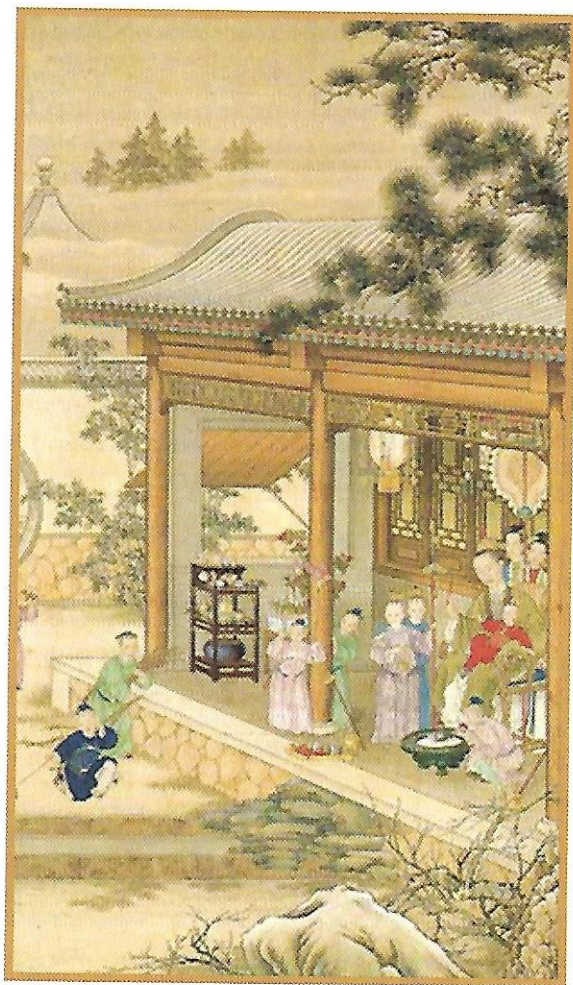


The Human Record

SOURCES OF GLOBAL HISTORY



VOLUME II:

SINCE 1500

SEVENTH EDITION

Alfred J. Andrea

Emeritus Professor of History, University of Vermont

James H. Overfield

Emeritus Professor of History, University of Vermont



WADSWORTH
CENGAGE Learning

Australia • Brazil • Japan • Korea • Mexico • Singapore • Spain • United Kingdom • United States

... Zhongxian ... kills or replaces any eunuch he fears will expose his treachery. Thus those close at hand are terrified and keep silent. He expels or imprisons any of the officials he fears will expose his villainy, so the officials also all look the other way and keep silent. There are even ignorant spineless fellows eager to get rich and powerful who attach themselves to him or hang around his gate. They praise whatever he likes and criticize whatever he hates, doing whatever is needed. . . .

As a consequence, everyone in the palace recognizes the existence of Zhongxian but not of Your Majesty; everyone in the capital recognizes the existence of Zhongxian but not of Your Majesty. Even the major and minor officials and workers, by turning toward the sources of power, unconsciously show that they do not recognize the existence of Your Majesty, only of Zhongxian. Whenever they see that some matter needs urgent attention or an appointment needs to be made, they always say, "It must be discussed with the eunuch." . . . All matters, large and small, in both the palace and the government offices, are decided by Zhongxian alone. . . .

I beg Your Majesty to take courage and thunder forth. Take Zhongxian to the ancestral temple in fetters. Assemble the military and civil officials of all ranks and have the judicial officials interrogate him. Check all the precedents from previous reigns on eunuchs having contacts with the outside, usurping imperial authority, breaking dynastic laws, disrupting court business, alienating the people, and violating the trust of the ruler. Sentence him in a way that will please the gods and satisfy public indignation. . . .

If all this is done and yet Heaven does not show its pleasure, the people do not rejoice, and there is not a new era of peace within the country and at its borders, then I ask that you behead me as an offering to Zhongxian. I am well aware that once my words become known, Zhongxian's clique will detest me, but I am not afraid. . . . My lifetime goal has been to serve loyally. I would not regret having to die as a way of paying back the extraordinary favors I have received during two reigns. I hope Your Majesty recognizes my passion and takes prompt action.

