

Wakita Kyūbei's Admonitions: A Town Magistrate's Perspective on Early Modern Warrior Rule

David G. Nelson
California Lutheran University

The cessation of Japan's century-long period of civil war, known as the *Sengoku* period, led to the consolidation of warrior rule throughout Japan. Predicated upon the *Sengoku* development and refinement of warrior band organization and land control, daimyo domain administration went through a gradual transformation in the early seventeenth century from reliance upon a feudalistic system of personal obligations to an early modern, bureaucratic system of governance. Seventeenth-century warriors-turned-officials performed specific administrative functions within the domain hierarchy in return for annual stipends and other forms of supplemental income, replacing the sixteenth-century practice of land grants. Various domain offices necessary for the smooth day-to-day operations of the domain, such as *san'yōba bugyō* (financial magistrate), *kujiba bugyō* (judicial magistrate), and *machi bugyō* (town magistrate) were assigned to mid-ranking domain retainers. Such positions appear to be far removed from the martial spirit at the core of samurai identity. On the surface, it seems that this disparity would be cause for concern. Why would warriors, steeped in Japan's warrior honor culture, accept positions that were of no martial significance?

In order to explore this transitional issue, it is necessary to consider the rationale developed by samurai in such positions. Kanazawa, the primary castle town of Kaga Domain, the largest daimyo domain in the Edo period, provides an ideal setting to

consider a samurai official's mindset. The writings of Kanazawa town magistrate, Wakita Kyūbei Naokata (1585-1660), shows how a seventeenth century samurai accepted his early modern bureaucratic role in the governance of an urban population, and how he understood it to be an extension of warrior identity and purpose. Kyūbei's justification of warrior rule reflects the medieval martial origins of the Edo period political system. At the same time, he lauded the seventeenth century domain policies that were at the heart of the formation of local centers of authority as part of Japan's early modern state, through the establishment of a more bureaucratic system of authority that contributed to the peace and stability of the castle town and restricted samurai tendencies toward violence, hedonism, and abuses of power.

For some Edo period samurai scholars, however, warrior rule in a time of peace required explanation and rationalization. How could warriors justify their elite status when stability and prosperity meant that a samurai's true calling, action on the battlefield, was no longer necessary? Why was a warrior better qualified than other status groups for administrative positions in society? Some scholars, such as Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685), and Muro Kyūsō (1658-1734) found answers to these questions in the philosophical debate sparked by a growing interest in Neo-Confucian ideas. Neo-Confucianism offered such men a moral and ethical justification for samurai rule. Other status groups, focused on their occupational pursuits and the accumulation of wealth, had little opportunity to attain a true understanding of moral principles. On the other hand, samurai were guaranteed stipends from their lord. Therefore, they could concentrate their efforts on cultivating such virtues as duty and loyalty in order to lead society by righteous example and the enforcement of proper behavior.

As research regarding Tokugawa orthodox ideology by scholars such as Bitō Masahide, Herman Ooms, and Eiko Ikegami has shown, the importance of Neo-Confucianism was not universally

recognized by the average samurai in the eighteenth century.¹ Bitō Masahide contended that samurai, as a whole, held a certain antipathy toward academic learning, despite daimyo and shogunal interest and support. When the eighth Tokugawa shogun, Yoshimune (r. 1716-1745) sponsored a series of scholarly lectures in 1717, attendance by shogunal officials and the samurai class, in general, was dismal.² They simply had no interest—the excitement of the Yoshiwara pleasure quarters and kabuki theatre provided much more stimulation than philosophical debate. Outside a small but growing circle of samurai scholars and their patrons, the majority of seventeenth century samurai were little troubled by philosophical concerns. One such concern was the apparent contradiction of warrior rule in a time of peace, a dilemma that many Edo period scholars sought to alleviate through the application of Neo-Confucian rationalization. However, the majority of the warrior class managed to rationalize samurai rule in the seventeenth century despite the fact that the duties they were called upon to perform had little to do with martial valor, killing and death, but on the contrary, entailed the preservation of peace and the suppression of violence.

