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TOWN AND CITY IN "PRE-MODERN" JAPAN:

SMALL FAMILIES, SMALL HOUSEHOLDS, AND RESIDENTIAL INSTABILITY*

by

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Comparative Studies of Cultural Change

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1964

INTRODUCTION

The history of urbanism in Japan begins with the building of the capital city of Nara in the early eighth century A.D. Both Nara and its successor Kyoto, built late in the same century, are examples of a phenomenon currently imagined to be peculiar to highly developed technological systems like our own -- the "instant city." They were architectural expressions of the centralization of political and economic power and were created by fiat on the plan of the capital of T'ang China.

By the Tokugawa Period (1615-1868) with which we are here concerned, there were hundreds of castle towns, post-towns, shrine and temple towns, marketing centers, and port towns, many of them scattered along the great highways which served to connect the geographical and political fragments making up the country. There were in this period three great cities as well: Edo, capital of the shōgun with a population of about one million; Kyoto, capital of the Emperors with a population ranging up to one-half million; and Osaka, commercial and trade center, "kitchen of the world," with a population between three and four hundred thousand.

Assuming that the term "preindustrial city" has some utility, I suppose it to be a convenient label for any urban concentration of a preindustrial

society, for I find it difficult to believe that there really are any substantial number of ways in which "preindustrial cities" are a homogeneous phenomenon. In any event, it is now possible to put into the record some scattered demographic information on Tokugawa Japan. These data have direct bearing upon a variety of questions of some importance:

1. What was the size of the family and the household in the townsmen's (chōnin) quarters of these towns and cities? Were they the large households so often imagined in today's "invented history" of the period or were they rather more like the "modern" family and household in respect to size? What was the structure of the residence-unit and how does it compare with that of contemporary Japan? The issue of invented history is an interesting one which cannot detain us here. By it I mean simply that current explanations of any contemporary phenomenon often are made in terms of an imagined past condition from which change is believed to have occurred. That this procedure often falsifies the past in an effort to render the present more readily comprehensible cannot be denied.[1]

2. How stable was the population of the wards of town and city in Tokugawa Japan? If population turnover proves to be high, how shall we interpret the common view that the wards were village-like in quality as well as structure? Dore (1958: 255) is quite right when he writes:

> "In the Tokugawa period, the towns had something of the same system of formal neighborhood relations as the country. The small wards into which Tokyo is still divided had their origin in the Edo of Tokugawa times. They exercised a certain measure of self-government albeit under the distant supervision of samurai magistrates, and as such their organization resembled that of the villages."

Bellah (1957: 43), in discussing the ward organization of Tokugawa cities and drawing a parallel with the barrio system in Latin America, writes in a similar vein:

> "Even in the cities a strong particularistic nexus of relationships was maintained for purposes of social control. The city only to a limited extent represented a new form of social organization, that connected with the market and a differentiated economy. For many purposes it was merely a congeries of 'villages' in close geographical contiguity."

I shall try to deal with an issue not raised by either of the two authors cited because it is not central to their argument, and shall offer the following proposition: The structuring of the urban ward of Tokugawa times along the lines of village organization was not, as is so often mistakenly assumed, simply the natural outgrowth of the village-like quality of the units making up an urban agglomeration, but an administrative response to an incredibly high rate of population turnover. I shall also suggest that the relative stability of the total population figures for the wards produces the illusion of stability of residence within the wards, an assumption at great variance with the facts (Smith 1963; Taeuber 1960).

THE SHŪMON NIMBETSU CHŌ

Since the Tokugawa government was dedicated to the proposition that the good society was the stable society, its agents at the local level directed the most intense scrutiny at the residents of the unit for which they held administrative responsiblity. One of the means by which periodic checks on the population were made was the Shūmon-nimbetsu-chō (at some periods, Shūmon-aratame-chō). Inasmuch as our data are drawn from these documents,

it is necessary to say something about their intent and their quality.[2]

The Shūmon-arataме-chō are literally the "Registers of the Investigation of Religious Sects"; the Shūmon-nimbetsu-chō are "Census Registers by Religious Sect." They are simply variant forms of a form of registration which was originally instituted in 1616 in connection with the suppression of Christianity. This early registry system was revised in 1626, instituting a procedure whereby two appointed officials conducted an investigation of the religious affiliations of all persons living in a village or ward and the head (shōya) endorsed the report as an accurate accounting of the residents of his unit. This accounting required that every household list its temple affiliation, a development which greatly affected the fortunes of Buddhism in Japan. Prior to the instituting of these registers, the poor farmer, the small merchant, and the servant seem not to have had regular temple affiliation, but with the new requirement most of them joined the great popular sect of Shin Buddhism whose regulations were simple and whose fees were modest. Furthermore, early registers show that while the members of one family often did not belong to the same temple in the early 17th century, later in the century all members of one family listed the same temple affiliation. What was at first established as an administrative system later becomes the custom of the land.

Around 1638 the persecutions of the Christians became increasingly severe and the Tokugawa government underook to collect information about the concealed Christians in an effort to stamp out the religion. With the formal adoption of the national seclusion policy (sakoku) in 1639, a variety of other steps was taken with a view to ferreting out Christian converts and forcing them to recant. In 1640 a board of inquiry, the Shūmon Arataме (Investigation of Sects) was established in Edo and in 1664 all feudal

lords (daimyō) with an income greater than 10,000 koku of rice were ordered to institute analogous offices in their fiefs (Sansom 1963: 42).

Among the various measures undertaken against the Christians the only one which concerns us here is the registers (Shūmon-aratame-chō) themselves. What had been devised as a means of checking on the religious affiliation of the population scon became a census register of commoners. The registers also were aimed at identifying a variety of people with irregular status: renegade samurai (the rōnin, members of the warrior class with neither fixed fealty nor residence), criminals, and floaters without passports for travel or certificates permitting change of residence.

In one of the volumes included in our analysis of Tennōji, dated 1760, the following series of introductory notices appear. They are (1) the decree of 1664 establishing the registers in this form, (2) the admonition appended by the "major" (nanushi) of the ward to heed the decree, (3) acknowledgment of the admonition by the nanushi, the "head" (shōya) and two "elders" (toshiyori), and (4) a notice of compliance signed by all the Buddhist priests of those temples whose parishioners' names appear in the register:

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NOTICE

25th day, 11th month, 1664

Although Christianity is prohibited there appear to be people who have continued its propagation, so that it is not yet extinct. From this time on it is required that officers be appointed to inquire into dubious individuals and to be ever watchful lest there be suspicious activities among households in this region. You will be held responsible for negligence if someone outside your territory discovers that Christianity still exists in it.

The nanushi ("mayors") and gonin-gumi (five-man groups) should be informed that Christianity was once practiced here, as has earlier been announced in a warning on the public notice-boards. If anyone is opposed to this edict and is discovered by others, or if you know of their opposition and fail to report it, you will be punished, as has often been previously announced. Examine everyone carefully.

Of late there has been much loose talk about how to detect those who believe in Christianity, with the result that instead of giving it up the believers conceal themselves more thoroughly. Therefore, investigate them with no pity and capture them.

Addendum: Those who detect Christians will be rewarded, as has been announced previously.

Third month, 1760

You must resolutely obey what has been proclaimed above. Farmers, tenants, all kinds of servants, mountain priests, strolling flute players, itinerant priests, and acolytes must be investigated with regard to their religious beliefs and all registered. Report immediately priests whose schools are dubious and anyone whose behavior is suspicious. Remember that you will be severely punished if you hide them, should they later be discovered by someone else. Those who make false report of others will also be punished. The shūmon-nimbetsu-chō should be presented at the end of the third month of every year. So far as servants are concerned, you must keep their guardian's certificates (uke-jō) as well as the certificates of the temples to which they belong, no matter where they may come from.

Jūemon Naitō

Third month, 1760

We respectfully accept this proclamation. We have examined all the farmers large and small, temples, shrines, and their disciples, and registered them. We submit the register to you with the seals of the main temples (danna-dera) affixed. In my superintendence there is no one who has converted to Christianity. If mistakes in the registers are found or if there are any omissions from the registers, we admit the fault and will accept any kind of punishment. As proof and guarantee we hereby affix our signature and seal.

Jūemon Naitō
Settsu, Tōjō-gun, Tennōji-mura

Shōya Gorobei

Toshiyori Jinzaemon
Toshiyori Kambei

Postscript: We hereby affirm that these people have been members of our temples for generations and we submit herewith newly sealed registers. If there is anyone here who believes in the proscribed religion, we will present ourselves anywhere to take responsibility for them. As proof and guarantee we hereby affix our signature and seal. [There are appended the seals of a number of priests, each as guarantor for his own temple.]

It would appear that the registry system was generally more severely enforced in urban than in rural areas, probably because of the mobility of the population of the towns and cities. As the system became better organized, the central government realized its possibilities and a 1726 edict established a national census of commoners to be conducted every six years. Until 1776 the registers in many districts were kept on an annual basis, and a report of total by category of residents of ward or village submitted to the authorities every sixth year. After 1776, in the wards with which we are dealing, the volumes of the census are kept by ward, subdivided by Buddhist sect, so that

what was earlier simply one catalog of all households of a ward later becomes groupings of the households by their sect of affiliation. This latter style of register persisted until the opening of the Meiji period in 1868, when the modern system of household registers (koseki-chō) was introduced.

