Takeshi Abe

Osaka University

abe@econ.osaka-u.ac.jp

The Development of Japanese Cotton Weaving Industry in Edo Period

Introduction

Prior to the Japanese industrialization which began in the late 1880s, manufacturing such

as weaving, silk reeling, brewery, and the related commerce had already highly

developed around the farming villages in the Edo period (1603-1868). We have many

Japanese books and articles that argued about the Japanese manufacturing in the period,

especially after the latter half of 18th century. However, most of them argue about only

one industry at a specific narrow area, and neglected the development of the industry in

the whole Japan. In addition, such basic facts as the starting period of the respective local

industries, the transition of their production, and so on, are not necessarily known,

although the literature well elucidated the differences of production forms (i.e.,

putting-out or manufactory).

There were lots of manufacturing industries in the Edo period. Table 1 shows the

production values of the important industries in 1874, which reflect the approximate

situation at the end of the Edo period. According to this table, brewery and weaving were

most important, and in weaving, cotton and silk were overwhelming.

This paper focuses on the cotton weaving industry, and confirms quantitatively the

transition of production volumes, further considering about some aspects of its

development all over Japan.

¹ Ichikawa (1958) is an excellent survey about them.

1

1. Basic Data

In the Edo period, with the penetration of market economy, cotton cloth, which was the material of popular *kimono* and the other wear, came to be woven in the many local areas, closely related to the production of raw cotton and hand-spun yarn. The peasants, who were the main produces of cotton cloth, local merchants and finishers (namely, bleachers and dyers) usually gathered at the narrower areas called *sanchi* (producing centers)².

As a whole, it is difficult for a researcher to find the data on manufacturing industries in the Edo period, including the case of cotton weaving. However, we can often find the production volumes of cotton cloth at the respective *sanchi* in such sources as local histories, historical records of local trade associations which were established in and after the Meiji period (1868-1912), and the academic literature which used these sources. These data are generally rough, and their reliability does not seem to be high. Nevertheless, we need not reject them at all. This paper looks upon these data as approximately reflecting the actual situation, collects them as many as possible.

Before taking these procedures, we must select the suitable *sanchi* for consideration. The author decided them, noting the selling and buying of cotton cloth. In the Edo period, Osaka, which was the economic center of Japan, gathered many commodities including cotton cloth mainly from the western part of Japan through water transportation, and distributed them to various areas, especially to Edo (now Tokyo), which was the enormous consumption city in the world. Table 2 shows the local provinces which shipped cotton cloth to Osaka. This paper looks upon most of them as cotton weaving *sanchi*. However, as the author could not confirm whether Sanuki and Bungo produced

cotton cloth or not, these two provinces were excluded. Incidentally, on this table the statistical data about Nishijin (Yamashiro), Yamato, Settsu, Awaji, Bicchu and Awa were not acquired, although Table 3 indicates that they certainly produced cotton cloth.

Cotton cloth which was consumed in Edo was not produced only by the *sanchi* shown on Table 2. As Kitajima(ed.)(1962) and R.Hayashi (1963; 1967, pp.120-9) show, Nishi (west)-Mikawa³, Owari (the name of whole area of Bihoku, Bisai and Chita) and Seishu (the name of whole area of Ise and Matsuzaka) had shipped cotton cloth directly to Edo since about the 17th century, and some *sanchi* in Kanto region around Edo such as Mooka and Iwatsuki had followed them since 18th century. The above-mentioned areas are included the *sanchi* in this paper. However, the author could not confirm whether Bihoku produced cotton cloth or not, and could not get any information on production volumes of Nishi-Mikawa and Iwatsuki. About these two *sanchi*, look on Table 3.

Lastly, referring to Abe (1983) which scrutinized the cotton weaving *sanchi* in the early Meiji Period (1868-c.1884), this paper further added Akita (now in Akita Prefecture⁴), Kameda (Niigata Pref.), Mitsuke (Niigata Pref.), Niikawa (Toyama Pref.) Sano (Tochigi Pref.), Kita-Saitama (Saitama Pref.), Tokorozawa (Saitama Pref.) and Tarui (Osaka

Thus, the author singled out the cotton weaving *sanchi* which should be considered.

Next, he collected the statistical data as many as possible from the above-mentioned materials, compared with them each other, and then, decided the starting periods of

Prefecture⁵) to the list of *sanchi*⁶.

² See Nawa (1937: Part 1, Ch.1); Shinobu (1942: Part 1, Ch.1); Sanpei (1961: pp.150-).

³ Higashi (east)-Mikawa, the narrower centers of which were Miya and Gamagori, started to develop after the Meiji period. See Abe(1983), p.313.

⁴ Although its center seems to have been Yokote, which is famous by Hattori (1934 and 1935), the author took the data of all Akita prefecture.

⁵ Tarui, a part of Izumi, should be treated as an independent *sanchi* of a special thick cloth, *monpa*, for traditional Japanese socks (*tabi*).

⁶ In the *Sanchi* shown in Abe (1983), which had developed in the Edo period, Oura(Nakano) was omitted because of lack of data. As Kita-Adachi, Bingo (the name of whole area of Ashina, Numakuma and Kannabe) and Kurume began to develop at the end of Edo period, they were also excluded.

cotton cloth manufacturing, the epoch making periods of commercialization of cloth, and the production volumes. The final results of these procedures are compiled in the Appendix Table, and the data are plotted in the respective local regions on Figure 1. These data are rough, and, needless to say, we must carefully use them. However, as we can hardly get the statistical data on production of manufacturing industries in Edo period, the data must be valuable. Incidentally, Table 3 and the Appendix Table also include such information as main products, technological progress, production system and *han* (domain) monopoly⁷.

2. Observations of Data

As Appendix Table and Figure 1 indicate, there were many cotton weaving *sanchi* in Japan in the Edo period, which wove various cloths such as white cloth and striped cloth (see 'Main Products' in Appendix Table). According to Table 4, cotton cloth production seems to have started around in Tokai and Kinki regions in the 16th or 17th century⁸. Such *sanchi* as Nishi-Mikawa and Seishu in Tokai region, and Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi and Izumi in Kinki region had long histories and they were famous in Japan(see Table 2 and Appendix Table). Table 5 suggests that many *sanchi* except for these older ones experienced the rapid commercialization of cotton cloth after the latter half of the 18th century. So-called Tanuma period (1760-86) in Japanese history seems to have been an epoch in the development of cotton weaving industry. Also, according to the same table, newly emerging *sanchi* developing after the latter half of the 18th century strikingly

_

⁷ *Han* often monopolized the sale of valuable cash crops and the processed goods made from them at the national markets in Osaka and Edo in the Edo period.

⁸ According to Shigeyori Matsue, *Kefukigusa* completed at the former half of the 17th century, at least the following areas yielded cotton cloth at the time. Awa, Musashi, Kai, Ise, Yamashiro, Settsu, Buzen, Bungo, Hizen and Higo.

concentrated in Kanto and Chugoku regions. Mooka and Sano in Kanto and Inaba & Hoki, Izumo and Aki in Chugoku were main *sanchi* (see Appendix Table). Cotton cloth production did newly develop near the advanced regions of production, Tokai and Kinki.

Figure 1 shows the transitions of cotton cloth production of the respective *sanchi* after their products came to be sold as commodities. In this figure it is only six *sanchi* (Niikawa in Hokuriku, Kawachi, Izumi and Himeji in Kinki, and Inaba & Hoki and Aki in Chugoku) that reached one million tan^9 per year. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that most of them belonged to the regions which had actively yielded cotton cloth since the early days, as was already mentioned¹⁰.

However, it is doubtful whether all the older *sanchi* well developed or not. In fact some *sanchi* in Kinki region decreased their production volumes. According to Table 2, all of Kinai Region (i.e., Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi and Izumi) and the adjacent two *sanchi*, Kishu and Awaji produced cotton cloth in 1736, but about fifty years later, the shipments of cotton cloth from Yamashiro and Yamato¹¹ to Osaka disappeared and the volumes from Settsu and Kishu were not large, compared with the other *sanchi*. Some researchers (Yagi 1962; Shinobu 1942, p.61; Fujita 1963, p.246) suggest that Settsu specialized in producing cotton gin, and Kishu and Awaji came to center in yielding hand spun cotton yarn, while all of them gradually stopped weaving cotton cloth.

