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Nakano Family Documents

SATSUMA-CHŌSHŪ TRADE, 1856-66

by ROBERT G. FLERSHEM and YOSHIKO N. FLERSHEM

TRADE, encouraged or carried on by the two *han* governments, was a significant aspect of Satsuma-Chōshū relations during the last ten years of the Tokugawa period. It may have become an important factor in the formation of the Satchō alliance in 1866.¹ Considerable information about this activity can be gleaned from documents found near Shimonoseki in the summer of 1967.² These papers were among the records of Nakano Hanzaemon, an official of Tonoshiki Mura,³ Toyoura Gun, Maeōtsu Saiban (administrative district) of Chōshū *han*.⁴

The Nakanos, who were peasants during the Tokugawa period, moved to Tonoshiki early in the seventeenth century. Heads of the family usually became *shōya* (village headmen) and at times had the rank of *ōjōya* (village group chief).⁵ In the 1830s and 1840s the family head was involved both officially and privately in shipping on the river which links Tonoshiki and the Inland Sea. Starting in 1845 he often had official responsibilities pertaining to whaling.⁶ In 1856 he was put in charge of promoting his territory's exports. By 1860 he had outstripped the Shimonoseki merchant, Shiraishi

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¹ Tanaka Akira 田中彰, 'Bakumatsu Satchō kōeki no kenkyū' 幕末薩長交易の研究, *Sbigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌, LXIX, no. 4 (20 April 1960), pp. 29-51. (This article shall hereafter be referred to as 'Bakumatsu Satchō'.)

² R.G. Flershem, 'Nakano Family Documents: Satsuma-Chōshū Trade', *The Library Chronicle*, Friends of the University of Pennsylvania Library, XXXV, nos. 1 and 2 (1969), pp. 64-5; and Flershem, 'Kita mae sen no funaato wo otte' 北前船の船跡を追って, *Kaiji shi kenkyū* 海事史研究, Nihon Kaiji Shi Gakkai, Tokyo, No. 11 (Novem-

ber 1968), pp. 100-1.

³ Tonoshiki is now in Toyota Machi and is about two hours by bus from Shimonoseki. In the 1840s Tonoshiki had about 200 families. About 30% of the heads of households were tradesmen, about 60% were farmers, and about 4% were artisans. See Yamaguchi Ken Monjokan 山口県文書館 (ed.), *Bōchō fūdo chūshin an* 防長風土注進案, Yamaguchi Prefectural Library, Yamaguchi, 1962, XIX, pp. 407-46.

⁴ 中野半左衛門, 殿敷村, 豊浦郡, 前大津宰判, 長洲藩

⁵ 庄屋, 大庄屋

⁶ *Tonoshiki mura Nakano ke komonjo* 殿敷村中野古家文書 (hereafter abbreviated to *TMNKK*): *Kinkō omegaigaki* 勤功御願書, 1864; and *Kakei* 家系, 1625.

Shōichirō,⁷ in competition for office, power, and prestige.⁸ Nakano Hanzaemon was supervisor of Chōshū's trade with Satsuma from December 1861 until about the middle of 1864, and during that time he was probably the most important of the Chōshū figures concerned with this commerce.

The Nakano documents' story of Chōshū's business relations with other regions starts late in 1856 when the Tsuboi-Mukunashi clique, which was dominant in Chōshū politics in 1856-7, attempted to expand exports.⁹ At that time, the office of *Kannō sambutsu gonaiyō kakari*¹⁰ was established to promote rural production for export purposes. Forty-five of these officials were appointed—two or three for each *saiban*. Nakano Hanzaemon was among the new appointees in Maeōtsu Saiban. Each *gonaiyō kakari* was supposed to emphasize products which were suitable in his own area, so there was probably considerable variety.

Hanzaemon supervised import of wax-tree seedlings from the Fukuoka area and production of *benibana* (safflowers) for red dye. In discussion with superiors he maintained that, if each of Chōshū's approximately 100,000 peasant families produced *benibana* in spare time without interfering with other agricultural production, there would be a large profit for the *ban*. He said that Chōshū should follow the example of Akita, Nara, Wakayama, Higo, and Satsuma by exporting *benibana* to the Kansai. He also made the quaint plea on behalf of *benibana* that it was as beautiful as *kiku*.¹¹ In a letter to another *gonaiyō kakari* he spoke of his plans for whaling and for replanting the imported seedlings; and he requested a loan from the *ban* to promote paper production in Tonoshiki.¹² In the same year there was abortive talk of importing *aidama*¹³ (indigo-balls) from Satsuma.¹⁴

Umeda Umpin,¹⁵ a scholar of Chinese Learning and a Loyalist,¹⁶ who had been an Obama *ban* samurai, came to Chōshū late in 1856 to rouse interest in trade between Chōshū and the Kyoto-Osaka area.¹⁷ Among others, he talked to the daimyo, Tsuboi

⁷ 白石正一郎

⁸ Shimonoseki Shi Shi Henshū Iinkai 下関市史編修委員会 (ed.), *Shimonoseki shi shi* 下関市史, (2 volumes), Shimonoseki City Government, Shimonoseki, 1964, II, p. 166. Both Nakano Hanzaemon and Shiraiishi Shōichirō had loyalist connections. In their accounts of the events which preceded the Meiji Restoration, M. B. Jansen and A. M. Craig mention Shiraiishi but not Nakano Hanzaemon. See M. B. Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 119 (footnote), 161, 217, 265, 371 and 413; and A. M. Craig, *Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967, Glossary, p. xix.

⁹ Craig, op. cit. p. 96.

¹⁰ 勸農産物御内用懸り

¹¹ 紅花, 菊

¹² *TMNKK: Kannō sambutsu Edokata gonaiyō sho kiroku* 勸農産物江戸方御内用諸記録, 1856. Hanzaemon estimated that the profit from sale of 768 *kamme* 貫目 of *banshi* 半紙 (writing paper) produced in Tonoshiki during a four-month period would be almost 5 *kan*.

