

Terakoya (From Zusetsu Nihon no rekishi, published by Shūeisha)

respecting the elderly, maintaining peace and harmony in their villages, setting an example for their children and grandchildren, being content with their station in life and avoiding delinquent behavior. In the Kanagawa region, in 1840 (Tempō 11), the magistrate Seki Yasuemon ordered the headmen of ten villages in the shogunal domain of Kozukue (Midori Ward, Yokohama) to use a text called the Kōkō wasan as a writing primer in the schools. This was an even more simplified version of the Rokuyu engi taii. From these examples we can see that terakoya education was effective enough that the authorities did what they could to employ it to support feudal society and its values.

Other texts used in the terakoya included practical lessons for the conduct of daily life and affairs, called orai mono for the catechistic style in which they were written; texts concerned with instilling

proper behavior in children, such as the *Jitsugo kyō*, the $D\bar{o}ji\ ky\bar{o}$, and the *Onnaimagawa monogatari*; and volumes intended to teach children their responsibilities as members of the village or town community, such as the *Goningumi-chō maegaki* and the *Mura gijō*. All these texts were written in such a way that while children were learning to read and write they were also being instilled with the social and familial virtues proper to a feudal society.

Several *terakoya* textbooks were produced in the province of Sagami. The *Mura nazuke oboe* of 1859 (Ansei 6), written by Kanda Katsujirō, was a gazetteer of the names of the villages of the Miura Peninsula, while Komuro Manjirō's *Sagami no kuni hachigun muramura oboe* of 1867 (Keiō 3) was intended to teach the geography of Sagami province to children as they were learning to write.

As time passed, some of the *terakoya* began to add more advanced subjects such as medicine, painting, and history to their curriculum, but as a rule, the order of subjects studied in *terakoya* began with learning the 48 characters of the *hiragana* syllabary, then proceeded to arithmetic, vocabulary and composition. The success of *terakoya* education provided the foundation for the local schools $(g\bar{o}gakk\bar{o})$ established at the end of the Edo period and in the early Meiji period.

The gōgakkō were commonly established in one of two ways: either as an independent, cooperative project involving a group of several villages; or, after the beginning of the Meiji period, at the instigation of the prefectural government, with village leagues called yoseba kumiai (which had originally been created by shogunal order late in the Edo period for the purpose of maintaining public order) playing a major role. These schools grew into a modern system of public education, with the students divided into different classes and given a systematic program of instruction.

The first $g\bar{o}gakk\bar{o}$ established in the Kanagawa region was the Seishikan in the village of Kurihara in the Kōza district, which was founded in 1862 (Bunkyū 2). A wealthy peasant named Ōya Yaichi played a central part in its creation. In 1871 (Meiji 4), the government of Kanagawa Prefecture laid plans for the establishment of 27 $g\bar{o}gakk\bar{o}$. Among them were the Seishikan (Atsugi City), the Seibikan (Fujisawa City), the Nisshinkan (Odawara City), the Ono Gōgakkō (Machida City) and the Horiuchi Gōgakkō (Yokosuka City). With

the promulgation of the new educational system by the central government in 1872 (Meiji 5), many of the $g\bar{o}gakk\bar{o}$ were absorbed into the primary education system as elementary schools $(sh\bar{o}gakk\bar{o})$.

According to the *Kanagawa-ken kyōiku shi* (The History of Education in Kanagawa Prefecture), there were 195 *terakoya* teachers in the Kanagawa region, of whom 158 were Buddhist priests or monks. The second largest number, twelve, came from the samurai class, and ten were doctors. Buddhist clergy played a central part in *terakoya* education, and in both name and fact, the *terakoya* were truly "temple schools"

