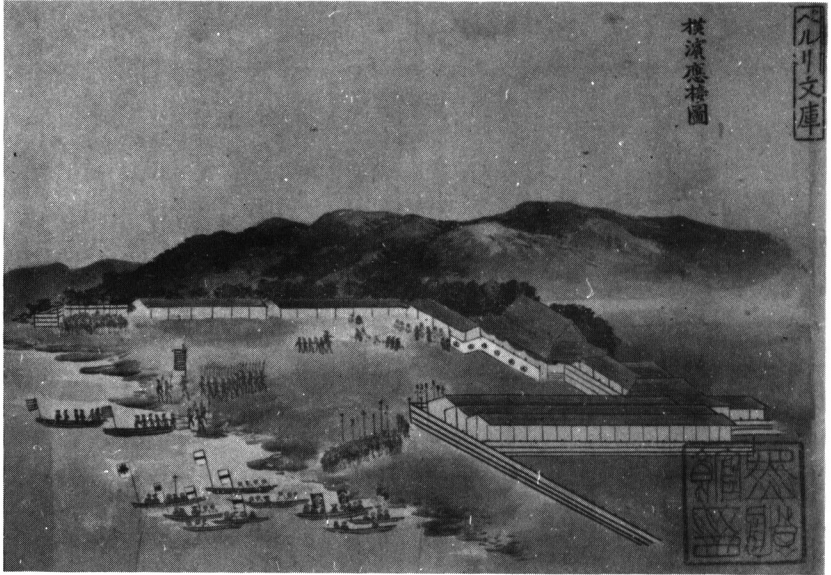


Following on the heels of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and Holland also concluded treaties of amity with Japan. These treaties were not signed at Yokohama, but the fact that Yokohama was the site of the first treaty concluded between Japan and the Western powers has assured its place in modern history. Yokohama's historical importance was made even more decisive by the signing of the first commercial treaty between Japan and the United States in 1858 (Ansei 5). Despite rapidly growing antipforeign sentiment expressed at the time by the phrase "expel the barbarians," the shogunate, under heavy pressure from the Western powers and especially the United States, decided that it was no longer feasible to continue the closed country policy that had been maintained for three hundred years. On July 29, 1858, the American consul Townsend Harris and the Japanese plenipotentiary Inoue Kiyonao signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce on board the American warship *Powhatan*, which rode at anchor in the waters off Kanagawa. The treaty was made up of fourteen articles. Its most important points were provisions for opening the ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyōgo in addition to the already opened ports of Shimoda and Hakodate; a provision allowing the establishment of a foreign settlement at each of these ports; and a provision promising free trade without the presence of Japanese officials. The treaty was an unequal treaty, for it gave extraterritorial rights to American citizens living in Japan, and Japan also lost its tariff autonomy. Even so, it was Japan's first step in the direction of modern international relations. Holland, Russia, Great Britain, and France all signed treaties of amity and commerce containing almost identical provisions.

As the curtain began to rise on Japan's modernization, with Kanagawa destined to play an important role in the process, natural disasters continued to strike the region. A cholera epidemic added immensely to the anxieties of the peasants and fishermen of the region, who were already suffering under the burden of the corvee labor they had been assigned as a part of the coastal defense preparations. On October 2, 1855 (Ansei 2), an earthquake with a magnitude of 6.9 struck Edo and the surrounding area. The Great Ansei Earthquake, as this disaster is known, also caused terrible damage in Kanagawa. In addition, the many *hatamoto* retainers with fiefs in



Bird's-eye view of Yokohama. (Kurofunekan, Niigata Prefecture)

the area had to busy themselves with the reconstruction of their destroyed Edo residences. The next year, in August, Kanagawa was hit by raging winds and rain, which, along with high waves, caused considerable damage along the shores of Sagami and Edo bays. For example, in the village of Ichiba (now Tsurumi Ward, Yokohama), of a total of 129 houses in the village, 30 were completely destroyed, another 16 were partially destroyed, and 55 huts and sheds were flattened.