Multiple Voices II

The Reunification of Japan Under Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa Clan

BACKGROUND

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, Japan abolished its ancient class system, introduced modern industry, reformed its educational system, and created a new national army outfitted with the best modern equipment and by doing so, transformed itself into a major world power. Japan experienced an equally rapid transformation 300 years earlier, between 1570 and the opening years of the 1600s. In 1570, Japan, although theoretically under the control of the Ashikaga shoguns, had no central government. Warfare among its powerful aristocratic families, which had begun in the mid-1400s, showed no signs of ending. Portuguese traders and

missionaries had arrived in 1543, and already by 1570 tens of thousands of Japanese had accepted Christianity. Rural rebellion, brought on by new and higher taxes, was a growing problem.

And yet, in a remarkably short time—by the early seventeenth century—the Warring States Era had ended and order had been restored: Japan had been reunified, the foreigners had been expelled, Christianity had been outlawed, and rural violence had abated. Japan had entered what proved to be a 300-year period of tranquility under Tokugawa rule. Japan's reunification resulted from the military prowess of Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, but the country's long-term pacification resulted from more than battlefield victories. Such stability was achieved by the rigorous enforcement of new policies that provided a strong foundation for a disciplined and stable Japan. The sources that follow—edicts issued by Hideyoshi and the early Tokugawa shoguns—provide insight into the range and substance of these new policies.

THE SOURCES

The Edicts on Christianity were issued in 1587 by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who by then was well on his way to bringing all of Japan under his control. To understand his motives for making these pronouncements, it is necessary to briefly review the religious dynamics of Japan in the late 1580s. By 1587, Christianity had made impressive progress. In less than four decades after the first Portuguese Jesuits arrived, they had converted a number of daimyo from Kyushu, the southernmost and westernmost of Japan's four major islands, and these daimyo in turn used various forms of coercion to convince their subjects to become Christians. The Jesuit fathers also had won the support of Oda Nobunaga, who had unified much of Japan before his death in 1582; for a time, they also had the support of his successor, Hideyoshi. Both rulers were interested in things European and, more importantly, viewed Christianity as a counterweight to certain Buddhist sects that had established independent political bases or were connected with popular rebellion. These included the Honganji branch of Jodo Shinshu (True Pure Land Sect) Buddhism, which had a large following across central Japan and maintained imposing fortified temples in key cities. It increased its authority by fanning violent uprisings of *ikko ikki*, loosely structured "leagues of one mind" made up mostly of commoners who banded together to fight against taxes or for (or against) other causes. It gained control of Kaga province in 1488 and was connected with insurrection and antitax movements in the 1500s. By 1587, only a few months after he had invaded Kyushu, Hideyoshi had concluded that Christianity also was a serious political threat.

The Sword Collection Edict (1588) and the Edict on Change of Status (1591), both issued by Hideyoshi, were designed to end the blurring of social distinctions that had occurred during the decades of fighting. Of particular concern were the large number of commoners who had left farming for careers as soldiers and the smaller number of samurai and lesser nobles who had illegally changed masters or abandoned their military obligations.

The Laws Governing Military Households (1615), proclaimed by Tokugawa Ieyasu (who continued to rule Japan until his death in 1616, despite having named his son Hidetada shogun in 1605 to avoid a succession dispute), spelled out rules for members of Japan's aristocratic (daimyo) families. Their feuds had been largely responsible for Japan's civil wars.