Pilgrimages and popular religion

Pilgrimages to shrines and temples had been a part of Japanese religious life from ancient times, but it was in the early modern period that this practice came to be part of popular culture. The pilgrimage to the great shrine at Ise (called *Ise mode*) is perhaps the best known; it drew worshippers from all over the country. In 1662 (Kambun 2), it was reported to the authorities of Odawara han that in the period from March first to the sixteenth, 1,690 people had passed through the checkpoint at Hakone on their way west to the Ise Shrine. In 1707 (Hōei 4), the headman and neighborhood leaders (kumigashira) of the village of Naruta in the district of Ashigarashimo reported that eleven people had left the village on an unauthorized pilgrimage (nuke-mairi) to Ise, despite being instructed not to go because they had not yet rendered up their portion of the land tax. Even feudal authority was unable to deter people from leaving on pilgrimage. The participants in this clandestine pilgrimage were a group of poor farmers and their children and younger relatives, as well as some servants and landless peasants who were not even recorded in the village register (called *chō-hazure*). It had become customary for inns along the pilgrimage routes to offer free lodging and food to pilgrims too poor to afford them, while at the same time, in many villages organizations called *Ise-kō* were established to raise funds to enable their members to go on pilgrimage.

One such organization, with as many as 144 members, was founded in the village of Hatori in the Kōza district (Fujisawa City) is 1838 (Tempō 9). After saving up funds for six years, a group of about one hundred people left the village on January 16 in 1843 (Tempō 14) for



Ōyama Temple, Isehara City.

the pilgrimage to Ise. After reaching Ise on February 4 and worshipping at the Inner Shrine, the group continued on to visit Nara, Yoshino, Mount Kōya, Negoro, Miidera Temple and Wakayama in the province of Kii, Konpira on the island of Shikoku, Zentsūji Temple, Osaka, Mount Hiei, and Miidera Temple in Kyoto before arriving back in Hatori around the 16th of March. The trip seems to have been a mammoth tourist excursion in the guise of a pilgrimage to Ise, and in fact, pilgrimages in early modern Japan were often pleasure trips with a religious core. In the Kanagawa region, Ōyama, Enoshima, and Kawasaki Daishi were centers for pilgrimages by the common people.

The origins of Ōyama as a religious site go back into antiquity. The shrine at the peak of the mountain, Afurijinja, was listed as an officially recognized shrine (*shikinaisha*) in the *Engi shiki*, a document dating from the early 10th century, and the deity worshipped there, Mikumari-no-kami, regarded as a protector of agriculture. At the beginning of the early modern period, Ōyama was famous as a place to go to pray for rain. The villagers of Futtsu in the province of



Mass pilgrimage to Enoshima. (Kanagawa Prefectural Museum)

Kazusa (Chiba Prefecture) used to sail across Edo Bay every year, land at Nojima village in the Kuraki district (Yokohama City), and make their way from there to $\bar{\text{O}}$ yama on pilgrimage. The belief in the efficacy of $\bar{\text{O}}$ yama extended to areas outside the provinces of Sagami and Musashi as well, and a number of different pilgrimage routes to $\bar{\text{O}}$ yama ($\bar{\textit{O}}$ yama-kaid $\bar{\textit{o}}$) grew up within Sagami province.

The growth of religious faith centering on Ōyama did not escape the notice of the shogunate, and in 1605 (Keichō 10), Tokugawa Ieyasu had the mountain cleared of a number of pseudo-clerics with no inclination for studying the Buddhist scriptures or observing their precepts, and assigned the scholar-monk Jitsuyū, trained at Mt. Kōya, to undertake the reorganization of Ōyama Temple as its abbot and head priest. In addition to the monks resident at the monastery, separate living quarters were established in the village of Sakamoto (Isehara City), in order to bring the clergy into closer contact with the people. The clerics sent out among the populace in this way were called *oshi*, and they appealed to the popular sensibility by offering prayers for practical matters such as good harvests; protection from disease, injury, and natural disasters; the

safety and welfare of households; harmony between husbands and wives; and prosperity in business. They also performed the semi-magical incantations and spells that were part of the rituals of the Shugendō sect. These religious activities appealed strongly to the common people, and the cult centering on Ōyama achieved even greater popularity. Every year at the end of June, the pilgrimage routes to Ōyama were crowded with the faithful, led by *oshi* and dressed in white cotton ritual clothing, with bells dangling from their waists and wide bamboo hats on their heads.