In order to understand this rationale, it is necessary to look beyond the writings of Edo period scholars, even though these writings have traditionally been the primary source for our understanding of the Edo period sociopolitical structure. One must look below the ruling elites and policy makers—who were somewhat

¹ Bitō Masahide 尾藤正英, *Nihon hōken shisōshi kenkyū: bakuban taisei no risō to shūshigakuteki shiken* 日本封建思想史研究: 幕藩体制の原理と朱子学的思惟, (Tokyo: Aoki shoten 青木書店, 1966). Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

² Bitō, 33-35.

disconnected from the day-to-day realities of the system they sought to mold—to individuals such as the town magistrates, who were directly involved in the implementation and enforcement of samurai rule. The mid-level samurai town magistrate was a pivotal figure in local early modern administration in the Edo period because he oversaw both samurai and townsman officials in their efforts to maintain an orderly society. The town magistrate is the ideal subject to study in considering how the samurai reconciled their feudal warrior heritage with their administrative role in the Japanese early modern state.

“Admonitions for Town Magistrates,” provides insight into the mindset of one town magistrate, Wakita Kyūbei, who served as Kanazawa town magistrate from 1648-1659.³ In general, Wakita’s writing takes a conservative, traditional view and bases the legitimacy of warrior rule upon its medieval samurai heritage. “Admonitions for Town Magistrates” shows that for a seventeenth century samurai official who directed Kanazawa’s refashioned, bureaucratized urban administration, warrior rule was predicated upon *sengoku* period conceptions of warrior identity, related to the ability to establish and maintain peace through a monopoly of violence.

The value of Wakita Kyūbei’s writing is enhanced by his unique background. Kyūbei was not born into a samurai family, and therefore did not naturally inherit the medieval preconceptions of samurai identity. Kidnapped as a seven-year-old boy during Hideyoshi’s 1592 invasion of Korea, Kyūbei was forced to adapt to an alien culture, completely cut off from his Korean roots. As far as can be determined, Wakita Kyūbei was the only Korean-born man in the early Edo period to become a member of the samurai class, let

³ “Machibugyō rekidaichō 町奉行歴代帳,” in *Kanazawa shishi shiryō hen* 金沢市史資料編, vol. 6, ed. Kanazawa shishi hensan iinkai 金沢市史編さん委員会 (Kanazawa: Kanazawa shi 金沢市, 2000), 123-133.

alone achieve a mid-ranking office such as Kanazawa town magistrate. Making the most of his fate, Kyūbei chose to integrate himself fully into Japanese warrior society. Not only did he attain recognition for bravery on the battlefield during the 1614-1615 Osaka Campaigns, but he also excelled in Japan's native literary traditions by becoming a certified expert on *The Tale of Genji*, and one of Kanazawa's finest *renga* poets.⁴ As such, Kyūbei's understanding of Japan's samurai heritage was learned through his emulation of and personal adaptation to the warrior society in which he found himself stranded and alone. Thus, Kyūbei's interpretation of the samurai's place in Japanese society reflects contemporary samurai values and identity to which he molded himself.

It must be noted that the only existing version of "Admonitions for Town Magistrates" lacks a signature, and is likely a nineteenth century handwritten copy of an earlier original. It is purportedly written by Wakita Kyūbei shortly before his death, to be given to Wakita Kyūbei Naoyoshi, his heir and replacement as Kanazawa Town Magistrate. "Admonitions" is considered to be written by Wakita Kyūbei Naokata for the following reasons. First, the only known copy was found in the Wakita family vault in Kanazawa before it was donated to the Kanazawa City Library historical archives. Second, this copy was made in the late Edo period by Wakita Naoyasu, a member of the Wakita family, further linking the manuscript to the family.⁵ Finally, among the extended Wakita

⁴ Kasai Jun'ichi 笠井純一, "Kaden—Kim (Wakita) Jōtetsu jiden" 家伝—金 (脇田) 如鉄自伝, *Kanazawa daigaku kyōyōbu ronshū: jinbun kagakuben* 金沢大学教養部論集: 人文科学篇28, no. 1 (1990): 1-24.

⁵ Wakita Kyūbei Naokata 脇田九兵衛直賢, "Machibugyō kokoroesho 町奉行心得書," Kanazawa City Library, Kaetsuno bunko collection, Kanazawa, Ishikawa Prefecture, Japan. For a published version, see David Nelson, "Machibugyō kokoroesho ni miru kinsei no bushi kengen no konkyo 「町奉行心得書」にみ

clan, only two individuals served as town magistrates: Wakita Kyūbei Naokata, and Wakita Kyūbei Naoyoshi, father and son. It makes sense for this document to have been written by the father as a patriarchal admonition to a son about to follow in his father's footsteps.⁶ Furthermore, Naoyoshi was known as a Neo-Confucian scholar and disciple of Kinoshita Jun'an (1621-1698),⁷ who went on to teach shogunal advisor Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725). Neo-Confucian thought did not contribute to the rationale made in "Admonitions" regarding the town magistrate's role in society. The justification for continued samurai rule, regardless of the bureaucratization of administration, remained grounded in the violent medieval origins of warrior administration, not in a reinterpretation of warrior moral superiority over the masses.