The final edict, known as the Closed Country Edict, was issued by Tokugawa Iemitsu in 1635 to the two commissioners of Nagasaki, the city on the island of Kyushu that was the major port of entry for European traders. It addressed issues relating to trade and foreign relations and also clarified the status of Japanese Christians, who had been the subject of brutal but only sporadic persecution since Hideyoshi issued his anti-Christian edicts in 1587.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What reasons does Hideyoshi provide to justify his move against Christianity in 1587? How are his views of Christianity shaped by his experience with Japan's Buddhist sects?
2. How are the Sword Collection Edict and the Edict on Change of Status related? What are their implications for the structuring of Japanese society?
3. In what ways does the edict on military households ensure the shogun's control of the daimyo?
4. Even though Tokugawa policies limited the independence of the daimyo, the daimyo retained certain political powers. How many such powers can be identified in the Laws Governing Military Households?
5. According to the Closed Country Edict, what is the greater threat to Japan: Christianity or trade with foreigners?
6. Did the Closed Country Edict really close Japan?
7. Based on the presented documents, what conclusions can be drawn about the political and social philosophies behind the efforts of Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa to bring order to Japan? What signs of Confucian teachings are discernable?

I • Edicts on Christianity

Notice

1. The matter of [becoming] a sectarian of the Bateria¹ shall be the free choice of the individual concerned.

2. That enfeoffed recipients² of provinces, districts, and estates should force peasants registered in [Buddhist] temples . . . against their will into the ranks of the Bateria sectarians is unreasonable beyond words and is outrageous. . . .

Source: Excerpted from George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Council on East Studies, 1988), pp. 115–118. Copyright © The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1973. Reprinted with permission of the Harvard University Asian Center.

¹Japanese approximation of the word “padre”; used to designate Catholic priests.

²Those invested by a higher authority with territory and, with it, various rights and duties connected with that territory; sometimes translated as “vassals.”

4. Persons holding above 200 *cho* of land or can expect 2 or 3 thousand *kan* of rice harvest each year,³ may become [followers of the] Bateren upon obtaining official permission, acceding to the pleasure of the lord of the *Tenka*.⁴ . . .

6. The Bateren sectarians . . . are even more given to deceits . . . than the Ikkō Sect. The Ikkō Sect established temple precincts⁵ in the provinces and districts and did not pay the yearly dues to their enfeoffed recipients [local lords]. Moreover, they made the entire Province of Kaga into [Ikkō] sectarians, chased out . . . the lord of the province, delivered the stipends over to [monks] of the Ikkō Sect . . . That this was harmful to the *Tenka* is the undisguisable truth. . . .

7. That daimyo . . . should force their retainers into the ranks of the Bateren sectarians is even more undesirable by far than the Honganji⁶ sectarians' establishment of temple precincts, and is bound to be of great harm to the *Tenka*. These individuals . . . shall be subject to punishment.

8. Bateren sectarians by their free choice, [insofar as they] are of the lower classes, shall be unmolested. . . .

10. The sale of Japanese to China, South Barbary,⁷ and Korea is outrageous⁸. . .

11. Trade and slaughter of cattle and horses for use as food shall also be considered criminal.⁹

The above items shall rest under strict prohibition. Any transgressor shall immediately be put to severe punishment.

Ordained

1. Japan is the Land of the Gods. Diffusion here from Christian Country of a pernicious doctrine is most undesirable.

2. To approach the people of our provinces and districts and, making them into [Christian] sectarians, cause them to destroy the shrines of the gods and the temples of the Buddhas is a thing unheard of in previous ages. . . . But to corrupt and stir up the lower classes is outrageous.

3. It is the judgment [of the lord of the *Tenka*] that since the Bateren by means of their clever doctrine amass parishioners as they please, the aforementioned violation of the Buddhist Law in these Precincts . . . has resulted. That being outrageous, the Bateren can hardly be allowed to remain on Japanese soil. Within twenty days they must make their preparations and return to their country. . . .

4. The purpose of the Black Ships¹⁰ is trade, and that is a different matter. As years and months pass, trade may be carried on in all sorts of articles . . .

³One *cho* equals approximately 2.9 acres; one *kan* equals approximately 8.25 pounds. Clearly, this provision refers to wealthy landowners—members of the aristocracy.

⁴A reference to Hideyoshi; *tenka* means the "whole realm."

⁵Refers to villages or regions under political control of Buddhist monks connected with a temple or monastery.

⁶Honganji refers to a militant faction within the Jōdo Shinshu (True Pure Land Sect) of Japanese Buddhism. The term also refers to the various temples controlled by the faction. The Ishiama Honganji in Osaka was controlled by the movement's most fanatical disciples, the Ikko-ikki, and was burned to the ground by Nobunaga after a siege.