I have dwelt on the origins and development of the Shūmon-nimbetsu-chō in some detail in order to defend my position that they are reasonably accurate, with the single exception that they do not report consistently the number of children below the age of ten. Certainly it was the intent of the government to have available a head-count of people actually resident in a given place. Unlike the modern koseki-chō, which do not enumerate the actual residents of a place, the nimbetsu-chō offer what was intended to be a population census. The enumerations found in them, therefore, more nearly reflect the facts of population composition and movement than do the post-Meiji registers.[3]

The make-up of the nimbetsu-chō is simple, direct, and informative (see Plate 1). The residents of a given house are listed together, identified by name, age, and in terms of the following list of categories:

1. Relationship to house-head	Expressed as a kin-term
2. genin	Servant sometimes given a genan, male servant, and gejō female servant.
3. dōke	Co-resident, an ambiguous category which is discussed below.
4. inkyō	A retired family member, i.e., a family member who has withdrawn from active participation in household affairs, usually at the age of 60.

PLATE 1

Nishinomiya, Hama-kubo-chō

Two Pages from the Register of 1821

PLATE I

Nishinomiya, Hama-kubo-chō

Two Pages from the Register of 1821

Left Page

Tenant of the Landlord Nadaya Mon

Parishioners of Shingyō Temple

Yorozuya [House-name]

[head] Shinsuke (born in the year of the serpent, 48 years old)

wife	Iyo	49
son	Kamezō	28
daughter	Kiku	17
"	Yasu	10

Total: 5 persons

Right Page

Tenant of the Landlord Senzokuya Tōkichi

Parishioners of Shingyō Temple

Kameji-no-nakaya [House-name]

[head] Hansuke (born in the year of the serpent, 1785)

wife Kinu (born in the year of the horse, 1786)

In September, married in as a bride from Banshū, ____?____ County, Village of Yawata, ____?____.

Total: 2 persons

5. dōshinsha or deshi — Acolyte or disciple (Buddhist)

6. ama — Nun (Buddhist)

Two sample household listings follow:

Sawaraya (house-name)

Chōbei	35	Head of house
Tone	27	Wife
Ishimatsu	3	Son
Kane	Newborn	Daughter
Tami	62	Mother
Jirōbei	16	genan (male servant)
Kō	22	gejō (female servant)

Sumiyoshiya (house-name)

Jihei	50	Head of house
Sato	19	Daughter
Chōjirō	33	dōke (co-resident)
Kin	26	Chōjirō's wife
Awa	14	gejō (female servant)

These are our data. For each household we have the name, age, and relation to house-head of every resident. In scattered registers annotations appear concerning births, deaths, and migration, but for the most part the fact of movement must be deduced by a matching of registers for consecutive years. I shall present below an analysis of the scale of movement suggested by matching by name all households of a given ward for a run of years over a period of time, yielding a running tally of residential continuity and turnover.

The Data

The registers with which we shall deal are from two wards in each of two urban communities and are of two kinds -- those of the house-owners (iemochi) and those of the renters/tenants (shakuya). The scope of the data is shown in the following summary chart:

Name of Community	Name of Ward	Category of Register	Number of Registers	Span of Years
Nishinomiya	Hama-kubo-chō	House-owners	12	1771 - 1866
Nishinomiya	Hama-kubo-chō	Renters/Tenants	10	1771 - 1868
Nishinomiya	Hama-issai-chō	House-owners and Renters/Tenants combined	6	1713 - 1774
Nishinomiya	Hama-issai-chō	House-owners	7	1784 - 1861
Nishinomiya	Hama-issai-chō	Renters/Tenants	5	1787 - 1861
Tennōji	Kubo-machi	House-owners	36	1757 - 1858
Tennōji	Kubo-machi	Renters/Tenants	36	1757 - 1858
Tennōji	Horikoshi-machi	House-owners	36	1757 - 1858
Tennōji	Horikoshi-machi	Renters/Tenants	36	1757 - 1858

This represents a total of 164 annual registers from four wards for a period of 156 years (1713-1868) with a complete enumeration of the residents of 9,973 households.

History of Nishinomiya[4]

Two of the wards are located in what is now Nishinomiya-shi (city), lying on the northern coast of the Inland Sea midway between Osaka to the east and Kobe to the west on the island of Honshu. In the earliest of the registers it is called Nishinomiya-mura (village), although it was already a town. Not until the middle of the Tokugawa period does it officially become Nishinomiya-chō (town). This detail of the community's history is of some importance because it is my contention that for the entire period of the registers Nishinomiya was indeed a town. Why, then, was it called a village? In the time of Hideyoshi, at the establishment of the four-class system of

Tokugawa Japan (warrior, farmer, artisan, merchant in descending order, with the nobility and the outcastes at either extreme), there appears to have been some effort made to classify as much as possible of the population of the country as either warriors (the small ruling group) or farmers (the largest class, viewed as the only productive class of the governed). There was little place in the system for either artisans or merchants, and throughout the period the latter were defined as a purely parasitic class. The logic of the classification of the registers was unassailable: since farmers live in villages, the simplest means of achieving the division of society into two major groups was to classify virtually all towns (chō) as villages (mura). This meant that there were, by administrative fiat, few people classified as townsmen (chōnin) and thus the agricultural village (nōson) population is proportionally exaggerated in the records.

Nishinomiya grew up originally around two Shinto shrines which retain their importance even today. They are Hirota-ji ja and Nishinomiya-jinja, the latter given over to the worship of Ebisu, the sea-god. In the Sengoku period, the period of the warring states (1490-1600), a local strongman built a fort at Koshimizu between 1504 and 1520 and established hegemony over the area. In 1617, shortly after the unification of the country under the Tokugawa Shogunate, Nishinomiya was made part of the Amagasaki fief, whose castle was in the town of Amagasaki, and Nishinomiya declined in political importance while prospering economically. In 1769 the central government assumed direct control of Nishinomiya, chiefly to obtain the substantial revenues deriving from the great sake breweries and because of the key position of the community as a post-town (shukuba-machi).

The town has a complex history which does not fit neatly into the typology preferred by Japanese historians. It combines some features of the

shrine-centered town (monzen-machi), the post-town (shukuba-machi), the port-town (minato-machi), and the entrepot (shūsan-chi). Furthermore, in the Tokugawa period, it was already a center for the development of light industry. Although it did not function as a castle-town (jōka-machi) during its incorporation into the Amagasaki fief, it was nonetheless the trading center of the domain and much of the business of the fief was carred on there.

Let us consider briefly the various functions of Nishinomiya. As a shrine-centered town, its importance is marked by the great "tenth-day Ebisu" market, attracting fishmongers, peddlers, merchants, and entertainers. Hirota-jina, which like the Ebisu Shrine, had a market, shared in the support given the important shrines by the lord of the fief. This was chiefly in the form of gifts of rice, and additional revenue was gained by the imposition of a surtax on the market vendors. The gateway of the Ebisu Shrine was a famous landmark from which distances along the post-road were reckoned.

As a post-town, Nishinomiya occupied a crucial position. Two major highways of the Tokugawa period still transect the city. One is the Chūgoku Highway, a continuation of the famed Tōkaidō (known to Westerners chiefly through the series of prints by Andō Hiroshige, "The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō"), which carried traffic from the southern terminus of the Tōkaidō into the western part of the country. The second great road is the Saikoku Highway, which leads from Kyoto, the Imperial capital until 1868, through Itami to Nishinomiya on the coast. Two lesser roads from Arima and Tambaji carried the agricultural produce and craft items of the area into the town. Major inns in the center of Nishinomiya were designated official posting-houses catering to the great when they stopped over between Osaka and Kobe, and large number of lesser official posting-houses were reserved to travelers of lesser rank. In addition, there was a concentration of stables, eating

places, and supply houses. Taeuber (1958: 25) writes:

> "Shukuba-machi...were located each eight to twelve kilometers along these great roads. Town lots were prepared along each side of the highway...sufficient for some agriculture. Hotels for daimyo and samurai were located in the central section, as was the traffic center that handled passengers and freight. Inns for general travelers and shops were located at the peripheries. As the number of travelers and the movement of commodities increased, these shukuba-machi assumed more of the characteristics of towns than of villages."

We have a fascinating glimpse into both the post-towns and the highways of Japan in the journals of Engelbert Kaempfer (1727) whose history and reports deserve some comment here. Kaempfer, well-educated and an excellent observer, was a Westphalian physician who, following his service as secretary to a Swedish mission to the court of the Ottoman Empire, signed on with the Dutch East-India Company in the capacity of surgeon to the fleet. He arrived in Japan in 1690 and left in 1692, having made two round-trip journeys from Nagasaki to Edo in 1691 and 1692. He commented on the highways on which his company traveled:

> "To accomodate travellers, there is in all the chief villages and hamlets a Post-house belonging to the Lord of the place, where at all times they may find a competent number of horses, porters, footmen, and what else they might be wanting to continue the journey in readiness, at certain settled prices (i, 419)."
> "They lie at one and half to four miles distance from each other, but generally not so good, nor so well furnished upon Kiusju [Kyūshū], in the way from Nagasaki to Kokura, as we found them

upon the great Island Nipon [Honshu], where we came to 56, going from Osacca [Osaka] to Jedo [Edo] (i, 419)."