¹³ 藍玉

¹⁴ *TMNKK: Sasshū torikumi kiroku* 薩州取組記録, I, 1858.

¹⁵ 梅田雲濱

¹⁶ Jansen, op. cit. p. 71.

¹⁷ Umeda's travel to Chōshū apparently grew out of discussion in Kyoto with Miyake Jōtarō 三宅定太郎, who was a prominent shipping merchant, landowner, and village headman in Bitchū. The expense of Umeda's travel to Chō-

Kuemon,¹⁸ and Nakano Hanzaemon. In 1857 he went from Chōshū to Hakata, where he met Hōjō Umon, a Satsuma *rōnin*, and Hirano Kuniomi,¹⁹ who were subsequently prominent both in loyalist political activity and in Satsuma-Chōshū commercial relations. Umeda, Hōjō, and Hirano are said to have agreed on the desirability of developing business between Satsuma, Chōshū, and Bitchū.²⁰ At about the same time, the first meeting between Saigō Takamori²¹ and Shiraishi Shōichirō took place, if a cryptic reference in a Shiraishi document can be trusted.²² Early in 1858, a rich merchant of Takata in the Nara region, Murashima Chōbē,²³ who was married to Umeda Umpin's niece, opened a shop in Osaka to handle Chōshū goods. In the summer of 1858 Murashima came to Chōshū to discuss trade. On his way back to Osaka he visited Nakano Hanzaemon in Tonoshiki. At that time Chōshū exports to the Kansai were rice, salt, wax, and salt fish. Chōshū imported from that region clothes, timber, and medical seeds. Umeda Umpin probably played the biggest part in the development of this traffic. Some of those who later contributed to the growth of Satchō economic intercourse became experienced in interregional commerce and also first became acquainted with each other while participating in this Chōshū-Kansai business activity of 1856-8.²⁴

In the spring of 1858 Nimure Sahē,²⁵ who was a Satsuma *goyō-shōnin* (*ban* merchant), Shiraishi Shōichirō, and Onoya Jiemon, a merchant in Hamasaki,²⁶ discussed export of Satsuma *aidama* to Chōshū and export of Chōshū salt and cotton goods to Satsuma. Shiraishi asked Chōshū *ban* to approve this, and he was told to put the request through Nakano Hanzaemon. When he did so the *ban* replied that private merchants should conduct the trade experimentally, and, if it proved profitable, the *ban* would then openly espouse and control it. The *ban* at that time entrusted the matter to two *gonaiyō kakari* of Maeōtsu Saiban, Nakano Hanzaemon and Yamamoto Torazō.²⁷ In effect, the problem was left, at least on the surface, in the hands of these two peasant officials and Shiraishi Shōichirō, the Shimonoseki merchant, while samurai officials of Chōshū kept in the background. It seems that Nakano and Yamamoto were not altogether willing and were partly forced by the *ban* to accept this responsibility. The *ban* made it plain to them that it was interested in Satsuma commerce not only for its own sake, but also because of the opportunity to get intelligence of all kinds from the Satsuma officials and merchants. The *ban* told

*shū was paid by Miyake. See Kobayashi Shigeru 小林茂, *Chōshū ban Meiji ishin sibi kenkyū* 長州藩明治維新史研究, Miraisha, Tokyo, 1968, p. 116.

¹⁸ 坪井九右衛門

¹⁹ 北條右門, 平野國臣

²⁰ Tanaka Akira, *Bakumatsu no Chōshū* 幕末の長州, Chūō Kōron, Tokyo, 1965, p. 108; Tanaka Akira, 'Bakumatsu Satchō kōeki no kenkyū', *Shigaku zasshi*, LXIX, no. 3 (20 March 1960), pp. 54-84 (this article shall hereafter be referred to as 'Bakumatsu Satchō'₁); and Kobayashi, pp. 105-17.

²¹ 西郷隆盛

²² Shimonoseki Shi Kyōiku Iinkai 下関市教育委員会 (ed.), *Shiraishi ke monjo* 白石家文書, Shimonoseki Shi Kyōiku Iinkai, Shimonoseki, 1968, p. 53. Hereafter this work will be cited as *SKM*.

²³ 村島長兵衛

²⁴ Kobayashi, p. 117; Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō'₁, p. 57; and *TMNKK: Kinkō onegaigaki*, 1864.

²⁵ 仁牟禮佐兵衛; Arisawa (有澤) was an alternative surname.

²⁶ 小野屋治右衛門; 濱崎, Hagi's port.

²⁷ 山本寅藏

Hanzaemon to cultivate the Satsuma people for this purpose, and years later he complained that he had spent too much money entertaining them.²⁸

Nakano Hanzaemon and Yamamoto Torazō were to be Chōshū's official links with the experiment which was sanctioned in the summer of 1858. They were not, however, given any new position with responsibility specifically for Satsuma trade, and their functions in that connection were apparently in addition to what they were already doing as *gonaiyō kakari*.²⁹ They exercised some supervision over the merchants through whom the *ban* conducted the experiment. The most important of these was Shiraishi, who, living in Takezaki in Shimonoseki, actually was a subject of Kiyosue *ban*, a Chōshū branch *ban*. Shiraishi had the nickname of 'Sasshū don'ya', and had been engaged in private business with Satsuma for some time before Chōshū began in 1858 to explore the possibilities of planned, official commerce.³⁰

Why was Hanzaemon, as well as Torazō, singled out from the other *gonaiyō kakari* for this task? The answer may lie at least partly in his past experience and personal ability. His long experience in river-boat affairs and in whaling must have been important factors. Whaling seems particularly relevant since whale bones, used for fertilizer, promised to be among the most successful of Chōshū's exports to Satsuma. Hanzaemon's performance in these fields and in importing wax-tree seedlings may have indicated planning and organizing ability. As Chōshū's exports were mostly village products, a village functionary such as Hanzaemon may have been preferred to a *chōnin*. The fact that Shiraishi was a subject of a branch *ban* may also have weakened his case. The Nakano documents suggest that the burden was put on a peasant rather than a samurai official to avoid loss of face and financial responsibility for Chōshū *ban* if the venture should prove unprofitable; and to avoid Bakufu suspicion of fraternization between Chōshū and Satsuma samurai.

