

party members in the prefecture, was called “the hope of liberty,” and ranked along with Kōchi on the island of Shikoku as one of the strongholds of the Liberal Party.

The local chapters of the Jiyūtō eventually developed their own rules and bylaws, and organized themselves on a district basis, with names such as the Minami-Tama District Liberal Party, the Kita-Tama District Liberal Party, the Aikō District Liberal Party, and the Kōza District Liberal Party. There were Jiyūtō members in the other districts of the prefecture as well (for example, in the urban district of Yokohama there were 43 members, more than in any other district, urban or rural), but not much is known of their organizational structure. The reason the Liberal Party came to be organized on a district basis was probably due to the fact that its organizers placed great importance on ties to the existing popular rights organizations out of which most of the new party chapters grew. Because of this, in Kanagawa no party organization was created at the prefectural level, and each district branch of the party communicated directly with the party’s central headquarters.

About six months after the formation of the Jiyūtō, in April 1883, the Kaishintō (Progressive Party) was founded, with Ōkuma Shigenobu as its president. Because the party drew its base of support from urban merchants and entrepreneurs and local men of property, in Kanagawa Prefecture its strength was centered in Yokohama and Hachiōji. The Kenyūsha of Yokohama and similar organizations served as the initial base for the new party’s activities. Since the Kaishintō put most of its efforts into educational and propaganda activities directed at an urban audience, such as political lecture and discussion meetings, the party’s strength did not grow very rapidly. At the beginning, there were only 16 party members in the prefecture, though many of these were men well known locally for their association with the Ōmeisha.

The Liberal and the Progressive parties soon clashed over the issue of whether or not Jiyūtō president Itagaki had secretly received government funds for a trip abroad in September 1882, and fell into a vicious mud-slinging battle which unfolded in the newspapers and lecture halls. The conflict between the two parties split the movement of opposition against the government, and became one of the causes of the failure of the popular rights movement. In

the following years the Jiyūtō suffered under government attempts at both repression and cooptation of the party, and unable to control the radical factions within its own ranks, the Jiyūtō disbanded in October 1884. The man who read the resolution disbanding the party at its final convention in Osaka was Satō Teikan, a party secretary who came from Kanagawa Prefecture.

In November 1885, a year after the disbanding of the Jiyūtō, an event called the Osaka Incident occurred, astonishing the Japanese public. A group of former Liberal Party members led by Ōi Kentarō had laid plans to go secretly to Korea and attempt by force to reform the Korean government. The plan was discovered before it could be put into effect, and more than sixty individuals from all over Japan were implicated in the plot. More of those apprehended in connection with the incident came from Kanagawa than any other prefecture.

Agricultural depression during the “Matsukata deflation”

The failure of the Satsuma Rebellion (*Seinan sensō*) in 1877 marked an end to the series of uprisings by former samurai which had followed in the wake of the Meiji Restoration, but it had after-effects which continued to plague the new government. Of these, the most serious was the spiraling inflation which had been set off by the government's military procurements at the time of the rebellion. A reorganization of the country's finances was essential. Finance Minister Matsukata Masayoshi, who assumed office in 1881, recognized this as an imperative task, and pushed ahead with a radically deflationary fiscal policy. As a result, in the following year commodity prices began to plunge rapidly, credit tightened, and Japan was hit by a depression of a scale rarely seen in its modern history.

A look at the movement of prices in Kanagawa Prefecture for the two major agricultural commodities, rice and barley, shows the following pattern: in 1880 one *koku* (equivalent to 180 liters) of rice cost 10.49 yen, while barley stood at 4.71 yen; but in 1884, rice had fallen to 5.40 yen per *koku*, and barley to 1.94 yen. Even the market for raw silk, Japan's leading export at that time, plunged. In 1880 one yen would buy 18 *momme* (1 *momme* equals 3.75 grams) of silk, while in 1882 it would buy 34 *chō* and 23 *momme*—represent-

ing a fall in price of 60 percent. What these figures meant, in essence, was that farming families had lost about two-thirds of their income.