Kaempfer refers then to the great number of specialists, including clerks, bookkeepers, and messengers, to be found in these places, and continues:

"There are innumerable smaller Inns, Cook-shops, Sacki [sake] or Ale-houses, Pastry-cook's, and Confectioner's shops, all along the road...(i, 426)." "I could not help admiring the great number of shops we met in all the cities, towns and villages, whole large streets being scarce any thing else but continued rows of shops on both sides, and I own, for my part, that I could not well conceive, how the whole country is able to furnish customers enough, only to make the proprietors get a livelihood, much less to enrich them (i, 414)." "It is scarce credible, what numbers of people daily travel on the roads in this country, and I can assure the reader from my own experience, having passed it four times, that Tokaido, which is one of the chief...great roads in Japan, is upon some days more crowded, than the publick streets in any the most populous town in Europe... The train of some of the most eminent among the Princes of the Empire fills up the road for some days. Accordingly tho' we travell'd pretty fast ourselves, yet we often met the baggage and fore-troops, consisting of the servants and inferior officers for two days together, dispers'd in several troops, and the Prince himself follow'd but the third day attended with his numerous court... The retinue of one of the chief Daimios [daimyō: lord of a fief] as they are call'd, is computed to amount to about 20,000 men... (i, 429)."

As a port-town and entrepôt Nishinomiya was heavily involved in fishing and in the Inland Sea trade. Numerous guilds were established to handle the manufacture, transport, and wholesale and retail trade in a great variety of

products. Of prime importance was the sake industry and direct shipment from Nishinomiya to the shōgun's capital at Edo began as early as 1704. Rape-seed and rape-oil, cotton, fish and fish products, fertilizer, and rice were all handled through the Nishinomiya guilds. Other merchant guilds (shōnin-nakama) dealt in clothing, notions, and pawn.

The sake industry, established here in the Muromachi period (1392-1490), was the key to the town's prosperity and its guild so powerful that it occasionally registered opposition to government policy, a most unusual occurrence in this society. The manufacture of sake naturally made for a very active rice trade and as the breweries expanded their activities with the growth of the fame of their still-famous product, there developed an extremely active labor market. Involved in the industry were the manufacturers of a great variety of technical equipment as well as the longshoremen's associations and shipping companies.

This, in rough outline, is the nature of the town of Nishinomiya from which two sets of our registers come. By 1661 it was already possible to rent both land and houses, and the town spread rapidly south from the highways toward the shore (hama). Both our wards' names are prefaced by this word (Hama-kubo-chō and Hama-issai-chō) and both appear on a map prepared in 1684. Certainly by the Genroku period (1688-1715), the heyday of the townsmen's culture, the hama areas are firmly integreated into the town. Our two wards appear again only slightly altered on a map dated 1769.

Between 1710 and 1868, the population of the wards (chō) of Nishinomiya ranged from over 2,000 in the largest to less than 100. The two wards with which we shall be concerned were in the medium range -- between 900 and 1,000 in Hama-kubo-chō and between 700 and 800 in Hama-issai-chō. We have only a small amount of evidence concerning migration during the period covered by

our registers. Certainly one of the most important aspects of migration was the movement north, usually on a temporary basis, to the famed fishing area of what is now Chiba Prefecture, then called Awashimofusa. During the Tempō era (1830-1843), many individuals and families from the Nishinomiya area appear to have remained in Chiba over a period of years, apparently with the intention of earning money and returning to their native place. The extent of this kind of migration was such that in some years of the first half of the 19th century a separate register was kept in Chiba for these temporary Nishinomiya "expatriates." The pattern seems to have been established early in the seventeenth century with the decision of the central government to build its own capital at Edo, a massive undertaking which required the importing of great numbers of skilled and unskilled workers. Many went from Nishinomiya to explore the great fishing grounds off Chiba and stayed on as processors of fish, with the result that many successful merchants of Edo and Chiba trace their ancestry back to Nishinomiya.

History of Tennōji

Historical materials relating to the second community, Tennōji, are extremely scarce. Like Nishinomiya it was designated a village (mura) in early Tokugawa, but appears to have been much more than that, for it lies only two miles to the south of the Osaka castle, well within the boundaries of that great city. Sansom (1963: 112) remarks that the castle towns of this region were less important than the:

> "...expanded village in the environs of Osaka. These ancient rural settlements were spread over a large area in the provinces of Settsu, Kawachi, and Izumi, and, being separated by only short distances from one another, they tended to coalesce and form an

> urban conglomeration.... ...country towns, such as Hirano, Tennōji, Sumiyoshi, and Sakai, developed close relations and towards the end of the [seventeenth] century had coalesced to form the great national market of which Osaka was the axis."

Unlike the two wards of Nishinomiya, those of Tennōji for which we have registers appear no longer even to exist. Apparently the vast modern complex of the Tennōji subway, railway station and yards has completely obliterated them, although the great Tendai Buddhist temple remains. It is fairly clear, however, that the growth of the community was due in large part to its association with this temple, which gives the town its name. The temple of Tennōji was first built in 587 A.D. by the Imperial Regent, Shōtoku Taishi, to whom the firm establishment of Buddhism in Japan is credited. It was removed to roughly its present location by the Empress Suiko in 593 A.D. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century it was governed by an imperial prince, and was destroyed in 1802, and finally reconstructed in 1812.

The ubiquitous Kaempfer was himself in Tennōji once and perhaps twice in the course of his two journeys. He writes:

> "The water, which is drunk at Osacca, tastes a little brackish. But in lieu thereof they have the best Sacki in the Empire, which is brew'd in great quantities in the neighboring village Tenusij [Tennōji], and from there exported into most other Provinces, nay by the Dutch and Chinese out of the country (1727: i, 477)."

This passage appears in his account of 1691 and his plan to visit Tennōji in 1692 to see the processing of sake was foiled "...through the moroseness and ill nature of the commanding officers of our retinue.... (i, 554)" on

the way up to Edo. On his return to Nagasaki in that year, however, he notes in passing that he and his party "... were carried to Symmios (Sumiyoshi), and from thence back again to Tenosi (Tennōji).... (i, 603)."

We are fortunate in having a Japanese map of Osaka printed in 1691, the first year that Kaempfer visited that city. This map (reproduced in Nishioka and Hattori 1956: 208-209) shows Tennōji just at the edge of the settled part of the city and we may safely assume that in the more than sixty years which elapse before our register of 1757 that the city had engulfed the "village" of Tennōji. Kaempfer (1727: i, 472) writes of the expanding city of Osaka in 1691:

> "We pass'd by several new villages and small towns, or rather suburbs of Osacca, which had been built along the banks of [the] river for these several years last past, and amidst upwards of a thousand boats we enter'd the city it self."

He returns to this theme at the close of his journals:

> "The country is populous beyond expression, and one would scarce think it possible, that being no greater than it is, it should nevertheless maintain, and support such a vast number of inhabitants. The highways are an almost continued row of villages and boroughs: You scarce come out of one, but you enter another; and you may travel many miles, as it were, in one street, without knowing it to be composed of many villages, but by the differing names, that were formerly given them, and which they afterwards retain, though joined to one another. It hath many towns, the chief whereof may vy with the most considerable in the world for largeness, magnificence, and the number of

> inhabitants (Appendix, 55-56)." "...it is scarce credible, how much trade and commerce is carried on between the several provinces and parts of the Empire! How busy and industrious the merchants are every where! How full their ports of ships! How many rich and flourishing mercantile towns up and down the Country! There are such multitudes of people along the coasts, and near the sea-ports, such a noise of oars and sails, such numbers of ships and boats, both for use and pleasure, that one would be apt to imagine the whole nation had settled there, and all the inland parts of the Country were left quite desart and empty (Appendix, 62)."

We have population figures for Osaka (Sekiyama 1958: 220-1, 230-1) which place our registers in context. In the Keichō era (1596-1614) the residents of the city numbered about 200,000. By 1709 the population had grown to 380,000. Figures are available for the period 1711 to 1765, at which time there were about 420,000 residents of the city. From this year on there are fluctuations, but the population hovers around the 380,000 mark until 1834, after which it declines steadily until 1858 to approximately 300,000, the level of two hundred years before. The reason for the marked decline in the 1830's and 1840's is not far to seek. It has been estimated that of the population of townsmen of Edo between 1843 and 1867, about one-quarter were people born in the

rural areas who had migrated there. Osaka, a very busy port, seems also to have attracted large numbers of migrants from rural regions. In the Tempō era (1830-1843) the central government made a concerted effort to force these people back to their home villages through enforcement of "repatriation edicts." The population of Osaka alone declined by 18,000 between the censuses of 1842 and 1843 as a result of this program, and the edicts appears to have had a continuing effect.[5]

The two wards of Tennōji with which we shall deal were smaller than those of Nishinomiya. The population of Kubo-machi was between 250 and 350 for most of the period 1757-1858, and Horikoshi-machi was somewhat smaller.

Analysis of the Registers

In the following pages are given tables which show complete information on the size of families and households in the four wards. The data are ungrouped, i.e., figures are given for each of the 164 registers over the 156 years covered in the study. Some comments on a few of the terms used is in order here: "quasi-family members" in Tables 1 and 3-9 include all individuals listed in the censuses for whom a kin-relationship to the house-head is not indicated (servants, co-residents, and other non-kin); "status unknown" in these same tables includes those individuals for whom no identifying term is given at all; "family members" in all the tables which follow includes only those individuals for whom a kin-relationship with the house-head is indicated.