As if this were not enough, in July 1858 (Ansei 5), cholera spread from western Japan, crossed the pass at Hakone, entered Odawara, and soon spread throughout the entire Kantō region. It was believed at the time that the disease had been brought by Western ships. People frantically went to visit shrines and temples, and put their faith in protective prayers, incantations, and red paper talismans. Luckily, with the coming of cold weather, the cholera epidemic subsided.

The Kanagawa commissioner and the foreign settlement

With the signing of the commercial treaties, the shogunate created an office called the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs (*gaikoku bugyō*) to handle all official business with foreign countries. Sakai Tadayuki and four other men were assigned to this office, and with the opening of the port of Yokohama, the office also served as commissioner of Kanagawa. Two of the five commissioners were assigned on six-month rotation to Yokohama. In 1864 (Genji 1), the office of the Kanagawa commissioner was made a permanent, fulltime position for the first time, and Matsudaira Yasunao and Tsuzuki Mineteru were assigned to the post. The commissioner's office was given jurisdiction over 207 towns and villages in Kanagawa, an area assessed at over 10,320 *koku*, including the towns of Yokohama, Tobe, Ōta, Yoshida, Kanagawa, and Hodogaya, and the villages of Kitakata, Negishi, Honmoku Hongo, and Namamugi.

Under the commissioner, two offices were established, one in Tobe and the other in Yokohama. The Tobe office handled the general administrative affairs for the area under the jurisdiction of the commissioner, including the collection of land tax; the maintenance of public morals in the area, which included the area in which foreigners were permitted freedom of movement (defined in the treaty as the area within a 10 *ri* radius of the port); road maintenance and repair; serving as inspector, prosecutor, and judge; and dealing with petitions from peasants and townspeople. The Yokohama office primarily handled customs-related duties, such as the procedures for the entry and exit of foreign ships from port, trade and currency exchange, and reception and supervision of the foreign nationals in port. The shogunate spent 96,000 *ryō* in the construction of these two offices and a breakwater for the port. The commercial treaties had specified Kanagawa as the port to be opened to trade in this area, but Kanagawa was a populous post station, and fearing possible conflict between Japanese and foreign nationals, the shogunate chose the former fishing village of Yokohama instead, and set about turning it into a new, planned city. A checkpoint was erected at the entrance to the treaty port of Yokohama, which came to be popularly known as *kannai*, or "within the gate."

The first firm to build offices in the Kannai was the British trading house, Jardine Matheson. Within three or four years, the number of foreign merchant establishments in the settlement had reached 110. In addition, the magistrate for foreign affairs, Mizuno Tadanori, encouraged Japanese merchants to open stores in the area, allowing, for example, Mitsui Hachirōzaemon to open a clothing and money-changing establishment in the second block of Honchō in Yokohama. As a result, 34 merchants from Edo, 12 from Kanagawa, and 6 from Hodogaya opened stores, the Kanagawa commissioner built 20 offices in the area, and the city of Yokohama gradually began to take shape.

At the same time, there was an extraordinary growth in trade. In the first six months after the opening of the port, exports amounted to only 400,000 Western silver dollars, and imports only \$100,000. The next year, 1860 (Man'en 1), however, exports rose to \$3,950,000 and imports to \$940,000; in 1861 (Bun'yū 1) exports increased to \$2,680,000 and imports to \$1,490,000; in 1862, exports stood at \$6,300,000 and imports at \$3,070,000; and by 1865 (Keiō 1), both exports and imports had passed the ten-million-dollar mark, with exports at \$17,460,000 and imports at \$13,150,000. At the center of this leap in trade were silk, silkworm eggs, and tea. The highways linking Yokohama with the silk-producing regions of Kōshū (Yamanashi Prefecture) and Jōshū (Gumma Prefecture) bustled with traders in silk, presenting a spectacle that must have been reminiscent of the ancient silk road to China. Tea was second only to silk as an export item, and both the residents of the tea-producing regions and urban merchants would buy up the crop for direct shipment to Yokohama. The tea merchants of Ise (Mie Prefecture) and Suruga (Shizuoka Prefecture) were particularly active in this trade.