Wakita Kyūbei's "Admonitions" reflect an understanding of society that had coalesced during the first 50 years of Tokugawa rule. This society had clearly defined occupational status groups organized to serve the state in specific ways. Samurai governed and provided military service, peasants produced rice, artisans manufactured necessary tools and equipment, and merchants acted as mediums for the exchange of goods within the domain, as well as with other

る近世の武士権限の根拠,” *Rikkyo daigaku nihongaku kenkyujo nenpo* 立教大学日本学所年報5 (2006): 40-48.

⁶ Tanaka Yoshio, *Kanazawa chōnin no sekai* 金沢町人の世界 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1988), 3. Tanaka Yoshio, *Kaga han ni okeru toshi no kenkyū* 加賀藩における都市の研究, (Tokyo: Bun'ichi sōgō shuppan 文一総合出版), 276-280.

⁷ *Sanbyaku han kashin jinmei jiten* 三百藩家臣人名事典, ed. Kashin jinmeijiten hensan iinkai 家臣人名事典編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha 新人物往来社, 1989), s.v. “Kaga no kuni 加賀国.”

domains. Wakita was forced to adapt to this society and learn to serve it. Kyūbei discovered, from his own personal experience in guaranteeing his place in the Japanese warrior community, that ensuring the clear delineation of status and an individual's adherence to his role in society were paramount principles. These tenets had to be protected and upheld by those in positions of authority, such as the town magistrate. The bureaucratization and extension of officials affiliated with that office, including the hierarchy of townsman officials, only enhanced the town magistrate's ability to fulfill his mission. For Wakita, then, the primary concern that samurai officials faced was the protection of the sociopolitical hierarchy into which society was divided. Thereby, individual members of society could effectively fulfill their obligations to the state through the performance of their hereditarily determined occupations.

In Wakita's "Admonitions," hierarchy of status, while important in maintaining order and social stability, was not a determinant of Confucian morality, as such. Samurai ruled, not from any inherent virtues peculiar to the warrior, but only because their hereditary occupation was most suited to keeping the peace among the rest of the population. Wakita turned to historical precedent to show that the same human weaknesses and foibles displayed by avaricious merchants were also to be found among the warrior class. What prevented samurai from giving in to their weaker natures, Wakita argued, were the bureaucratic constraints placed upon samurai, namely their stipends. It was incumbent upon samurai to encourage the same restraint among the commoner population. This would be done through the consistent enforcement of laws and ordinances that had become more prevalent with the development of bureaucratic institutions during the seventeenth century. Without recognizing it, Wakita was, in effect, expressing his support for the early modern bureaucratic system that was nearing its mature stage during his tenure in office. At the same time, he saw the rationale for

the legitimacy of warrior rule in the samurai monopoly of violence established in the *sengoku* period.

Kyūbei believed that social order was maintained by the samurai class; it was their responsibility to govern; *sengoku* warlords had seized the initiative through military conquest, and Edo period innovations in the organization of samurai administration that built upon *sengoku* social controls only strengthened these claims. For Kyūbei, no deeper philosophical grounding for warrior administrative authority was necessary. Samurai, through their monopoly over the ability to use violence established in the *sengoku* period, simply protected the peace and established order. No other group was equipped to create an environment that allowed the other status groups to focus on the performance of their respective duties in society.

Social disorder that hampered prosperity for artisans and merchants was only remedied through the controlled use of military force. To the thinking of a loyal retainer of a prosperous, orderly domain pacified by a strong warlord, the constant warfare and inherent instability of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could only have been overcome by warriors. No deeper moral or philosophical basis was required to explain samurai rule. In Kyūbei's world view, no inconsistency could be found with a warrior elite ruling at a time of peace and prosperity, because it was the warrior who created that peace and promoted prosperity through stability maintained by the threat of force.

