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Contents

Articles

| A s | ady on the presentation and management of <i>Ohayashi</i> , the forests under the strol of the Tokugawa shogunate, at Sanchū-ryō villages in Kōzuke province SATŌ Takayuki | |
|----------|--|---------------|
| A st | dy of economic crises that occurred in mountain villages in the late Edo period, t case of Ōtaki village in Shinano province as an example ŌSAKI Akira | aking (19) |
| in of | study investigated conditions related to the restrictions on charcoal distrib elemented through the establishment of a <i>seisankata-yakusho</i> (literally, a govern ce for production and/or sales) in the Odawara domain, and actions taken by agers to oppose such action | ment local |
| | dy on mountain forest resources in the Hirosaki domain and hinoki (hiba) cy ftsmen in the castle town of Hirosaki at the end of the Edo period KAYABA Masahito | - |
| A st | dy of the <i>ofuda-yama</i> system in the Akita domain ······ HAGA Kazuki | (81) |
| | dy of the personal relationships and political trends of Tokugawa Yoshikatsu, th d of the Owari Tokugawa clan, during Kaei and Ansei periods, 1848-59 | |
| | | |
| | | |

Research Note

Introduction of Historical Materials

Summaries

THE TOKUGAWA INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY OF FORESTRY

Articles

A study on the presentation and management of *Ohayashi*, the forests under the direct control of the Tokugawa shogunate, at Sanchū-ryō villages in Kōzuke province

SATŌ Takayuki

Four sites at Sanchū-ryō villages in Kōzuke province were set up as *Ohayashi*, the forests under the direct control of the Tokugawa shogunate, in 1714 and the *Yamamori*, manager of *Ohayashi*, was appointed in 1719. At first, three managers were appointed. However, during the Hōreki period, 1751-63, the management system was changed; one *Ohayashimori*, manager of the directly-controlled forests (the change of title from *Yamamori*, forest manager) was in control of two sites and other two sites were under the control of each village. Later in 1825, a new official post called *Ohayashi-torishimariyaku*, managing director of the directly-controlled forests, was set up; yet, the management system of *Ohayashi* after 1825 was not clear.

On the other hand, a new form of *Ohayashi* at Sanchū-ryō villages emerged in the later Edo era, which could be described as *Kenjo-Ohayashi*. This article clarifies some facts about *Kenjō-Ohayashi* and examines the management system of *Ohayashi* including *Kenjō-Ohayashi* in the late Edo era.

As a result of the study, the following facts were clarified. *Kenjō-Ohayashi* was developed by influential farmers with their personal funds and was presented to the shogunate. Two *Kenjō-Ohayashi* sites were established during the Bunsei period, 1818-29. One of the two *Kenjō-Ohayashi* came under the control of *Ohayashi-mori*, while the other was controlled by the presenter himself, who served as *Ohayashi-mimamori*, guard of the directly-controlled forests. The head manager supervised all of the six *Ohayashi* sites and each *Ohayashi-mori* engaged in maintaining *Ohayashi* in his charge under the supervision of the head manager.

A study of economic crises that occurred in mountain villages in the late Edo period, taking the case of Ōtaki village in Shinano province as an example

ŌSAKI Akira

This study aims to clarify historical characteristics of the Edo period, tracing the development status of the forestry industry at that time, and the lives of the mountain villages inhabitants who made their livelihood from forestry, in the Kiso region of Shinano province which was one of Japan's most advanced areas for forestry during the Edo period. The first report of this study covers the situation in the 17th century, during relatively favorable economic conditions.

The Kiso region was unable to fulfill demand for rice from its inhabitants, due mainly to limited arable land, and particularly suitable flat land for paddy cultivation. Consequently, the inhabitants compensated for the rice shortfall by growing such minor cereals as foxtail millet, Japanese millet, buckwheat and also soybeans. Among them, the soybean, which is

the ingredient of processed foods such as miso (fermented soybean paste), was an important product; rice and soybeans accounted for a large portion of the annual tax, called *nengu*, paid to the Owari domain. On the other hand, switch-farming cultivation was utilized to make up for shortfalls in available cultivated land, but this failed to achieve any substantial results.