Table 1 presents a breakdown of the registers by ward and by category (whether house-owner, renter/tenant, or combined), showing the average family and household sizes. Although there is no doubt an under-reporting of small children, the totals reveal residential units of very small average size. The smallest figure is that of 2.9 persons per family of renters/tenants in the Nishinomiya ward of Hama-issai-chō in the period 1787-1861; the largest is the household size (4.5) of the combined registers of that same community in the period 1713-1774. In no case is the size of the average household unit markedly greater than that of the average family unit of the same community. (Detailed data are presented in Tables 3 through 9.) The average size of the 9,973 households in these registers is 3.9.

How do these figures compare with more recent data from Japan's "modern" period? Taeuber (1958: 107-108), writing of the "ordinary households" of Japan, i.e. excluding residents of factory dormitories, military barracks, etc., gives the average size as 4.89 in 1920, 4.98 in 1930, 4.99 in 1940, and 4.97 in 1950 and 1955. All these figures are, of course, larger than the 3.9 average of our registers, but I have included in the calculations which yield this average the very large percentage of single-person households (16.5% of the total). Correcting for this factor brings the average size of ordinary household in the registers from 1713 through 1868 very close to that for the 1920-1955 period.

In Table 2 are given the total number of family and household units give a given number of residents. Of the 9,973 residence units in our registers, the largest household (and there is only one of these) had sixteen members. Grouping of the data presented in this table, and in Tables 10 through 21, will be found in Table 22. The contention expressed in the title of this paper is clearly borne out in respect to size of residential units. For the entire period of 156 years and for the 9,973 units appearing in the registers, 96.6% of the families had seven members or less. Neither was the large household

Table 1. Registers of All Categories in All Wards: 1713-1868 Size and Composition of Family and Households

Ward	Number of House-holds	Family Members				Quasi-Family Members				Status Unknown			All Household Residents			
		Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	#/House
Combined*																
Nishinomiya Hama-issai-chō (1713-1774)	841	1,793	1,814	3,607	4.282	112	30	142	.169	20	22	42	1,925	1,866	3,791	4.508
House-owners																
Nishinomiya Hama-kubo-chō (1771-1868)	1,176	2,128	2,252	4,380	3.675	199	261	460	.391	31	43	74	2,358	2,556	4,914	4.178
Hama-issai-chō (1784-1861)	707	1,204	1,364	2,568	3.632	78	99	177	.250	13	13	26	1,295	1,476	2,771	3.919
Tennōji Kubo-machi (1757-1858)	1,729	3,244	2,883	6,127	3,543	648	400	1,048	.606	2	1	3	3,894	3,284	7,178	4.151
Horikoshi-machi (1757-1858)	805	1,610	1,548	3,158	3.922	534	294	828	1.028	3	1	4	2,147	1,843	3,990	4.956
T O T A L S	4,417	8,186	8,047	16,233	3.675	1,459	1,054	2,513	.568	49	58	107	9,694	9,159	18,853	4.268
Renters/Tenants																
Nishinomiya Hama-kubo-chō (1771-1868)	1,615	2,325	2,544	4,869	3.015	165	191	356	.220	47	56	103	2,537	2,791	5,328	3.299
Hama-issai-chō (1787-1861)	503	647	807	1,454	2.890	30	49	79	.157	6	12	18	683	868	1,551	3.083
Tennōji Kubo-machi (1757-1858)	1,119	1,862	1,780	3,642	3.254	54	52	106	.094	1	1	2	1,917	1,833	3,750	3.351
Horikoshi-machi (1757-1858)	1,478	2,569	2,348	4,917	3.326	143	104	247	.167	-	2	2	2,712	2,454	5,166	3.494
T O T A L S	4,715	7,403	7,479	14,882	3.156	392	396	788	.167	54	71	125	7,849	7,946	15,795	3.349
GRAND TOTALS	9,973	17,382	17,340	34,722	3.481	1,963	1,480	3,443	.345	123	151	274	19,468	18,971	38,439	3.855

*No distinction is drawn in these registers between "House-owner" (Iemochi) and "Renters/Tenants" (Shakuya)

Table 2

Registers of All Categories in All Wards: 1713-1868

Number of Family Members Compared with Number of Residents per Household

Ward		Number of Persons																	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total	o/o
Combined*																			
Nishinomiya																			
Hama-issai-chō	Family #	67	100	140	170	144	105	62	32	15	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	841	
(1713-1744)	Household #	59	82	141	163	150	107	70	38	15	9	3	3	1	-	-	-	841	
	Family o/o	8.0	11.9	16.6	20.2	17.1	12.5	7.4	3.8	1.8	.4	.1	.2	-	-	-	-		100
	Household o/o	7.0	9.8	16.8	19.4	17.8	12.7	8.3	4.5	1.8	1.0	.4	.4	.1	-	-	-		100
House-owners																			
Nishinomiya																			
Hama-kubo-chō	Family #	179	172	218	212	182	110	65	21	9	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	1,176	
(1771-1866)	Household #	140	156	206	198	177	128	90	41	16	12	7	2	3	-	-	-	1,176	
Hama-issai-chō	Family #	99	129	145	118	104	49	34	15	9	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	707	
(1784-1861)	Household #	80	125	131	119	102	67	45	15	11	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	707	
Tennōji																			
Kubo-machi	Family #	436	195	254	300	217	170	62	61	20	9	1	4	-	-	-	-	1,729	
(1757-1858)	Household #	343	148	217	289	255	192	107	80	59	25	8	6	-	-	-	-	1,729	
Horikoshi-machi	Family #	164	64	94	145	161	87	55	22	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	805	
(1757-1858)	Household #	163	31	51	106	113	102	98	55	37	23	13	4	5	1	2	1	805	
T O T A L S	Family #	878	560	711	775	664	416	216	119	51	19	4	4	-	-	-	-	4,417	
	Household #	726	460	605	712	647	489	340	191	123	67	33	12	8	1	2	1	4,417	
	Family o/o	19.9	12.7	16.1	17.5	15.0	9.4	4.9	2.7	1.2	.4	.1	.1	-	-	-	-		100
	Household o/o	16.5	10.4	13.7	16.1	14.6	11.1	7.7	4.3	2.8	1.54	.73	.27	.18	.02	.04	.02		100
Renters/Tenants																			
Nishinomiya																			
Hama-kubo-chō	Family #	419	292	314	263	162	86	38	29	8	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,615	
(1771-1868)	Household #	352	291	303	273	165	107	55	34	23	7	2	3	-	-	-	-	1,615	
Hama-issai-chō	Family #	132	112	96	78	44	22	10	6	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	503	
(1787-1861)	Household #	120	104	89	88	50	27	14	6	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	503	

Tennōji																			
Kubo-machi (1757-1858)	Family #	213	221	215	180	158	105	18	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,119	
	Household #	191	224	216	174	163	113	28	7	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,119	
Horikoshi-machi (1757-1858)	Family #	232	300	324	297	161	82	52	19	7	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	1,478	
	Household #	194	284	316	312	182	89	64	23	9	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	1,478	
T O T A L S	Family #	996	925	949	818	525	295	118	61	[illegible]	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	4,715	
	Household #	857	903	924	847	560	336	161	70	38	13	3	3	-	-	-	-	4,715	
	Family o/o	21.1	19.6	20.1	17.4	11.1	6.3	2.5	1.3	.4	.18	.02	-	-	-	-	-		100
	Household o/o	18.2	19.1	19.6	18.0	11.9	7.1	3.4	1.5	.80	.28	.06	.06	-	-	-	-		100
GRAND TOTALS	Family #	1,941	1,585	1,800	1,763	1,333	816	396	212	85	30	6	6	-	-	-	-	9,973	
	Household #	1,642	1,445	1,670	1,722	1,357	932	571	299	176	89	39	18	9	1	2	1	9,973	
	Family o/o	19.5	15.9	18.0	17.7	13.4	8.2	3.9	2.08	.9	.3	.06	.06	-	-	-	-		100
	Household o/o	16.5	14.5	16.7	17.3	13.6	9.3	5.7	3.0	1.8	.9	.4	.17	.09	.01	.02	.01		100

* No distinction is drawn in these registers between "House-owner" (Iemochi) and "Renters/Tenants" (Shakuya).