Despite the deflation, taxes and other public duties were increased. In 1882, the government ordered major increases in the taxes on liquor, tobacco, and other goods, while the ceiling for the local tax rate was raised from one-fifth to one-third of the national land tax. Furthermore, responsibility for expenditures on public works and on the construction and maintenance of prefectural public buildings, which had formerly lain with the national treasury, was now shifted onto local government, increasing the burden on local residents.

The tax reform of 1877 had fixed the land tax at 2.5 percent of the value of the land, but falling commodity prices meant a real increase in the tax burden. Before the deflation, it would have sufficed to sell 6 *to* of rice (1 *to*=about 18 liters) to meet a land tax of 5 yen; but after the fall in rice prices, 1 *koku* (equivalent to 180 liters) and 2 or 3 *to* would have to be sold to raise the same 5 yen. This was essentially the same as having a harvest which for years had been 10 *koku* suddenly reduced to 5, and for the farming population the deflation was said to have the same effect as a crop failure.

The rural areas of Kanagawa Prefecture had, for the most part, been given over to dry-field farming since the Edo period, and in addition to the major crops of rice, barley, and other grains, the raising of silkworms was a flourishing local industry. The sericulture industry made remarkable progress as a result of the export boom in raw silk which followed the opening of Japanese ports to foreign trade, and became a major source of income for farm families. As a result, the demand for working capital on the part of silk-raising farmers was also quite vigorous. For two or three years after the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, rural villages rode the crest of an economic boom fueled by the inflation of that period. However, with the adoption in 1881 of Matsukata's fiscal policy and the sudden shift to a deflationary economy many farmers staggered under the heavy burden of the debts they had incurred. At just about this time, with the agricultural depression as background, a number of banks and finance companies, both large and small, were founded, and began

extending credit to the farming population. In Kanagawa the major institutions of this type were the Hachiōji Bank, the Musashino Bank, the Asahi Bank, the Busō Bank, the Hino Bank at Hinojuku, the Tōkai Savings Bank in Ōme, the Kōyō Bank in Hiratsuka, and the Kyōshinsha in Hadano.

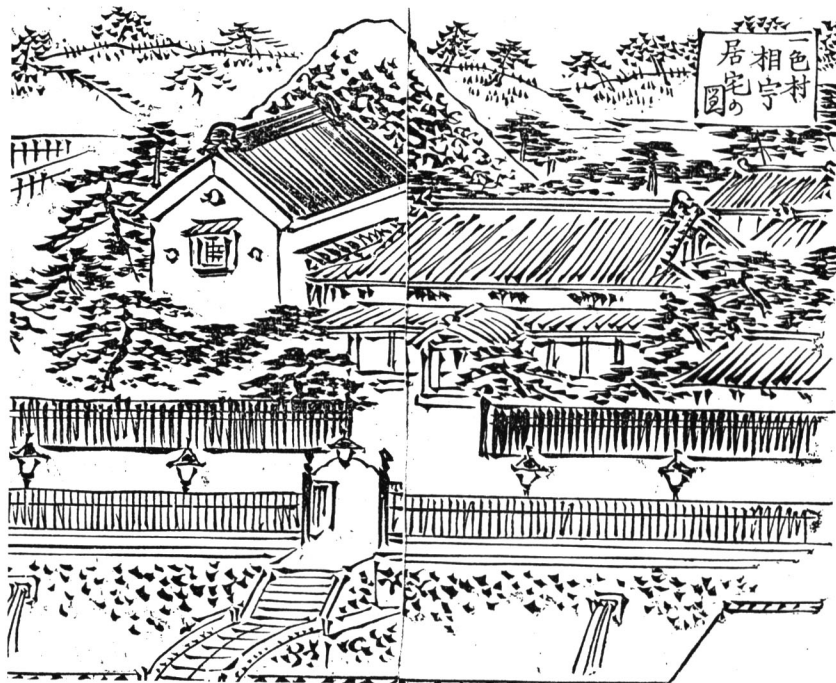
The extent to which these banks, which were in fact “loan-shark” institutions, took advantage of the financial plight of the farmers and ate their way into the economy of the rural villages is related in many historical documents, but here let us quote from a portion of the *Kōgyō iken sho* (Memorandum on the Promotion of Industry), written by the prominent Meiji bureaucrat Maeda Masana, which tells of the conditions in Kanagawa during the agricultural depression of 1884:

There are only a few, if any, farming families who can manage without mortgaging their land in order to meet outstanding debts. It would appear that fifty to sixty percent of the land owned by farming families has now found its way into the hands of creditors People who cannot afford to pay their taxes follow one upon the heels of the other in an unceasing stream, and even if they try to mortgage their land they can find no one to take their offer. The crisis here seems to be at its very worst.

