. Matsuoka Hideo (1981), p. 54.

40. Inoue Katsuo, "Bakumatsu ni okeru gozen kaigi to 'yūshi'" *Shirin*, 66.5; Inoue Katsuo, *Bakumatsu ishin seijishi no kenkyū: Nihon kindai kokka no seisei ni tsuite* (Hanawa Shobō, 1994).

41. Inui Hiromi, "Mitohan tōsō no ichikōsatsu," *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, 232. Harafuji Hiroshi, *Bakufuhō to hanbō* (Sōbunsha, 1980).

42. Inoue Katsuo, "Bakumatsu ni okeru gozen kaigi to 'yūshi.'"

43. Kasaya Kazuhiko (1988), p. 117.

44. Okubo Toshiaki, *Iwakura Tomomi* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1973); Inoue Katsuo, "Bakumatsu seijishi no naka no tennō: Anseiki no tennō, chōtei no fujō ni tsuite," in vol. 2 of *Kōza zen-kindai no tennō* (Aoki Shoten, 1993).

45. Letter dated Bunkiyū 2.1.22 (1862) from Kusaka Genzui to Kabayama (San'en) in Fukumoto Yoshisuke, *Shōkasonjuku juku no ijin Kusaka Genzui* (Seibundō, 1938), p. 464.

46. Tokutomi Iichirō, *Kinsei Nihon kokuminshi* (Meiji Shoin, 1934), chapter 15, section 83.

47. For Kurimoto Joun's criticism of Iwase Tadanari, see Matsuoka Hideo (1981), p. 9.

48. The notion of individual autonomy of Tokugawa-period samurai made a strong impact on thought in the Meiji era. During his prime, Fukuzawa Yukichi strongly criticized the warrior status system during the Tokugawa period, but he revised his opinion later in his life. See Minamoto Ryōen, *Tokugawa shishō shōshi* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1973), p. 90. For the perspective of Yamaji Aizan on the relationship between the individual and state in a traditional society, see Itō Yūshi, "Seishin shugi no kakusei to Nihon e no kaiki: Yamaji Aizan to Inoue Tetsujirō," *Nihon Shishō Shigaku*, 25.

## CONCLUSION

1. Nakai Nobuhiko, *Chōnin*, vol. 21 of *Nihon no rekishi* (Shōgakukan, 1975).

2. Koike Kazuo, *Shokuba no rōdō kumiai to sankā: Rōshi kankei no Nichi-Bei hikaku* (Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha, 1977); Murakami Yasusuke et al. (1979), vol. 2, p. 386; and Sakudō Yōtarō, "Nihonteki keiei wa ikani keisei saretaka," in *Edo jidai to kindai*, ed. by Ōishi Shinzaburō and Nakane Chie (Chikuma Shobō, 1986), p. 207; see also the comments by Miyamoto Matao and Yui Tsunehiko in *Edo jidai to kindai*.



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*BY*

**KASAYA KAZUHIKO**

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