**Book Reviews**

*Edo-Kamikata kan no suijō kōtsū shi* [The history of water communication between Edo and the Kyoto-Osaka area], by Manabu Yunoki, 1991, Bunken Shuppan.

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I.

Manabu Yunoki, the editor of this volume, began his scholarly career with research on the economic history of Nada saké. From there he went on to research on the *higaki and taru* (barrel) cargo vessels used for transporting Nada saké, then turned to research on the history of marine transport between the Kyoto-Osaka area and Edo and, even wider, the history of early-modern marine transport in general. In the process of enlarging the field of his studies, he has become well known for his many publications on these subjects. The purpose he had in mind when undertaking the editing of this fourth volume in the series of collected studies on the history of Japan’s water communications was his hope that, in order to

systematize the history of water communications for the whole of Japan...using the research findings on the history of water communications in each individual region and area done in stages...and filling in the holes in the picture for the various regions and areas, we ought to get some overall picture, albeit perhaps a hazy one.

This same purpose, as also these collected studies, form the basis for the publication of volume 1: The History of Water Communications in the Japan Sea; volume 2: The History of Water Communications in the Japan Sea, Continued; volume 3: The History of Water Communications in the Seto Inland Sea; the present volume; and volumes still planned: The History of Water Communications in Shikoku and The History of Water Communications in Kyushu. Still, the essays collected in the present volume seem, at first glance, not necessarily restricted to studies of the history of water communications between Edo and the Kyoto-Osaka area.

Here is a comprehensive list of the titles of the articles and their authors.
Water Transport Charges in the Middle Ages (Tsunezō Shinjō)

Eastern-circuit Marine Transport and the Transport of Hachinohe Domain Products (Tadashi Miura)

Jōmai Transport and Contracting in the Dewa Shogunate Territory in the Middle of the Early-Modern Period (Katsuyoshi Honma)

Tenryū River Boat Transport in Early-Modern Times (Noriaki Murase)

Marine Transport in the Sea of Kumano in Early-Modern Times (Tsutomu Wada)

Cargo Vessels & Distribution in Edo Bay Since the Middle of Early-Modern Times (Takeomi Nishikawa)

Nada Saké Transport in Late Edo and Meiji Restoration Times (Masahiro Kamimura)

Cases of Sea-Damage Settlements Involving Higaki Cargo Vessels (Masayuki Tsugawa)

Opening of Japan Railway and River Boat Transport: Competition and Complementarity (Yoshinobu Oikawa)

The Development of Eastern-circuit Marine Transport: Itako in Hitachi Province (Hideo Watanabe)

Tone River Transportation and the Development of an Edo Local-Trade Economy: The Musashi Waterfront (Kenzō Tanji)

When you look at the eleven titles, you see that, except for the Shinjō article on the middle ages and Oikawa’s on the modern period, there are nine articles dealing with the early-modern period (roughly corresponding with the Tokugawa, or Edo, period), and of these only three—Wada’s on marine transport in the Sea of Kumano, Kamimura’s on the transport of Nada saké, and Tsugawa’s on the Higaki cargo vessels—deal directly with the history of sea communications between Edo and the Kyoto-Osaka area. Nevertheless, if the “water communications between Edo and the Kyoto-Osaka area” of the volume’s title is not limited to the sealane linking the Edo city area with the (principally) Osaka city area, but is taken in the wider sense of all the water traffic linked with the two urban centers via that sealane, then one can understand why the essays dealing directly with the sea communications between Edo and the Kyoto-Osaka area are restricted to three. Accordingly, we can conclude that the editor, by adding essays
on the Tenryū River and Tone River transport systems and the Edo Bay coastal transport, and even two essays on an area that at first sight would seem to have nothing to do with the volume's main topic (the two on eastern-circuit [the route that connected ports on the Sea of Japan with Edo by way of the Tsugaru Strait and the Pacific, as opposed to the western-circuit route that connected the Sea of Japan with Osaka by way of Shimonoseki Strait and the Inland Sea] marine transport), has given it an additional distinctive feature.