In the spring of 1858 Nimore Sahē had brought with him from Satsuma to Hamasaki 158 *hyō* of *aidama* as a free sample. Its commercial possibilities were to be tested in Chōshū, and he proposed to take back with him about forty *tan*³¹ of Chōshū cotton goods, which were to be similarly tested in Satsuma. It was envisaged that business relations would be officially started and carried out by samurai officials of the two *ban* if the preliminary experiments, particularly the *aidama* experiment, proved profitable in the course of a year or two. If it turned out that Satsuma's *aidama* could be marketed in Chōshū, it was thought that Shimonoseki rather than Hagi would become the trading center, and there were plans for storing Satsuma's incoming and Chōshū's outgoing products at Shiraishi's storehouse in Shimonoseki.³²

²⁸ *TMNKK: Gokōeki kiroku* 御交易記録, VIII, 1864. Hanzaemon and Torazō tried to persuade Chōshū village merchants and officials to market commodities imported from Satsuma.

²⁹ Hanzaemon had trouble getting cooperation on his own and had to request orders

from the *ban* for transmittal to the villagers. See *TMNKK: Gokōeki kiroku*, VIII, 1864.

³⁰ Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', p. 57.

³¹ 反

³² *TMNKK: Sasshū torikumi kiroku*, I, 1858.

Shiraishi's original request for Chōshū *ban*'s approval had said that Satsuma had recently been exploring possibilities for increasing trade. It was indicated that Nimure wanted a Chōshū official to return with him for consultation in Kagoshima. Nimure, furthermore, offered to arrange for Satsuma samurai officials to confer in Shimonoseki when they passed through in the fall en route to Edo (*sankin kōtai*).³³ On 30 August Mihara Tōgorō, a Satsuma official, on his way to Kagoshima from Edo, consulted in Shimonoseki with Shiraishi and Takasaki Zembē, a Satsuma functionary stationed in Shimonoseki to watch over Satsuma's commercial interests there.³⁴ Mihara said that Satsuma should have permanent business relations with Chōshū rather than other regions, and he urged that Shiraishi come to Kagoshima during the coming month while Mihara would still be there before his return to Edo. Mihara also said that he would arrange for Shimazu Bungo, a high-ranking Satsuma official (*karō*), to stop in Shimonoseki at the end of September for further discussion.³⁵

On 1 September 1858 Shiraishi and Takasaki Zembē came by river-boat to visit Nakano Hanzaemon in Tonoshiki.³⁶ Takasaki wanted Hanzaemon and a samurai official to go with himself and Shiraishi to Kagoshima to observe Satsuma products, geography, and conditions in general.³⁷ In his report on these discussions, Hanzaemon said that the Satsuma representatives were relying especially on export of *aidama*, but that they thought that they also had other products which Chōshū might want. The advantages of selling their goods at Shimonoseki rather than Osaka attracted them to the idea of permanent trade with Chōshū, and Hanzaemon mentioned their interest in opening an office and storehouse at Shimonoseki. He also reported that Satsuma wanted to buy all of Chōshū's whale bones, and would pay higher prices than Chōshū was then receiving from other territories.³⁸

In a letter sent to Shiraishi on 13 September 1858, the day before Shiraishi's departure for Kagoshima, Hanzaemon explained that both he and his son, Genzō, had wanted to go to Kagoshima, but had been ordered by *ban* officials to occupy themselves otherwise. Hanzaemon had thus dispatched his assistant, Nakagawa Gempachirō,³⁹ in his place. In a secret postscript, Hanzaemon said that he had been summoned to Hagi to discuss Satsuma's desire for a commercial establishment in Shimonoseki. Apparently eager to reassure Shiraishi, on the eve of his departure, about the *ban*'s enthusiasm for inter-regional commerce, Hanzaemon remarked that products would be vigorously collected in Chōshū's rural areas for export, and that a *ban* official would go to Hyōgo to see to

³³ 參勤交代

³⁴ 三原藤五郎, 高崎善兵衛. Dates in this article follow the Japanese calendar.

³⁵ 島津豊後. *TMNKK: Sasshū torikumi kiroku*, 1, 1858.

³⁶ *ibid.*; and *SKM*, p. 56.

³⁷ *TMNKK: Sambutsu ikken oyaku narabi ni sbo shimai bikae* 産物一件御役並諸仕廻控, 1860.

³⁸ *TMNKK: Sasshū torikumi kiroku*, 1, 1858.

³⁹ 中川源八郎

commercial affairs there. Hanzaemon stressed the secrecy of this information: '... makoto ni, makoto ni gonainai mōshiage sōrō. . .'.⁴⁰

Hanzaemon reported to *ban* officials in October 1858 that he had provided Shiraishi with 28 *tan* of a variety of cotton goods to be taken to Kagoshima, presumably for sale or display. The 28 *tan* had been procured in four *saiban* (Ogōri, Funaki, Yamaguchi, and Kumake) and in Hagi. On his return to Shimonoseki from Kagoshima on 6 December 1858, Shiraishi wrote to Hanzaemon's son, Genzō. Shiraishi said that he had secured the Satsuma authorities' agreement to trade with Chōshū. He thought it urgent for Hagi officials to follow up this success quickly by getting in touch with Takasaki, Satsuma's representative in Shimonoseki. If this were delayed, Shiraishi feared that there might be hurt feelings in Kagoshima, so he urged that Hanzaemon get the necessary cooperation in Hagi. He also pressed Hanzaemon himself to meet Takasaki in Shimonoseki before the end of the year, as Takasaki would return to Kagoshima after the New Year's festivities. Shiraishi enthused about the exciting prospects for Satchō commerce. He hoped that Hanzaemon could get Hagi's approval for business to start early in 1859, and he intimated that Takasaki's thinking was similar to his own.⁴¹