On the other hand, many cotton weaving *sanchi* which emerged after the latter half of the 18th century seem to have more rapidly grown. This fact is shown on Figure 1, and is more clearly shown on Figure 2 which indicates the volumes of the sold cotton cloth

⁹ *Tan* is Japanese unit of volume of cotton cloth. The width is about 28.8 centimeters and the length is about over 9.091 meters.

¹⁰ According to the information of Table 3, Yamato seems to have been included in them.

¹¹ Yamato actively produced cotton cloth during the Edo period. See Morita and Okuno (1898), pp.2-21.

by four local merchants in Kawachi, an older *sanchi*, and one local merchant in Chita, one of the new *sanchi*.

The author would like to explain further on some additional information on Appendix Table.

(1) Technological Progress

Although we have little knowledge on the technological progress of the cotton weaving in the Edo period, we should notice two facts. One is the change of hand looms from *jibata* (*izaribata* or *shimobata*) to more sophisticated *takabata* (see Figure 3). This change are found in eight *sanchi*, Kameda, Mitsuke, Sano, Tokorozawa, Matsuzaka, Bizen, Matsuyama and Tosa. Except for Matsuzaka, an older *sanchi*, and Tosa, the developing period of which is unknown, six *sanchi* were the new ones that developed after the latter half of the 18th century. All the periods of this change were the 19th century around Bunka (1804-18) and Bunsei(1818-30) periods. Another progress is the adoption of *yoshi*, namely, machine-made cotton yarn imported from the foreign countries after opening the ports in 1859. Six *sanchi*, Mitsuke, Sano, Tokorozawa, Bisai, Matsuzaka and Bizen certainly started to use *yoshi* at the end of the Edo period, and these, except for Bisai¹², adopted *takabata*, too.

(2) Production System

Many Japanese researchers who were interested in the history of cotton weaving industry made great efforts to consider whether a manufactory, which Karl Marx argued in his *Das Kapital*, was found or not in the industry in the Edo period. Some of them (Nakamura 1968, Shiozawa & Kawaura 1957) insisted that manufactories existed in Izumi and Bisai in the 19th century, but the others denied it (H.Hayashi 1960). Anyway, these arguments are vague and lack for the quantitative evidence, and the author cannot

give any good comments on such arguments. Here this paper only shows some facts about the production system, which can be gotten from the materials. First, in eight sanchi, Akita, Niikawa, Mooka, Chita, Inaba & Hoki, Aki, Choshu and Imabari, watagae system was found. This is the system in which a local merchant lent raw cotton to a weaving peasant family and collected cotton cloth which the farmhouse wove, using the ginned raw cotton. In the most cases, a part of the ginned cotton was taken as wage by the peasant family. Secondly, in four sanchi, Kameda, Mitsuke, Bisai and Bizen, debata system developed. This is so-called putting-out system, in which a local merchant lent cotton yarn and looms (in many cases, takabata) to a weaving peasant family, collected the cloth made by the same family, and paid wage to the farmhouse. Judging from the cases of Kameda and Bisai, debata system seems to have often appeared with the improvement of weaving loom or the emergence of new type of looms. In sanchi of striped cloth the system seems to have started when a local merchant aiming at much more cloth lent the dyed or bleached yarn and takabata to peasant families. On the other hand, in the sanchi of white cloth, the production of which was easier than that of striped cloth, once a peasant family got ginned cotton, the farmhouse could easily produce yarn and cloth, and the local merchant could collect cloth only by lending ginned cotton¹³. The above-mentioned putting-out system is found in the newer sanchi. In the older sanchi such as Kawachi and Izumi, so-called Kaufsystem is found. Local merchants there did not lend raw materials and looms to the peasant families, and the farmhouses got them by themselves, spontaneously selling cotton cloth to the local merchants¹⁴.

(3) Han Monopoly

12

¹² In Bisai *jibata* was improved.

¹³ About the difference between *watagae* and *debata* I greatly thank for the suggestion by the late professor Hiroshi Shinbo. Judging from the description of the original sources of Appendix Table, looms used in *watagae* system seem to have been *jibata* owned by the farmhouse itself.

¹⁴ About Kawachi, see Imai (1980) besides the original sources of Appendix Table.

In the Edo period after the latter half of the 18th century, many *han* (domains) ruled by *daimyo* (feudal lords) came to suffer from the deficit of budget, and began *han* monopolies. For example, Himeji *han* in Kinki region purchased all the white cotton cloth woven by the peasant families through paying *han* note which circulated only within *han* after 1821. Only some merchants, whom Himeji *han* officially admitted, collected cloth, and directly shipped it to Edo, where Himeji *han* could earn much money¹⁵.

In Appendix Table in thirteen *sanchi*, Niikawa, Bisai, Chita, Oumi, Kishu, Himeji, Inaba & Hoki, Bizen, Aki, Choshu, Imabari, Matsuyama and Bizen, may *han* monopolies be found, although it is questionable whether all of them are called *han* monopolies or not. Most of thirteen *sanchi* were located in such western parts of Japan as Tokai and Kinki regions. The periods when the *han* monopolies were vitalized were in and after Bunka and Bunsei periods in the 19th century. As we have already argued it, such *sanchi* marvelously developed in these periods, many *han* seem to have tried to directly control over the cotton weaving industry. Among them some *han* such as Imabari positively fostered the industry, and succeeded in it. The relation between *han*'s industrial policy and the development of some industries should be scrutinized further.

Here the author tried to consider the development of only one industry, but we will be able to form the total image of industrial development of Japan in the Edo period, through collecting the data of the other industries besides the cotton weaving.

¹⁵ Hozumi (1970).

_

References

Abe, Takeshi (1983), 'Meiji Zenki ni okeru Nihon no Zairai Sangyo: Men-Orimonogyo no baai' [Japanese Indigenous industry in the Early Meiji Period: The Case of Cotton Weaving Industry] in Mataji Umemura and Takafusa Nakamura (eds.), *Matsukata Zaisei to Shokusan Kogyo Seisaku [Matsukata's Financial and Industrial Policies]*(Kokusai Rengo Daigaku and Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai).

Fujita, Teiichiro (1963), 'Kishu Hidaka Kase no Ryutsu Kozo' [Structure of Circulation of Hand Spun Yarn made in Hidaka Area in Kishu] in Seiichi Ando (ed.), *Kinsei Wakayama no Kenkyu (Study on Wakayama in Edo Period)* (Meicho Shuppan, 1973).

Fujiwara, Akira (1960), 'Mikawa, Chita no Shiro-Momen to Arimatsu-Shibori' [White Cotton Cloth in Mikawa and Chita and Arimatsu-Shibori] in Chihoshi Kenkyu Kyogikai (eds.), Nihon Sangyo Shi Taikei 5 Chubu Chiho Hen [Japanese History of Local Industries, Vol.5, Chubu Region] (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai).

Hattori, Shiso (1934), 'Tenpo-do Akita Han No Boeki oyobi Sangyo' [Trade and Industries of Akita *Han* in Tenpo Period' in Tatsuya Naramoto (ed.), *Hattori Shiso Zenshu* [Collected Works of Hattori Shiso], Vol.6 (Fukumura Shuppansha, 1973).

----- (1935), 'Bakumatsu Akita Han no Momen Shijo oyobi Momen Kigyo' [Markets and Weavers of Cotton Cloth in Akita *Han* at the End of Edo Period], *ibid*.

Hayashi, Hideo (1960), Kinsei Noson Kogyo Shi no Kiso Katei: Nobi Shima Momen Orimono-shi no Kenkyu [Basic Process of Japanese Manufacturing in Farm Village in Edo Period: Study of History of Striped Cotton Weaving Industry in Nobi Area] (Aoki Shoten).

----- (1965), Zaikata Momen Tonya no Shiteki Tenkai [Historical Development of Cotton Cloth Merchants in Farm Village] (Hanawa Shobo).

Hayashi, Reiko (1963), 'Edo Momen Tonya Nakama to Kanto Momen' (The Trade Association of Cotton Cloth Merchants in Edo and Cotton Cloth in Kanto Region), *Rekishigaku Kenkyu*, No.274, pp.30-42.

----- (1967), Edo Tonya Nakama no Kenkyu: Bakuhan Taisei-ka no Toshi Shogyo Shihon [Study on the Trade Association of Cotton Cloth Merchants in Edo: Commercial Capitalists of City under the Regime of Tokugawa Bakuhu and Han] (Ochanomizu Shobo).

Hozumi, Katsujiro (1970), Himeji Han Mengyo Keizai Shi no Kenkyu [Study on the Economic History of Cotton Industry in Himeji Han].