Table 3

Nishinomiya, Hama-kubo-chō

Registers of the Iemochi (House-Owners) 1771-1866

Size and Composition of Family and Household

Year	Number of Households	Family Members				Quasi-Family Members				Status Unknown			All Household Residents			
		Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	#/House
1771	113	257	225	482	4.265	33	33	66	.584	5	7	12	295	265	560	4.955
1782	112	231	243	474	4.232	23	32	55	.491	2	4	6	256	279	535	4.775
1786	106	208	203	411	3.877	23	27	50	.471	7	5	12	238	235	473	4.462
1795	99	210	193	403	4.070	25	24	49	.494	--	--	---	235	217	452	4.565
1806	100	176	188	364	3.640	13	13	26	.260	1	4	5	190	205	395	3.950
1810	106	172	183	355	3.349	15	16	31	.292	4	9	13	191	208	399	3.764
1816	101	164	193	357	3.534	9	23	32	.316	4	3	7	177	219	396	3.920
1818	103	170	200	370	3.592	14	25	39	.378	2	3	5	186	228	414	4.019
1822/3	97	162	188	350	3.575	11	21	32	.322	--	1	1	173	210	383	3.910
1843/4	86	145	156	301	3.525	14	24	38	.441	5	5	10	164	185	349	4.066
1865	74	112	137	249	3.364	10	10	20	.270	1	2	3	123	149	272	3.675
1866	79	121	143	264	3.341	9	13	22	.278	--	--	--	130	156	286	3.620
Totals	1,176	2,128	2,252	4,380	3.724	199	261	460	.391	31	43	74	2,358	2,556	4,914	4.179

Table 4

Nishinomiya, Hama-kubo-chō

Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1771-1868

Size and Composition of Family and Household

Year	Number of Households	Family Members				Quasi-Family Members				Status Unknown			All Household Residents			
		Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	#/House
1771	113	203	165	368	3.256	9	4	13	.115	20	13	33	232	182	414	3.664
1781	135	222	221	443	3.281	9	9	18	.133	3	4	7	234	234	468	3.466
1806	174	262	280	542	3.114	10	15	25	.143	6	18	24	278	313	591	3.396
1810	165	252	255	507	3.072	17	18	35	.212	5	6	11	274	279	553	3.351
1816	173	246	275	521	3.011	29	26	55	.317	3	1	4	278	302	580	3.355
1819	172	238	277	515	2.994	20	21	41	.238	1	--	1	259	298	557	3.238
1822/3	172	241	291	532	3.093	17	16	33	.190	2	2	4	260	309	569	3.308
1843/4	209	271	316	587	2.805	31	32	63	.283	2	2	4	304	350	654	3.108
1865	154	186	232	418	2.714	14	27	41	.266	2	9	11	202	268	470	3.051
1868	148	204	232	436	2.945	9	23	32	.216	3	1	4	216	256	472	3.189
Totals	1,615	2,325	2,544	4,869	3.015	165	191	356	.220	47	56	103	2,537	2,791	5,328	3.299

Table 5
Nishinomiya, Hama-issai-chō
Registers of All Categories 1713-1861 Size and Composition of Family and Household

Year	Number of Households	Family Members				Quasi-Family Members				Status Unknown			All Household Residents			
		Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	#/House
Combined*																
1713	131	291	296	587	4.480	62	9	71	.537	5	4	9	358	309	667	5.091
1733	136	297	300	597	4.389	7	3	10	.073	6	5	11	310	308	618	4.544
1737	157	318	321	639	4.070	9	3	12	.076	1	4	5	328	328	656	4.178
1744	138	315	298	613	4.442	4	2	6	.043	0	2	2	319	302	621	4.500
1757	175	366	381	747	4.268	9	5	14	.080	2	4	6	377	390	767	4.382
1774	104	206	218	424	4.076	21	8	29	.278	6	3	9	233	229	462	4.442
Totals	841	1,793	1,814	3,607	4.289	112	30	142	.169	20	22	42	1,925	1,866	3,791	4.508
House-owner																
1784	108	200	211	411	3.805	13	5	18	.166	2	5	7	215	221	436	4.037
1788	112	193	218	411	3.669	20	25	45	.401	--	--	--	213	243	456	4.071
1792	109	195	217	412	3.779	9	16	25	.229	--	--	--	204	233	437	4.009
1800	105	185	218	403	3.838	15	20	35	.333	4	2	6	204	240	444	4.229
1820	97	138	180	318	3.278	7	12	19	.195	2	--	2	147	192	339	3.495
1847	94	158	166	324	3.446	10	8	18	.191	5	6	11	173	180	353	3.755
1861	82	135	154	289	3.524	4	13	17	.207	--	--	--	139	167	306	3.731
Totals	707	1,204	1,364	2,568	3.632	78	99	177	.250	13	13	26	1,295	1,476	2,771	3.919
Renters/Tenants																
1787	98	118	171	289	2.948	8	14	22	.224	3	1	4	129	186	315	3.214
1792	109	140	177	317	2.908	4	10	14	.128	1	--	1	145	187	332	3.045
1820	101	136	154	290	2.871	8	10	18	.178	--	--	--	144	164	308	3.049
1847	103	139	160	299	2.902	5	4	9	.087	2	9	11	146	173	319	3.097
1861	92	114	145	259	2.815	5	11	16	.173	--	2	2	119	158	277	3.010
Totals	503	647	807	1,454	2.890	30	49	79	.157	6	12	18	683	868	1,551	3.083

*No distinction is drawn in these registers between "House-owner" (Iemochi) and "Renters/Tenants" (Shakuya).

Table 6. Tennōji, Kubo-Machi
Registers of the Iemochi (House-owners) 1757-1858 Size and Composition of Family and Household

Year	Number of Households	Family Members				Quasi-Family Members				Status Unknown			All Household Residents			
		Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	#/House
1757	55	92	79	171	3.109	18	16	34	.618	-	1	1	110	96	206	3.74[illegible]
1760	58	101	91	192	3.310	26	17	43	.741	-	-	-	127	108	235	4.05[illegible]
1761	58	108	89	197	3.396	28	18	46	.793	-	-	-	136	107	243	4.18[illegible]
1762	59	110	86	196	3.322	25	17	42	.711	-	-	-	135	103	238	4.03[illegible]
1763	58	110	87	197	3.396	23	17	40	.689	-	-	-	133	104	237	4.086
1765	57	111	90	201	3.526	21	13	34	.596	-	-	-	132	103	235	4.12[illegible]
1766	57	110	91	201	3.526	24	16	40	.701	-	-	-	134	107	241	4.228
1767	58	109	89	198	3.413	28	17	45	.775	-	-	-	137	106	243	4.189
1784	51	95	87	182	3.568	35	19	54	1.058	-	-	-	130	106	236	4.627
1785	51	101	94	195	3.823	33	19	52	1.019	-	-	-	134	113	247	4.843
1788	51	93	85	178	3.490	35	24	59	1.180	-	-	-	128	109	237	4.647
1795	51	95	92	187	3.666	29	23	52	1.019	1	-	1	125	115	240	4.705
1797	54	104	92	196	3.629	32	17	49	.907	-	-	-	136	109	245	4.537
1798	50	93	93	186	3.720	34	20	54	1.080	-	-	-	127	113	240	4.800
1802	50	95	92	187	3.740	32	23	55	1.100	-	-	-	127	115	242	4.840
1805	49	98	96	194	3.959	34	17	51	1.040	-	-	-	132	113	245	5.000
1806	51	96	96	192	3.764	29	22	51	1.000	1	-	1	126	118	244	4.784
1816	47	89	90	179	3.808	25	17	42	.893	-	-	-	114	107	221	4.702
1817	47	93	91	184	3.914	22	16	38	.808	-	-	-	115	107	222	4.723
1831	46	96	85	181	3.934	20	10	30	.652	-	-	-	116	95	211	4.586
1834	48	104	94	198	4.125	15	8	23	.479	-	-	-	119	102	221	4.604
1837	45	95	81	176	3.911	12	6	18	.400	-	-	-	107	87	194	4.311
1838	46	93	77	170	3.695	8	6	14	.304	-	-	-	101	83	184	4.000
1840	44	88	82	170	3.863	7	3	10	.227	-	-	-	95	85	180	4.090
1843	43	80	72	152	3.534	5	3	8	.186	-	-	-	85	75	160	3.720
1844	42	78	73	151	3.595	6	2	8	.190	-	-	-	84	75	159	3.785
1847	42	75	59	134	3.190	4	3	7	.166	-	-	-	79	62	141	3.357
1848	42	71	61	132	3.142	4	3	7	.166	-	-	-	75	64	139	3.309
1849	39	70	61	131	3.358	4	1	5	.128	-	-	-	74	62	136	3.487
1850	41	75	62	137	3.341	4	1	5	.121	-	-	-	79	63	142	3.463
1851	39	75	59	134	3.435	5	1	6	.153	-	-	-	80	60	140	3.589
1852	40	75	64	139	3.475	5	1	6	.150	-	-	-	80	65	145	3.625
1854	42	72	70	142	3.380	4	1	5	.119	-	-	-	76	71	147	3.500
1855	38	62	60	122	3.210	4	1	5	.131	-	-	-	66	61	127	3.342
1856	40	65	58	123	3.075	4	1	5	.125	-	-	-	69	59	128	3.200
1858	40	67	55	122	3.050	4	1	5	.125	-	-	-	71	56	127	3.175
Totals	1,729	3,244	2,883	6,127	3.543	648	400	1,048	.606	2	1	3	3,894	3,284	7,178	4.151

Table 7. Tennōji, Kubo-Machi

Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1757-1858 Size and Composition of Family and Household