However, as the office of town magistrate had been reshaped over the course of the seventeenth century into a bureaucratic institution dedicated to managing the affairs of a civilian population, the duties of the town magistrate did not seem to reflect the martial origins of warrior rule. Wakita Kyūbei was aware of this apparent discrepancy. In his admonition to his son, Kyūbei clarified the fact that the transformation of a warrior's service to the daimyo from that of front line soldier to bureaucratic official in no way undermined the

samurai's true identity. Despite his primary responsibility to govern a civilian population, a town magistrate's duties retained a military function within the domain's war machine. The town magistrate guaranteed supplies and non-combatant support for the army in the field, thus revealing a latent military necessity within a seemingly bureaucratic office. Although there were no battles to be fought throughout most of the Edo period, this responsibility for military preparedness underscored the need for a well-ordered city and a responsive population. The town magistrate's role within the Tokugawa "garrison state,"⁸ as Takagi Shosaku defined a unified Japan under warrior rule, was to ensure that every occupational group under his jurisdiction fulfilled their military obligations to the state. Artisans produced weapons and armor; merchants transported war material and provender, and even provided intelligence through their travel and business dealings in other domains. From the perspective of a wartime footing, it made sense even to a conservatively minded warrior like Kyūbei for town authority to be centralized and consolidated into one office, that of town magistrate. Even an official buried under the day-to-day burdens of urban administration played a vital role in the maintenance of the peace through a state of military preparedness.

For Wakita, maintaining order among Kanazawa's non-warrior population was a military function, though it did not compare to the glory or excitement of the battlefield. Wakita's repeated emphasis on military preparedness, despite the fact that the last major pitched battle involving Maeda retainers occurred nearly 45 years earlier in 1615, might have been an expression of his traumatic youth, when he witnessed his birth country, unused to the hardships and sacrifices of war, overwhelmed by battle-hardened warriors. He might

⁸ Takagi Shosaku, "'Hideyoshi's Peace' and the Transformation of the Bushi Class—Dissolution of the Autonomy of the Medieval Bushi," *Acta Asiatica* no. 49 (1985): 46-77.

have been concerned that the peace established under the Tokugawa regime had a corrosive effect on the martial nature of the warrior class. This weakness could have led to disaster for his adopted land, repeating what befell his country of birth. Whatever reasons underlay his views, Kyūbei believed that warrior traits were just as effective when applied to one's magisterial duties as they were on the battlefield. Military service and bureaucratic rule were merely two sides of the same coin; in either case, the warrior served to establish and maintain order in society.

Although Confucianism did not provide a new rationale for samurai rule in Wakita Kyūbei's writings, the philosophy is embedded in his assumption that artisans, and especially merchants, were in business to serve their own interests. Therefore, it was vital for samurai officials, as guardians of society, to oversee the transactions of commoners under their care. The supervision was necessary in order to prevent the dissolution of civilization caused by humanity's natural tendency toward self-interest and excess. Commoners naturally seek ease and pleasure if left to their own devices. Government officials, in Edo Japan, the warriors, must "rectify" the people's deviance through reprimands and education, as well as by their own example of propriety and adherence to righteous principles, thus eradicating the "source" of such desires from the nature of the people.⁹

This Confucian principle of human nature and the role of government officials was a well-established principle of governance in Japan, dating back to Prince Shōtoku.¹⁰ Since the Kamakura

⁹ Irene Bloom, "Confucius and the Analects," in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. 1: *From Earliest Times to 1600*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 56. Irene Bloom, "Mencius," in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. 1, 114-158.

¹⁰ "The Seventeen-Article Constitution of Prince Shōtoku," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 1, 51-52. "Kenpō jūshichijō" 憲法十七條, in *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本

period, samurai had steadily assumed the role of “superiors” in society, culminating in the Tokugawa *bakuhau* system. Wakita, holding an official position that entailed the oversight of commoner affairs, inherited this cultural understanding of a superior’s duties to curb commoner excess. It was not necessary for Wakita to look beyond the customs of the past for any sort of moralistic Confucian justification for a samurai’s place of authority in society as contemporary Neo-Confucian scholars had done. Furthermore, the tendency toward excess that merchants naturally displayed required restrictions by samurai officials, whose duty it was to preserve Edo social order. The daimyo delegated this responsibility to the city magistrate; Wakita required no additional rationalization regarding samurai social standing as government officials. Wakita’s reasoning was grounded on Japan’s past political institutions and social thought. In the *sengoku* period, warlords had asserted their right to rule through the use of violence in the protection of their domains. *Sengoku* daimyo policies of social control promoted the stability of society within the domain; as long as that stability was preserved, warrior rule was justified.