While Shiraishi reported favorable Satsuma attitudes toward trade with Chōshū, he neglected to inform Genzō and Hanzaemon in this letter that attitudes toward himself in Kagoshima were not uniformly friendly. Kagoshima *goyō-shōnin* had wished to act as middlemen between Shiraishi and samurai officials. Shiraishi had offended these merchants by attempting to bypass them, and he may also have aroused distrust by his efforts to engage in private business. Shiraishi was handicapped in his negotiations by his low rank (*chōnin*).⁴² There were, moreover, doubts about Hagi's plans in high quarters in Kagoshima. The *karō*, Shimazu Bungo, for example, was not enthusiastic about the proposed imports from Chōshū. Kawabata Seiemon,⁴³ one of Kagoshima's richest merchants, argued, however, that the ideas under discussion were only tentative, and that Chōshū probably had other more desirable products. In any case, on his return from Kagoshima, Shiraishi vigorously sought Nakano Hanzaemon's support, and Hanzaemon then handled the matter with Chōshū *ban* samurai officials.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ 眞ニ々々御内々ニ申上候。TMNKK: *Sassbū torikumi kiroku*, I, 1858.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² Shiraishi was also much annoyed by the behavior of Nakanō Hanzaemon's henchman, Nakagawa Gempachirō. One senses that Shiraishi and Nakanō were rivals for favor in both Kagoshima and Hagi. While they were negotiating in Kagoshima, Nakagawa may have been working against Shiraishi and reporting to Nakanō anything which he could use against Shiraishi. The latter clearly indicates his resentment of both Nakagawa Gempachirō and Nakanō

Hanzaemon. *SKM*, pp. 56-7.

⁴³ 川畑清右衛門。He had achieved samurai status.

⁴⁴ TMNKK: *Sassbū torikumi kiroku*, I, 1858. The Nakano documents provide much rewarding material for analysis of *ban* decision-making in the late Tokugawa period. A happy hunting ground for this purpose can be found in the daily diary kept by Nakagawa Gempachirō during his sojourn in Kagoshima with Shiraishi. *Sambutsu gokōeki goyō ni tsuki Sassbū Kagoshima kudari nikki* 産物御交易御用ニ付薩州鹿兒島下り日記 (16 September—6 December, 1858).

In February 1859 Hanzaemon indicated in a report to Iida Gensuke,⁴⁵ a samurai official in Hagi, that Satsuma's interest had been stimulated after Shiraishi's return from Kagoshima by the favorable attitude of the Lord of Satsuma; and by consultation at Shimonoseki between Shimazu Bungo, Mihara Tōgorō, and Takasaki Zembē. This report mentioned that Kawabata Seiemon had been named to be the Kagoshima official in charge of the Chōshū traffic. Hanzaemon also stated that, as a result of Shiraishi's discussions in Kagoshima, the following products would be emphasized:⁴⁶

Chōshū Exports to Satsuma

Whale bones (for fertilizer)
 Cow and horse bones (for fertilizer)
 Salt
 Cotton cloth
Kanten (isinglass, agar-agar)
 Iwakuni *chijimi* (crepe)
 Whale oil
 Noodles

Satsuma Exports to Chōshū

Aidama
Kurozatō (raw sugar)
 Wax
Katsuobushi (dried bonito)
 Sulphur
 Tin
 Tobacco
 Ryukyu lacquerware⁴⁷

Nakano Hanzaemon said in his report that, in the light of the preliminary experiment, the Satsuma officials had approved trade with Chōshū, and he hoped that the Chōshū officials would reciprocate. He noted that Satsuma samurai officials were directing Satsuma's effort and taking part in the negotiations. He feared that the enterprise would fail if Chōshū samurai officials did not show similar interest. He recalled Takasaki Zembē's warning that the Satsuma authorities could not have confidence in Chōshū's attitude unless a Chōshū samurai official of suitable rank accompanied Shiraishi to Kagoshima. Takasaki had felt that any agreement reached on behalf of Chōshū by a *chōnin* representative would give too little assurance of the lasting commercial ties which Satsuma wished. Satsuma samurai having involved themselves, insult would be felt in Kagoshima, furthermore, if Chōshū samurai hung back. Hanzaemon pointed out, too, that Chōshū might

⁴⁵ 飯田源助

⁴⁶ *TMNKK: Sasshū torikumi kiroku*, 1859.

⁴⁷ 寒天, 縮, 黑砂糖, 鯉節

seem to break its promise made almost a year earlier, and rouse Satsuma distrust if the samurai officials did not directly participate now that the experiment had been conducted successfully.⁴⁸

Hanzaemon informed Iida Gensuke that Takasaki would be replaced in Shimonoseki by Hamada Yūzaemon,⁴⁹ but was delaying his departure in order to hear Hagi's decision. Eager to be informed before a visit to Shimonoseki by Shimazu Bungo in early March, Takasaki was on the verge of coming in person to explore the situation in Hagi, where Nimure Sahē of Satsuma was already on hand, staying at the home of Onoya Jiemon in Hamasaki.⁵⁰