Ichikawa, Takamasa (1958), 'Noson Kogyo no Tenkai: Manyufakucha no Mondai to Kanren shite' [Development of Manufacturing of Farm Village: Relating to the Issue of Manufactory] in Rekishigaku Kenkyu-kai (ed.), *Meiji Ishin-shi Kenkyu Koza [Study on the Meiji Restoration]*, Vol.2 (Heibonsha).

Imai, Shuhei (1980), 'Kinsei Koki Kawachi ni okeru Momen Ryutsu no Tenkai' [Development of Circulation of Cotton Cloth in Kawachi in the Latter Half of Edo Period] in Osamu Wakita (ed.), *Kinsei Osaka no Shiteki Bunseki [Historical Analyses on Osaka in Edo Period]* (Ochanomizu Shobo).

Kitajima, Masamoto (ed.) (1962), Edo Shogyo to Ise Dana: Momen Tonya Hasegawa-ke no Keiei wo Chushin to shite [Commerce in Edo and Ise Merchants: Focusing on the Business Management of the Hasegawa Family, a Cotton Cloth Merchant] (Yoshikawa Kobunkan).

Morita, Goich and Okuno, Masuji (1898), Yamato Momen Do Kumiai Enkaku Shi (History of the Trade Association of Cotton Cloth Merchants in Yamato).

Nakamura, Satoru (1968), Meiji Ishin no Kiso Katei: Nihon Shihonshugi no Kiten [Basic Process of the Meiji Restoration: Starting Point of Japan's Capitalism] (Miraisha).

Nawa, Toichi (1937), Nihon Boseki-gyo to Genmen Mondai Kenkyu [Study on Japanese Cotton Spinning Industry and its Problem of Raw Cotton] (Daido Shoin).

Osaka-shi Sanji-kai (ed.) (1913), Osaka-shi Shi [History of the City of Osaka], Vol.1.

Sakudo, Yotaro (1977), 'Osaka Sango no Keisei to Osaka Tonya no Seisei' [Formation of Center of Osaka and Emergence of Merchants in Osaka] in Senzo Hidemura, et.al.(eds.), Kindai Keizai no Rekishiteki Kiban [Historical Base of Modern Economy] (Mineruva Shobo).

Sanpei, Takako (1960), Nihon Kigyo Shi [History of Japanese Weaving Industry] (Yuzankaku).

Shinobu, Seizaburo (1942), Kindai Nihon Sangyo Shi Josetsu [Study on Industrial History of Modern Japan] (Nihon Hyoronsha).

Shiozawa, Kimio and Kawaura, Yasuji (1957), Kisei Jinushi-sei Ron: Burujoa teki Hatten

to no Kanren [Study on Landlord System: Relating to the Bourgeois Development] (Ochanomizu Shobo).

Takebe, Yoshito (1981), Kawachi Orimono Shi [History of Weaving Industry in Kawachi] (Yoshikawa Kobunkan).

Tsuchiya, Takao (1937), 'Tokugawa Jidai no Orimono-gyo ni okeru Tonyasei Kanai Kogyo' [Putting-out in Weaving Industry in Tokugawa Period] in Takao Tsuchiya (ed.), *Nihon Shihonshugi Ronshu [Collected Articles on Japanese Capitalism]* (Ikuseisha).

Yagi, Akihiro (1962), Kinsei no Shohin Ryutsu [Circulation of Commodities in Edo Period] (Hanawa Shobo).

Table 1. Relative Positions of Various Product

Categories in 1874

Silk

Raw Silk

Oil

Livestock

Minerals

Paper

Forest Products

Marine Products

Produced Value Product Categories % (thousand yen) **Farm Products** 227,287 61.0% **Manufacturing Products** 111,892 30.1% **Brewed Goods** 31,081 8.3% **Textiles** 17,159 4.6% Cotton 10,856 2.9%

4,581

6,165

5,443

5,167

14,565

7,478

7,276

3,809

372,307

1.2%

1.7%

1.5%

1.4%

3.9%

2.0%

2.0%

1.0%

100.0%

Note: Figures of brewed goods represent the total of *sake*, soy sauce and bean paste.

Source: Abe (1983), p. 296.

Total

Table 2. Inflow of Cotton Cloth into Osaka

	Contemporary Prefecture	c. 1679	1′	736	c. 1	1786	с. 1790
Sanchi			White Cotton Cloth	Striped Cotton Cloth	White Cotton Cloth	Striped Cotton Cloth	
					unit: 10,000) <i>tan</i> per year	
Echizen	Fukui	*					
Oumi	Shiga	*					
Yamashiro	Kyoto			*			
Yamato	Nara		*				*
Settsu	Osaka & Hyogo		*	*	5	8	*
Kawachi	Osaka	*	*		10	8	*
Izumi	Osaka	*	*	*	20	8	*
Kishu	Wakayama	*	*	*		8	*
Awaji	Hyogo	*	*		40		*
Harima	Hyogo	*	*		70		*
Hoki	Tottori						*
Izumo	Shimane	*			10		*
Bizen	Okayama		*		40		*
Bicchu	Okayama						*
Aki	Hiroshima				10		*
Nagato	Yamaguchi						*
Suho	Yamaguchi	*	*		40	8	*
Sanuki	Kagawa				5		*
Awa	Tokushima		*		5		*
Imabari	Ehime	*	*		10		*
Matsuyama	Ehime						*
Tosa	Kochi				10		*
Buzen	Fukuoka & Oita		*				*
Bungo	Oita		*		10		

Notes:

- 1. Mark * means that the cotton cloth made in the sanchi was brought about to Osaka. Data in blanks are 'not available'
- 2. Provinces in c.1679 are those written near the names of cotton cloth merchants in *Kaichu Naniwa Suzume [Osaka's Sparrow in Pocket]* published in 1679. Harima and Nagato are written also respectively as Akashi and Choshu in the sources. The whole area of Imabari and Matsuyama is often called Iyo. The author deemed Iyo in the original source of c.1790 as Imabari and Matsuyama. Another name of Kishu is Kii.

Sources: c. 1679: Sakudo (1977), pp.119-20; c.1790: Kitajima (ed.) (1962), p. 333; The others: Osaka-shi Sanji-kai (ed.) (1913), pp. 774 and 1096-97.

Table 3. Sanchi the Production Volumes of Which are Unknown

No.	Sanchi (Contemporary Prefecture)	Main Products	Starting Periods of Cotton Weaving	Epoch of Commercializat ion of Cotton Cloth	Comments (A: Technology, B: Production System, C: <i>Han</i> Monopoly, D: Others)
1	Iwatsuki (Saitama)	W	1601+	1764-1781	A: Jibata until the end of Edo period.
2	Nishi-Mikawa (Aichi)	W	1510+	1688-1711	
3	Nishijin (Kyoto)	santomejima			D. Yamashiro on Table 2 may be Nishijin. At latest by the end of Edo period, production volumes decreased.
4	Yamato (Nara)	W, S, kasuri	1665 +		A: <i>Jibata</i> until the end of Edo period. D. As Wataya Sakubei at Higashi Bojo-mura of Takaichi-gun sold 713,000 tan to the eastern regions in 1838, the production volumes must have been large.
5	Settsu (Osaka & Hyogo)	W, S	16th Century		D.Compaired with Kawachi and Izumi, weaving was inactive.
6	Awaji (Hyogo)				C. <i>Han</i> Monopoly is found. D. At least around in 1782 many places in Awaji actively produced cotton cloth. But the industry declined by the early Meiji period.
7	Bicchu (Okayama)	S			A. At latest in 1848-54 Bicchu introduced <i>takabata</i>.B. Lord, the Hitotsubashi family promoted <i>watagae</i> system at latest by the period of 1848-54.
8	Awa (Tokushima)	S		1818	C. In 1825 cotton cloth became one of the most important commodities produced in Awa.

Notes:

- 1. Data in blanks are 'not available'.
- 2. W, B, S and C at the column of 'Main Products' respectively mean white cotton cloth, bleached cotton cloth, striped cotton cloth and crane.
- 3. Mark + at the column of 'Starting Periods of Cotton Weaving' is the earliest period found in the sources.
- 4. Another name of sanchi of No.8 is Ashu.
- 5. Relating to Nishi-Mikawa, volumes of cotton cloth, which were sold for Edo from two bureaus of Chiga and Nomura at Ohama Port, are as follows; 97,000 *tan* in 1840, 76,000 *tan* in 1848, and 156,000 *tan* in 1851(Morihara, 1960, p.58). Small volumes bought and sold around the *sanchi* are excluded.