Wakita Kyūbei’s admonitions provides an understanding of how a town magistrate viewed social and economic policies made by domain officials. While Confucian values are not absent in Kyūbei’s “Admonitions for Town Magistrates,” Confucian ideology was not his primary motivation to serve his domain. Instead, Wakita viewed Edo period society from its origins in warrior consolidation of power during the *sengoku* period. Merchants and artisans did not bring peace and stability to Japan. However, the samurai accomplished this feat, and that was sufficient justification in his mind for the rest of the population to submit to warrior rule. What other group could better

思想体系, vol. 2, *Shōtoku Taishi shū* 聖徳太子集 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1975), 128-133.

protect that peace than warriors ready to mobilize society against any serious disturbance, especially after the feudal nature of personal obligation in vassalage and samurai self-interest were diminished by seventeenth-century reorganization of the domain's retainers as, in essence, salaried civil servants?

To Wakita Kyūbei's reasoning, the town magistrate was the linchpin of the Edo period "garrison state." This official was responsible for preserving order and mobilizing the city's population to support military action when required. The town magistrate united warrior forces with the economic machinery necessary to support any military endeavor. To Wakita, this military aspect of the city magistrate's duties provided sufficient grounds for continued warrior authority; samurai created a stable domain through military strength in exchange for the population's economic support. Additional rationalization by Neo-Confucian scholars regarding samurai moral superiority merely muddied the waters. Wakita discerned no greater sense of morality among the samurai than other status groups were capable of cultivating—the *sengoku* period provided enough examples for Wakita to disprove any claims of superiority that samurai may have made. The monopoly over the use of force and violence allowed daimyo like the Maeda whom Wakita Kyūbei served to assert their authority over their domains, and their continued ability to do so guaranteed that the samurai-dominated domain government would remain in power, regardless of the Neo-Confucian concern with the morality of the ruling class as a whole.

**Admonitions for Town Magistrates
Attributed to Wakita Kyūbei Naokata**

A town magistrate's duty is to govern the artisan and merchant classes. For this reason, most warriors do not consider this office to be a military one. Among the three status groups residing in the town, artisans and merchants pass on their respective occupations; without samurai to govern, who would maintain order? However,

compared to a cavalry or infantry commander, whose job is to face the enemy and show merit by placing himself in harm's way, risking life and limb, it goes without saying that a magistrate's duties are not desirable to samurai. Serving in the capacity of town magistrate with sincerity and dedication is an onerous responsibility. It must be remembered that service as a town magistrate responsible for the governance of artisan and merchant industry is an expression of the warrior ethos.

Governing artisans and merchants nowadays is different than in the *sengoku* period. During those troubled times, warriors had a great deal of prestige; artisans and merchants were truly motivated to submit to samurai. Because of this attitude among townsmen, it was easy to govern them; officials' burdens were light. In the early days of warrior rule, daimyo consolidation of power fueled the merchants' growing vigor and energy. Merchant excesses distracted samurai from the true intent of rule and polluted the warrior spirit, increasing officials' burdens.

Artisans and merchants are truly dissimilar. Artisans make products to be sold in order to gain the wherewithal to provide a livelihood for themselves. Depending upon the difficulty of the work, the artisan determines a high or low price, so that his day's labor can enable him to support his family and maintain his household. These conditions limit and make it difficult for artisans to accumulate wealth. If an artisan neglects his household duties, it becomes apparent, because he will have difficulty supporting himself. The merchant's job on the other hand is to trade local goods for the products of other domains. Thereby, the merchant profits from the transaction and transport of goods, in order to provide for himself and his family. In contrast to the artisan, the merchant does not make anything with his hands in order to create a profit. In fact, the merchant uses his wits and cunning to make his fortune. Furthermore, from the money made in trade, he is able to increase his profits and become a wealthy person through usury. Soon the

merchant can appoint a servant to manage his affairs, allowing him to live a life of luxury. This kind of extravagance goes against nature, however, leading the merchant to suffer losses. After all of his wealth has been wasted on luxury, he finds himself alone, with nothing left to him but death. This situation happens to merchants more than artisans. It reflects the different realities faced by artisans and merchants, even though they live in a symbiotic relationship with one another. It is vital for the samurai official to have a clear understanding of such differences among those he governs.