In the Minami-Tama district of Musashi, which was one of the strongholds of the Kommintō (Poor People’s Party), 121 towns and villages out of 131 in the district were saddled with significant debts, amounting to a total of more than ¥1,584,000. This figure corresponded to about three times the total budget of Kanagawa Prefecture at the time.

The tribulations of the Busō Poor People’s Party

Given these conditions, and as the depression reached its gravest state in 1884, violent protests on the part of the farming population began to break out with startling frequency in almost every part of the country. Kanagawa Prefecture recorded a larger number of these disturbances than other prefectures, and a storm of farmers’ protests spread all over Kanagawa during the course of this year. They were directed against the banks and finance companies, the farmers’ principal creditors, with groups of indebted farmers



Tsuyuki Usaburō's house in Isshiki village.

collectively demanding an extension of the terms of their loans, repayment in yearly installments, and reduction of or exemption from the interest charged. The major characteristic of the farmers' protests at the time was the fact that they specifically demanded debt deferral.

The Tsuyuki Incident, which occurred on May 15, 1884, in the western part of the prefecture, involved the murder of a usurer, and marked a new peak of violence in protests by the farming population. The murdered man, Tsuyuki Usaburō, was from the village of Isshiki in Yurugi district (now Ninomiya Township). After making considerable profits on the Tokyo rice market as a young man, he began to operate as a local moneylender. At the time of his murder, he had as many as five hundred debtors spread throughout the districts of Ashigarakami, Ashigarashimo, Ōsumi, Yurugi, and

Kōza, and had made the name “Sōu” (Usaburō of Sagami) known throughout the region. In the district of Ōsumi alone he had loaned a total of ¥18,700 yen to 124 different borrowers, and the area of land mortgaged to him stood at more than 63.5 *chō* (a *chō* is equivalent to 2.45 acres). On the eve of the incident, Usaburō felt himself to be in danger, and stayed away from his own house, going into hiding at an inn in Ōiso to whose owner his daughter had been married. He was found there by ten of his debtors, who attacked and killed him and several of his employees.

The repercussions of the Tsuyuki Incident were soon manifested in other farmers’ protests in the area. At about this time, 300 farmers from 40 villages in the Ōsumi district had established a mountain stronghold at Kōbōzan near Hadano, and used it as a base to conduct collective bargaining with nearby creditors, demanding a thirty-year, interest-free repayment schedule. A placard was found pasted on the wall of the house of one of the creditors, the president of the Kyōshinsha in Hadano, inscribed with the following message, which plunged the entire area into a temporary state of shock and fear:

If you do not listen to our demands, no matter what measures you may take in your defense, we will by all means burn your property to the ground, so be prepared for that eventuality. Yesterday the Kyōshinsha may have been safe, but tomorrow it will join Tsuyuki in his fate!

At about the same time, a similar note threatening arson was tossed into the residence of the president of the Kōyō Bank in Hiratsuka. However, in the case of these farmers’ protests in the western part of the prefecture, the creditors, fearing that they would meet the same end as Tsuyuki, gave in to most of the conditions of repayment demanded by the debtors, and by the end of June 1884, relative calm had returned to the area.

In July, the locus of the protests shifted from the western to the eastern part of the prefecture. The first sign of this was a protest in the village of Kamitsuruma in the Kōza district on July 31. Then, on August 10, thousands of farmers from the districts of Kōza, Minami-Tama, and Tsuzuki assembled at Goten Pass on the border between Musashi and Sagami, threatening to attack and demolish the banks

and finance companies in Hachiōji. Faced with this large and angry crowd, the Hachiōji constabulary spent a tense and sleepless night attempting to dissuade them from their plans, eventually succeeding in convincing most of the mob to disperse. However, more than two hundred of the more determined members of the crowd refused to respond to police persuasion, and were arrested on the spot.