2. The Creation of Kanagawa Prefecture

The dark side of the boom in trade

The sudden and dramatic increase in foreign trade drew commodities of every description to concentrate in Yokohama, causing shortages in goods which had until then supplied the needs of the home market and causing prices to skyrocket. The inflation in rice prices

which had begun as a result of a series of terrible storms following in the wake of the Great Ansei Earthquake was given further impetus by this trade-based inflation. In 1860 (Man'en 1), the price of rice at Fujisawa post station had doubled, with one *ryō* of money buying only 4.4 *to* of rice (1 *to*=18 liters), and many people were on the verge of starvation. Village officials and some of the wealthier members of the community made donations of grain and money to the needy, but even this was not enough to solve the problem. In 1865 (Keiō 1), one *ryō* would buy only 2.6 *to*, and the following year, only 1.8. Rioting soon broke out all over the Kanagawa region. The Bushū uprising, which began in the village of Naguri in the Chichibu district of Musashi (now Saitama Prefecture), involved as many as three thousand people and rampaged through an area ranging from Kōzuke (Gumma Prefecture) in the north to Ōme, Fussa and Tanashi in the Tama district to the south (all now part of the Tokyo metropolitan area). But the shogunate mobilized peasant troops and at last managed to restore order.

At the same time, the development of the foreign settlement at Yokohama served as a stimulus to antforeign activists, who coupled xenophobia with a determination to overthrow the shogunate and launched into an increasingly violent movement, murdering a number of foreigners in the Yokohama and Hyōgo areas. On January 25, 1860 (Man'en 1), two Dutchmen, Wessel DeVos and Nanning Dekker, were murdered in Yokohama, and on March 3 the senior shogunal councilor Ii Naosuke was assassinated in Edo. Similar incidents followed one after another: the American interpreter Henry Heusken was assassinated on December 25 in the Mita district of Edo, and on January 15, 1862 (Bun'yū 2), the senior councilor Andō Nobumasa was attacked and wounded. Then, on August 21, an Englishman was killed and two others wounded by samurai from Satsuma *han* in an incident which occurred at the village of Namamugi (now Tsurumi Ward, Yokohama).

In the midst of these unsettled times, talismans from the shrine at Ise and other shrines and temples began suddenly and mysteriously falling—it was said—from the sky. This touched off an outburst of mass hysteria, and people began dancing crazily in the streets chanting “*eejanaika*” (“Isn’t it wonderful!”). This phenomenon spread east and west along the Tōkaidō highway, reaching the Kanagawa region



Eejanaika revelers throwing stones at foreigners. (Horiuchi Hisao Collection)

as well. It started in Odawara at the beginning of November 1867 (Keiō 3), reaching Fujisawa on November 6, the village of Yamanishi (Ninomiya Township) on the 8th, and Yokohama on the 15th. In Yokohama, when the sacred talismans began to fall, there were many people who decorated the front of their stores with them, threw rice cakes to passersby in the street, hung out banners and flags, and hired laborers and coolies to protect their establishments from harm. The disturbance provoked the authorities to issue a ban, but it only said that while distributing charity was anyone's prerogative, putting up decorations in the street and throwing presents to passers-by would have to cease after three days since it interfered with traffic.

In one household in the village of Yanagishima in Kōza district (Chigasaki City), the grandson brought home a talisman (*ofuda*) from the Suitengu Shrine which he had found floating in the sea on

November 3. Then, on the 11th, he was given a talisman from the Tōdaiji Hachimangū Shrine at Nara by a traveler passing through the Fujisawa post station, and on the evening of the 14th, a talisman of the Kaiun Daikokuten Shrine at Nikkō fell from the sky to lodge in the branches of the cypress tree in the garden. On the 15th, the family prayed before the three talismans at their household shrine, set out bales of rice and casks of *sake*, encouraging everyone in the village, young and old alike, to help themselves, and served a festival dish of rice with red beans to the children. A monk came to chant sutras, and the entire household was overjoyed. On the 17th, a group of villagers, including the grandson, set off on a pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine, their number soon swelling to more than sixty people. On the 28th they prayed at the Inner and Outer shrines at Ise, and returned to their village on December 9.