Three kinds of craftsmen are found among the artisan class. The first kind of craftsman must be encouraged to flourish. These craftsmen produce the daily necessities of food, clothing, and shelter using locally produced material, as well as manufacturing military goods for the samurai class. The second kind of craftsman is unimportant. These craftsmen, using products from other domains, produce sophisticated goods and luxury items for daily use, items that are neither necessary nor desirable. The third kind of craftsman is harmful to society. These craftsmen produce unnecessary items for pleasure and amusement. The town magistrate must judge between the three kinds of craftsmen, increase the number of desirable craftsmen, and seriously investigate and single out the harmful craftsmen and eliminate them, if possible. Craftsmen living and working on the outskirts of the city in an attempt to evade close scrutiny by town officials should also be identified and restricted. Finally, depending upon local customs, even when none of the second category of craftsmen who produce unnecessary goods is active, it won't be long before a taste for such products develops. Essentially, those who seek sophisticated goods are people of luxury. People who request such goods also have an interest in Kyoto products. Therefore, local craftsmen of unnecessary products should be considered no different than craftsmen from other domains. Those who produced pleasure goods were to be restricted, as well as the general use of the goods superfluous artisans produced.

Merchants sell the various products necessary to supply people with food, clothing, and shelter. Merchants also transport domestic products to other domains, to trade for other domains' goods. In addition, they use their accumulated wealth to make loans, thereby increasing their wealth from the interest garnered from their debtors. In general, the merchant classes use their wits and financial prudence in order to increase profitability through a variety of business transactions. With luck, they become wealthy within one generation. Regarding such successful merchants' children and grandchildren, some neglect their mercantile skills and remain ignorant of financial prudence. They waste their wealth and end up lonely and friendless. This is similar to the rise and fall of the *sengoku* warrior houses; however, the warrior houses that rose above this kind of dilemma now faced by the merchant class entered the path of greatness. Similarly, even though heroic samurai early in the present age were rewarded for their accomplishments with stipends that placed limits on wealth accumulation and expenditures, not all of their descendants live worthy of those stipends. This trend, now prevalent among the merchant class, is not new to Japan as well as China. In such times, governing officials must not sit idly by. The fault lay with the ruling elite. It is not only the ruling class's fault, but human nature. In the hearts of the people, those who desire a life of ease do not mind a little risk. Despite that fact, people in this day and age are easy to govern. Many successful merchant houses seek to establish high interest rates. It is the merchant class's nature to desire high interest; this is something to which officials nowadays must be alert. Extravagance and luxury are things toward which human nature tends to turn, and are widespread among the merchant class. Because the source of these desires has not been rectified, for a long time it has been too easy for many merchant families to take such a course.

Since the *sengoku* period, the warrior class has utilized the artisan and merchant classes. Artisans are necessary to produce weaponry. Merchants, able to travel to other domains, something

samurai could not freely do without suspicion, transported their wares, and in the process covertly gathered information on the customs and situation of other domains. In other words, talented and clever merchants were utilized by samurai in the strategic planning against rival domains, a common practice found throughout the country. Because of this fact, the town magistrate must not neglect the surveillance of visiting merchants. Whether this kind of strategy favors our domain or others depends upon the judgment of the military commander and the official responsible for merchant oversight. In other words, informants and spies are essential. Therefore, those merchants who are revealed as spies, if they have a change of heart, should be released and utilized as informants. In addition, during a long military campaign in another domain, merchants transport the army's rations. When transporting military rations, they disguise them as merchandise in order to prevent their falling into enemy hands. Especially in situations like these, merchants with merit and talent should be selected for the job in order to guarantee swift delivery of needed supplies. Officials overseeing the merchant class must never forget the military necessity of merchant services.

Early in the current era [the Edo period], people forgot the dangers of the *sengoku* period and sought a life of pleasure. They pursued luxury and splendor, neglecting restraint. When luxury and splendor first appeared, the needs of the masses were disturbed, as extravagant ways proved to be more pleasurable than anything else. As extravagance became commonplace, it was no longer considered wasteful expenditure once such goods flooded the market. The normalization of extravagant customs and their increase is called luxury. Customs of the beginning of this era, however, not to mention more recent customs, are nothing like the frugal customs of the past. During the unification, officials' admonishments regarding customs addressed the pace of the spread of luxury. In particular, officials serving the great houses praised frugality, admonished those

who wanted to visit other domains, and sought to prevent the import of other domains' customs of extravagance.