Sorces:

- 1. Saitama-ken, Saitama-ken Shi, Dai 5 Kan, Edo Jidai Zenki [History of Saitama Prefecture, Vol.5, the Former Half of Edo Period] (1936, p.359); Iwatsuki-shi, Iwatsuki-shi Shi, Kinsei Shiryo Hen 4, Chiho Shiryo, Ge [History of Iwatsuki-shi, Materials of Edo Period, Vol.4, Local Materials (2)](1982, p.511); Iwatsuki-shi, Iwatsuki-shi Shi, Tsushi Hen [History of Iwatsuki-shi](1985, pp.633 and 934).
- 2. Aichi-ken, Aichi-ken Kiyo [On Aichi-ken](1913, 167-8); Aichi-ken, Aichi-ken Shi [History of Aichi Prefecture], Vol.1 (1914, pp.10-40-41); Hazu Gun-yakusho, Aichi-ken Hazu-gun Shi [On Hazu-gun in Aichi Prefecture](1923, p.277); Aoyama, Zentaro (ed.), Nishio-cho Shi [History of Nishio-cho], Vol.2 (1934, pp.294-5); Morihara, Akira, 'Mikawa/Chita no Shiro Momen to Arimatsu-shibori' [White Cotton Cloth in Mikawa & Chita, and Arimatsu-shibori](Chihoshi Kenkyu Kyogikai (ed), Nihon Sangyo Shi Taikei 5 Chubu Chiho-hen, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1960).
- 3. Okura, Nagatsune, *Koeki Kokusan Ko [On Profitable Local Industries]* (Completed in 1895. Reprinted as *Iwanami Bunko* in 1946, edited by Tsuchiya, Takao. See p.271 of it.); Kitajima (ed.)(1962, pp.332-3); Mitsui Bunko (ed.), *Mitsui Jigyo Shi, Honpen [Business History of Mistui Family]*, Vol.1(1980, p.421).
- 4. Morita & Okuno (1898, pp.2-5 and 21).
- 5. Osaka Fucho, Osaka-fu Shi[On Osaka Prefecture], Vol.2 (1906, pp.273 and 278); Yagi (1962, p.28).
- 6. Sumoto-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai, Sumoto-shi Shi [History of Sumoto](1974, pp.307-8); Shinobu(1942, p.61).
- Tsuchiya (1937, p. 239); Ibara-shi Shi Henshu Iinkai, Ibara-shi Shi [History of Ibara-shi] (1964, pp.344-8).
- 7. Kitajima (ed.)(p.367); Tokushima-ken Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Tokushima-ken Shi [History of Tokushima Prefecture]*, Vol.4 (1965, p.192.

Table 4. Starting Periods of Cotton Weaving (Unit: Number of sanchi)

	Tohoku	Hokuriku	Kanto	Tokai	Kinki	Chugoku	Shikoku	Kyushu	Total
16th-17th Century	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	11
Former Half of 18th Century	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
Latter Half of 18th Century	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
Former Half of 19th Century	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	1	2	4	4	4	1	1	1	18

Note: Culculated from Appendix Table.

Table 5. Epoch of Commercialization of Cotton Cloth

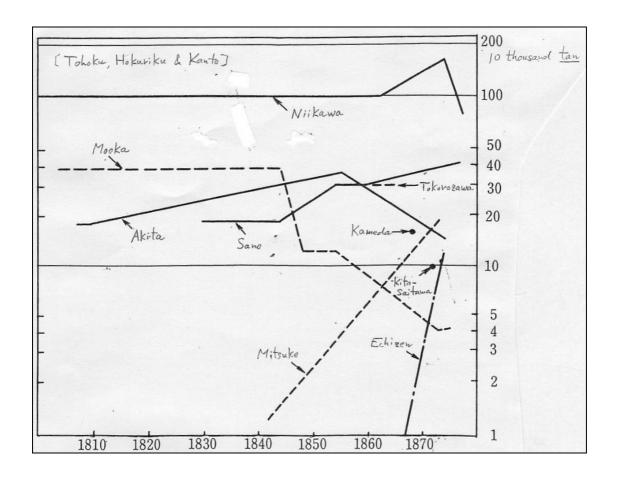
	Tohoku	Hokuriku	Kanto	Tokai	Kinki	Chugoku	Shikoku	Total
17th Century	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
Former Half of 18th Century	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Latter Half of 18th Century	0	2	1	1	1	4	0	9
Former Half of 19th Century	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	5
Latter Half of 19th Century	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Total	1	3	4	4	2	5	2	21

Notes:

^{1.} Culculated from Appendix Table.

^{2.} Periods of No.15 and No.18 of sanchi on Appendix Table were deemed respectively as the 17th century and the latter half of the 18th century.

Figure 1. Product Volumes of Main Cotton Weaving Sanchi



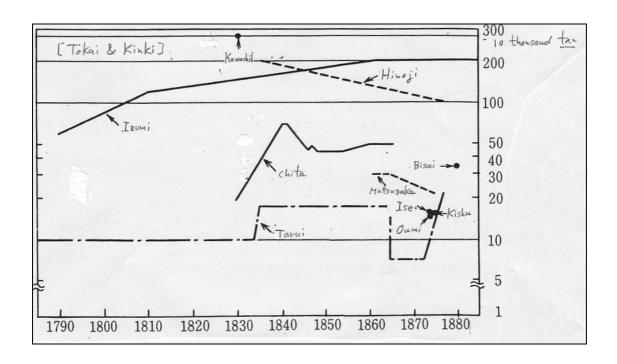
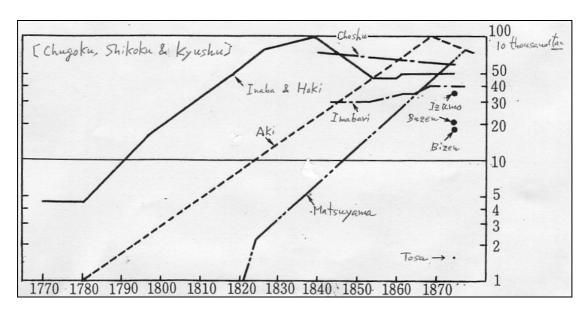
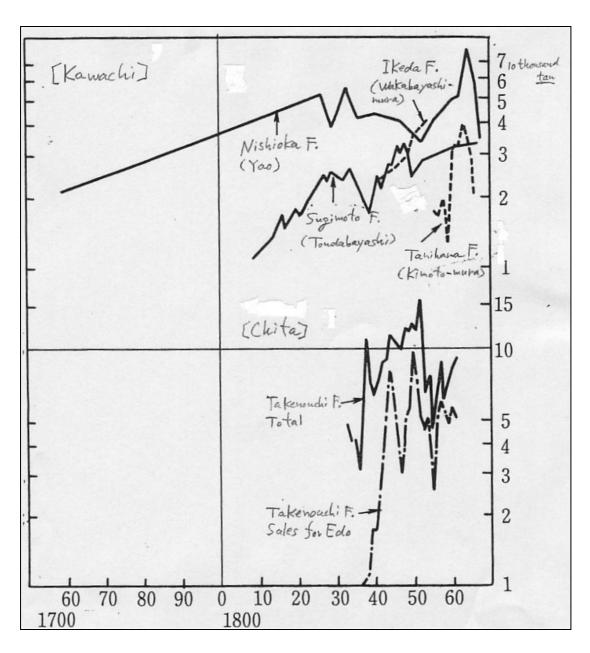


Figure 1. Continued



Source: 'Production volume' on Appendix Table

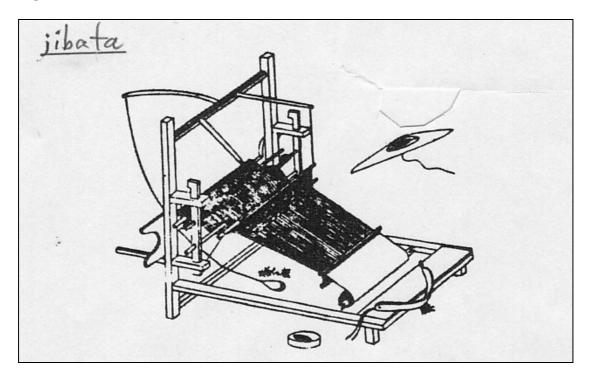
Figure 2. Volumes of Cotton Cloth Sold by Local Merchants of Kawachi and Chita

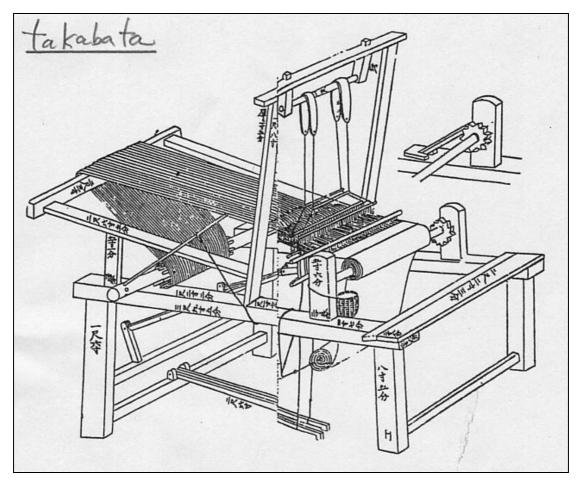


Note: F = Family

Sources: Nishioka F.: Takebe (1981, pp. 160-1); the others in Kawachi: Imai (1980, pp. 277-9); Chita: H. Hayashi (1965, Appendix Table 1).