In winter, the oshi, armed with a list of their parishioners, would make the rounds of their houses to distribute protective amulets and collect donations. In return for the offerings given to them by the parishioners, the *oshi* would also leave small gifts such as $sansh\bar{o}$ (a mountain plant used in cooking and perfumes), chopsticks (called rikyūbashi), tea, tea roasters, fans, cake dishes, tea tables, ladles, rulers, medicines, bobbins, and the like in order to help cement cordial relations with the believers. Records dating from 1860 (Man'ei 1) show that the *oshi* distributed amulets throughout the provinces of Musashi, Shimosa, Hitachi, Kazusa, Awa, Kozuke, Shimotsuke, Mutsu, Kai, Suruga, Izu, and Tōtōmi. The records for the province of Sagami have been lost, but the distribution of amulets (*fuda-kubari*) certainly took place there as well, and later documents add Echigo and Shinano to the list of provinces visited by the oshi for this purpose. In other words, the oshi not only covered the whole Kantō region in their travels, but a number of the surrounding provinces as well.

The Benzaiten Shrine at Enoshima was established by Saikaku Shōnin at the behest of Minamoto Yoritomo in order to pray for the defeat of Fujiwara Hidehira, who ruled over the Ōshū region. A cave on the far side of the island, cut into the rock by the erosion of the waves, was believed to be the lair of the dragon-deity Ryūjin. Since this deity was thought to summon rain, the Kamakura shogunate ordered the Enoshima Myōjin Shrine to conduct ritual prayers for rain. Benzaiten was a patron deity of music and the arts, and the shrine numbered many artists and entertainers among its worshippers. At the same time, the common people worshipped Benzaiten as a deity of good fortune and wealth, offering protection from natural disasters and illness. Worshippers from Edo, both samurai and com-

moners alike, made the pilgrimage to Enoshima in great numbers. The stone lanterns donated to Enoshima by timber and firewood wholesalers in Edo and the great bronze gate donated by the owners of establishments in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter testify to the social strata from which many of the believers came—the affluent strata of the merchant class. A large number of guidebooks to Enoshima were created with such pilgrims in mind, and gift shops lined the streets of Fujisawa, the gateway to Enoshima, and the island itself, doing a flourishing business.

4. The Collapse of the Bakuhan System

Earthquakes and other natural disasters

In 1630 (Kan'ei 10), a year after Inaba Masakatsu assumed control of the Odawara domain, the provinces of Sagami and Musashi were struck by a major earthquake, followed by another in 1697 (Genroku 10), and yet a third in 1703 (Genroku 16). The quake of 1703, which occurred sometime between one and three in the morning on the 22nd day of January, was especially severe, with an estimated magnitude of 8.2. It caused extensive damage throughout the southern Kantō, especially in the province of Sagami, where more than 6,300 houses and buildings were destroyed. In the castle town of Odawara, the residences of the samurai were completely demolished, as were the houses and shops in the commoner sections, which were either toppled by the quake or burned in the fire which followed. It is said that 777 people lost their lives in the disaster.

In the following year, and again in the year after, the Sakawa River, whose dikes had been destroyed in the earthquake, overflowed its banks and ruined a good portion of the paddies and dry fields of the Ashigara Plain.

In 1706 (Hōei 3), the southern Kantō area was struck yet again by a major earthquake, and tidal waves in Edo Bay caused great damage. This was followed in October 1707 by an even more massive quake, which affected the entire Pacific coast of Japan from the Kantō region to the island of Shikoku and toppled the stone walls of Odawara Castle. As if this was not already enough, the following month Mt. Fuji erupted, spewing cinders and volcanic ash over the



The Temmei Famine. (From Kyōkō Zuroku, National Archives)

entire Kantō region. At the base of the mountain the ash lay more than four meters deep. Between 60 cm and 1.3 m of ash was recorded in the district of Ashigarakami, about 50 cm at Hadano, and even as far away as Yokohama, between 21 and 24 cm of ash lay on the ground. The agricultural land of the Kanagawa region was buried in ash, as if the entire area had been turned into a massive sandbox. All crops were destroyed, including the barley which served as the peasants' primary food, and fodder for their animals. The eruption gave birth to a new mountain peak, Hoeizan, but the process of recovery for the ravaged farming villages of the region was far from easy. Part of the Odawara domain was so devastated by the eruption that the shogunate assumed control over it, giving Odawara han new lands in exchange. However, huge amounts of volcanic ash had turned into muck and silt which clogged the rivers and streams, and even the power and resources of the shogunate were not successful in controlling the course of the Sakawa River, which flooded time and time again. The domain of Odawara never really recovered from the

blow struck by this disaster until the Meiji period. Moreover, both the shogunate and the Odawara domain had already entered a period of financial difficulty, and were loath to allocate funds to the villages for disaster relief, demanding instead that recovery come through self-help efforts on the part of the villages.