Under this pressure, the great men in Hagi cogitated, and then agreed to try the proposed trade for a year or two.⁵¹ But again in the winter of 1859, as in the previous year, they gave the responsibility to a peasant official, Nakano Hanzaemon.⁵² The Chōshū samurai officials closely supervised Hanzaemon, but they kept in the background and had a more hesitant, negative attitude than the Satsuma authorities. In apparent contrast to Satsuma, there was as yet no official position in Chōshū's administration with specific responsibility for Satchō commerce, and Hanzaemon's bureaucratic status seems to have been little changed by the decisions in Hagi in 1859. He was, however, forging ahead in his rivalry with Shiraishi. After the Kagoshima negotiations in the fall of 1858, Shiraishi gradually was excluded from Chōshū *ban* commercial affairs, although he continued to be active in private business with Satsuma and other regions.⁵³ From this time on Nakano seems to have had no rival below the samurai level for bureaucratic power and influence.⁵⁴ In later years Shiraishi showed his bitterness because of this turn of events;⁵⁵ in December 1858, however, he was aglow with enthusiasm after his adventures in Kagoshima, and seemed unaware that his prominence in the trade discussions and maneuvers would soon diminish.⁵⁶

The incipient Satchō traffic stimulated commerce between Bitchū, Bizen, and Chōshū in 1859. Hirano Kuniomi of Hakata, Miyake Jōtarō of Bitchū, and Shiraishi discussed Chōshū's import of *wata* (cotton) and *tetsuzai* (iron)⁵⁷ and Chōshū's re-export of Satsuma

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ 濱田勇左衛門

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', p. 62.

⁵² *TMNKK: Sasshū torikumi kiroku*, 1859.

⁵³ Kobayashi, *op. cit.* pp. 122-3.

⁵⁴ Documents pertaining to Satchō commerce were often signed jointly by Yamamoto and Hanzaemon until about the time when Hanzaemon became *Sasshū kōeki shibainin* (officer in charge of Satsuma trade) in 1861. After that, Yamamoto appears to have faded from the picture.

⁵⁵ In November 1860 Shiraishi Rensaku 白石廉作, Shōichirō's younger brother, asked Satsu-

ma *ban* to appoint him as its commercial representative in Shimonoseki. In this petition, he showed the Shiraishi family's resentment of its treatment by the Chōshū authorities. As early as June 1858 there had been indications that Shiraishi Shōichirō might eventually be used by Satsuma rather than Chōshū. In 1861 Satsuma *ban* appointed Rensaku to the position which he had requested. See *SKM*: pp. 463-4; Tanaka, *Bakumatsu no Chōshū*, p. 110; and *Sambutsu ikken oyaku narabi ni sho shimai hikae*, 1857.

⁵⁶ Shiraishi's letter of 18 December 1858 to Nakano Hanzaemon's son, Genzō.

⁵⁷ 綿, 鐵材

aidama to Bizen and Bitchū. In March a ship owned by Miyake brought cotton and iron from Bizen to Shimonoseki.⁵⁸ In August 1859 Chōshū re-exported to Bitchū 400 of 500 *byō* of *aidama* received from Satsuma.

In the same month Satsuma established an office in Shimonoseki for business with Bitchū and Chōshū, and Satsuma products began to arrive there.⁵⁹ At this point Satsuma samurai officials were hesitant to approach Hagi officials directly because Hagi had shown great reserve, and the impression was abroad in Kagoshima that only Shiraishi had shown interest on behalf of Chōshū. In these circumstances, Satsuma advocates of the trade thought that confidence in Kagoshima would be increased if Nakano Hanzaemon, who was closer to Hagi officialdom than Shiraishi, paid a visit.⁶⁰ In May 1860 Hagi not only approved a visit to Kagoshima by Nakano Hanzaemon and Nakagawa Gempachirō, but it was also decided that a samurai official, Yoshimatsu Heishirō,⁶¹ would accompany them.⁶² The mission thus had more of an appearance of official *han* backing and more authority than Shiraishi's delegation had had.

In later years Nakano Hanzaemon recalled that when Chōshū officials in Edo were informed of his mission to Kagoshima, Sufu Masanosuke,⁶³ Chōshū's foremost leader at that time, rushed from Edo to Chōshū to join the consultations with Hanzaemon and Yoshimatsu Heishirō before their departure. Sufu briefed Heishirō, and Shishido Kurobē⁶⁴ briefed Hanzaemon. Sufu was interested in exploiting the opportunity to get political, economic, and military information about Satsuma, and he urged Yoshimatsu to engage in this intelligence activity regardless of expense. Hanzaemon departed on 20 July and returned to Chōshū on 10 November.⁶⁵

Nimure advised the Chōshū visitors about attitudes in Kagoshima and guided them around the castle town. They talked particularly with Katō Heihachi, Nishimura Rokuemon, Akashi Rokubē, Kakimoto Hikozaemon, and Sakō Jūbē.⁶⁶ They were closely watched, and their freedom of movement and inquiry were circumscribed. The helpful Nimure, however, on one occasion showed them a gunnery training establishment. He also purloined a very detailed map of Satsuma and took it to Hanzaemon's inn. The Chōshū people worked through the night, secretly making copies, at some risk to their own and Nimure's lives, for their superiors in Edo and Hagi. Perhaps because of Sufu's injunctions to Yoshimatsu, Hanzaemon was especially proud of this coup. Sufu's interest is further indicated by the fact that Yoshimatsu sent reports to him from Kagoshima.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', p. 57.

⁵⁹ *TMNKK: Sambutsu ikken oyaku narabi ni sbo shimai hikae*, 1859.

⁶⁰ *TMNKK: Sasshū torikumi kiroku*, 1860.

⁶¹ 吉松平四郎

⁶² *TMNKK: Kinkō onegaigaki*, 1864.

⁶³ 周布政之助

⁶⁴ 穴戸九郎兵衛

⁶⁵ *TMNKK: Gokōeki kiroku*, VIII, 1864.

⁶⁶ 加藤平八, 西村六右衛門, 明石録兵衛, 柿本彦左衛門, 酒匂十兵衛. Hanzaemon reported that Katō Heihachi was one of Satsuma's two richest merchants and had achieved samurai status through the influence of Zusho Shōzaemon 調所笑左衛門. *TMNKK: Sambutsukata sbo kiroku* 産物方諸記録, 1860.