Figure 3. Jiabata and takabata





Notes on Appendix

- 1. Data in blanks are 'not available'.
- 2. W, B, S and C at the column of 'Main Products' respectively mean white cotton cloth, bleached cotton cloth, striped cotton cloth and crape.
- 3. Mark * at the column of 'Production Volume' is apparent assumption.
- 4. Another names of *sanchi* of No.18, No.21 and No.22 are respectively Wakayama, Unshu and Kojima. The whole area of No.25 and No.26 is called Iyo. No.26 is composed of three smaller producing places, Aoya, Kurayoshi and Hamanome.
- 5. 1) Total volume of white and striped cotton cloth.
 - 2) A source records the period of 1716-36.
 - 3) Shimo-Niikawa-gun, *Simo-Niikawa-gun Shi Ko [History of Simo-Niikawa-gun]*, Vol.2(1909, pp.1130-1) records the data of 1,050,000 *tan* per year in 1865-c.1877 and 350,000 *tan* per year in 1880
 - 4) Total volume of cotton crape and white cotton cloth on Shiga Prefecture.
 - 5) Shinohara, Kazumiki (ed.), *Shimodate-cho Kyodo Shi [History of Shimodate-cho]*(1940, p.196) records the datum of one million *tan* per year at the most prosperous period. Saito, Mikizo (ed.), *Ibaragi Kenshi Zen [History of Ibaragi Prefecture]*(1930, p.226) shows the datum of two million *tan* per year in around 1804-30.
 - 6) Total volumes of the collected cotton cloth from three towns, Hanyu, Kazo and Kisai.
 - 7) The period when the production way of *santomejima* diffused from Nishijin to Mino.
 - 8) Data of Nakajima-gun, Aichi Prefecture.
 - 9) Aichi-ken Kiyo (see Source No.11. p.169) and Aichi-ken Shi (see Source No.11. pp.10-43) record 20,000 tan.
 - 10) The volumes of cotton cloth that was loaded down in Edo are shown. They are underestimated because they do not include the volumes which were sold near Chita.
 - 11) White and striped cotton cloths in Mie Prefecture.
 - 12) The volumes of cotton cloth that was formally sold in Edo are shown. They are underestimated on the same reason as note 10). Source No.20, Mitsui Bunko (ed.) p.414 includes the following volumes of Ise cotton cloth shipped for merchants of Matsuzaka in Ise; 562,000 tan in 1789, 563,000 tan in 1790, 557,000 tan in 1792 and 553,000 tan in 1793.
 - 13) White and striped cotton cloths in Watarai Prefecture.
 - 14) Total volume of cotton cloth and cotton crape.
 - 15) Data within Kishiwada han.
 - 16) Total volume of four *gun* areas except for the domain of Tayasu *han*.
 - 17) Total volume of white and striped cotton cloth, and *unsai*. Yearly production volumes of *monpa*, the important commodity, seems to have been 150,000-160,000 *tan* at the end of the Edo period(see Ando, p.347 at Source No.18).

- 18) Hayashi, Reiko (1963), 'Edo Momen Tonya Nakama to Kanto Momen' [The Trade Association of Cotton Cloth Merchants in Edo and Cotton Cloth in Kanto Region](*Rekishigaku Kenkyu*, No.274, p.40) shows the following volumes of cotton cloth shipped for Edo by *Higaki Kaisen*: 369,000 *tan* in 1824, 631,000 *tan* 1837 and 869,000 *tan* per year in 1838-40.
- 19) Sold volume to the other *han*.
- 20) Except for about thirty soku of Iwai-gun.
- 21) Cotton cloth and *unsai* in Tottori Prefecture.
- 22) Cotton cloth and dyed cotton cloth in Shimane Prefecture.
- 23) Cotton cloth, *unsai*, *kokura*, striped and dyed cotton cloth in Okayama Prefecture.
- 24) Data of Nomi Island.
- 25)Except for the *han* branches of Iwakuni, Tokuyama, Shimizu and Nagato.
- 26) Total volume of white and striped cotton cloth, and white cotton crape.
- 27) Total volume of cotton cloth in Kokura Prefecture in Oita Prefecture.

(Sources)

- 1) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), Meiji 7 Nen Fuken Bussan Hyo [Tables of Products in 1874] (1875. Reprinted in Fujiwara, Masato (ed.), Meiji Zenki Sangyo Hattatsu Shi Shiryo, Vol.1, Meiji Bunken Shiryo Kanko Kai, 1959); Akita Prefecture (ed.), Akita-ken Shi, Dai 3 Kan, Kinsei-hen, Ge [History of Akita Pref., Vol.3, Edo Period, No.2] (1965, pp.308 and 320-33).
- 2) Ando, Ban and Uchida, Keizo, *Hokuetsu Kigyo Shi [History of Weaving Industry in Hokuestu Region]* (Meguro Shobo, 1903, p.127); *Naka Kanbara Gun Yakusho, Naka Kanbara-gun Shi [History of Naka Kanbara-gun]*, Vol.2 (1916, Part 32, 'Kameda-cho Shi,' p.489); Kobayashi, Hajime(ed.), *Kameda-cho Shi [History of Kameda-cho]* (1959, pp.328-9 and 334).
- 3) Mitsuke-shi Henshu Iinkai, Furusato Mitsuke no Rekishi [History of Hometown Mitsuke] (1985, pp.32, 138-41 and 145).
- 4) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Okuda, Junya, 'Niikawa Momen no Seisui' [Growth and Decline of Cotton Weaving in Niikawa](Ecchu Shidan-kai, *Toyama Shidan*, No.33, 1966, p.8); Umemura, Mataji, 'Bakumatsu no Keizai Hatten [Economic Development at the End of Edo period] (Kindai Nihon Kenkyu-kai (ed.), *Bakumatsu Ishin no Nihon*, Yamakawa Shuppan-sha, 1981, pp.22-3); Toyama Prefecture (ed.), *Toyama-ken Shi, Tsushi-hen 5, Kindai, Jo [History of Toyama Pref., General History, Vol.5, Modern Period (1)]* (1981, pp.233-4); Toyama Prefecture (ed.), *Toyama-ken Shi, Tsushi-hen 4, Kinsei, Ge [History of Toyama Pref., General History, Vol.4, Edo Period (2)]*.
- 5) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Fukui Prefecture, *Fukui-ken Shi, Dai 2 Kan, Dai 3 Hen, Bakusei Jidai[History of Fukui Pref., Vol.2, Part 3, Period of Tokugawa Regime]* (1921, p.461).
- 6) Sekiguchi, Yasushi (ed.), 'Sekiguchi Genro Gikan Chiho Junsatsu Fukumei-sho, Tochigi-ken' [Report of Observation of Local Districts by Senator Sekiguchi: Tochigi Prefecture] (1883. Reprinted in Tochigi-ken Shi Hensan Iinkai (ed.), *TochigiKenshi, Shiryo-hen, Kingendai, 6*,