There is still really no adequate explanation for the *eejanaika* craze. Because some of the talismans which served to trigger the phenomenon contained the message "Exterminate the foreigners," one theory holds that antforeign imperial loyalists deliberately started it. However, while it is beyond doubt that the falling talismans were the result of human and not divine activity, it is also clear that no single group of people could have been responsible. Households upon which the talismans had fallen prepared altars to house them, invited their neighbors in to feast, and distributed charity to the poor. Among the masses receiving such charity during the *eejanaika* craze, rumors circulated that rice and gold would be distributed to save the poor in their distress, that the establishments of grain merchants who had been hoarding rice had been burned, and that bales of hoarded rice had turned to dust and disappeared in a single night. It might be said that the *eejanaika* phenomenon was touched off for the purpose of bringing relief to the masses of people suffering from the terrible inflation in rice prices.

Moreover, since the *eejanaika* craze often ended with a pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine, as in the case of the household in Yanagishima, despite the fact that the fallen talismans were from a number of different shrines and temples, the phenomenon can also be seen as a variant form of the *okagemairi* pilgrimages to Ise that became popular among the masses in the late Edo period.

Samurai in Musashi and Sagami and the collapse of the shogunate

In October 1867, as the *eejanaika* craze spread far and wide along the Tōkaidō, the Sanyōdō (in the Chūgoku region), and the Nan-kaidō (in Shikoku), the fifteenth shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, officially returned the reins of government to the imperial court, thus bringing to an end seven hundred years of rule by a succession of military houses.

After this, and the battle of Toba-Fushimi in which pro-Tokugawa forces suffered a defeat, Yoshinobu returned to Edo, where he gave his *hatamoto* retainers the freedom to choose whether or not to remain in the service of the Tokugawa house, and allowed them to take their families with them to reside on the lands they had been given in fief. For its part, the imperial court was willing to accept as imperial retainers those *hatamoto* who were prepared to shift allegiance from the Tokugawa to the imperial house, and set up a system to determine their stipends and receive them into imperial service. Many of the *hatamoto* who held fiefs in the Kanagawa region chose to follow this course and became imperial retainers. Among them were the Ōta family, with a 3,000-*koku* fief in the villages of Tashiro in Aikō district (Aikawa Township) and Kurihara in Kōza district (Zama City); the Sano family, with 3,500 *koku* in the villages of Kamimizo (Sagamihara City) and Kurami (Samukawa Township) in Kōza district; and the Mabe family with 1,500 *koku* in the villages of Kamikasuya (Isehara City) and Tamura (Hiratsuka City) in Ōsumi district.

However, when Tokugawa Ieyasu took over as head of the Tokugawa house and was transferred to a domain centered on Sunpu in what is now Shizuoka Prefecture, many former *hatamoto* chose to follow him, remaining on as retainers of the Tokugawa family. The imperial court confiscated the fiefs of those *hatamoto* who did not become imperial retainers. Of course, there were also *hatamoto* who took Yoshinobu's advice and returned to the land they had held in fief.

The samurai class, which had long ruled Japan, did not disappear at one stroke when the Tokugawa house returned authority to the imperial court. The change was simply a political one, in that all



Woodblock print of the Battle of Hakone, May 1868.

(Kasuga Toshio Collection)

orders concerning the governing of the nation would now issue from the imperial court. Many daimyō expressed their allegiance to this new order.

Odawara *han*, however, while pledging allegiance to the imperial government as the imperial armies made their way west toward Edo, was rocked by internal divisions of opinion. At one point, it welcomed a unit of troops which was acting in concert with the *Shōgitai*, an army of Tokugawa loyalists based in Edo, and as a result, the Odawara domain was held responsible by the imperial government for a battle at Hakone. As punishment, the daimyō of Odawara, Ōkubo Tadaaya, was ordered into permanent retirement, his senior councilors dismissed, and the territories of the domain

reduced from 113,000 to 75,000 *koku*. In March 1869 (Meiji 2), when all the daimyō in Japan were ordered to return their lands to the imperial house, the daimyō of Odawara, Tadayoshi (Tadaya's adopted son), was appointed governor of Odawara, and continued to administer the domain with the assistance of his former retainers.