It is normal that some people enjoy extravagance. The rise of extravagance, though, is hampered by strictly governed domains. The taste for extravagance increases more in places where people of other domains gather in large numbers, or where many travelers live outside the law and never reside long in one place. In this manner, samurai extravagance comes from Edo, while merchant luxury comes from the Kamigata. The locations where samurai and merchants gather in large numbers are places of prosperity, thereby setting the trends that spread throughout the country. Local merchants from the countryside act as properly humble merchants and do not imitate Kyoto extravagance. Unfortunately, some use trade as an excuse to spend a great deal of time in Kyoto, or use the excuse of pilgrimages to shrines and temples to leave the family at home while playing in Kyoto. They spend all of their money and accustom themselves to luxury. After their return, these wayward merchants lord it over those who never visited Kyoto, instructing others in the customs of the capital, and thereby profit from the additional demand for Kyoto goods they have created. This problem arises due to the negligence of officials assigned to govern the townsman population. These officials, in an attempt to avoid the appearance of trouble within their jurisdictions, do not strictly enforce the law or issue heavy punishments. Therefore, extravagant wares are disguised so as to be indistinguishable from everyday wares. If such excesses are timidly handled, merchants drive up prices and nothing can be done about it. Samurai authority weakens, and local customs degenerate. Everyone understands that fact.

This is how samurai and merchants differ. Samurai have commensurate stipends. Those who exceed their stipends suffer a shortage of resources, bringing on hardship. Therefore, it is vital for samurai to live frugally. The merchant classes use wealth to establish divisions among themselves. Those who have not accumulated

wealth are unable to attain luxury. When merchants are able to hoard wealth through frugality, they do not freely spend what they have, and are therefore not accepted in merchant society. However, merchants, like samurai, should not be prevented from exercising frugality. This custom among merchants is a great error. Because merchants do not live on a stipend, but support themselves through commercial profit, theirs is a precarious position in society. Merchants with talent are able to make a lot of money. They cannot make more profit without using the wealth they have already accumulated. However, if their wealth is wasted on luxury and extravagance, merchants turn to profiteering in order to make up for their lack of resources. Therefore, merchants must be admonished to spurn luxury and extravagance. Merchants in the countryside are governed by country customs and abstain from sampling foreign tastes. It is vital to rein in the hearts of the merchants.

With regard to the governance of artisans and merchants, because of the large numbers of people, the government has organized them into companies just as the three armies of domain samurai are organized. Each company among the townsmen is led by a company headman; company headmen are led by senior headmen, who are led by three or four chief headmen. Laws are passed down through this chain of command, just as in the samurai company system. Those appointed from among the townsmen to act as officials oversee a section of the town, regardless of artisan or merchant status in that section. In addition, various guild masters are established over the different industries, to prevent economic disorder. Town inspectors have been established to correct neglect, and town patrolmen make their appointed rounds in order to handle emergencies. All of these measures ensure, first, the protection of the town, and second, the guidance and direction of the people. The decay of towns under our care leads to the decline of the domain. Excess prosperity leads to a weakening of samurai authority. Avoiding excess is truly the Middle Way.

When the army is on campaign, the town magistrate remains behind to keep the peace so that production does not falter. The magistrate's job is also to select workers, or townsmen, to support the campaign. In addition, the town magistrate is responsible for apprehending any townsmen committing treason. Furthermore, in the absence of most domain officials during a military campaign, the town magistrate further takes up the role of judicial magistrate and investigator of theft. After a time, the town magistrate also joins the campaign. When this happens, even the townsmen on the employment rosters of the magistrate's office accompany him. Even the lowliest servant shall comply with the requirements of the campaign, either in joining the campaign or in remaining behind to conduct castle town affairs.

Magistrates of distant towns, while similar to castle town magistrates in that they also govern artisans and magistrates, do not compare in scale and importance. With smaller jurisdictions and with fewer people, these magistrates must seek guidance from the local rural magistrate in serious matters. It is vital that nothing be done that would cause a loss in production of local goods. For towns located on the sea, the ways to other domains are open through shipping. Because of this, the local magistrate must have a strategy for dealing with the open borders. In general, towns located some distance from a castle town are similar in temperament to peasant villages. Appreciating this similarity, the magistrates should quiet any emergencies and govern without the need to call in military support. Because they are far from the castle town and reinforcements, it goes without saying that such town magistrates must not forget to be perpetually prepared.

These admonitions apply to all who serve as town magistrate. Those in this era of order, especially, must not be irresponsible.

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