- 1977, p.2); Obayashi, Yuya (ed.), Dai-nihon Sangyo Jiseki, Kogei Seisakubutsu oyobi Kogyo [History of Industries of the Greater Japan: Manufacturing Products and Mining] (1891. Reprinted by Heibonsha in 1987-88 as Toyo Bunko, Vols.473 and 478. See p.152 of the Vol.478); Aoki, Koji, 'Kanto ni okeru Men Saku to Momen Seisan (Josetsu)'[Cotton Cultivation and Cotton Cloth Production in Kanto Area (an Introduction)](Yokohama Shiritsu Daigaku, Keizai to Boeki, Nos.73 &74, 1959, pp.90 and 97-8); Aoki, Koji, 'Mooka Momen'[Cotton Cloth in Mooka](Chiho-shi Kenkyu Kyogikai (ed.), Nihon Sangyo Shi Kenkyu 4 Kanto Chiho-hen, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1959, pp.250-1); Hayashi, Reiko, 'Edo Momen Tonya Nakama to Kanto Momen' [The Trade Association of Cotton Cloth Merchants in Edo and Cotton Cloth in Kanto Region](Rekishigaku Kenkyu, No.274, 1963, pp.30-1).
- 7) 'Sano Orimono no Enkaku' [History of Cloth in Sano] (Tochigi-ken No-sho-ko Hokoku, No.14, 1887. Reprinted in Tochigi-ken Shi Hensan Iinkai (ed.), *ibid.*, pp.869-72); Obayashi(ed.), *ibid.*, pp.147-8 of the Vol.478 of *Toyo Bunko*; Emori, Yasukichi (ed.), Sano Kigyo Shi[History of Weaving Industry in Sano] (1914, p.7); Aoki, *ibid.*, 'Kanto ni okeru ...' (p.101).
- 8) Saitama-ken Naimu-bu Kangyo-ka, Orimono Shiryo [Documents on Weaving Industry], Vol.2(C.1909. Reprinted in Saitama-ken (ed.), Shinpen Saitama-ken Shi Shiryo-hen 21 Kindai/Gendai 3 Sangyo Keizai 1, 1982, pp.744-5); Kandatsu, Haruki, Meiji-ki Noson Orimono-gyo no Tenkai[Development of Weaving Industry in Farm Villages in Meiji Period] (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1974, pp.92-5).
- 9) Obayashi(ed.), *ibid.*, pp.155-6 of the Vol.478 of *Toyo Bunko*; Saitama-ken Naimu-bu Kangyo-ka, *ibid.*, Vol.2 (Saitama-ken (ed.), *ibid.*,pp.680-2); Toyama, Ren (ed.), *Tokorozawa Orimono Shi [On Cloth in Tokorozawa]* (1928, pp.2-3); Aoki, *ibid.*, 'Kanto ni okeru ...'(pp.88 and 103-4); Tanimoto, Masayuki, 'Bakumatsu Meiji Zenki Menorinomo-gyo no Tenkai: Saitama-ken Iruma Chiho wo Chushin to shite'[Development of Cotton Weaving Industry in and around Iruma in Saitama Prefecture at the End of Edo Period and the Early Meiji Period](*Shakai Keizai Shigaku*, Vol.52 No.2, 1986, pp.4-5).
- 10) Mori, Tokuichiro (ed.), Bisai Orimono-shi [History of Weaving Industry in Bisai] (1939, pp.195-8); Aichi-ken Jitsugyo Kyoiku Shinkokai, Aichi-ken Tokushu Sangyo no Yurai [Origins of Special Products in Aichi Prefecture], Vol.1(1940, pp.309-10); Hayashi, Hideo, 'Bisai to Seino no Kigyo' [Weaving Industries in Bisai and Seino] (Chihoshi Kenkyu Kyogikai (ed), Nihon Sangyo Shi Taikei 5 Chubu Chiho-hen, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1960); Hayashi, Hideo, Kinsei Noson Kogyo Shi no Kiso Katei: Nobi Shima Momen Orimono Shi no Kenkyu [Basic Process of Japanese Manufacturing in Farm Village in Edo Period: Study of History of Striped Cotton Weaving Industry in Nobi Area] (Aoki Shoten, 1960, pp.53-4, 164 and 174-5).
- 11) 'Takenouchi Gensuke Shuki' [Notes of Mr.Tekenouchi, Gensuke](1911. Published by Hayashi, Hideo with his edit in *Chiho-shi Kenkyu*, Vol.11 No.6, 1961. See pp.41 and 44-6); Aichi-ken, *Aichi-ken Kiyo* [On Aichi Prefecture] (1913, pp.168-9); Aichi-ken, Aichi-ken Shi [History of

- Aichi Prefecture] (1914, pp.10-43); Handa-cho (ed.), Handa-cho Shi [History of Handa-cho] (1926, pp.194-5); Aichi-ken, Aichi-ken Shi [History of Aichi Prefecture], Vol.2(1938, pp.591-3); Hayashi, Hideo, Zaikata Momen Tonya no Shiteki Tenkai [Historical Development of Cotton Cloth Merchants in Farm Village] (Hanawa Shobo, 1965); Morihara, Akira, 'Mikawa/Chita no Shiro Momen to Arimatsu-shibori' [White Cotton Cloth in Mikawa & Chita, and Arimatsu-shibori](Nihon Sangyo Shi Taikei 5, ibid., p.62).
- 12) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Hattori, Hideo (ed.), *Mie-ken Shi [History of Mie Prefecture]*, Vol.2 (Kodokaku, 1918, pp.519-21).
- 13) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Kawaguchi, Heisuke, 'Matsuzaka Momen no Yurai' [History of Cotton Cloth in Matsuzaka](1884. Reprinted in Matsuzaka-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai(ed.), *Matsuzaka-shi Shi*, Vol.14, 1982. See pp. 230-1); 'Ise no Kuni Matsuzaka Momen Jiseki' [History of Cotton Cloth in Matsuzaka in Ise Province](1888. See p.533 in the same book.); Hattori (ed.), *ibid.*(pp.526-7).
- 14) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid*.;Shiga Prefecture (ed.), *Shiga-ken Shi [History of Shiga Prefecture]*(1928, p.574); Kitajima, Masamoto (ed.), *Edo Shogyo to Ise Dana: Momen Tonya Hasegawa-ke no Keiei wo Chushin to shite [Commerce in Edo and Ise Merchants: Focusing on the Business Management of the Hasegawas, a Cotton Cloth Merchant]* (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1962, p.367).
- 15) Kataoka, Hidemune (ed.), *Naka-kawachi-gun Shi [On Naka-kawachi-gun]*(1923, pp.156-8); Yagi, Akihiro, *Kinsei no Shohin Ryutsu [Circulation of Commodities in Edo Period]* (Hanawa Shobo, 1962, pp.87-8); Takebe, Yoshihito, Kawachi Momen Shi [History of Cotton Weaving Industry in Kawachi](Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1981, pp.53, 66-8 and 119).
- 16) Sennan-gun Orimono Dogyo Kumiai Enkaku Shi [History of the Trade Association of Weavers and Cloth Merchants in Sennan-gun] (C.1907. Reprinted in Izumi Bunka Kenkyu-kai, Izumi Shi, Nos.48 &49, 1972. See pp.9-11); Sumi, Toyo, 'Bakuhan Koki Sennan Kigyo Chitai Nomin no Toso: Kokuso wo Chushin to shite' [Riots of Peasants in Weaving Districts of Sennan in the Latter Half of Edo Period: Focusing on Kokuso](Hisutoria, No.14, 1956, p.8); Yagi, ibid.(p.23); Nakamura, Satoru, Meiji Ishin no Kiso Katei: Nihon Shihonshugi no Kiten [Basic Process of the Meiji Restoration: Starting Point of Japan's Capitalism] (Miraisha, 1968, p.50); Takebe, ibid.(pp.68 and 118).
- 17) Obayashi(ed.), *ibid.*, pp.138-9 of the Vol.478 of *Toyo Bunko*; Osaka Fucho, *Osaka-fu Shi [On Osaka Prefecture]*, Vol.2(1906, p.274); Aizawa, Masahiko, *Kishiwada Shi [On Kishiwada]* (1931, p.243); Aizawa, Masahiko, *Sennan Shokufu Hattatsu Shi [History of Weaving Industry in Sennan]*(1938, pp.45-6); Shinobu, Seizaburo, *Kindai Nihon Sangyo Shi Josetsu [Study on Industrial History of Modern Japan]* (Nihon Hyoronsha, 1942, pp.68-9); Yamazaki, Ryuzo, 'Sennan no Monpa Ori'[*Monpa* in Sennan](Osaka Shiritsu Daigaku, *Keizaigaku Zasshi*, Vol.75 No.3, 1976, pp.64-5).