Ogino-Yamanaka *han*, since it pledged allegiance to the imperial forces, escaped having its territories reduced, but in September 1868 (Meiji 1), it was ordered to return 9,890 *koku* of its holdings in Suruga and Izu, which represented the majority of the domainal territory, to the imperial government, and was given land in the Aikō district of Sagami in return. These new holdings consisted of the village of Tomuro and 23 other villages in the Aikō district, which, added to Nakaogino and the other five villages already possessed by the domain, gave Ogino-Yamanaka *han* territories totaling 13,684 *koku*. With the return of feudal lands to the imperial throne, the daimyō Ōkubo Noriyoshi was named governor of the domain, and the domainal headquarters at Yamanaka was renamed the Yamanaka Office of Civil Administration.

The offices of the Kanagawa commissioner at Tobe and Yokohama, which had jurisdiction over Yokohama and the surrounding area, were renamed "courts" (*saibansho*) and continued their administrative functions, then were merged into a single Kanagawa Court. On June 17, 1868, Kanagawa was designated as an administrative district called a *fu*, and the superintendent of the Kanagawa Court, Higashikuze Michitomi, was appointed as its governor. The area of his administration was designated as the territory lying between the Rokugō River to the east and the Sakawa River to the west, its north-south dimension being set at 10 *ri* (about 40 kilometers). This area comprised most of the southern and eastern parts of the old province of Sagami. On September 21, 1868 (Meiji 1), the imperial government ordered Kanagawa *fu* to change its name to Kanagawa *ken*, the term now used for prefecture, and thus Kanagawa Prefecture came into being. Terajima Munenori was appointed to replace Higashikuze as governor of the prefecture.

Among the newly created prefectures was Nirayama Prefecture, which had its administrative seat at Nirayama in the Izu peninsula (now Shizuoka Prefecture), and was governed by the Egawa family,



The original offices of the Kanagawa prefectural government.

who had served for generations as shogunal intendants (*daikan*) in the area. The territories administered by the Egawa family as of 1792 (Kansei 4) amounted to some 54,571 *koku* of land in the Naga district and two other districts of Izu, and the Ashigarakami, Ashigarashimo, Ōsumi, and Yurugi districts of Sagami. The family also held fiefs elsewhere in Izu and the province of Kai, making it one of the most prominent and powerful of the shogunal intendants of the Edo period. One member of the family, Egawa Hidetatsu, is especially famous for having constructed a blast furnace at Nirayama when the issue of coastal defense reached its peak at the end of the Edo period. On June 29, 1868, the lands administered by the Egawa family became Nirayama Prefecture, and the portions that lay within the old provinces of Sagami and Musashi were placed under the jurisdiction of the newly constructed government mint (*shinzeniza*) in the Shiba district of Tokyo.

In 1869 (Meiji 2), with the return of feudal lands to the imperial government, the names and organization of official posts at both the central and local level were changed, and a system involving three types of regional government bodies—*fu*, *han*, and *ken*—was instituted. However, in the *han*, the former daimyō were usually appointed as governor, and the result was little more than an extension of the previous feudal administration. Moreover, most of the *han* continued to be plagued by the financial difficulties that had beset them in the Edo period, a problem which became so acute that one *han* after another found itself unable to continue the duties of government and volunteered to give up the management of its territories to the imperial government.

Taking advantage of this trend, the new government, backed by the military might of the domains of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen, ordered the dissolution of all the *han* and their conversion into prefectures on July 14, 1871 (Meiji 4). This was the first decisive step toward a fully centralized national government.