In 1782 (Temmei 2), eight years after the great Genroku earthquake, another massive quake occurred, with a magnitude of 7.3 and its epicenter in the western part of Sagami Bay. A thousand samurai residences in the castle town of Odawara were destroyed, and the commoner sections of town were similarly devastated. At about the same time, crop failures due to unseasonable weather, which had struck first in the Tohoku region, also spread to the southern Kanto, the beginning of a number of successive years of bad harvests. To add to the problem, Edo was plagued by a series of major fires. Starving people and beggars filled the towns and villages. This was the great Temmei Famine, one of the worst in the history of Japan. Rice prices skyrocketed, and in the Sagami region, the 100 mon which would have previously bought over a sho of rice (close to two liters) would now only buy 6.5 go (somewhat over a liter). Certain urban merchants and wealthy peasants attempted to profit from this inflation in prices by buying up and hoarding rice. The peasantry protested by smashing up their stores and homes, a form of direct action called *uchikowashi*. *Uchikowashi* raids began with attacks on Odawara merchants in June 1787 (Temmei 7), and then spread even to remote mountain villages. In the villages of the districts of Tsukui and Aikō the leader of the raids was supposed to have been a man named Doheiji, and stories of the "Doheiji Riots" have been passed from generation to generation.

About fifty years after the Temmei era, in 1833 (Tempō 4), crop failures due to unusual weather began in the Tōhoku, and once again spread to southern Kantō. The price of rice climbed sharply, and a typhoon and torrential rain which struck on August 1st compounded the dilemma by damaging what crops there were in the Kanagawa region. *Uchikowashi* raids against rice merchants and wealthy peasants, as well as impromptu assemblages of poor peasants which threatened to turn into raiding parties, occurred throughout the region, beginning with a property smashing riot at the Ōiso post station in 1836 (Tempō 7). The famous rebellion in Osaka, led by a

samurai in the city magistrate's office named Ōshio Heihachirō, also occurred at this time, and rumors spread in its wake that Ōshio had also been seen stalking the foothills of Mt. Fuji.

The collapse of feudal finances

The financial system which supported feudal authority was founded upon rice. However, during the course of the early modern period, a money economy grew which eventually came to dominate the economy based on rice. Though natural disasters could produce sudden, temporary upsurges in the price of rice, the trend in normal times was for the price to decline, even as the prices of other commodities continued to rise. Moreover, after the Enkyō era (1744–1748), revenue from the land tax began to fall off, and in the province of Sagami, population also showed a downward trend.

From the Meiwa period (1764–1771) onward, in villages such as Ōzenji in Tsuzuki district (Aso Ward, Kawasaki City) and Ōi in Tsukui district (Tsukui Township) the middle stratum of the peasant population began to break up, with its members either falling into the ranks of the poorer peasantry, or, less frequently, rising to join the elite of wealthy peasants. This trend eventually spread to most of the villages in Sagami province.

In part, this was a result of economic development policies instituted by the shogunate, which had led to the growth of handicraft industries, such as the production of silk thread and rapeseed oil, in the rural villages. With opportunities for a cash income now close to home, many peasants left the land to become wage laborers, or became tenant farmers. Small businesses aimed at this clientele sprang up one after another, and the former self-sufficiency of the rural village began to erode. Eventually, various merchant enterprises grew up within the village itself, leading to the creation of a class of rural merchants whose commercial activities took on increasing economic importance. Villagers began to leave their villages in search of employment elsewhere, while at the same time an increasing number of people came into the village from outside, with a variety of commodities for sale. As this process continued, vagrants and other dubious characters began to flow into villages, opening gambling dens and engaging in other forms of anti-social activity. Disputes also began to take place between the new

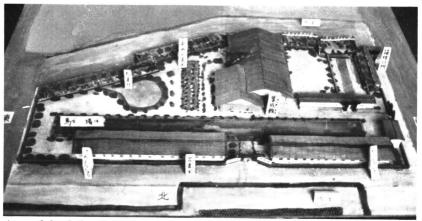
I. Sagami and Musashi Under the Bakuhan System



Portrait of Ninomiya Sontoku. (Sontoku Memorial Archives)

class of rural merchants and the established merchant houses in towns such as Odawara.