By this time, an alliance of Poor People's parties (Kommintō) had already begun to take shape in three districts of Musashi and Sagami. Three days after the incident at Goten Pass, the Tsukui Kommintō began to take action. Three hundred farmers moved elusively across the district, advancing once again to Goten Pass, retreating, and then appearing at the district government office to lodge petitions. Then, on September 1, information reached the police that a Kommintō office had been set up in the village of Kawaguchi in the Minami-Tama district at the house of the farmer leader Shiono Kuranosuke. The police conducted a raid, searching the house and arresting the party secretary. On September 5, a crowd of more than 200 farmers, with Shiono at its head, appeared outside the Hachiōji police station, demanding the release of the party secretary and the return of materials confiscated in the raid. The police refused to comply with these demands, and instead arrested the entire company for refusing to comply with orders to disperse. Those arrested were from 33 different villages in the three districts of Minami-Tama, Nishi-Tama, and Kita-Tama, which indicates that by this time Kommintō organization had spread throughout the Santama region.

With this mass arrest of September 5, it appeared that the activities of the Poor People's Party had been suppressed for a time. The authorities even cut back police strength in the area, which had earlier been reinforced to deal with the situation. Yet the calm was only on the surface. From this point onward, the Kommintō carried on all of its activities clandestinely. While evading the watchful eyes of the authorities, the party concentrated on expanding and strengthening its organization. Then, on November 19, 1884, a secret convention of the Busō Kommintō (Musashi-Sagami Poor People's Party) was held on a moor outside the town of Sagamihara. The Kommintō delegates in attendance represented farmers from some three hundred villages in the three Tama districts and the district

of Tsuzuki in Musashi, and the districts of Aikō, Kōza, and Kamakura in Sagami; a grand federation of the Kommintō was thus established. At the convention, the party's platform was debated, a new leadership group elected, and an appeal in the name of the convention promulgated.

The new platform adopted at the convention was to cease the direct negotiations with banks and finance companies which had been conducted up to that time, and to appeal instead to the authority of the district administrators and the governor of the prefecture to resolve the situation. However, the petitions addressed to the district administrators were almost all rejected, leaving a petition to the governor of Kanagawa Prefecture as the last recourse. Early in January 1885, four representatives of the Poor People's Party—Nakajima Kotarō, leader of the delegation, Takabayashi Takanosuke, Satō Shōnosuke, and Sunaga Renzō—went to Yokohama and met with Governor Oki Morikata, appealing to him for positive action. However, without even touching on the contents of their petition the governor ordered the delegation to resign their positions as representatives of the Kommintō, and to disband the party itself, threatening to turn them over to the police immediately if they did not comply with his instructions. The delegation was astonished. Now any hopes they had for the success of a petition campaign were lost. That night, at their lodgings, the delegates drafted a message to the governor which stated that they would resign as representatives of the Kommintō, but that they refused to have anything at all to do with disbanding the party, as it was not within their authority to give such orders. This statement to the governor was used as an excuse for the repression of the Poor People's Party. The next day, the delegates were questioned by the police on the grounds that "your statement contains certain threatening passages."

Meanwhile, one of the delegates who returned to the countryside ahead of the others reported the results of their meeting with Governor Oki. Upon hearing the news, an enraged crowd of three hundred farmers rallied at Sagamihara Ōnuma-Shinden (Sagamihara City), and started off on a protest march to the prefectural offices.

This demonstration, however, was halted by police specially stationed at Seya on the Yokohama-kaidō (now Seya Ward, Yoko-

hama) and the crowd was dispersed. Afterwards, it was only a matter of time before the leaders of the Poor People's Party were arrested, and the party itself destroyed.