The former *han* were renamed as prefectures, members of the new central government bureaucracy were appointed as their governors, and the former daimyō of the domains were ordered to take up residence in Tokyo. At first, the former *han* were turned directly into prefectures with the same territories and names, so the Kanagawa region was divided into the four prefectures of Kanagawa, Odawara, Ogino-Yamanaka, and Mitsuura. But later, in November 1871, a merging of prefectures took place on a nationwide basis, and the number of prefectures in the Kanagawa region was reduced to two. Mitsuura Prefecture was absorbed into Kanagawa Prefecture, and Odawara and Ogino-Yamanaka were merged with the portion of Izu which had been under the jurisdiction of Nirayama Prefecture to form Ashigara Prefecture. Kanagawa Prefecture was now comprised of eight districts: the Miura and Kamakura districts of Sagami, and the Tachibana, Kuraki, Tsuzuki and three Tama districts (Minami-Tama, Kita-Tama, and Nishi-Tama) of Musashi. Ashigara Prefecture was made up of the seven Sagami districts of Ashigarakami, Ashigarashimo, Kōza, Ōsumi, Aikō, Yurugi, and Tsukui, and the four districts in Izu. The government offices of the two new prefectures were set up in Yokohama and Odawara respectively (with a branch office of Ashigara Prefecture located at Nirayama).

With the dissolution of the *han* and the establishment of the prefectures, lands in the area which had previously been under the jurisdiction of other *han* or prefectures—such as Shinagawa, Karasuyama, Oimi, Nishi-Ōhira, and Sakura—were not absorbed into the two new prefectures. At the time of their creation, Kanagawa Prefecture had a population of more than 100,600 and territory amounting to about 330,000 *koku*, while Ashigara Prefecture had a population of some 68,000 people and territory of approximately 260,000 *koku*.

With the dissolution of the *han* and formation of the prefectures in 1871 (Meiji 4), regional administration in Japan was divided among three *fu* (Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto) and 72 prefectures, but in 1876 (Meiji 9), a second great merger of prefectures took place, reducing the number to three *fu* and 35 prefectures. At this time, Ashigara Prefecture was dissolved, with its seven Sagami districts being absorbed into Kanagawa Prefecture and its four Izu districts becoming a part of Shizuoka Prefecture. Finally, in 1893 (Meiji 26), the three Tama districts (the Santama region) were separated from Kanagawa Prefecture and absorbed into Tokyo *fu*, and Kanagawa Prefecture attained the boundaries that it has today.

The reasons for the splitting off of the three Tama districts included the need to secure the upper reaches of the Tama River to provide water for the rapidly growing population of Tokyo, as well as other reasons related to transportation and geography. However, the Santama region had been one of the most powerful bases of the popular rights movement, and the Kanagawa prefectural assembly had been one of the focal points of the movement. It appears, therefore, that the splitting off of these three districts from the prefecture probably had its political motivations as well. As far as Kanagawa Prefecture was concerned, giving up the Santama region meant losing the commercial and industrial belt that had developed around Hachiōji as well as losing one of the strongholds of the popular rights movement, so the economic and social cost of this action was great.

Since Kanagawa was regarded as a prefecture second in importance only to the three urban prefectures (*fu*) of Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka, in the early days after its creation some very able statesmen were appointed to serve as its governor. The first governor

appointed after the dissolution of the *han* was Mutsu Munemitsu (governor from November 1871 to June 1872), who was succeeded by Ōe Taku (July 1872 to January 1874), and Nakajima Nobuyuki (January 1874 to March 1876). These three governors, all enlightened administrators, left impressive records during their terms of office. Mutsu is known as the author of a document entitled “A Memorial Concerning the Reform of the Land Tax,” which later came to be the basis for the government’s nationwide land tax reform (*chiso kaisei*), while Ōe achieved fame for his judiciousness in the handling of the incident involving the vessel *Maria Luz*, and Nakajima is remembered as a progressive who led the nation in introducing a system of local popular assemblies. Ōe and Nakajima’s accomplishments in particular would be inherited by the popular rights movement of the Meiji 10s (1877–1887).

Kanagawa leads the other prefectures in establishing district and local assemblies

In 1827 (Bunsei 10), village leagues (*kumiai mura*) were set up to help maintain public order as part of shogunal efforts to strengthen the security system in the Kantō region.