In response to these developments in the countryside, in 1805 (Bunka 2) the shogunate created a new office for the maintenance of public order under the direct control of the Commissioners of Finance (kanjō bugyō). This office was called the Kantō torishimari deyaku (Inspectorate for the Administration of the Kantō Region), with powers transcending all administrative divisions in the region, allowing the officers to operate on shogunate lands, hatamoto fiefs, daimyo domains, and shrine and temple holdings. The shogunate found this system to be very successful, and in 1816 (Bunka 13), the organization was expanded. In 1827 (Bunsei 10), a system of "reform village leagues" (kaikaku kumiai mura) was established. Under this system, about twenty villages were organized into a league with one centrally located village designated as the meeting place (yosebamura) for the league and the headquarters of its chief. In the province of Sagami, 13 yosebamura were established, and six in the three districts of Musashi which would later become part of Kanagawa Prefecture. Since these village leagues fell under the jurisdic-



A model of the Shūseikan. (Honchō Elementary School, Odawara City)

tion of the Kantō Inspectorate, this meant that the responsibilities of that office were considerably enlarged. Among them were quelling uprisings and riots, preventing the hoarding of rice, enforcing bans on singing and dancing called *kabu* and *teodori*, spreading the moral teachings of a religion called *Shingaku*, encouraging simplicity and frugality, and attempting to put an end to wage labor in agricultural off-seasons. The shogunate used the system as a means to control every aspect of village life.

The finances of Odawara han, based as they were on the rice collected in payment of the land tax, could not escape from conditions which drove them into a state of crisis. In the fifty years between 1747 (Enkyō 4) and 1796 (Kansei 8), falling rice prices and rising prices for other commodities became the usual state of affairs in Odawara han, while the natural disasters which repeatedly occurred during this period dealt an additional blow, leading to a decline in the amount of tax rice collected as well as forcing unanticipated expenditures for disaster relief. This drove domainal finances to the brink of bankruptcy, and in the countryside, more and more villages became virtual ghost towns. According to the Shūnō heikin chō (Table of Average Revenues), a document compiled by Ninomiya Sontoku in the course of his efforts to restore the domain to financial health at

the request of the daimyō of Odawara han, the highest volume of tax revenue brought in by the domain in the 82 years between 1755 (Hōreki 5) and 1836 (Tempō 7) was 118,410 hyō (bales of rice) and 3,942 ryō of gold in 1818 (Bunsei 1). The lowest revenues were the 66,304 hyō of rice and 2,800 ryō of gold collected in 1783 (Temmei 3), a figure which clearly represents the effect of the Temmei Famine.

A look at the Odawara han's balance of payments in 1845 (Kōka 2) shows a revenue income of 74,867 hyō of rice and 15,197 ryō of gold, while expenditures stood at 67,252 hyō and 31,174 ryō respectively. In other words, although there was a surplus of a little over 7,000 hyō of rice, there was a deficit of about 16,000 ryō of gold. The domain's finances were deeply in the red. The deficits were filled in by borrowing from the shogunate and from other sources. For instance, in 1858 (Ansei 4), the domain borrowed 153,899 ryō, more than 51,129 ryō of which went to the servicing of interest on old debts. The perilous state of the domain's finances naturally affected the stipends of its retainers. The amount of rice paid out as stipends was slashed by fifty percent in 1712 (Shōtoku 2), and in the years that followed, further cuts were made, so that by 1839 (Tempō 10), stipends had been reduced to less than a third of the original amount.

Ōkubo Tadazane took office as daimyō of Ōdawara han in 1796 (Kansei 8) in the midst of these crisis conditions, and for the 42 years he ruled Odawara, Tadazane labored to reform the domainal administration. Among his programs were the creation of an office called the Kokusan-kata for the promotion of economic production within the domain; the founding of a domainal academy, the Shūseikan, to raise the educational level of his retainers; and the awarding of honors to citizens of the domain who had distinguished themselves by good works and outstanding examples of filial piety. However, in 1791 (Kansei 3) and 1802 (Kyōwa 2), the Sakawa River broke its dikes and flooded several times, and in the early 1830s the suffering caused by the great famine of the Tempō era was felt in Odawara as well.