- 18) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Wakayama-ken, *Wakayama-ken Shi [On Wakayama Prefecture]*, Vol.1(1914, pp.1093-4); Wakayama-shi(ed.), *Wakayama Shiyo [Short History of Wakayama]* (1920, p.166); Ando, Seiichi, 'Wakayama no Men-neru'[Cotton Flannel in Wakayama](Chihoshi Kenkyu Kyogikai (ed), *Nihon Sangyo Shi Taikei 6 Kinki Chiho-hen*, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1960, p.347).
- 19) Noshomusho (ed.), Kogyo Iken [Propositions for Industrial Development] (1884. Reprinted in Ouchi, Hyoe and Tsuchiya, Takao (eds.), Meiji Zenki Zaisei Keizai Shiryo Shusei, Vol.19, 1964. See pp. 48 and 51 on it.); Matsumoto, Seigo (ed.), Himeji Kiyo Zen [On Himeji](1912, pp.101-5); Harima Shidan-kai, Shisei Shiko Sanju Nen Kinen, Himeji-shi Shi [History of Himeji-shi: A Commemoration Issue of 30 Years of Himeji-shi] (1919, pp.322-7); Oka, Mitsuo, 'Banshu Momen' [Cotton Cloth in Banshu] (Nihon Sangyo Shi Taikei 6, ibid., pp.167-9); Hozumi, Katsujiro, Himeji Han Mengyo Keizai Shi no Kenkyu [Study on the Economic History of Cotton Industry in Himeji Han] (1970).
- 20) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Hirano, Kaoru (ed.), Tottori-ken Kyodo Shi [History of our Home, Tottori Prefecture](1932, pp.1093-4 and 1407); Yamanaka, Toshio, 'Kasei-ki Tottori *Han* ni okeru Momen no Ryutsu Tosei ni tsuite' [On the Control of Circulation of Cotton Cloth by Tottori *Han* in 1804-30](*Tottori Daigaku Gakugei Gakubu Kenkyu Hokoku*, No.16, 1965, 186-92); Tottori-ken, *Tottori Han Shi, Dai 6 Kan, Shokusa Shoko Shi Jihen Shi [History of Tottori Han, Vol.6, Industries and Incidents]* (1971, pp.171 and 178-97); Mitsui Bunko (ed.), *Mitsui Jigyo Shi, Honpen [Business History of the Mistui Family]*, Vol.1(1980, pp.425-30); Tottori-ken(ed.), *Tottori-ken Shi, Dai 5 Kan, Kinsei, Bunka Sangyo [History of Tottori Prefecture, Vol.5, Edo Period, Culture and Industries]* (1982, pp.556-7 and 560-78); Fukui, Sadako, *Momen Kuden [Oral History on Cotton Weaving]* (Hosei Daigaku Shuppan-kyoku, 1984, p.33).
- 21) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Ueno, Tomiichiro and Nozu, Seiichiro, *Matsue-shi Shi [On Matsue-shi]* (1941, p.642); Ito, Koichi, 'Izumo no Momen Ichi' [Market of Cotton Cloth in Izumo] (*Chiho-shi Kenkyu*, Vol.14, Nos.2 & 3, 1964); Mitsui Bunko (ed.), *ibid.*(p.428).
- 22) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Bizen Orimono Dogyo Kumiai, *Bizen Orimono no Konjaku [Past and Present of Weaving Industry in Bizen]* (1919. Reprinted in Okayama-ken Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Okayama-ken Shi, Dai 29 Kan, Sangyo Keizai*, 1984. See pp.672-3 and 682-3 on it.); Okayama-ken Naimu-bu, *Okayama Sangyo Gaikan [Outlook of Industries in Okayama Prefecture]* (1915, p.228); Tawa, Kazuhiko, *Kojima Sangyo Shi no Kenkyu: Shio to Sen'i [Study on Industrial History of Kojima: Salt and Textiles]* (1959, pp.166-7 and 183-88); Ota, Kenichi, 'Bakumatsu ni okeru Noson Kogyo no Tenkai Katei: Okayama-ken Kojima Chiho no Baai' [Development of Manufacturing in Farm Villages at the End of Edo Period: the Case of Kojima Area in Okayama Prefecture] (*Tochi Seido Shigaku*, No.6, 1960, pp.25 and 27).
- 23) Articles of 19-25 October, 1895 in Geibi Nichi Nichi Shinbun[Daily Newspaper of Geibi]

- (Reprinted in Hiroshima-ken, *Hiroshima-ken Shi, Kin-gendai Shiryo-hen*, Vol.2, 1975. See pp.461 and 466 on it.); Ogaki-cho Kyoiku Iinkai, *Hiroshima-ken Ogaki-cho Shi: Setonaikai Toyo Sonraku no Rekishi [History of Ogaki-cho in Hiroshima Prefecture: History of Island Villages in Setonaikai]* (1954, pp.133-5); Arimoto, Masao, 'Nomi Momen to Nomi Boseki'[Cotton Cloth and Spinning in Nomi](Geibi Chiho-shi Kenkyu-kai, *Geibi Chiho-shi Kenkyu*, Nos.25 and 26, 1958, p.121); Hiroshima Shiyakusho, *Shinshu Hiroshima-shi Shi, Dai 3 Kan, Shakai Keizai-shi Hen [Newly Edited History of Hiroshima-shi, Vol.3, Socio-Economic History]* (1959, pp.208-9).
- 24) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Obayashi(ed.), *ibid.*, p.137 of the Vol.478 of *Toyo Bunko*; Iwakuni-shi Shi Hensanjo, *Iwakuni-shi Shi[History of Iwakuni-shi]*(1957, pp.324-30); Oshima-cho Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Suho Oshima-cho Shi[History of Oshima-cho in Suho Province]* (1959, pp.225-6); Seki, Junya, 'Yanai Momen'[Cotton Cloth in Yanai](Chihoshi Kenkyu Kyogikai (ed), *Nihon Sangyo Shi Taikei 7 Chugoku Shikoku Chiho-hen*, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1960, pp.143-6); Kitajima(ed.), *ibid.*(p.367); Iwakuni Shi-shi Hensan Iinkai, *Iwakuni-shi Shi [History of Iwakuni-shi]*, Vol.1(1970, pp.445-50); Akimoto, Hiroya, *Zen Kogyo-ka Jidai no Keizai: Bocho Fudo Chushin An ni yoru Suryoteki Sekkin [Economy in Proto-industrial Japan: Quantitative Approach by Bocho Fudo Chushin An](Minerva Shobo, 1987, pp.94-5).*
- 25) Ehime-ken, Ehime-ken Shi Ko [On Ehime Prefecture], Vol.2 (1917, p.956); Otorii, Ban, 'Imabari Mengyo no Kenkyu' [Study on Cotton Industry in Imabari] (Kagawa, Hideo (ed.), Nihon Tokushu Sangyo no Tenso: Iyo Keizai no Kenkyu, Daiyamondosha 1943, pp.87-8); Sugawara, Toshiharu, Imabari Mengyo Hattatsu Shi [History of Cotton Industry in Imabari] (1951, pp.11 and 13-4); Shinozaki, Masaru, 'Imabari Mengyo Manyufakucha no Seiritsu' [Formation of Manufactory of Cotton Industry in Imabari] (Ehime Daigaku Rekishigaku Kiyo, V1.2, 1953, pp.60-72); Ehime-ken Shi Hensan Iinkai, Ehime-ken Shi, Shakai Keizai 3, Shoko [History of Ehime Prefecture, Socio-Economic History, Vol.3, Commerce and Industries] (1986, pp.183-5 and 225).
- 26) Obayashi(ed.), *ibid.*, pp.125-6 on the Vol.478 of *Toyo Bunko*; Ehime-ken, *ibid.*(pp.972-3); Iyo Orimono Dogyo Kumiai, *Enkaku-shi[History of Trade Association of Weavers and Merchants in Iyo]* (C.1927, p.1); Kawasaki, Saburo, 'Iyo Kasuri no Kenkyu'[Study on Iyo *Kasuri*] (Kagawa (ed.), *ibid.*,pp.23-30); Ehime-ken Shi Hensan Iinkai, *ibid.*(pp.180-2 and 200).
- 27) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Kochi-ken (ed.), *Kochi-ken Shiyo Zen [Short History of Kochi Prefecture]* (1924, p.584).
- 28) Naimusho Kangyo-ryo (ed.), *ibid.*; Kitajima(ed.), ibid.(p.367); Nakatsu Shi-shi Kankokai (ed.), *Nakatsu-shi Shi [History of Nakatsu-shi]* (1965, pp.870-1); Oita-ken Somu-bu Somu-ka (ed.), *Oita-ken Shi, Kinsei Hen [History of Oita Prefecture, Edo Period]*, Vol.2 (1985, p.546).