Year	Number of Households	Family Members				Quasi-Family Members				Status Unknown			All Household Residents			
		Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	#/Hous
1757	32	30	31	61	1.906	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	31	61	1.906
1760	33	40	39	79	2.393	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	39	79	2.393
1761	30	48	44	92	3.066	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	44	92	3.066
1762	31	47	50	97	3.129	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	50	97	3.129
1763	37	53	53	106	2.864	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	53	106	2.863
1765	35	45	48	93	2.657	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	48	93	2.657
1766	31	43	47	90	2.903	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	47	90	2.903
1767	28	37	48	85	3.035	1	-	1	.035	-	1	1	38	49	87	3.107
1784	43	72	66	138	3.209	3	5	8	.186	-	-	-	75	71	146	3.395
1785	39	67	59	126	3.230	1	3	4	.102	-	-	-	68	62	130	3.333
1788	35	59	54	113	3.228	3	1	4	.114	-	-	-	62	55	117	3.342
1795	42	66	57	123	2.928	6	4	10	.238	-	-	-	72	61	133	3.166
1797	41	65	52	117	2.853	4	1	5	.121	-	-	-	69	53	122	2.975
1798	44	72	50	122	2.772	1	2	3	.068	-	-	-	73	52	125	2.840
1802	42	65	59	124	2.952	1	-	1	.023	-	-	-	66	59	125	2.976
1805	51	78	84	162	3.176	2	3	5	.098	1	-	1	81	87	168	3.294
1806	53	85	92	177	3.339	2	4	6	.113	-	-	-	87	96	183	3.452
1816	27	55	44	99	3.666	6	5	11	.407	-	-	-	61	49	110	4.074
1817	24	50	38	88	3.666	3	1	4	.142	-	-	-	53	39	92	3.833
1831	20	27	25	52	2.600	3	3	6	.300	-	-	-	30	28	58	2.900
1834	26	41	41	82	3.153	3	6	9	.346	-	-	-	44	47	91	3.500
1837	18	36	36	72	4.000	1	1	2	.111	-	-	-	37	37	74	4.111
1838	16	28	32	60	3.750	2	-	2	.125	-	-	-	30	32	62	3.875
1840	23	45	40	85	3.695	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	40	85	3.695
1843	22	35	36	71	3.227	1	-	1	.043	-	-	-	36	36	72	3.272
1844	26	45	49	94	3.615	-	1	1	.038	-	-	-	45	50	95	3.653
1847	26	52	51	103	3.961	2	2	4	.153	-	-	-	54	53	107	4.115
1848	30	57	59	116	3.866	2	1	3	.100	-	-	-	59	60	119	3.966
1849	27	52	59	111	4.111	1	-	1	.037	-	-	-	53	59	112	4.148
1850	28	53	54	107	3.821	1	1	2	.071	-	-	-	54	55	109	3.892
1851	29	53	54	107	3.689	1	1	2	.074	-	-	-	54	55	109	3.448
1852	24	48	47	95	3.958	-	1	1	.041	-	-	-	48	48	96	4.000
1854	23	46	36	82	3.565	1	-	1	.043	-	-	-	47	36	83	3.608
1855	22	44	45	89	4.045	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	45	89	4.045
1856	29	63	54	117	4.034	1	3	4	.137	-	-	-	64	57	121	4.172
1858	32	60	47	107	3.343	2	3	5	.156	-	-	-	62	50	112	3.500
Totals	1,119	1,862	1,780	3,642	3.254	54	52	106	.094	1	1	2	1,917	1,833	3,750	3.351

Table 8. Tennōji, Horikoshi-Machi
Registers of the Iemochi (House-owners) 1757-1858 Size and Composition of Family and Household

Year	Number of Households	Family Members				Quasi-Family Members				Status Unknown			All Household Residents			
		Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	#/House
1757	28	45	44	89	3.178	20	10	30	1.034	-	-	-	65	54	119	4.250
1760	24	44	36	80	3.333	16	11	27	1.080	-	-	-	60	47	107	4.458
1761	25	47	43	90	3.600	17	11	28	1.120	1	-	1	65	54	119	4.760
1762	25	46	41	87	3.480	15	6	21	.840	-	-	-	61	47	108	4.320
1763	23	42	43	85	3.695	15	8	23	1.000	-	-	-	57	51	108	4.695
1765	22	46	38	84	3.818	19	11	30	1.363	-	-	-	65	49	114	5.181
1766	22	47	43	90	4.090	20	7	27	1.227	-	-	-	67	50	117	5.318
1767	22	48	44	92	4.181	18	10	28	1.272	1	1	2	67	55	122	5.545
1784	24	41	45	86	3.583	30	15	45	1.875	-	-	-	71	60	131	5.458
1785	25	40	43	83	3.320	25	17	42	1.680	1	-	1	66	60	126	5.040
1788	27	43	47	90	3.333	24	17	41	1.518	-	-	-	67	64	131	4.851
1795	21	37	45	82	3.904	33	17	50	2.380	-	-	-	70	62	132	6.285
1797	19	34	36	70	3.684	31	16	47	2.473	-	-	-	65	52	117	6.157
1798	19	33	38	71	3.736	33	18	51	2.684	-	-	-	66	56	122	6.421
1802	17	33	34	67	3.529	29	21	50	2.941	-	-	-	62	55	117	6.882
1805	18	36	35	71	3.789	28	19	47	2.611	-	-	-	64	54	118	6.555
1806	19	38	40	78	4.105	28	14	42	2.210	-	-	-	66	54	120	6.315
181[illegible]	19	33	39	72	3.789	27	17	44	2.315	-	-	-	60	56	116	6.105
1817	20	36	44	80	4.000	28	17	45	2.250	-	-	-	64	61	125	6.250
1831	22	42	42	84	3.819	27	14	41	1.863	-	-	-	69	56	125	5.681
18[illegible]	23	49	50	99	4.304	9	3	12	.521	-	-	-	58	53	111	4.826
183[illegible]	24	50	48	98	4.083	8	4	12	.500	-	-	-	58	52	110	5.583
1838	25	51	46	97	3.880	7	3	10	.400	-	-	-	58	49	107	4.280
1840	26	52	52	104	4.000	7	3	10	.384	-	-	-	59	55	114	4.384
1843	25	53	50	103	4.120	2	1	3	.120	-	-	-	55	51	106	4.240
1844	23	50	50	100	4.347	7	3	10	.434	-	-	-	57	53	110	4.782
1847	23	48	49	97	4.217	7	1	8	.347	-	-	-	55	50	105	4.565
1848	21	46	48	94	4.476	1	-	1	.047	-	-	-	47	48	95	4.523
1849	22	47	44	91	4.136	1	-	1	.045	-	-	-	48	44	92	4.181
1850	20	48	40	88	4.400	1	-	1	.050	-	-	-	49	40	89	4.450
1851	21	47	39	86	4.095	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	39	86	4.095
1852	22	49	39	88	4.000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	39	88	4.000
1854	21	49	42	91	4.333	1	-	1	.047	-	-	-	50	42	92	4.380
1855	22	52	42	94	4.272	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52	42	94	4.272
1856	21	53	41	94	4.476	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	41	94	4.476
1858	25	55	48	103	4.120	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	48	103	4.120
Totals	805	1,610	1,548	3,158	3.922	534	294	828	1.028	3	1	4	2,147	1,843	3,990	4.956

Table 9. Tennōji, Horikoshi-Machi
Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1757-1858 Size and Composition of Family and Household

Year	Number of Households	Family Members				Quasi-Family Members				Status Unknown			All Household Residents			
		Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	#/House	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	#/House
1757	24	33	26	59	2.458	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	26	59	2.458
1760	48	72	66	138	2.875	1	1	2	.041	-	-	-	73	67	140	2.916
1761	51	76	75	151	2.960	2	5	7	.137	-	-	-	78	80	158	3.098
1762	46	72	66	138	3.000	2	1	3	.065	-	-	-	74	67	141	3.065
1763	52	82	74	156	3.000	1	1	2	.036	-	-	-	83	75	158	3.038
1765	40	73	46	119	2.975	1	1	2	.050	-	1	1	74	48	122	3.050
1766	42	68	46	114	2.714	3	-	3	.071	-	-	-	71	46	117	2.758
1767	43	73	51	124	2.883	1	2	3	.069	-	1	1	74	54	128	2.976
1784	36	61	58	119	3.305	1	1	2	.055	-	-	-	62	59	121	3.361
1785	39	62	71	133	3.410	1	1	2	.051	-	-	-	63	72	135	3.461
1788	37	62	73	135	3.648	3	2	5	.135	-	-	-	65	75	140	3.783
1795	38	72	69	141	3.710	7	1	8	.210	-	-	-	79	70	149	3.921
1797	41	84	86	170	4.146	5	2	7	.170	-	-	-	89	88	177	4.317
1798	43	87	85	172	4.000	7	2	9	.209	-	-	-	94	87	181	4.209
1802	45	90	80	170	3.777	6	2	8	.177	-	-	-	96	82	178	3.955
1805	56	112	98	210	3.750	6	2	8	.142	-	-	-	118	100	218	3.892
1806	51	103	94	197	3.862	6	3	9	.176	-	-	-	109	97	206	4.039
1816	49	107	78	185	3.775	4	4	8	.163	-	-	-	111	82	193	3.938
1817	47	100	68	168	3.574	4	3	7	.148	-	-	-	104	71	175	3.723
1831	43	62	67	129	3.000	10	3	13	.302	-	-	-	72	70	142	3.302
1834	49	78	69	147	3.000	11	3	14	.285	-	-	-	89	72	161	3.285
1837	40	69	69	138	3.450	7	5	12	.300	-	-	-	76	74	150	3.750
1838	39	63	56	119	3.051	2	3	5	.128	-	-	-	65	59	124	3.179
1840	41	71	61	132	3.219	2	4	6	.146	-	-	-	73	65	138	3.365
1843	30	54	52	106	3.500	4	5	9	.300	-	-	-	58	57	115	3.833
1844	36	57	64	121	3.361	6	9	15	.416	-	-	-	63	73	136	3.777
1847	34	62	61	123	3.617	3	5	8	.235	-	-	-	65	66	131	3.852
1848	34	65	68	133	3.911	5	6	11	.323	-	-	-	70	74	144	4.235
1849	35	58	60	118	3.371	2	4	6	.171	-	-	-	60	64	124	3.542
1850	37	66	58	124	3.351	5	4	9	.243	-	-	-	71	62	133	3.594
1851	40	68	67	135	3.375	5	3	8	.200	-	-	-	73	70	143	3.575
1852	43	71	65	136	3.162	6	4	10	.232	-	-	-	77	69	146	3.395
1854	42	67	60	127	3.023	4	6	10	.238	-	-	-	71	66	137	3.261
1855	38	62	58	120	3.157	4	2	6	.157	-	-	-	66	60	126	3.315
1856	36	55	52	107	2.972	4	2	6	.166	-	-	-	59	54	113	3.138
1858	33	52	51	103	3.121	2	2	4	.121	-	-	-	54	53	107	3.242
Totals	1,478	2,569	2,348	4,917	3.326	143	104	247	.167	-	2	2	2,712	2,454	5,166	3.494