Hoping to restore the domain's endangered finances, Tadazane employed the services of Ninomiya Sontoku. Sontoku was a peasant, but he had been remarkably successful at reforming the administration of the Sakuramachi-Ōkubo, an Ōkubo branch house of *hatamoto* status, and was rich in experience in such matters. Sontoku's

approach to the problem was to thoroughly research the history of the domain's finances and construct a rational budget for the ruling house and the domain on this basis. Savings gained from this rationalization of the domainal finances were to be used for the welfare of the people. However, before Ninomiya could implement his proposals, Tadazane died, and pressure from Sontoku's opponents in the domain led to the official abandonment of his policies in 1846 (Kōka 3). Yet Sontoku's methods proved successful in a number of hatamoto fiefs and minor domains, and his followers spread his techniques throughout the country. In Odawara, about the only action taken to improve the domainal finances was the sale to wealthy commoners of the right to wear samurai dress, carry swords and use a surname (all normally forbidden to the common people). The domain moved toward the Meiji Restoration with no significant reforms or improvement in its government and administration.

THE MODERN PERIOD

I. The Footsteps of Modernization

1. The Opening of the Country

The thorny problem of coastal defense

The pressure on Japan from the Western nations which had begun with Russia's southward expansion reached a new pitch with the Russian envoy Adam Kirilovich Laksman's request to enter Edo Bay, and coastal defense became an issue of pressing concern. There had long been an awareness that the waters of Edo Bay connected Japan to the wider world and the capitals of the West, and the senior councilor to the shogunate, Matsudaira Sadanobu, conducted an inspection tour of the Boso Peninsula with a view to preparing defenses for the bay. Before his plans could be implemented, however, Russian ships raided Etorofu (Iturup) and Sakhalin in 1808 (Bunka 3), and the fear of an armed clash grew stronger. In 1812 (Bunka 7), the shogunate ordered Aizu han to undertake the defense of the coastline of the Miura Peninsula, and Shirakawa han to see to the defense of the Boso Peninsula. At the same time, artillery batteries were constructed at strategic points along the approaches to Edo Bay. The Aizu domain, responsible for the Miura Peninsula, established a headquarters at Kannonzaki (Yokosuka City), and dispatched a large number of its retainers to guard the coastline. In order to provide the resources needed for this special duty, the shogunate took over a portion of Aizu's domainal holdings in the provinces of Mutsu and Echigo, giving the domain in return 30,000 koku of land in the Miura and Kamakura districts. Aizu han was quite severe in its collection of the land tax from these new holdings, and

whereas for decades only a single person had been sentenced to death in that region, in the ten years that Aizu controlled it, more than twenty people were executed. Many others had their noses cut off, or were sent into exile. Since the extent of one's punishment could often be determined by the size of the bribe one was able to pay, the peasants of the area were truly made to suffer. In 1820 (Bunsei 3), Aizu's responsibility for coastal defense in the area was terminated, and the task was given to the Uraga commissioner (bugyō), with troops to be sent from the Kawagoe and Odawara domains in time of emergency. This meant that the Miura defenses had now been reduced from emergency to alert status. However, as the years went by, foreign ships continued to appear in Japanese waters, and in 1842 (Tempo 13) the defense system was changed once again, with Oshi han in the province of Musashi charged with guarding the Bōsō Peninsula approaches to Edo Bay, and Kawagoe han assigned to guard the Sagami side.