⁶⁷ *TMNKK: Gokōeki kiroku*, VIII, 1864.

As a result of the negotiations conducted by Hanzaemon and his colleagues in Kagoshima, it was decided that the following commodities would now be stressed:⁶⁸

Chōshū Exports to Satsuma

Rice
Salt
Kujira honekasu (whale bone-cake for fertilizer)
Kurivata (ginned cotton)
Striped cotton
Printed cotton
Dyed cotton
Paper⁶⁹

Satsuma Exports to Chōshū

Aidama
Tobacco
Sulphur
Katsuobushi
Ryukyu lacquerware
Flax
Ryukyu piece goods and textiles
Matting
Nets
Sugar

Among other changes, Hanzaemon's mission decided on a much smaller amount of *aidama* import by Chōshū than had been the case when Shiraiishi went to Kagoshima two years earlier. Satsuma wanted to promote the export of this product, but Satsuma *aidama* was difficult to sell and had a bad reputation in Chōshū because it was lower in quality than *aidama* from Awa in Shikoku.⁷⁰ This was one of the main difficulties of Satchō trade. Sugar, received from Satsuma, was also difficult to sell in the Gotō Islands and in Chōshū. The general rule was that Chōshū would receive annually 2,500 *chō*⁷¹ of sugar from Satsuma in exchange for 3,000 *koku* of rice. When there was trouble in marketing the sugar, Chōshū's rice shipments might be delayed, causing complaint in Kagoshima.⁷² These difficulties were chronic, but there is also evidence of profit. In 1862, for example, Chōshū had a profit of over 81 *kan* from the sale of 2,500 *chō* of Naha raw sugar in Osaka.⁷³

The Nakano documents give much fragmentary information. Rice and the bones of

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ 鯨骨粕, 繰綿

⁷⁰ *TMNKK: Sasshū torikumi kiroku*, 1860.

⁷¹ 挺

⁷² *TMNKK: Sasshū gokōeki kiroku*, 1862.

⁷³ *TMNKK: Naba kurozatō urisabaki issbi* 那覇黑砂糖賣捌一紙, 1862; and *Kosbinikata sambutsukata sono hoka sho kiroku* 越荷方產物方其外諸記錄, 1867.

whales, cattle, and horses were Chōshū commodities in which Satsuma had marked interest. In accord with Satsuma's wishes, Chōshū exported the bones to Satsuma only, refusing to sell them elsewhere. *Eta*⁷⁴ apparently had an important role in buying up the bones in the villages and collecting them for export. Satsuma was exporting its own paper to Ryukyu and wanted to re-export Chōshū paper. Chōshū, therefore, made a special size which Satsuma requested. Satsuma, which had previously bought salt from various regions, ultimately agreed to buy it only from Chōshū. Chōshū's cotton goods proved popular in Satsuma beyond all expectations. Satsuma tobacco, which had formerly been exported to Edo and Osaka, was sold to Chōshū in 1859 and thereafter. It was chopped in Chōshū, and then marketed in Chōshū and the Kansai. The sulphur obtained by Chōshū from Satsuma came from Iwō Jima. Satsuma's *katsuobushi*, supposed to be higher in quality than that of any other region except Tosa, probably found a good market in Chōshū or was successfully re-exported.⁷⁵

Soon after Nakano Hanzaemon's visit to Kagoshima, the Satsuma merchant, Kakimoto Hikozaemon, who had the position of *kōeki kakari*⁷⁶ (trade official), came to Hagi. At this juncture the Chōshū leaders, especially Sufu Masanosuke, showed more interest and sanctioned the trade more positively than they had in the past.⁷⁷ As part of a reorganization of the *Sambutsukata kaisho*⁷⁸ (production office), Hagi at long last established in Shimonoseki in the spring of 1861 an office specifically concerned with Satsuma commerce.⁷⁹ Hanzaemon was put in charge of it with the title of *Sasshū kōeki shibainin* on 6 December.⁸⁰ It was decided that Hanzaemon could use a sum equivalent to two per cent of the silver value of Satchō commercial transactions for the expenses of the office.⁸¹ Kakimoto Hikozaemon suggested to Hanzaemon that a steamship be purchased for 3,000 *ryō*⁸² to carry cargoes to the Osaka area.⁸³ Supporters of Satchō commerce were evidently in a sanguine mood.

In the Bunkyū years, 1861–3, Chōshū developed business relations not only with Satsuma, Kokura, and the other Kyushu *han*, but also with many other regions: Bitchū, Aizu, Tsushima, the Gotō Islands, Hokuiku, and Hokkaido.⁸⁴ To the extent that they are indicated in the Nakano documents, exports and imports were as follows:⁸⁵

⁷⁴ 織多

⁷⁵ *TMNKK: Sambutsukata sho kiroku*, 1860; *Sasshū torikumi kiroku*, 1856; *Sasshū gokōeki kiroku*, 1860; *Gokōeki kiroku*, 1864; and Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', p. 81.

⁷⁶ 交易懸り. His main interest seems to have been Chōshū trade.

⁷⁷ Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', pp. 69–71.

⁷⁸ 産物方會所

⁷⁹ *TMNKK: Sasshū gokōeki kiroku*, III–IV, 1861.

⁸⁰ *TMNKK: Kinkō onegaigaki*, 1864; *Oboe* 覺, 1861.

⁸¹ *TMNKK: Sasshū gokōeki kiroku*, III, 1860;

and Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', p. 71.

⁸² 兩

⁸³ *TMNKK: Sasshū gokōeki kiroku*, 1861. Re-export by Chōshū of some Satsuma products to the Osaka area was a feature of the Satchō trade.