Consequently, it became a customary practice in the Kiso region that short planks were substituted as payment for the *nengu*. The planks could be used for roof boards, panel boards and so on. The Owari domain supplied rice, which was paid as *nengu*, in return for the lumbering allowance. That is, the Owari domain recommended payment of *nengu* in the form of lumber so that they could supply food aid in the form of rice. The economic distribution centered around lumber products was already established in the Kiso region in the 17th century.

However, the forest development for which the Kiso region was to become famous was realized by elongated lumber which were used for square logs, round logs and so on, but not by the short lumber. This issue will be addressed in a subsequent report.

This study investigated conditions related to the restrictions on charcoal distribution, implemented through the establishment of a *seisankata-yakusho* (literally, a government office for production and/or sales) in the Odawara domain, and actions taken by local villagers to oppose such action

KIRYŪ Kaisei

This study examines the distribution policy for charcoal in the Odawara domain around 1870 (in the early Meiji period). In Odawara, as well as in other domains at this time, the governments underwent reorganization and a *seisankata-yakusho* was established. Among its activities was to control the distribution of charcoal produced in the domain.

As a result of the new setup, charcoal producers were denied the freedom to sell their goods, which they had previously enjoyed, and this had a negative impact on their livelihoods.

The producers, under the name of Nishi-Yamaga association which was an existing domain's administrative unit, petitioned officials of the Odawara domain to request that the system of free sale of charcoal products be restored. One of the leaders of the Nishi-Yamaga association, a man in Kaminawa village named Sajibei, demonstrated an understanding of the producers' claims; he himself also submitted a petition to the office of the Odawara domain.

These moves resulted in the control of charcoal distribution by the *seisankata-yakusho* of the Odawara domain to be rescinded, with the previous system of free distribution and sales of charcoal being restored. This, however, did not eliminate ties with the Odawara domain after that, as the *seisankata-yakusho* of the Odawara domain entrusted the management of the *kaisho* (literally, a domain-run commercial organization) for charcoal to Sajibei and his associates.

The *seisankata-yakusho* of the Odawara domain also provided loans to the *kaisho* of charcoal that was managed by Sajibei and his associates, from which it received financial benefits. The charcoal producers assumed responsibility for production and distribution of charcoal using the loan from the Odawara domain.

This serves as evidence that the Odawara domain and local villages were able to implement production and distribution policies for charcoal in a mutually beneficial manner.

A study on mountain forest resources in the Hirosaki domain and hinoki (hiba) cypress craftsmen in the castle town of Hirosaki at the end of the Edo period

KAYABA Masahito

This study examines an issue about the mountain forests within the Hirosaki domain at the end of the Edo period. At that time, a conflict developed between the *yamakata* (a government department in charge of the mountain forest administration) of the domain that was trying to cope with an issue of depletion of the mountain forests, and hinoki (hiba) cypress craftsmen who produced *Magemono* (a type of rounded wooden chip box). Through this study, the following were clarified:

First, the mountain forest resources in the Hirosaki domain were becoming depleted at the end of Edo period, and their restoration was considered an important issue for *yamakata* at this time.

Second, in Hirosaki, the wood from hiba (a species of cypress) was used to produce buckets, ladles and chopsticks utilized in daily life by people in the domain.

Third, the *yamakata* of the domain placed restrictions on the use of the hiba in the castle town for so that the mountain forest resources could regenerate. The type of lumber most suitable for production and processing of *Magemono* by the hinoki (hiba) cypress craftsmen was hiba. These craftsmen from time to time filed requests to use hiba to an office of the Hirosaki domain and this practice continued through the end of the Edo period.

This demonstrates the countervailing differences in interests concerning utilization of mountain forest resources in Hirosaki between the *yamakata* and the hinoki (hiba) cypress craftsmen, which led to disputes between the two parties around the end of the Edo period.

A study of the ofuda-yama system in the Akita domain

HAGA Kazuki

This study clarifies characteristics of the *ofuda-yama* system in the Akita domain, as described below.