By adding to these nine essays on early-modern matters the essay by Shinjō on water transport charges and the essay by Oikawa on the competitive and complementary relations between the newly opened Japan Railway and river and coastal shipping, this collection of essays has been given an even greater distinctiveness. My reason for saying this is that the Shinjō essay, incorporating as it does a study of sea, river, and lake water transport from a large number of aspects and broken down by types of charges and by different locales, opens up wide perspectives in research on the history of early-modern water transport, while Oikawa's also opens up new horizons by discussing how advances in overland transport in the form of railways restructured the system of transport from the early-modern period on, through its relations with river boat transport and coastal shipping.

In his introduction the editor presents two reasons why this volume has such extremely distinctive contents. The first one is that researchers on the history of water communications are concentrated in the Kanto area, Tokyo in particular, and because their number is large and their research is prolific, an unexpectedly large number of the contributions that came in were about Edo and Osaka or about Edo and the Tōhoku region. The second reason is that researchers felt that studies on the history of water communications had been narrowly divided into marine transport, river transport, and so on, and the connection between the history of overland transport and the history of river transport, mainly in the Kanto area, had been stressed too much, so there was a groundswell of support for studying inland water transport for the sake of research on railway history and marine transport history. It is certainly true, as the editor says, that this is the trend in present-day research, and it is also true that this volume contains a large number of essays that are based on this gen-
eral perspective. This having been said, I must say I have grudging admiration for the farsightedness of the editor in compiling between the covers of a single volume such a diversity of essays!

II.

In this section I propose to give a brief introduction to each of the eleven articles that make up this book, in the order in which they appear.

The first article, by Tsunezō Shinjō, is, as the title indicates, a study of the charges that had to be paid for water transport in the middle ages. Most of the discussion focuses on marine transport charges, but the author includes transport on rivers and Lake Biwa as well. This is a lengthy study of approximately one hundred pages, going into differences in criteria for calculating the charges, differences in content, and differences in navigation routes, and all from a variety of angles. It is the fruit of the author’s many years of research on the history of middle-age transportation, and recommended reading for anybody studying the history of the middle ages in Japan, regardless of whether their interest lies in the history of transportation or not, as well as for anybody studying transportation history, whether that of the middle ages or later.

Tadashi Miura’s article discusses the marine transport linking the Hachinohe domain with the Edo and Osaka markets. The author maintains that, during the reform of the domain government that began in 1819, a system of locally registered cargo vessels was put into place in order to transport domain products, and this was one of the factors that led to the exclusion of cargo vessels from other domains and a fall in transport charges. The point made, that the policy of aggressive sales of domain products to the Edo and Osaka markets that was triggered by this reform of the domain government was supported by the putting into place of a transport system, is extremely interesting when one considers the role played by transport in the formation of the market throughout the nation.

Katsuyoshi Honma’s article looks at the transport of Dewa jōmai (rice paid as land tax) during the reforms in the Kyōhō period (1716–1735). Since, before the Kyōhō reforms, the practice was for payments to be made in measures of rice, the proportion of rice transported from the farms to the markets in Edo and Osaka
amounted to no more than about 50% of the annual rice tax. Changes in the method of payment in measures of rice resulting from the Kyōhō reforms meant a reduction in rice payments in the Dewa shogunate territory as well, so ways were sought to increase the amount of rice shipped to Edo and Osaka. The author figures that about 90% of the annual rice tax was rice transported to the markets from the farms. He introduces actual cases of applications for different kinds of contract work in connection with those shipments of rice and brings to light the petition campaigns conducted later by the headmen of villages in the shogunate territory, requesting permission for direct hiring of peasants and of the cargo vessels for the rice going from the farms directly to the markets.