Table 10

Nishinomiya, Hama-kubo-chō

Registers of the Iemochi (House-owners) 1771-1866

Number of Houses with Given Number of Family Members

Year	Number of Family Members											Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1771	6	14	19	28	23	9	7	4	1	2	-	113
1782	12	13	20	21	14	15	8	6	2	1	-	112
1786	10	15	30	13	18	9	6	2	2	1	-	106
1795	10	8	22	17	24	10	5	1	1	-	1	99
1806	17	16	15	20	15	10	4	1	1	1	-	100
1810	24	19	12	22	14	7	7	1	-	-	-	106
1816	18	18	16	19	13	10	4	2	-	1	-	101
1818	16	21	16	18	14	9	7	1	-	-	1	103
1822/3	17	10	19	19	18	9	4	1	-	-	-	97
1843/4	18	9	19	16	10	6	6	2	-	-	-	86
1865	15	15	13	9	9	9	3	-	1	-	-	74
1866	16	14	17	10	10	7	4	-	1	-	-	79
Total #	179	172	218	212	182	110	65	21	9	6	2	1,176
o/o	15.2	14.6	18.5	18.0	15.5	9.4	5.5	1.8	.8	.5	.2	100o/o

Nishinomiya, Hama-kubo-chō

Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1771-1868

Number of Houses with Given Number of Family Members

Year	Number of Family Members											Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1771	19	26	26	18	10	6	4	3	1	-	-	113
1781	23	32	22	29	13	7	5	4	-	-	-	135
1806	47	30	37	22	14	14	2	6	2	-	-	174
1810	38	39	35	22	16	3	4	3	2	3	-	165
1816	51	23	39	27	14	10	5	3	-	1	-	173
1819	49	27	30	34	19	4	5	4	-	-	-	172
1822/3	46	28	34	28	22	6	4	3	1	-	-	172
1843/4	67	36	36	30	26	10	2	2	-	-	-	209
1865	38	23	27	32	11	18	4	-	1	-	-	154
1868	41	28	28	21	17	8	3	1	1	-	-	148
Total #	419	291	314	263	162	86	38	29	8	4	-	1,615
o/o	26.0	18.1	19.5	16.3	10.0	5.3	2.4	1.8	.4	.2	-	100o/o

Table 11

Nishinomiya, Hama-kubo-chō

Registers of the Iemochi (House-owners) 1771-1866

Number of Households with Given Number of Residents

Year	Number of Residents													Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1771	4	12	18	27	23	8	6	6	2	2	3	1	1	113
1782	9	11	16	19	17	17	10	7	2	1	1	1	1	112
1786	8	16	26	11	13	10	13	2	3	3	1	-	-	106
1795	8	7	22	13	20	11	8	6	2	-	1	-	1	99
1806	13	14	15	21	14	13	7	1	-	2	-	-	-	100
1810	20	15	14	21	13	10	8	4	-	1	-	-	-	106
1816	15	17	15	15	15	11	7	3	2	1	-	-	-	101
1818	13	19	15	17	13	12	7	3	1	2	1	-	-	103
1822/3	14	9	16	21	15	13	7	1	1	-	-	-	-	97
1843/4	8	11	18	19	11	7	6	5	1	-	-	-	-	86
1865	13	14	13	7	11	8	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	74
1866	15	11	18	7	12	8	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	79
Total #	140	156	206	198	177	128	90	41	16	12	7	2	3	1,176
o/o	11.9	13.3	17.4	16.8	15.1	10.9	7.6	3.5	1.4	1.0	.6	.2	.3	100o/o

Nishinomiya, Hama-kubo-chō

Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1771-1868

Number of Households with Given Number of Residents

Year	Number of Residents													Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1771	16	25	25	17	8	7	6	5	2	-	1	1	-	113
1781	17	31	25	32	11	9	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	135
1806	37	31	36	27	14	12	8	5	4	-	-	-	-	174
1810	31	41	32	23	17	6	3	3	6	2	1	-	-	165
1816	45	20	39	27	16	10	6	4	4	2	-	-	-	173
1819	41	26	34	32	21	5	8	3	2	-	-	-	-	172
1822/3	41	30	28	31	20	11	2	5	1	2	-	1	-	172
1843/4	59	37	32	30	25	13	8	4	-	1	-	-	-	209
1865	30	22	26	29	17	21	6	-	2	-	-	1	-	154
1868	35	28	26	25	16	13	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	148
Total #	352	291	303	273	165	107	55	34	23	7	2	3	-	1,615
o/o	21.8	18.0	18.8	16.9	10.2	6.6	3.4	2.1	1.4	.5	.1	.2	-	100o/o

Table 12

Nishinomiya, Hama-issai-chō

Registers of All Categories 1713-1861

Number of Houses with Given Number of Family Members

Year	Number of Family Members												Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Combined*													
1713	9	21	16	24	23	16	10	4	5	1	-	2	131
1733	11	13	21	28	28	16	10	5	2	1	1	-	136
1737	15	17	29	33	27	21	11	3	1	-	-	-	157
1744	14	9	22	28	25	18	11	7	3	1	-	-	138
1757	10	20	32	41	32	16	14	7	3	-	-	-	175
1774	8	20	20	16	9	18	6	6	1	-	-	-	104
Total #	67	100	140	170	144	105	62	32	15	3	1	2	841
o/o	8.0	11.9	16.6	20.2	17.1	12.5	7.4	3.8	1.8	.4	.1	.2	100o/o
House-owners													
1784	11	21	20	17	22	6	7	2	1	1	-	-	108
1788	13	21	22	21	15	13	4	2	1	-	-	-	112
1792	14	20	24	14	16	7	7	4	3	-	-	-	109
1800	13	22	13	22	17	4	6	5	2	1	-	-	105
1820	17	16	22	22	11	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	97
1847	14	18	26	9	16	5	3	-	1	2	-	-	94
1861	17	11	18	13	7	10	3	1	1	-	1	-	82
Total #	99	129	145	118	104	49	34	15	9	4	1	-	707
o/o	14.0	18.2	20.5	16.7	14.7	6.9	4.8	2.1	1.3	.6	.2	-	100o/o
Renters/Tenants													
1787	25	20	18	19	9	2	4	-	1	-	-	-	98
1792	31	24	18	17	7	8	1	2	-	1	-	-	109
1820	23	22	26	12	14	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	101
1847	26	28	14	17	9	4	2	3	-	-	-	-	103
1861	27	18	20	13	5	6	2	-	1	-	-	-	92
Total #	132	112	96	78	44	22	10	6	2	1	-	-	503
o/o	26.2	22.3	19.1	15.5	8.7	4.4	2.0	1.2	.4	.2	-	-	100o/o
Grand Totals #	298	341	381	366	292	176	106	53	26	8	2	2	2,051
o/o	14.5	16.6	18.6	17.8	14.2	8.6	5.2	2.6	1.3	.4	.1	.1	100o/o

*No distinction is drawn in these registers between "House-owner" (Iemochi) and "Renters/Tenants" (Shakuya).

Table 13

Nishinomiya, Hama-issai-chō

Registers of All Categories 1713-1861

Number of Houses with Given Number of Residents

Year	Number of Residents													Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Combined*														
1713	8	12	18	16	26	17	14	7	5	4	2	2	-	131
1733	9	11	21	28	30	16	11	6	-	3	1	-	-	136
1737	14	18	25	32	31	20	10	5	2	-	-	-	-	157
1744	14	8	22	29	23	20	10	7	4	-	-	1	-	138
1757	9	19	32	41	31	17	15	6	3	1	-	-	1	175
1774	5	14	23	17	9	17	10	7	1	1	-	-	-	104
Total #	59	82	141	163	150	107	70	38	15	9	3	3	1	841
o/o	7.0	9.8	16.8	19.4	17.8	12.7	8.3	4.5	1.8	1.0	.4	.4	.1	100o/o
House-owners														
1784	9	19	20	18	17	11	10	1	2	1	-	-	-	108
1788	11	23	17	19	13	13	8	3	2	2	1	-	-	112
1792	13	16	24	11	19	11	8	4	3	-	-	-	-	109
1800	9	20	14	20	20	6	6	4	1	2	3	-	-	105
1820	14	17	18	25	9	8	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	97
1847	9	19	22	13	16	7	4	-	2	2	-	-	-	94
1861	15	11	16	13	8	11	5	1	1	-	1	-	-	82
Total #	80	125	131	119	102	67	45	15	11	7	5	-	-	707
o/o	11.3	17.7	18.7	16.8	14.4	9.4	6.4	2.1	1.6	.9	.7	-	-	100o/o
Renters/Tenants														
1787	24	16	16	21	10	4	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	98
1792	30	22	19	16	8	8	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	109
1820	20	22	22	16	16	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	101
1847	22	28	12	20	9	7	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	103
1861	24	16	20	15	7	6	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	92
Total #	120	104	89	88	50	27	14	6	4	1	-	-	-	503
o/o	23.9	20.6	17.7	17.5	9.9	5.4	2.8	1.2	.8	.2	-	-	-	100o/o
Grand Totals #	259	311	361	370	302	201	127	59	30	17	8	3	1	2,051
o/o	12.6	15.2	17.6	18.1	14.7	9.8	6.2	2.9	1.5	.8	.4	.15	.05	100o/o

* No distinction is drawn in these registers between "House-owner" (Iemochi) and "Renters/Tenants" (Shakuya).