A small number of villages in a particular area, whether they were on shogunal land under the authority of an intendant or part of *hatamoto*, *han*, or shrine and temple holdings, were organized into leagues, and these leagues were in turn organized into larger federations. The leagues were headed by a representative (*shō-sōdai*) elected from among the headmen of the villages involved, while the federations were managed by a general representative (*dai-sōdai*) elected from among the representatives of the leagues.

The village in which the office of the larger federation was located was called a *yoseba mura* (assembly village) and the other villages of the leagues and federations *yoseba kumiai mura* (assembly league villages). The leagues and federations were set up to cooperate with the shogunal officials in charge of security for the Kantō region, and were particularly effective in transmitting shogunal directives to the villages of the region. By the time the new Meiji government was established, the leagues and federations had taken on some of the functions of administrative districts. With the collapse of the shogunate, the shogunal officers for the security of the Kantō region

were dismissed, but the leagues were left intact, and in the villages that comprised them, the village assembly (*mura yoriai*) and the three principal village offices of headmen (*nanushi*), group leaders (*kumigashira*), and peasants' representatives (*hyakushōdai*) remained unchanged.

In April 1871 (Meiji 4), the government promulgated the Family Register Law (*koseki hō*), established registration districts, and provided for the appointment of a registrar (*kochō*) and vice-registrar in each district. The registration districts were based upon the existing village leagues, and inherited their functions, transmitting government directives to the residents of the area and performing other general administrative tasks in addition to their duty of maintaining the population registers. Within Kanagawa Prefecture, 60 registration districts were set up in the four Musashi districts, and 24 in the three districts of Sagami.

In April 1872 (Meiji 5), the government terminated the old system of village headman and elders, ordering that in each village a mayor and vice-mayor be appointed. However, since the mayors and vice-mayors were given the titles *kochō* and *fuku-kochō*, which were already being used for the registrars and vice-registrars of the districts, administrative confusion ensued.

Responding to this situation, in November 1872 the governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, Ōe Taku, ordered the discontinuation of the old system of village leagues and appointed district heads (*kochō*) and assistant district heads (*fuku-kochō*) to oversee the registration of districts, taking over the duties of the former registrars and vice-registrars and all other administrative duties related to the land and people of their districts. Then, in May 1873 (Meiji 6), Governor Ōe undertook the redrawing of district boundaries in order to rationalize the system, dividing the prefecture into 20 districts, and organizing within each district village leagues called *bangumi* among groups of villages whose combined productivity was assessed at 2,000 *koku*. Under this new system, Kanagawa Prefecture was reorganized into 20 districts, comprising 108 *bangumi* organized from among 904 villages. District heads and assistant district heads were placed in charge of the districts, registrars (*kochō*) and vice-registrars (*fuku-kochō*) in charge of the *bangumi*, and administrative duties in the villages were the responsibility of village clerks (*mura-yōgakari*).

The office of village clerk was an appointive position, but the registrars and assistant registrars were elected by five representatives from each unit of one hundred households, while the district head and his assistant were elected in turn by the registrars and vice-registrars, all elections requiring the approval of the prefectural governor.

This administrative system, which was unique to Kanagawa, lasted about a year, but in June 1874 the central government instituted a large district/small district system nationwide, and the pattern of local government within Kanagawa Prefecture changed for the third time. Under this new system, the existing districts became large districts (*daiku*), and the *bangumi* were renamed small districts (*shōku*). When this reorganization was carried out, the prefecture would be divided into 20 large districts and 82 small districts.

One notable aspect of this large district/small district system was that district assemblies were established for each large district, with representatives sent to it from each small district by popular vote. In addition, the village clerks, which had previously been appointed by the heads of the *bangumi*, were now elected by the representatives to the district assembly.