⁸⁴ Kobayashi, op. cit. p. 127; and *TMNKK: Sasshū gokōeki kiroku*, VI, 1862. Hanzaemon was involved in all this interregional traffic, although his exact role in dealings with territories other than Satsuma is not clear.

⁸⁵ *ibid.* Some of the products which Chōshū obtained from Kokura had been previously exported by Kokura to Osaka.

Chōshū Exports and Re-exports to Gotō

Rice
Salt
Paper
Ryukyu sugar (received from Satsuma)

Chōshū Imports from Gotō

*Tokoroten*⁸⁶ (gelidium jelly)
Katsuobushi
Wax-tree seeds
Rapeseed
Wheat
Dried sardines

Chōshū Re-exports to Kokura

Probably *aidama* and
other imports from
Satsuma

Chōshū Imports from Kokura

Bark (for paper-making)
Textiles
Cattle and horse bones
Dried mushrooms
Raw silk
Rice
Wax-tree seeds
Medical seeds
Leather
Wax

Chōshū Re-exports to Tsushima

Satsuma copper

Chōshū Re-exports to Echizen

Naha *kurozatō* (received
from Satsuma)

Chōshū Imports from Hokkaido

Tangle and herring-roe (re-exported to Satsuma)

The most significant result of this interregional commerce in the last years before the Restoration may have been the diffusion of the mood of those who wished both to overthrow the Bakufu and to move toward modernization in all its aspects. Incidents in Chōshū-Fukui relations suggest how loyalist and innovative influence could spread among the domains as birds of a feather flocked together in mercantile array on the Shimonoseki waterfront. On one occasion in 1862, Chōshū sent 400 *chō* of *kurozatō* to Echizen for which payment was made partly in Western silver, presumably dollars received by Fukui when it sold silk thread to the Dutch in Nagasaki. Yuri Kimimasa and Yokoi Shōnan,⁸⁷ noted Fukui reformers, both were in Chōshū when the sugar purchase was being arranged. Yokoi's part is not known. Yuri came all the way from Fukui to explain to Hanzaemon that payment would be delayed.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ 心太艸

⁸⁷ 由利公正, 横井小楠

⁸⁸ *TMNKK: Sasshū gokōeki kiroku*, VI, 1862; and Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', pp. 32 and 35.

Business at Shimonoseki deteriorated in 1863 and 1864 partly because of friction with Western nations.⁸⁹ Hanzaemon continued in charge of Satsuma affairs at the office in Shimonoseki at least until the spring of 1864. In February of that year his office became part of the *Buikukyoku*.⁹⁰ In April his building began to be used as an armory, probably reflecting the threat from Western warships. Hanzaemon bitterly complained to the *ban* that, especially because of the suddenness of the change, this was damaging both to his own and to his office's prestige and confusing to all the merchants and officials who knew his *kamban*⁹¹ (signboard) so well.⁹² In the same month, official Satchō trade discontinued partly because of political tension between the two *ban* and partly because of the attitude of the Bakufu, which in August forbade trade between Chōshū and other territories. Business continued privately and secretly, but the official suspension was a serious blow to Chōshū.⁹³ Efforts to reestablish commercial ties became intense in the middle of 1865, as Satsuma and Chōshū increased their contacts in the year before they formed their coalition. In the summer and fall of 1865 Satsuma aid to Chōshū in buying Western arms at Nagasaki and Chōshū's willingness to sell grains for use by Satsuma troops gave impetus both to political and economic rapprochement. Sakamoto Ryōma's good offices were a significant factor in these developments.⁹⁴

At some time during the break in commercial relations Hanzaemon evidently lost his position in Shimonoseki. In the summer of 1865 Kido Kōin, who in the following year negotiated the alliance with Satsuma, was one of the most influential Chōshū leaders.⁹⁵ In August the *ban* sent Kido to the *Koshinikata*⁹⁶ in Shimonoseki to oversee Satsuma traffic, which was presumably unofficial and secret as indicated by the fact that it was camouflaged by calling it 'Tsuchishima Trade'. Soon thereafter, Kido Kōin and Takasugi Shinsaku jointly headed the enlarged and strengthened *Koshinikata*. This office was now responsible for Chōshū's external commerce, in which there was renewed interest. It was proposed to emphasize import of raw materials and export of finished products and to use the profits for the benefit of the *ban* navy. Shimonoseki was conceived as the heart of this effort. Ships were bought, and Kido Kōin, Yuri Kimimasa, Takasugi Shinsaku, Itō Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, Sakamoto Ryōma, and Nakaoka Shintarō⁹⁷ made plans at Shimonoseki to use these vessels particularly in Chōshū's dealings with Satsuma and Hokkoku.⁹⁸

⁸⁹ The Shimonoseki coast was attacked by Western warships in June 1863 and August 1864. See Craig, pp. 200 and 233.

⁹⁰ 撫育局

⁹¹ 看板

⁹² *TMNKK: Gokōeki kiroku*, 1864; and *Shimonoseki shi shi*, p. 164.

⁹³ Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', pp. 36-7.

⁹⁴ 坂本龍馬. Jansen, p. 217; and Craig, pp.

316-17.

⁹⁵ 木戸孝允. *ibid.* p. 265.

⁹⁶ 越荷方

⁹⁷ 高杉晋作, 伊藤博文, 井上馨, 中岡慎太郎

⁹⁸ Tanaka Akira, *Meiji ishin seiji shi kenkyū* 明治維新政治史研究, Aoki Shoten, Tokyo, 1965, pp. 190 and 195; Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', pp. 42-3; and *Shimonoseki shi shi*, p. 164.