The movement by wealthy peasants for reduction of the land tax

The depression touched off by Matsukata's deflationary policies had a serious impact on wealthy farmers as well. Failure by their tenants to pay part or all of the rents, coupled with falling rice prices, threatened both the livelihood of the wealthy peasants and their status within the community. In the same year that the Kommintō's activity reached its peak, the wealthier strata of farmers rose up to campaign for a reduction in the land tax. Already in October of the previous year, the mayors of 81 villages in the districts of Ōsumi and Yurugi had presented a document entitled "An Appeal for the Extension of the Tax Payment Period" to the governor. Following this, taxpayers from 133 villages in the same two districts had sent a memorial to the Genrō'in requesting a similar extension. Then,



The house of Komiya Yasujirō, a wealthy farmer and popular rights activist of the early Meiji period.

(Komiya Mamoru Collection)

in 1884, a petition was sent to Governor Oki with the joint signatures of the mayors of two towns and 109 villages in the Kōza district, requesting that the miscellaneous taxes on forest and wasteland, as well as the additional levies on paddy and dry fields, be given a five-year installment schedule from that time onward. Similar petitions were sent from a number of villages in the Minami-Tama and Nishi-Tama districts. This campaign for the extension of the tax payment period developed into a movement for the reduction of the land tax itself, which reached its largest proportions in Aikō district.

The tax reduction movement in Aikō district started in September 1884, and developed into a well-organized campaign led by the Aikō District Liberal Party. In the preface to the resolution defining the goals of the movement, there was a passage reading:

Commodity prices have fallen drastically, while the value of the currency has skyrocketed. Can this mean anything but that farmers are forced to pay what amounts to twice what they paid in taxes two or three years ago? We believe that the only method of relieving the present situation lies in petitioning for a decrease in taxes.

In the resolution itself there was an article which read, "Petitioning shall be conducted in as peaceful a manner as possible," and which went on to draw a sharp line distinguishing the tax reduction movement from that of the Kommintō, whose members were described as "rioters" (*ranmin*) and "violent people" (*bōmin*).

The tax reduction movement went through two separate phases: petitioning (*seigan*) in November 1884, and a memorial (*kenpaku*) to the Genrō'in in December. The latter was signed by 587 people from one town and 27 villages, but both these efforts ended in failure.

5. Kanagawa Prefecture Under the Meiji Constitution

The convening of the first Diet

In June 1887 (Meiji 20), Itō Hirobumi retired to his summer house in Natsushima (Yokosuka City) and began to write his draft of the Imperial Japanese Constitution. In this sense it may be said that Kanagawa Prefecture was the starting point for the modernization

of Japan. By an unusual coincidence, Natsushima is also the site at which what were believed at the time of their excavation to be the world's oldest clay vessels were discovered. Later, Itō Hirobumi built another resort villa in Kanagawa, the Sōrōkaku, in the town of Ōiso.

The Imperial Japanese Constitution, also known as the Meiji Constitution, based on Itō's draft, was promulgated in February 1889 (Meiji 22), and the first general elections for the House of Representatives of the Diet were held. Eligibility to vote in the election was limited to males over the age of 25 who had paid direct national property taxes in their district of residence of over 15 yen for more than a year. Eligibility to run for office was limited to males aged 30 or over who met the same tax conditions. Men who had paid equivalent income taxes for at least three years were also given the vote, but the percentage of the population of Kanagawa Prefecture eligible to vote under these conditions was a mere 0.87 percent, significantly lower than the national average of 1.24 percent, and there were places such as Yokohama's 1st Electoral District where only 0.24 percent had the suffrage. Seven candidates were elected to the lower house from Kanagawa: Shimada Saburō, Yamada Taizō, Ishizaka Masataka, Setooka Tameichirō, Yamada Tōji, Nakajima Nobuyuki, and Yamaguchi Sashichirō. On November 25, 1890 (Meiji 23), the first regular session of the Imperial Diet was convened and met for the first time on November 29. Nakajima Nobuyuki, one of the members from Kanagawa, was named first Speaker of the House of Representatives by imperial appointment.

The number of members of the Lower House was set at 300, and in the first Diet their major party affiliations were as follows: 79 members belonged to the Taiseikai, nominally an independent party, but with strong ties to the government and commonly known as the party of officialdom; membership of what were known as the popular parties broke down into the Rikken Jiyūtō (a revival of the old Liberal Party) with 130 members, and the Rikken Kaishintō with 40 members. The popular parties held a clear majority in the House.