⁷Europeans were called "Southern Barbarians," so South Barbary may refer to Europe itself, but it more likely refers to the parts of South Asia where the Portuguese had established a presence.

⁸There is evidence that European merchants for a time did purchase small numbers of Japanese and sell them into slavery to Asian trading partners. When confronted by Hideyoshi on this matter, the Jesuits denied any involvement and claimed they had no influence on the practices of European merchants.

⁹The Japanese, who considered the slaughter of animals as work suitable for the lowest groups in their social hierarchy, viewed the eating of useful animals such as horses and cattle as a sign of barbarism. The Japanese diet consisted almost exclusively of rice, vegetables, and seafood.

¹⁰The term used by the Japanese for the ships of the Europeans.

2 • Edict on the Collection of Swords (1588)

1. The farmers of all provinces are strictly forbidden to have in their possession any swords, bows, spears, firearms or other types of weapons. If unnecessary implements of war are kept, the collection of annual rent may become more difficult, and without provocation uprisings can be fomented. Therefore those who perpetrate improper acts against samurai who receive a grant of land must be brought to trial and punished. . . .

Source: From *Japan: A Documentary History*, ed. and trans., David J. Lu (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 191.

2. The swords and short swords collected in the above manner will not be wasted. They will be used as nails and bolts in the construction of the Great Image of Buddha. In this way, the farmers will benefit not only in this life but also in the lives to come.

3. If farmers possess only agricultural implements and devote themselves exclusively to cultivating the fields, they and their descendants will prosper. This compassionate concern for the well-being of the farmers is the reason for issuance of this edict, and such a concern is the foundation for the peace and security of the country and the joy and happiness of all the people. . . .

Translation copyright © 1997 by David J. Lu. Reprinted with permission of M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

3 • Edict on Change of Status (1591)

1. If there should be living among you men who were in military service including those who served Hideyoshi, higher ranking warriors of the *daimyo* [samurai], those who took their orders from samurai, lowest ranking warriors, and those who performed miscellaneous chores for samurai—who have assumed the identity of a townsman or farmer . . . they must be expelled. . . . If anyone as described is kept concealed, the entire town or village shall be held responsible and punished accordingly.

2. If any farmer abandons his wet and dry fields and engages in trade or offers himself for hire for wages, not only is he to be punished, but also his fellow villagers. If there is anyone who neither serves in the military nor cultivates land, it is the responsibility of the deputies and other

local officials to investigate and expel him. If they do not take action, those local officials shall be stripped of their posts on account of negligence. If a townsman is disguised as a farmer, and that fact is concealed, that county or town shall be regarded as committing a culpable offense.

3. No employment shall be given to a military retainer—be he a samurai, or *komono*, the lowest rank of warrior—who has left his former master without permission. In employing a retainer, you must investigate thoroughly his background, and insist on having a guarantor. If the above already has a master and that fact is discovered, he shall be arrested for not following this provision, and shall be returned to his former master. If this regulation is violated, and the offender is willfully set free, then three persons shall be beheaded in place of the one, and their heads sent to the offender's original master. . . .

Source: From *Japan: A Documentary History*, ed. and trans., David J. Lu (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997). Translation

copyright © 1997 by David J. Lu. Reprinted with permission of M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

4 • Laws Governing Military Households (1615)

1. The study of literature and the practice of the military arts, archery and horsemanship, must be cultivated diligently. . . .

From of old the rule has been to practice "the arts of peace on the left hand, and the arts of war on the right"; both must be mastered. . . .

2. Drinking parties and wanton revelry should be avoided. . . .

3. Offenders against the law should not be harbored or hidden in any domain.

Law is the basis of social order. . . . Those who break the law deserve heavy punishment.

4. Great lords [daimyo], the lesser lords, and officials should immediately expel from their domains any among their retainers or henchmen who have been charged with treason or murder.

Wild and wicked men may become weapons for overturning the state and destroying the people. How can they be allowed to go free?