In September Kido Kōin visited Nakano Hanzaemon's house in Tonoshiki.⁹⁹ In a letter written on 9 September Hanzaemon said that he had heard from Kido that the *ban* had funds in the amount of 100,000 *ryō* for use in Satsuma trade, which would now be resumed. This meant open, official resumption on a comparatively large scale. The greater importance attached at this time to Hanzaemon's former position was shown by the fact that for the first time a samurai official, Ōtsuka Seizō,¹⁰⁰ was appointed to it, and he was supervised by such celebrities as Kido Kōin and Takasugi Shinsaku. In a letter written to Hanzaemon on 4 December 1865, Ōtsuka confessed his inexperience and perplexity in frequent consultations with Kido and Takasugi. Ōtsuka urged Hanzaemon to join the *Kosbinikata* 'team' in Shimonoseki immediately with the title of 'Bantō Kaku', an advisor's role which betokened less status for Hanzaemon than he had previously had.¹⁰¹ Both for this reason and because of financial difficulties,¹⁰² he apparently avoided this first invitation with a plea of sickness. On 8 January 1866, however, he appeared in Shimonoseki and discussed commercial problems with his old acquaintance, Sakō Jūbē of Satsuma, among others. On 29 January two ships arrived at Shimonoseki with cargoes from Satsuma. *Kosbinikata* profits during 1866 were 11,000 *ryō*.¹⁰³

★ ★ ★

⁹⁹ This was probably shortly before Kido agreed to Sakamoto Ryōma's request that Chōshū sell grain for use by Satsuma troops; and shortly after the purchase of rifles and a ship in August by Itō Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru, who had been sent to Nagasaki for that purpose by Kido. See Jansen, p. 217; and Craig, pp. 316-17.

¹⁰⁰ 大塚清藏

¹⁰¹ 番頭格. Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', p. 43; and *Shimonoseki shi shi*, op. cit.

¹⁰² Hanzaemon had been held responsible for money which Satsuma officials and merchants owed to Chōshū. The chief debtors were Nimure Sahē and Kakimoto Hikozaemon. Hanzaemon complained that the *ban* was trying to collect from him *ban* money which Chōshū officials had ordered him to lend to Nimure. Kakimoto's case was different. He was obligated to reimburse Chōshū *ban* for Chōshū goods which had been shipped but could not be sold in Satsuma. It is recorded that Nimure incurred debts in the amount of 220 *ryō* between 1856 and 1860; and that Kakimoto owed over 1800 *ryō* as a result of business in 1861 and 1862.

Since it was difficult or impossible for him to get in touch with the Satsuma officials during

the suspension of trade in 1863-4, Hanzaemon was much disturbed when the *ban* pressed him at that time to pay these debts out of his own pocket. He said in 1864 that at one point he had offered to dun Kakimoto, but the *ban* forbade this because it did not want to risk hurting Satsuma feelings when discussions were in progress to improve relations between the two *ban*. It is not clear just when this occurred, but since Hanzaemon was writing in April 1864 he seems to be revealing that important Satsuma and Chōshū people were covertly working for reconciliation at a time of severe strain in Satchō relations two years before the alliance was consummated. See *TMNKK: Gokōeki kiroku*, 1864.

¹⁰³ Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', pp. 43-4; and *Shimonoseki shi shi*, p. 170. In the ensuing years, Nakano Hanzaemon was still involved to some degree in Chōshū's trade with other domains. For example, in a letter dated 18 December 1867, 'Kido Junichirō' (Kido Kōin) requested Nagaya Matabē 長屋又兵衛 to permit five subjects of Tsushima *ban*, who were in Shimonoseki to discuss trade, to stay at the home of Nakano Hanzaemon in Tonoshiki.

In 1856 the Tsuboi-Mukunashi clique, in one aspect of the Ansei Reform, appointed *gonaiyō kakari*, selected mainly from the ranks of village headmen and village group chiefs, to develop rural production for export. As Chōshū's exports to Satsuma were primarily village products, it was natural that the *ban* put the main burden of assembling these goods on the shoulders of the *gonaiyō kakari*—Nakano Hanzaemon foremost among them. In its inception, therefore, Chōshū's interest in trade with Satsuma has the appearance of a natural by-product of the Ansei Reform.

After business was resumed in 1866, however, it had more political than economic significance. It served as a sphere of activity in which Satsuma and Chōshū officials could get acquainted. Many of these men were not only influential in Satchō affairs in 1865–6, but later became prominent in the defeat of the Bakufu and in the early years of the transformation of Japan after the Meiji Restoration. They included leaders such as Kido Kōin, Inoue Kaoru, Itō Hirobumi, Saigō Takamori, Takasugi Shinsaku, Yuri Kimimasa, Sakamoto Ryōma, Nakaoka Shintarō, Hirosawa Saneomi, and Godai Tomoatsu.¹⁰⁴

At the start, Satsuma appeared to be more eager for commercial relations than Chōshū and gave them more openly official blessing. After the Chōshū civil war, however, the two *ban* seemed to find common ground in economics as well as in politics. One would like to know much more about just why leaders such as Kido Kōin and Takasugi Shinsaku became Nakano Hanzaemon's illustrious successors in the forefront of Satchō ('Tsushima') trade circles in Shimonoseki. There must have been urgent reasons for these men to give personal leadership to an activity designed to improve Chōshū's finances. They were of course interested in providing funds for the *ban*'s military expenses. Perhaps they were also beguiled by the thought of waging economic as well as political and military warfare in order to take national power from the Bakufu.

The traffic with Satsuma had expanded to other regions, notably during the Bunkyū years, partly because Chōshū had to seek markets outside its own territory for Satsuma products. This experience had underscored Shimonoseki's strategic commercial location at the crossroad of trade routes running to Osaka through the Japan and Inland Seas from Hokkaido, the Japan Sea coast, and Kyushu. The idea was abroad in Chōshū and Satsuma heads as well as in the ruminations of Sakamoto Ryōma that the Shimonoseki area might become not only the fulcrum of Satchō power, but the economic and political center of power in Japan.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ 廣澤眞臣, 五代友厚

¹⁰⁵ Tanaka, 'Bakumatsu Satchō', pp. 48–50.