With their absolute majority in the Diet, the popular parties united, rallying around a program calling for reduction in government expenditures and the fostering of the prosperity of the people.

They clashed fiercely with the government, whose slogan was “a rich country and a strong army.” The greater part of the ¥83,320,000 in expenditures in the government’s proposed budget were related to the army and navy. The popular parties’ response to this budget proposal was to call for a 10.6 percent cut in total government expenditures, a decrease to be effected primarily through personnel reductions in the bureaucracy and cuts in official salaries and travel expenses.

Aligning themselves with this oppositional struggle on the part of the popular parties, 2,765 activists from one city and fifteen districts in Kanagawa Prefecture presented four petitions to the Diet through three of the Dietmen from Kanagawa—Ishizaka Masataka, Setooka Tameichirō, and Yamada Tōji. The first petition called for freedom of political assembly and organization, and a reform of the Law Concerning Assembly and Political Associations. The second was an appeal for reduction in the land tax, requesting that the two percent cut in taxes on paddies and dry fields be extended to apply to all categories of land. The third requested that eligibility to vote in the Lower House elections be extended to individuals aged twenty or over and paying five yen in direct national taxes; and that eligibility to run for office in the Lower House be given to all males over the age of twenty-five, eliminating any restrictions based on the amount of taxes they paid.

Faced with the unyielding opposition of the popular parties, the government made it clear that it would not hesitate to dissolve the Diet if necessary, while at the same time it worked behind the scenes in an attempt to split and undermine the opposition parties. As a result, there were a series of defections from the ranks of the Rikken Jiyūtō, with about forty of its Diet members eventually leaving the party. With the cooperation of these defectors, the government finally got its budget through the Diet, although the original proposal was cut by ¥6,510,000 and the government also promised to undertake certain administrative reforms and readjustments.

Splits among the popular parties in Kanagawa

In the second session of the Imperial Diet, solidarity among the popular parties resulted in approximately a fourteen percent cut in

the government's proposed budget. The government's efforts to coopt the opposition did not succeed, and the Diet was dissolved. In the election that followed, the popular parties won an overwhelming victory in Kanagawa despite thoroughgoing government interference in the electoral process. At about this time, however, there was a power struggle going on within the Jiyūtō, with Ōi Kentarō and Hoshi Tōru battling each other for control of the party. The result was a split in the party, with Ōi Kentarō leaving it to found the Tōyō Jiyūtō. The program of the Jiyūtō itself was soon altered, giving full support to the government's "rich county, strong army" policies and attempting within that basic framework to reduce government expenditure and nourish the private sector. Shimada Saburō of the Kaishintō, who had been a strong proponent of the solidarity of the opposition parties, was critical of the change in the Jiyūtō's policies, and with this the Kaishintō and Jiyūtō clashed. The conflict between the two parties was irreversibly determined in the prefectural election which followed the dissolution of the Kanagawa Prefectural Assembly in 1892 (Meiji 25). In this election both the Jiyūtō and Kaishintō mobilized all the support they could muster, including boys too young to vote and gamblers. The supporters of the two parties went about armed with canes, knives, swords and pistols, and dressed in white shirts and trousers, navy blue leggings and straw sandals. They wore straw hats on their heads, with the Jiyūtō supporters sporting red hatbands and the Kaishintō supporters white. The struggle between the two parties was a bloody one. The stiff resistance the popular parties had put up against the intervention of officials and police in the previous Diet elections was nowhere to be seen, and the Jiyūtō was well on its way toward becoming little more than a representative of the special interests of the electoral districts it controlled. Eventually, it would be the working class which would inherit the stance of opposition to the authorities that the parties seemed to be relinquishing.

The Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars and the people of Kanagawa

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 was initiated by a government bent on achieving a "rich country and strong army" and expansion onto the mainland of Asia. Even the popular parties,

which had until this point continued to oppose increases in military spending, lay down the banner of opposition and approved the government's massive military budget, and the entire nation went on a war footing.