Noriaki Murase’s article deals with river boat transport on the Tenryū River, which, along with the Fuji River, began to be plied by boats in the early Tokugawa period (which began in 1603 and ended in 1867) under Suminokura Ryōi. It was no simple matter to take boats up and down the whole river, from Lake Suwa down to Kakezuka in Enshū (present-day western Shizuoka Prefecture). Added to this was the problem of being in competition with the people who from ancient times had been floating timber downstream from Shinshū and Hokuen (present-day Nagano Prefecture and the northwestern part of Shizuoka Prefecture, respectively) and the people engaged in pack-horse transport, so that the movement of boats and the development of boat transport continued to be hindered. Plans for river boat transport were made by the local and Edo merchants from the An’ei period (1772–1780), but the biggest obstacle remained rivalry with the pack-horse transport people over right of trade (or goodwill). Tenryū river boat transport became possible for a while in the Bunsei period (1818–1829), then atrophied again after that, and had to wait until the promotion of river boat transport that took place in the Meiji period. The rivalry between overland transport in the form of—not a railway, but, of all things—pack horses, and water transport in the form of the Tenryū river boats, I found very interesting.

Tsutomu Wada investigates the Sea of Kumano, which, along with the Sea of Enshū, is always numbered among the most difficult spots to navigate in the stretch of ocean waters linking Osaka and Edo. Wada uses documents relating to marine transport remaining in locales along the Sea of Kumano coastal area, concentrating on documents deal-
ing with rice-tax vessels and the "registries of religious affiliation of travellers by land and sea" genre to be found among the documents remaining in the town hall in Sugariura in Owase City, in an effort to shed light on marine transport in the Sea of Kumano. He divides the vessels crossing the Sea of Kumano into six types: 1) rice-tax vessels; 2) domain-owned vessels carrying rice from farms to markets; 3) higaki and taru (barrel) cargo vessels and other vessels owned by merchants; 4) marine transport vessels plying between nearby creeks; 5) vessels calling at ports to dry the bottoms of vessels; and 6) miscellaneous others. He lists the features of each type and discusses their usage, and his analyses of sources from the actual sites are persuasive.

Takeomi Nishikawa's article is a study of the cargo vessels and distribution in Edo Bay from the middle of the Tokugawa period (therefore, from about 1700). Since Edo Bay is at the eastern end of the water communications between the Kyoto-Osaka area and Edo, it was here that control was continually imposed, by the establishment of such things as the Uraga Magistrate's Office to check marine vessels and their cargos (in 1720) and the River Boat Inspector's Office. This was the result of the growth in goods distribution in Edo Bay from around 1715. Research on Edo Bay had been restricted to studies of the higaki cargo vessels and cargo vessel inspection, or of the relations between them and the control of river boats, and nothing had been done to deal with cargo vessels and distribution within Edo Bay. As a result, even though Nishikawa's article deals with old villages within the boundaries of present-day Yokohama City, it is worthy of attention. Giving the numbers and kinds of cargo vessels plying within Edo Bay and the structures of the harbors, he gives us a picture of the Edo Bay coastline at the time. Then he shows the huge role in distribution played by the merchants active there, through their links with markets around the whole country, rural communities inland, and the Edo local-trade economic sphere, and he also touches upon the influence on distribution exerted by the Bakufu's controls and the opening of the port of Yokohama.