Appendix Table Production Volumes of Main Cotton Weaving Sanchi in Japan in the Edo Period

	ole Production Volum							Id
No. Larger		•		Epoch of Commer				Comments(A: Technology,B:Production System,
Region	(Contemporary Prefe			of Cotton Cloth		t: 10,000 tan)		C:Han Monopoly, D: Others)
1 Tohoku	Akita (Akita)	W, D, S	1624-44	Around 1868	(1)	1808-10	18.0 *	A: Improvement of dyeing after 1781-89.
					(2)	1855	36.0 *	B: Diffusion of <i>watagae</i> system around at 1789-1801.
					(3)	1874	14.2 1)	
2 Hokuriku	Kameda (Niigata)	S		1789-1801 2)	(1)	1868	15.0-16.0	A: Introduction of <i>takabata</i> in 1808; Improvement of dyeing in around 1830. B: <i>Debata</i> system after introduction of <i>takabata</i>
3 Hokuriku	ı Mitsuke (Niigata)	S	1715 *	1830	(1)(2)	1842 1873	1.0-1.5 18.0	A: In 1827 Introduction of <i>takabata</i> and employment of two weavers from Ashikaga; In 1930 introduction of improved <i>takabata</i> from Yuki and employment five weavers and dyers;
								Introduction of imported yarn after 1859. B: Diffusion of <i>debata</i> system in 1830-44.
4 Hokuriku	ı Niikawa (Toyama)	W	1596-1615	1789-1801	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)	C.1830 C.1863 1874 1877 1883	100.0 100.0 162.7 83.0 44.0 3)	B: Watagae system. C. Start of direct sale of cotton cloth to Edo by han in 1828.
5 Hokuriku	Echizen (Fukui)	W, S, C			(1)(2)	C.1868 1874	1.0 11.3 4)	
6 Kanto	Mooka (Tochigi)	В	1684-88	1764-81	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)	1804-44 1848-54 1972-73 1875 1881	38.0 5) 12.0 4.0 4.1 1.5	A: <i>Jibata</i> until the end of Edo period. B: <i>Watagae</i> system. D: Most of the cloths were actually woven at the south-eastern part of contemporary Ibaragi Prefecture around Shimodate area.
7 Kanto	Sano (Tochigi)	S	1744-48	1818-44	(1) (2) (3)	1830-44 1854-60 1877	18.0 * 30.0 * 40.0 *	A: Introduction of <i>takabata</i> in 1823-24; Introduction of imported yarn in 1866.
8 Kanto	Kita Saitama (Saitan	S, mekura	C.1781-89	C.1818-44	(1)	1872	9.6 6)	A: Jibata until the end of Edo period.
9 Kanto	Tokorozawa (Saitam	S, kasuri	Early 19th C	1854-60	(1)	C.1868	30.0	A: Diffusion of <i>takabata</i> in 1861-68; Introdction of imported yarn after 1859. B: Neither <i>watagae</i> system and nor <i>debata</i> system was found.
10 Tokai	Bisai (Aichi)	S	1764-72 7)	C.1818-44	(1)	1880	35.0 8)	A: Improvement of <i>jibata</i> in 1830-48; Introduction of imported yarn in 1861-64. B: Diffusion of <i>debata</i> system after improvement

											of <i>jibata</i> . C: Bureau of <i>han</i> monopoly in 1842-53. D: Mino (a part of contemporary Gifu Pre.) should be included in Bisai. However, the center of production moved from Mino to Bisai in 1830-44.
11	Tokai	Chita (Aichi)	В	1596-161 *	1781-89	(((1) 2) 3) 4) 5)	1830 C.1841-42 1846 1847 1848	48.8 44.3	* 10) 10)	A: Introdction of tecnology of dyeing from Ise in 1881-89; Improvement of <i>jibata</i> at the end of Edo period. B: <i>Watagae</i> system after 1854-60. C: Bureau of <i>han</i> monopoly in 1842-53, which promoted
							6) 7)	1848-54 C.1868	40.0-50.0 About 50.0	10)	direct sale of cotton cloth to Edo.
12	Tokai	Ise (Mie)	W, B, S	C.1592-96	1596-1644	(1)	1874	15.9	11)	
13	Tokai	Matsuzaka (Mie)	B, S	1573-92 *	C.1681-84		1) 2)	1861-64 1874		- 1	A: Introduction of <i>takabata</i> in 1818-44; Introduction of imported yarn in 1854-60. D: Decrease of production after 1865-68.
14	Kinki	Oumi (Shiga)				(1)	1874	15.2	14)	C: Cotton cloth in Hikone Province became one of the important commodities of <i>han</i> .
15	Kinki	Kawachi (Osaka)	W, S, uns	1521-32	C.1688-1704	(1)	C.1830	300.0	*	D: Decrease of production after 1844-48.
16	Kinki	Izumi (Osaka)	W	1596-161 *		Ċ	1) 2) 3)	C.1790 C.1810 1861-64	60.0 120.0 200.0		
17	Kinki	Tarui (Osaka)	monpa	The Latter H the 18th Cen		Ì	1) 2) 3) 4)	C.1804-34 C.1835-65 C.1865-75 1877	10.0 17.2 7.2 22.5		
18	Kinki	Kishu (Wakayama)	B, monpa	1629	Mid- 18th Century	Ì	ĺ	1874		17)	C: Kurayashiki adopted tender system of cotton cloth of Kishu in 1825. D: Production volumes of bleached cotton cloth and <i>monpa</i> seem to have decreased at latest at the end of Edo period.
19	Kinki	Himeji (Hyogo)	В			`	1)2)	1836 1878	200.0	18)	C: Bureau of <i>han</i> monopoly in 1821-71. Direct sale of cotton cloth to Edo.
20	Chugoku	Inaba & Hoki (Tottoi	w	1782		(1)	C.1770-80 1797	16.7	20)	B. Watagae system after start of Echigoya's activity shown at D.
							3)	1818 1826	50.0 80.0		C: Control of circulation of cotton cloth by <i>han</i> in 1818-23 and in 1852-68.

						(5) (6) (7) (8)	1839 1854-60 1861-64	47.0 50.0	D: In 1782 the draper, Echigoya (the Mitsui family), had a shop to buy in cotton cloth.
21	Chugoku	Izumo (Shinmane)	W	1772-81		(1)	1874 1874		D: In 1800 the draper, Echigoya, had a shop to buy in cotton cloth.
22	Chugoku	Bizen (Okayama)	sanada ,h	1789-1801		(1)	1874		A: Introduction of <i>takabata</i> and imported yarn at latest at the end of Edo peroid. B: <i>Debata</i> system at latest in 1830-44. C: Start of direct sale of <i>kokura</i> to Osaka in 1849; Start of direct sale of sanada and hakama-ji to Osaka around in 1849.
23	Chugoku	Aki (Hiroshima)	W		C.1751-64	(1)(2)(3)	C.1780 C.1868 1879	1.0 19) 100.0 24) 70.0-80.0 24)	A: Jibata until the end of Edo period. B: Watagae system. C: In 1824 cotton cloth of Aki became one of the important commodities of han. In c.1845 the han consigned cotton cloth produced at Nomi island, main producing place, for sale to a merchant, Osaka Tanba-ya Shichibei.
24	Chugoku	Choshu (Yamaguchi)	W, C, S	C.1592-1615	1711-36	(1)(2)	C.1840 1874	61.4 26)	A: Jibata until the end of Edo period. B: Watagae system. C: In 1825 cotton cloth of Choshu became one of the important commodities of han.
25	Shikoku	Imabari (Ehime)	W		1711-36	(1) (2) (3) (4)	1843-53 1861-64 1868 1877	35.0 40.0	B: Watagae system. C: In 1863-71 the han appointed some cotton cloth merchants as special ones, and promoted the prodcution of the cloth by watagae system.
26	Shikoku	Matsuyama (Ehime)	S	1573-92 *	1804-30	(1) (2) (3) (4)	1818 1821 1824 C.1877	0.0 0.4 2.2 80.0	A: Introduction of <i>takabata</i> in 1804-18. C: Establishment of bureau of <i>han</i> monopoly in 1854.
27	Shikoku	Tosa (kochi)				(1)	1874	1.6	A: Introduction of takabata in 1854-60.
28	Kyushu	Buzen (Fukuoka & C	l Dita)	1724 *		(1)	1874	,	C: In 1831 cotton cloth of Nakatsu became one of the important commodities of <i>han</i> . D: Main producing place seems to have been Nakatsu.