5. Henceforth no outsider, none but the inhabitants of a particular domain, shall be permitted to reside in that domain. . . .

6. Whenever it is intended to make repairs on a castle of one of the feudal domains, the [shogunate] should be notified. The construction of any new castles is to be halted and stringently prohibited. . . .

7. Immediate report should be made of innovations which are being planned or of factional conspiracies being formed in neighboring domains. . . .

8. Do not enter into marriage privately [i.e., without notifying the shogunate]. . . . To form an alliance by marriage is the root of treason.

9. Visits of the daimyo to the capital are to be in accordance with regulations.¹

. . . Daimyo should not be accompanied by a large number of soldiers. Twenty horsemen shall be the maximum escort for daimyo with an income of from one million to two hundred thousand *koku* of rice.² For those with an income of one hundred thousand *koku* or less, the escort should be proportionate to their income. . . .

10. Restrictions on the type and quality of dress to be worn should not be transgressed.

Lord and vassal, superior and inferior, should observe what is proper to their station in life . . .

11. Persons without rank shall not ride in palanquins.³

From [times] of old there have been certain families entitled to ride in palanquins without special permission and others who have received such permission. Recently, however, even the ordinary retainers and henchmen of some families have taken to riding about in palanquins, which is truly the worst sort of presumption. Henceforth permission shall be granted only to the lords of the various domains, their close relatives and ranking officials, medical men and astrologers, those over sixty years of age, and those ill or infirm. . . .

12. The samurai of the various domains shall lead a frugal and simple life.

When the rich make a display of their wealth, the poor are humiliated and envious. Nothing engenders corruption so much as this, and therefore it must be strictly curbed.

13. The lords of the domains should select officials with a capacity for public administration.

Good government depends on getting the right men. Due attention should be given to their merits and faults; rewards and punishments must be properly meted out. If a domain has able men, it flourishes; if it lacks able men it is doomed to perish. This is the clear admonition of the wise men of old.

Source: From *Japan: A Documentary History*, ed. and trans. David J. Lu (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 191. Translation copyright © 1997 by David J. Lu. Reprinted with permission of M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

¹This refers to the policy of requiring daimyo to reside every other year in Edo, the seat of shogunal government.

²One *koku* equals five bushels.

³Enclosed carriages borne on the shoulders of carriers by means of poles.

5 • Closed Country Edict (1635)

1. Japanese ships are strictly forbidden to leave for foreign countries.

2. No Japanese is permitted to go abroad. If there is anyone who attempts to do so secretly, he must be executed. The ship so involved must be impounded and its owner arrested, and the matter must be reported to the higher authority.

3. If any Japanese returns from overseas after residing there, he must be put to death.

4. If there is any place where the teaching of the [Catholic] priests is practiced, the two of you¹ must order a thorough investigation.

5. Any informer revealing the whereabouts of the followers of the priests must be rewarded accordingly. If anyone reveals the whereabouts of a high ranking priest, he must be given one hundred pieces of silver. For those of lower ranks, . . . the reward must be set accordingly. . . .

7. If there are any Southern Barbarians [Europeans] who propagate the teachings of the priests, or otherwise commit crimes, they may be incarcerated in the prison. . . .

8. All incoming ships must be carefully searched for the followers of the priests.

9. No single trading city shall be permitted to purchase all the merchandise brought by foreign ships. . . .

12. After settling the price, all white yarns [raw silk] brought by foreign ships shall be allocated to the five trading cities² and other quarters as stipulated.

13. After settling the price of white yarns, other merchandise [brought by foreign ships] may be traded freely between the [licensed] dealers. . . .

14. The date of departure homeward of foreign ships shall not be later than the twentieth day of the ninth month. Any ships arriving in Japan later than usual shall depart within fifty days of their arrival. . . .

Source: From *Japan: A Documentary History*, ed. and trans. David J. Lu (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 191. Translation copyright © 1997 by David J. Lu. Reprinted with permission of M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

¹Refers to the two commissioners of Nagasaki, to whom the edict is addressed.

²The cities of Kyoto, Edo, Osaka, Sakai, and Nagasaki.