The article by Masahiro Kamimura discusses transport to Edo of Nada saké in the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods (therefore, from roughly 1853 to 1875). Taking up regions in the Nada area like Uozaki and Imazu, which achieved comparative progress in these periods, Kamimura sheds light on trends in the number of barrels of saké
bound for Edo, facts about the cargo vessels, and the introduction of steamships and Western sailing ships. As he works his way through the figures on the number of barrels shipped by Nada sake producers, he concentrates on giving a quantitative picture of the relations between the Nada sake producers on the one hand and the wholesalers of Edo-bound sake, Edo wholesalers, and shippers on the other. The means he uses to fill in this quantitative picture are “single-sheet registers,” or cargo books of one-page invoices on which are written, one page per ship, a digest of the invoices presented by the cargo owners to the wholesalers of Edo-bound goods. Of these “single-sheet registers,” there remain fifteen years’ worth from the years between 1859 and 1879 in the case of sources formerly in the possession of the Uozaki Saké Producers Association, and some covering the year 1866 that formerly were in the possession of the Imazu Saké Producers Association. All of these contain, for each ship, the amount of cargo, the brand names of items contained in the cargo, and the names of the Edo wholesalers. On the basis of a study of these sources, Kamimura analyses all aspects of the operations, to provide a very significant study of long-term trends during a twenty-year period between 1855 and 1875.

Sea-damage claims involving higaki cargo vessels are the topic of Masayuki Tsugawa’s article. A major problem in damages resulting from disasters at sea was how to handle the claims fairly in cases in which shipments of different merchants were loaded on the same vessel. The article looks at eighty-eight cases of sea-damage settlements among fellow shippers on higaki cargo vessels, during the period December 1824–July 1829. The cases are divided into different groups, depending on the method of settlement; thus, the author deals with five cases of bunsan (dispersal) settlement, fifty-six cases of hongōriki (applied in cases of great damage), fifteen cases of sugōriki (applied in cases requiring 60% or more compensation), and twelve cases of unchingōriki (applied in cases requiring from 10 to 50% compensation). The first method is used in cases of shipwreck; the other three methods are used for cases involving water damage or the jettisoning of cargo in shipwreck. As methods of calculation, the last three all continued to exist, but in actual application there was a tendency, the author conjectures, towards using the hongōriki almost exclusively in order to simplify calculations and speed up settlements.
In the next article Yoshinobu Oikawa looks at the relation between the opening of the Japan Railway and river boat transport within the framework of competition and complementarity and studies this relation within the process of formation of the domestic transportation network during the Meiji period. Japan Railway ran from Tokyo to Maebashi, with a trunk line branching off midway and going north to Aomori. The river transport systems in a competitive and complementary relation with it were, therefore, the Tone River, the Mogami River, and the Kitakami River, and since these river boat transportation systems linked with coastal shipping to extend as far as Tokyo, the article does not stop with river boat transportation but also embraces within the scope of its investigations coastal shipping. In regard to the competitive aspect, the author shows that the opening of Japan Railway’s Ueno-Maebashi line created some fierce competition with the Tone river boat operators, and the opening of the Tōhoku line to Aomori created competition with the transport of rice and other grain from Tōhoku seaports, in both cases by taking cargo away from the river boats and seagoing vessels. Next, as an example of the complementarity between the two systems, the author cites the close connection that existed because of the river boat transportation system linked up with the Sumidagawa and Akihabara stations of the Japan Railway, and he goes into a detailed examination of this working relationship. From the viewpoint of providing food for thought about how eastern-circuit marine transport and Tone River river boat transport was restructured from the Tokugawa period in the process of formation of the country’s transportation network, the article is extremely interesting.

Hideo Watanabe’s article focuses on Itako, the connection point with Tone river boat transport for eastern-circuit sea transport in the Tokugawa period. It attempts to study the sea transport and inland water transport as a single, interlinked transport system. This perspective of viewing the two transport systems as a single chain has tended to be given short shrift in the past, but the author advances his viewpoint in very positive fashion. Not relying on the accepted view that direct passage to Edo on the eastern-circuit course was the result of gradual extensions of earlier regular shipping routes thanks to the development of navigation techniques, he posits the view that the nature of the commodities transported and the vessels carrying them, the
market structure, and similar things contributed to the overall question of the transport linking the Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori regions with Edo in those times. He therefore draws the conclusion that, at the early-Tokugawa stage, even though direct navigation to Edo was technically possible, the most advantageous method of transport was not direct passage to Edo but going by way of Itako, connecting with Tone River river boat transport, and then carrying on to Edo. Rather than the development of navigation technology, it was the increased desire on the part of cargo vessel owners for higher freight charges that led to direct sailings to Edo, according to Watanabe, and he assigns the appearance of Chōshi Harbor in the first half of the eighteenth century as the turning point in the decision as to whether to connect with Tone river boats as in the past, or not, and the beginning of the end of transport via Itako. The author's contention that this alteration of the marine transport system is not something that can be explained as solely a marine transport problem, that it has to be explained within the whole transport system involving connections with inland water transport, is very persuasive.