Ofuda-yama refers to a forested mountain area whose use by villagers was strictly limited by the Akita domain. When a certain mountain forest was designated as ofuda-yama, a wooden signboard, called ofuda, was erected, on which local villagers were informed of its boundaries and reasons for limiting its use. The local villages posted these ofuda issued by the Akita domain in designated mountain forests.

The *ofuda-yama* system was initiated from the early 17th century. These designated *ofuda-yama* increased in number from the middle of the 17th century and rapidly increased from the end of the 17th century to around the beginning of the 18th century. Subsequently, designation of *ofuda-yama* decreased, but increased again from around the end of the 18th century to the early 19th century. The number of *ofuda-yama* eventually reached about 1,000 locations by the early 19th century.

By that time, however, the designation of some mountain forests as *ofuda-yama* was merely nominal, as they had become completely deforested by the villagers and these mountains resembled grassy slopes. To rectify the situation, the Akita domain ordered the local villages to replant trees.

A study of the personal relationships and political trends of Tokugawa Yoshikatsu, the 14th head of the Owari Tokugawa clan, during Kaei and Ansei periods, 1848-59

FUJITA Hideaki

This study examines the political trends of Tokugawa Yoshikatsu, the 14th head of the Owari Tokugawa clan, during Kaei and Ansei periods, 1848-59, as well as his personal relationships during the same periods.

As the result of the study, the following six findings were identified.

- 1. Yoshikastu had blood relationship with the Mito Tokugawa family, one of the *Gosanke* families (three independent branches of Tokugawa families). He was under the great influence of his uncle Tokugawa Nariaki, the 9th head of the Mito Tokugawa family. He succeeded his uncle's thoughts that he should support the shogunate family (and the government) as a member of the *Gosanke* family under the internal and external crises.
- 2. When Yoshikatsu submitted political proposals to $R\bar{o}ju$, a senior councilor, he contacted Endō Taneo, Wakadoshiyori, a junior councilor. That was because Taneo had adopted Yoshikatsu's other uncle Tanesuke, who had taught Yoshikatsu how to deal with the shogunate officers and how to get on in life.
- 3. The nonhereditary and local feudal lords such as Shimazu Nariakira and Date Munenari were not allowed to directly take part in the shogunate politics and they urged those who had the same opinion within the Tokugawa families to submit political proposals to the government. Yoshikastu, the head of the Owari Tokugawa clan, was supposed to be a leading person of the three independent branches of Tokugawa families with the hope of senior nonhereditary lords.
- 4. Yoshikastu, who was conscious of supporting the Tokugawa family and was highly expected by the feudal lords submitted political proposals to the senior councilors and conducted personal interviews with them. However, since he acted radically and he severely blamed the senior councilors, he was avoided by the government. In particular, Abe Masahiro, a senior councilor, kept away from him. Eventually, Yoshikatsu was admonished by the feudal lords, and Uncle Tanesuke to behave himself and he could not sufficiently live up to their expectations.
- 5. Matsudaira Yoshinaga, the head of the Echizen Matsudaira family, shared the same thoughts with Yoshikatsu in term of supporting the Tokugawa family as a member. At first, they had the same ideas about the foreign relations to insist on getting rid of foreigners, but, later, Yoshinaga changed his mind to open the country to the world and stood against Yoshikatsu. However, Yoshinaga needed the support of Yoshikatsu who was the head of the Owari Tokugawa clan in the political conflicts of determining the successor of the shogun; so Yoshinaga worked with Yoshikatsu by redressing his extreme thoughts.
- 6. Yoshikastu was the most royal successor of Tokugawa Nariaki's thoughts as Yoshikatsu put the first priority to the shogunate family. He thought that the Tokugawa family alone should protect the Imperial Court and kept advocating a hardline foreign policy. After Nariaki's death, his children such as Ikeda Yoshinori and Ikeda Mochimasa, well-known hardliners, united strongly to place Yoshikatsu as a center. On the other hand, the shogunate ministers and Yoshinaga avoided and opposed Yoshikatsu who kept advocating a hardline foreign policy.