At this time, the three great reforms undertaken by the Meiji government—of the educational system, military conscription, and the land tax—had just begun, and in Kanagawa, as in other parts of the country, there was both antipathy to conscription and popular movements against the reform of the land tax. It was a period in which fears of growing alienation and friction between the government and the people were at their highest. Given this situation, both the central government and local officials, in order to assure the smooth implementation of the three great reforms, had no choice but to place heavy emphasis on “harmony between high and low” (*jōge kyōwa*) and “public opinion and debate” (*kōgi yoron*). This was also the period in which Nakajima Nobuyuki, who at the First Conference of Local Officials in 1875 (Meiji 8) argued forcefully for the establishment of popularly elected assemblies, occupied the highest post in Kanagawa Prefecture, and as governor began to implement the progressive policies he advocated. However, the new system of popular assemblies was greatly altered by the issuing

in October 1876 of Dajōkan Directive No. 130 (the Dajōkan was the highest executive organ of the early Meiji government, corresponding in function to the cabinet system introduced later), and by the administration of prefectural governor Nomura Yasushi, who succeeded Nakajima. Nomura ordered the abandonment of the system of village representatives (*daiginin*), peasants' ombudsmen (*komae sōdai*), and five-man groups (*goningumi*), replacing them with a system of town and village representatives who would double as representatives to the district assemblies, and called for new elections. However, where before there had been no financial restrictions on eligibility for the post of representatives, now the office was limited to landholders paying national and prefectural taxes, and the number of representatives was sharply reduced. This constituted a noticeable retreat from the principle of representative government. However, some lost ground was regained in the reform of February 1878, which reorganized the already existing assembly of district heads into an assembly which would be comprised of two elected representatives from each large district.

In 1878 (Meiji 11), what were called the "Three New Laws Concerning Local Government" (*chihō sanshin pō*) were promulgated: the "Regulations for Prefectural Assemblies," the "Regulations for Local Taxation," and the "Law for the Organization of Districts, Wards, Towns, and Villages." These laws abolished the large district/small district system, restoring the towns and villages to the position they had historically occupied as the basic units of administration. Areas with a high concentration of population were designated wards (*ku*) and established as independent administrative units, while the remaining towns and villages were placed under the jurisdiction of districts (*gun*), and a prefectural assembly was established for each prefecture. In essence, this was an extension of the Kanagawa local popular assemblies on a nationwide basis. However, the financial restrictions on eligibility to hold office as a representative were quite strict. To run for election, one had to be a male over the age of twenty-five, registered within the prefecture and a resident of it for a minimum of three years, paying a land tax of ten yen or more. To be eligible to vote, one had to be a male over the age of twenty, registered in the prefecture, and

paying five yen or more in land tax. According to the prefectural statistics for 1884 (Meiji 17), somewhat over 31,000 people met the requirements for voter eligibility, while a little over 16,000 were eligible to run for office as representatives. The former represented only 3.8 percent of the total population of the prefecture, the latter only 2.0 percent. Elections were held in February 1879 (Meiji 12), and the present prefectural assembly had its origins in the session which opened in March of the same year, with 47 representatives.

3. The Port of Yokohama: Japan's Window on "Civilization and Enlightenment"

The growing foreign population of Yokohama

After the opening of the ports, the number of foreigners resident in Yokohama grew by the year, swelling with particular rapidity after the Meiji Restoration. In the Meiji 10s (1877–1886) the number of foreign residents in Yokohama rose to over 3,000, and in the Meiji 20s (1887–1896) it rose from 4,000 to close to 5,000 people. As this figure was more than half the total number of foreigners resident in all the other treaty ports combined, one can see the extent to which foreigners living in Japan tended to be concentrated in Yokohama.

Over half these resident foreigners were Chinese, followed in strength of numbers by the British, Americans, Germans, and French. For example, in 1885 (Meiji 18), of 3,800 foreigners residing in Yokohama, about 2,500 were Chinese, 600 British, 230 American, 160 German, 110 French, and 30 Swiss. In the statistics for 1893 (Meiji 26), of a total of about 5,000 resident foreigners, 3,300 were Chinese, 800 British, 250 American, 105 German, and 130 French.

The residences of these several thousand foreigners were concentrated in the eastern half of the Kannai settlement and in the hills overlooking Yokohama, while the western half of the settlement was occupied by Japanese houses and shops. The urban plan of the Kannai did not take final shape all at once, however. At first, the port authority, the consular offices of the various foreign countries, and the section of town called Miyozaki-chō were located along the shore, and behind them was a marsh which had to be drained and