Kawagoe han set up its headquarters at the village of Ōtsu (Yokosuka City), assigned 145 of its samurai to the defenses there, and manned the batteries at Sarujima off the coast at Kugemura (Yokosuka City), at Kannonzaki, and at Hatayama. For additional forces in time of emergency, Kawagoe han permitted the village officials of its new holdings in the Miura Peninsula, given to it to support its defense duties, to wear swords and use surnames. Through them, the han created a system by which the peasants and fishermen of the area could be fully mobilized should the need arise. When Commodore James Biddle of the United States East India Squadron anchored off the village of Nohi (Yokosuka City) in 1846 (Koka 3), Kawagoe was able to mobilize a force from the villages in its Sagami holdings which consisted of 3,657 boats, 37,635 boatmen, and 145 horses at its Kamoi headquarters, and an additional 1,111 boats, 14,035 men, and 41 horses at its Misaki headquarters. Biddle's squadron lay at anchor off the coast for about ten days, during which time the shore bustled day and night with defense preparations, exhausting and distressing the peasants and fisherfolk of the region.

The following year the shogunate reassigned defense responsibilities, charging Hikone *han* with the Sagami side of the bay and Aizu *han* with the Bōsō side. Hikone was given authority over four of the villages which had constituted Kawagoe's holdings in Sagami,

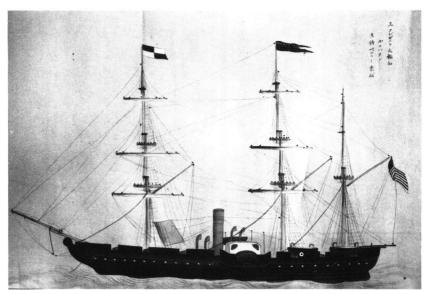
and took over the coastal defenses of the area stretching from the villages of Nohi and Nagasawa in the Miura district to Koshigoe (Kamakura City) and Katase in the Kamakura district. Hikone *han* established its main headquarters at the village of Kamimiyata in the Miura district, manning it with 304 samurai, and stationed another 114 at the Misaki headquarters it had taken over from Kawagoe *han*. The village officials of the area were ordered to set up a system capable of mobilizing 2,723 men.

When Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in 1853 (Kan'ei 6) with the United States East India Squadron, the shogunate ordered its *hatamoto* retainers to prepare for battle. Normally short of both arms and soldiers, the *hatamoto* impressed the peasants of their fiefs into military service, taking on the abler ones as retainers, and commandeered foodstuffs and money for military use. The result of all this was that the heavy burden of coastal defense now fell on the *hatamoto* fiefs in the Kanagawa region as well.

Later, responsibility for the coastal defense of the area passed to Kumamoto han and Hagi han, but boats and boatmen were provided, as before, from the villages in the province of Sagami given over in fief to the domains assigned to coastal defense. Samurai rule was harsh, and the suffering of the peasants and fishermen only grew. Only Hagi han put any effort into the civil administration of its Sagami holdings, and was exceptional in that the villages under its control later requested that its rule over the region be continued.

The signing of the Treaty of Peace and Amity between Japan and the United States at Yokohama

In 1854 (Ansei 1), the squadron led by Commodore Perry returned to Japan, as he had promised the year before, arriving at the mouth of Edo Bay on January 14. Because of gale-force winds the squadron did not enter the port of Uraga, and continued on deeper into the bay, dropping anchor off the village of Koshiba (Kanazawa Ward, Yokohama). The shogunate rushed to extend its line of defenses as far as Shinagawa (now part of Tokyo), at the same time demanding that Perry moor at Uraga and conduct his negotiations from there. Perry refused, however, and partly as a threat moved even deeper into the bay to Namamugi (Tsurumi Ward, Yokohama) and the waters off Daishigawara (Kawasaki City). The



Perry's flagship, the Powhatan.

shogunate finally acceded to Perry's will and designated the village of Yokohama as the site for negotiations, moving the reception facilities that it had just built at Uraga to a site near that occupied today by the offices of the Kanagawa prefectural government. On March 3, the Treaty of Peace and Amity was concluded. It consisted of twelve articles, which pledged friendship between Japan and the United States; opened the ports of Shimoda (Shizuoka Prefecture) and Hakodate (Hokkaido); promised that shipwreck victims from each of the countries would be well treated and repatriated by the other; agreed to provide American ships stopping in Japan with water, firewood, and foodstuffs; agreed to the residence of an American diplomatic officer at Shimoda; and offered mostfavored-nation status to the United States. This treaty, commonly known as the Treaty of Kanagawa, was the first to break Japan's long years of self-enforced isolation from the outside world. Having accomplished his mission, Perry set sail for home on the first of June.