Kenzō Tanji's article, focusing on the waterfront of Musashi Province, discusses the influence exerted on the development of the Edo local-trade economy by developments in Tone River transport in the period from around 1765 to around 1835. As a result of the restructuring and strengthening of their feudal-lord river boat transport system by the Bakufu government and the natural reactions of the waterfront towns, confrontations deepened among the three parties involved: the Bakufu; the privileged river-based wholesalers; and the owners and captains of vessels and new rural merchants, each party insisting on its own position and interests. The author shows that, as a problem internal to the Edo local-trade economy, this naturally had an effect on the development of Edo local trade, but at the same time it had a big effect on market trends, not to mention the shipping system and transport. Along with this, he looks at the problem in its connection with the Bakufu's economic policies, which he discusses in relation to the lowering of shipping charges (also applied to operations along the Tone River), a measure that was one of the regulations aimed at lowering prices generally and enacted as part of the Tempō (1830–1844) reforms. He goes on to show how this lowering of shipping charges failed and how, with the enactment of regulations
breaking up monopoly groups, the privileged river-based wholesalers were eclipsed as a result of direct loading and unloading by the new rural merchants and others, the development of new commodity transport routes, and other factors, and how as a consequence the feudal-lord river boat transport system that had been built up under the control of the privileged river-based wholesalers also proceeded down the path of eclipse.

III.

As can be seen from the above summary glance through the contents of the eleven articles, in its attempt at giving a “history of water communications between Edo and the Kyoto-Osaka area,” the work under review covers a huge variety of topics from a large variety of aspects. This point is alluded to by the author at the end of his foreword, when he selects from the wealth of topics considered, three in particular that he proposes as being especially important for advancing future research into the history of water communications. The three topics he proposes are: 1) the problem of the distribution of goods in connection with cementing the position of the Edo market; 2) the problem of the development of eastern-circuit marine transport and the means by which goods were forwarded from the marine vessels to connect with inland transport; 3) the problem of the “competition” and “complementarity” of transport organs as it relates to railways and river boat transport. But there is no doubt about it, these problems are not only important for advancing the study of the history of water communications, they also are important for advancing the study of the history of communications in general. In the past, research on the history of communications has been carried out by dividing overland transport and water transport into separate fields, and within each field there have been further specializations, so that research has been carried out in a very fragmentated and narrowly restricted fashion. As a result, it has become impossible to see the forest for the trees (the sea for the waves?) in the study of overland and marine transport, let alone the history of communications in gener-
It can be said, though, that after seeing what has happened in this regard there has been a groundswell of interest in connecting organically the very detailed studies made in the various fields and widening the horizons of research so as to combine the different means of transport. When one stops to consider that originally communication and transport were rarely achieved by using only a single means, but rather through combining in an organic unity several complex means, the need to turn our eyes to combinations of different types of means of transportation is beyond dispute. Furthermore, since the use of differing means of transport necessitated trials of this means or that in order to find the method that would prove to be the most economical, it was only natural for there to be "competition" and "complementarity" among different types. When one thinks about it, then, it would seem obvious that such research has to be done. So the proposals for advancing the study of the history of water communications listed at the end of this book apply equally as well to the history of communications in general.

I heartily recommend this book, therefore, as a work that opens up new horizons in research on the history of communications.