Research Note

A study on Kōgen-in, Princess Haru, the legitimate wife of Tokugawa Yoshinao, who was the first head of the Owari Tokugawa family

TAKADA Ayako

Kōgen-in was born in Wakayama around 1602 as a daughter of Asano Yoshinaga. She married to Tokugawa Yoshinao, the first head of the Owari Tokugawa clan, in 1615 and she died in Edo in 1637.

The most well-known facts concerning Kōgen-in were her marriage to Tokugawa Yoshinao and her dairy in her trip from Nagoya to Edo as a hostage of the Tokugawa shogunate. This article examines her entire life again to use *Genkeisama-godai-gokiroku*, a collection from the Tokugawa Institute for the History of Forestry, as research material and clarifies the specific details of the very end of her life and her funeral service, which have been hardly mentioned before. In addition, this article examines the personality of Kōgen-in and finds that she was a sensitive and fragile woman based on the notes in her travel diary to Edo and the memorial writings on her written by Hori Seii, a Confucianinst of the Owari Tokugawa clan.

Introduction of Historical Materials

A republication and introduction of *Tōbu-kantei-ki*; a record written by a Confucian scholar of the Owari Tokugawa clan during his stay at the Toyama residence of the clan in Edo in the years 1778-80

SHIBUYA Yōko

Tōbu-kantei-ki is one of the historical records descended to the Nakamura family, a retainer of the Owari Tokugawa clan. This record was donated by the Nakamura family to the Owari Tokugawa family and, later, it became a possession of the Tokugawa Institute for the History of Forestry founded by the Owari Tokugawa family.

The author of $T\bar{o}bu$ -kantei-ki was Nakamura Shūsai, who was the younger brother of Masamine, the 6^{th} head of the Nakamura family and the owner of the record.

Shūsai studied Confucianism and became a great scholar. He was asked by the Owari Tokugawa clan to work as a Confucianist in 1777 when he was 59 years old. One year after he started to work, he was sent to Edo by the clan's order to live and work in their Edo residence. Since then, he spent around one year and ten months in the Toyama residence, one of the Owari Tokugawa clan's residences in Edo. *Tōbu-kantei-ki* was a record of his experience and discoveries during those days.

The record takes a form of a diary, but the dates are discontinuous. The contents of the record were not about his daily life and his duties, but the records of his sightseeing and Waka poems. The sightseeing means walking around Edo to see things and Waka contains more than 100 poems among which some were made by him and by others as well as some Waka notes he exchanged with others. He engaged in these activities in his free time and wrote $T\bar{o}bu\text{-}kantei\text{-}ki$ as a memory of his days in Edo.

The records on the life of retainers have been used to understand the city of Edo and the samurai society and culture. However, the number of records is limited and more materials are needed. To break this situation, this republication will be important for further studies.

A renewed introduction of *Yoshino-zōshi*, a collection of gossip articles after the Kansei Reforms

HASHIMOTO Saho

Yoshino-zōshi is a collection of gossip articles complied by Mizuno Tamenaga, a subordinate to Matsudaira Sadanobu during the year 1787 when he was appointed as senior councilor of the Tokugawa shogunate through the year around 1793 when he was resigned from the position.

This article introduces the gossips collected in $Yoshino-z\bar{o}shi$ after the resignation of Sadanobu as $R\bar{o}ju$, a senior councilor, and an assistant to the shogun; those gossips described in Zakki, one of the hand-copy owned by Keiō University Library (hereafter, referred as Keiō version.)

Until recently, the gossips in *Yoshino-zōshi* were considered to cover the years from 1787, a little before Sadanobu was appointed as senior councilor to the year 1793 when he resigned his position as a senior councilor and an assistant to the shogun.

This is based on the fact that *Yoshino-zōshi* described in *Shukuō-zakki*, the most well-known hand-copy of the *Yoshino-zōshi*, (owned by the National Diet Library, hereafter, referred as Diet version) covers the gossips of that period.

However, *Yoshino-zōshi* contains the gossips after the resignation of Sadanobu as a senior councilor, the gossips continuous to the Diet version.

Thus, this article republishes the gossips only found in the Keiō version, which were not recognized so far, and the article clarifies the gossips in their entirety in *Yoshino-zōshi*.