Kanagawa Prefecture was no exception. Activists in Yokohama were quick to organize a Hōkōkai (Association for Service to the Nation). The name of this organization was later changed to the Juppeikai (Association for the Support of Our Soldiers), which collected contributions of money and goods to give in support to needy families of draftees and reservists during their period of service. A women's branch of the organization was also established in Yokohama, it too collecting contributions for the support of soldiers' families. Youth organizations in every district in Kanagawa passed resolutions organizing squads of volunteer soldiers. In some districts, as the war dragged on and there was fear that contributions might dry up, it was suggested that the citizens plan to set up industries suited to their particular region and strive for economic self-sufficiency.

Ten years after the end of the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War began. The war was the result of a collision between Japanese expansion onto the Asian mainland after the Sino-Japanese War and Russian expansion into the Far East, though it might be said that the origins of the clash went back to the Triple Intervention by Russia, France and Germany after the Sino-Japanese War. The scale of the conflict was incomparably larger than that of the Sino-Japanese War. Kanagawa Prefecture sent a total of 16,613 soldiers off to battle, and 1,457 were killed in action or died of disease. Bereaved families all over the prefecture grieved over the news of relatives dead in the war, and activities to render them assistance and support were conducted on a large scale and high level of organization. At the district, city, town, and village levels more than 150 organizations with names such as Shōheigikai and Hōkokukai were set up for this purpose. The prefectural government also created an organization called the Kanagawa Prefectural Association for Wartime Aid to Military Families, which was chaired by the governor and backed up the relief activities of the other organizations noted above. The association, however, was not supported by prefectural funds; instead, it operated on a member-

ship basis, with membership limited to those contributing one yen or more each month, or ten yen or more a year. Thus, assistance to soldiers and their families was carried out in the spirit of mutual assistance by members of the private sector, and one result was an increased awareness and concern for the progress of the war on the part of the general public. The work of these organizations was effective, but the undercurrent of anti-war activity by groups such as the Yokohama Heiminsha (Society of Commoners) cannot be ignored.

Since the war had drawn such attention and concern on the part of the ordinary citizen, popular dissatisfaction with the Portsmouth Treaty (the Russo-Japanese Peace Treaty) of September 5, 1905 (Meiji 38), ran high. The day the treaty was signed, rioting and arson broke out in Tokyo's Hibiya Park and spread to other parts of the city, the most visible expression of a movement of protest against the terms of the treaty that soon spread throughout the country. On September 12, rioting broke out in Yokohama as well, with demonstrators pelting the police station in Isezaki-chō and a police box in Kotobuki-chō with rocks and setting them afire. The governor of the prefecture requested that troops be sent in to quell the disturbance and the warship *Takao*, which was moored in Yokohama harbor, was also requested to assist in this task.

Changes in the postwar period

With the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, social and economic conditions in Yokohama and the surrounding countryside began to show signs of change. Before the Sino-Japanese War the representative agricultural products of Kanagawa Prefecture were cocoons, raw silk, tobacco, rice, barley, soy beans, *azuki* beans, green peas, yams and potatoes. Cocoon and raw silk production was greatest in the Tsukui, Aikō, Ōsumi and Kōza districts, while Hadano in Ōsumi district was famous for its tobacco. Marine products included sardines, mackerel, bonito, sweetfish and seaweed, with the shrimp of Kamakura district, the sweetfish from the Tama and Sagami rivers, and the seaweed of Tachibana district being especially well known.

More finished or processed goods were represented by the Kawawa striped textiles of Tsukui district, the laquerware of



Main street in Isezakichō, Yokohama, at the end of the Meiji period.

Kamakura district, and the cloisonné-ware of Yokohama, while the lathe work of Hakone Yumoto, the plum and other brine pickles of Odawara, the shell handicrafts of Enoshima, and the malt syrup of Uraga were also quite well known. In addition, there was lumber from Tsukui district, charcoal from Aikō district, and sulfur and quarried stone from Ashigarashimo district.

The urban centers of Kanagawa Prefecture were Yokohama, Odawara, Yokosuka and Kanagawa. Yokohama had been only a tiny fishing village, but in the thirty-odd years since 1859 (Ansei 6), it had opened to trade and diplomacy; hills had been leveled,

land reclaimed from the sea, bridges built to span the rivers, and Yokohama had turned into a major metropolis almost overnight. It became a municipality in 1889 (Meiji 22), and according to a census conducted at the end of 1892 (Meiji 25), its population was over 143,000 and growing larger every year. By this period, all the households in the city had running water, and gas and electric lights illuminated the city at night. When the harbor was completed, it was certain to become a great commercial port with convenient facilities for the handling of cargo and the mooring of ships. In the southeastern part of the city there was a foreign settlement which accommodated several thousand overseas residents at any given time. Odawara, which had flourished as a castle town, was now linked by a horse-drawn railway to Kōzu in the east and Yumoto in the west, and lay astride the Tōkaidō, Japan's major east-west highway. At this time its population had reached 15,000. The town of Yokosuka had been nothing more than a small fishing village, but a little over thirty years earlier a shipyard had been built there, and it had grown rapidly. Commerce and industry also flourished and the population rose to 17,000. The town of Kanagawa prospered as a distribution point for the products of the hinterland second only to Yokohama, and had a population of 13,000.

The above is a portrait of Kanagawa Prefecture on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War. However, with the end of the war, the concentration of the population in cities such as Yokohama and Yokosuka continued apace and in April 1901 (Meiji 34), the town of Kanagawa was absorbed by the city of Yokohama. By the end of the Meiji period, approximately 40 percent of the population of the prefecture lived in Yokohama and its environs. The rate of population increase in Yokohama was the highest of the six major urban centers in Japan. This was not a natural increase due to the birthrate, but the result of migration into the city. Before the Sino-Japanese War, most immigrants into the city were from rural areas of the prefecture, but from 1897 (Meiji 30) onward, people from outside the prefecture came to make up 83 percent of new immigration. Yokosuka, the site of the naval arsenal, also experienced a dramatic increase in population due to migration into the city.

The dramatic increase in population and influx of people into

the cities gave rise to a number of urban and social problems that Kanagawa Prefecture had never before experienced.

Strikes begin at the naval arsenal

As the problem of coastal defense took on increasing importance, the Tokugawa shogunate, which had previously forbidden daimyō to construct large naval vessels, lifted this ban in 1853 (Kan'ei 6) and established its own shipyard in Uruga, building the 107-foot wooden sailing ship, the *Hō-ō-maru*. However, this was the only ship built at the Uruga yards, probably because the facilities there were so primitive. In 1865 (Keiō 1) a steelworks was built in Yokohama under the direction of a French engineer, and construction began on another steelworks at the harbor in Yokosuka. The new Meiji government took over both these facilities, naming the first the Yokohama Steelworks and the second the Yokosuka Shipyard, placing them under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Industry (*Kōbusho*) and later under the Ministry of the Navy. After a rather complex history, the Yokohama Steelworks was leased to Hirano Tomisaburō, who had also been sold the Ishikawajima Shipyard in the Tsukiji section of Tokyo. Its name was changed to the Yokohama Ishikawajima Steelworks, and it became a branch factory serving the great industrial complex centered on the Ishikawajima Shipyard.

The Yokosuka Shipyard, under the management of the Ministry of the Navy, built ships and a range of machinery to meet both official and private demand. In 1876 (Meiji 9), the 890-ton gunboat *Kiyoteru* was completed, the first step toward Japan's emergence as a major naval power. After that, seven more warships were built at the yards by 1882 (Meiji 15), though like the *Kiyoteru* they were all wooden vessels. The first all-steel warship, the 1,480-ton *Musashi II*, was launched in 1887 (Meiji 20). All the materials for shipbuilding at Yokosuka had to be shipped there from Tokyo, Yokohama or Uruga. The event that made Yokosuka more than merely a shipyard town and in fact would spread its name throughout the world, was the opening of the naval station there in 1884 (Meiji 17). Its origin was the Tōkai Naval Station, which had been located on the site of the former German consulate in Yokohama, which was now moved to Yokosuka and renamed the Yokosuka Naval Station. In the govern-