Table 14

Tennōji, Kubo-machi

Registers of the Iemochi (House-owners) 1757-1858

Number of Houses with Given Number of Family Members

Year	Number of Family Members												Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1757	9	8	17	12	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	55
1760	14	4	14	11	11	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	58
1761	13	6	14	9	8	5	1	1	1	-	-	-	58
1762	14	6	13	12	7	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	59
1763	12	5	14	12	9	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	58
1765	12	4	11	11	13	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	57
1766	10	6	12	13	8	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	57
1767	9	7	13	15	11	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	58
1784	8	12	3	12	8	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	51
1785	7	12	3	11	6	5	5	2	-	-	-	-	51
1788	10	10	5	11	7	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	51
1795	12	6	8	7	6	9	1	1	-	-	-	1	51
1797	14	10	4	5	8	7	4	1	-	-	-	1	54
1798	12	8	8	3	5	7	5	1	-	-	-	1	50
1802	10	3	11	10	7	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	50
1805	10	4	8	7	8	5	3	3	1	-	-	-	49
1806	13	4	7	8	8	4	3	3	1	-	-	-	51
1816	12	6	5	6	8	4	1	3	1	-	-	1	47
1817	11	5	7	8	5	1	4	4	1	1	-	-	47
1831	11	6	6	4	5	6	3	3	2	-	-	-	46
1834	11	7	5	5	5	6	1	4	2	2	-	-	48
1837	12	6	3	7	5	4	2	2	4	-	-	-	45
1838	12	6	6	7	4	3	3	4	1	-	-	-	46
1840	14	2	5	3	7	8	1	2	1	1	-	-	44
1843	15	1	4	10	2	6	4	-	1	-	-	-	43
1844	14	2	4	7	6	4	3	-	2	-	-	-	42
1847	17	2	3	8	5	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	42
1848	17	3	4	7	3	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	42
1849	13	2	5	7	5	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	39
1850	14	3	7	5	4	5	-	2	-	1	-	-	41
1851	13	3	4	7	2	7	1	2	-	-	-	-	39
1852	12	4	4	7	3	8	-	2	-	-	-	-	40
1854	13	5	4	9	2	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	42
1855	11	6	4	9	2	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	38
1856	13	6	4	9	2	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	40
1858	12	5	5	6	5	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	40
Total #	436	195	254	300	217	170	62	61	20	9	1	4	1,729
o/o	25.2	11.3	14.7	17.4	12.6	9.8	3.5	3.5	1.2	.5	.1	.2	100o/o

Table 15

Tennōji, Kubo-machi

Registers of the Iemochi (House-owners) 1757-1858

Number of Houses with Given Number of Residents

Year	Number of Residents												Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1757	9	5	15	8	7	5	4	1	1	-	-	-	55
1760	13	3	6	12	10	6	1	6	1	-	-	-	58
1761	11	5	7	9	11	6	4	2	3	-	-	-	58
1762	10	5	12	9	7	7	4	4	1	-	-	-	59
1763	8	5	12	9	11	5	2	6	-	-	-	-	58
1765	7	7	6	13	14	3	2	3	2	-	-	-	57
1766	6	8	7	10	12	7	2	3	2	-	-	-	57
1767	3	10	8	14	10	6	3	3	1	-	-	-	58
1784	5	9	4	8	8	7	3	-	4	3	-	-	51
1785	2	8	8	6	9	3	8	3	2	2	-	-	51
1788	8	4	3	7	12	8	5	1	-	2	1	-	51
1795	9	1	2	11	11	8	4	2	1	-	1	1	51
1797	12	3	3	9	7	11	2	4	1	-	1	1	54
1798	9	2	5	7	7	7	8	1	1	1	-	2	50
1802	7	1	4	10	9	6	8	3	-	1	1	-	50
1805	7	2	5	7	11	2	5	5	3	1	-	1	49
1806	9	1	6	10	7	3	6	3	5	-	1	-	51
1816	10	4	2	8	7	2	4	4	4	1	-	1	47
1817	9	3	4	8	7	3	3	4	3	3	-	-	47
1831	8	5	4	6	7	5	4	2	2	3	-	-	46
1834	7	6	7	6	5	5	3	4	2	2	1	-	48
1837	8	3	9	7	3	6	2	3	4	-	-	-	45
1838	9	4	9	5	3	4	5	5	2	-	-	-	46
1840	11	1	7	5	7	7	2	1	2	1	-	-	44
1843	13	2	4	10	2	7	2	2	1	-	-	-	43
1844	11	3	5	7	7	4	3	-	1	1	-	-	42
1847	14	4	3	8	6	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	42
1848	14	5	4	7	4	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	42
1849	12	2	5	7	6	5	-	1	1	-	-	-	39
1850	13	3	7	5	5	5	-	1	1	1	-	-	41
1851	12	3	4	7	3	7	1	-	2	-	-	-	39
1852	11	4	5	5	5	8	-	-	2	-	-	-	40
1854	13	3	6	8	3	5	1	1	2	-	-	-	42
1855	10	5	6	8	3	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	38
1856	12	5	6	8	3	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	40
1858	11	4	7	5	6	3	1	-	-	3	-	-	40
Total #	343	148	217	289	255	192	107	80	59	25	8	6	1,729
o/o	19.8	8.6	12.6	16.7	14.8	11.1	6.2	4.6	3.4	1.4	.5	.3	100o/o

Table 16

Tennōji, Kubo-Machi

Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1757-1858

Number of Houses with Given Number of Family Members

Year	Number of Family Members									Total Number of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1757	15	8	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	32
1760	10	10	7	3	2	1	-	-	-	33
1761	6	8	5	4	4	2	1	-	-	30
1762	8	4	7	5	2	5	-	-	-	31
1763	8	9	9	5	3	3	-	-	-	37
1765	10	9	6	4	5	1	-	-	-	35
1766	6	7	8	5	4	1	-	-	-	31
1767	6	4	8	6	1	3	-	-	-	28
1784	6	12	9	5	8	2	-	-	1	43
1785	6	11	7	6	4	3	1	1	-	39
1788	3	7	11	9	4	-	1	-	-	35
1795	9	12	5	9	4	2	1	-	-	42
1797	10	14	5	2	5	4	1	-	-	41
1798	12	9	12	2	6	3	-	-	-	44
1802	9	9	8	8	7	1	-	-	-	42
1805	10	12	7	10	8	2	1	1	-	51
1806	12	8	7	12	7	5	1	1	-	53
1816	5	2	4	7	3	6	-	-	-	27
1817	6	1	2	6	4	5	-	-	-	24
1831	8	2	3	5	2	-	-	-	-	20
1834	5	4	7	4	4	2	-	-	-	26
1837	3	1	3	2	5	3	1	-	-	18
1838	2	3	2	2	4	3	-	-	-	16
1840	2	5	4	4	4	3	1	-	-	23
1843	3	7	3	1	7	1	-	-	-	22
1844	3	5	5	4	6	1	2	-	-	26
1847	2	4	4	5	5	6	-	-	-	26
1848	1	5	8	5	6	4	1	-	-	30
1849	-	4	6	5	8	4	-	-	-	27
1850	2	4	7	5	5	4	-	1	-	28
1851	2	6	6	5	7	2	1	-	-	29
1852	1	4	7	3	3	5	1	-	-	24
1854	5	4	4	2	3	3	1	-	1	23
1855	3	2	4	5	2	3	2	1	-	22
1856	5	2	3	7	3	8	-	1	-	29
1858	9	3	6	5	3	4	1	1	-	32
Total #	213	221	215	180	158	105	18	7	2	1,119
o/o	19.0	19.8	19.2	16.1	14.1	9.4	1.6	.6	.2	100o/o

Table 17

Tennōji, Kubo-machi

Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1757-1858

Number of Houses with Given Number of Residents

Year	Number of Residents										Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1757	15	8	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
1760	10	10	7	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	33
1761	6	8	5	4	4	2	1	-	-	-	30
1762	8	4	7	5	2	5	-	-	-	-	31
1763	8	9	9	4	4	3	-	-	-	-	37
1765	10	9	6	4	5	1	-	-	-	-	35
1766	6	7	8	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	31
1767	5	5	8	6	1	3	-	-	-	-	28
1784	5	8	13	5	9	2	-	-	1	-	43
1785	4	11	9	6	4	3	1	1	-	-	39
1788	3	6	12	8	3	2	1	-	-	-	35
1795	6	12	7	8	6	2	1	-	-	-	42
1797	8	15	6	1	4	6	1	-	-	-	41
1798	10	11	11	2	6	3	1	-	-	-	44
1802	9	9	8	8	6	2	-	-	-	-	42
1805	9	13	7	9	7	3	2	1	-	-	51
1806	10	9	7	14	7	3	3	1	-	-	53
1816	4	3	2	6	3	7	-	-	1	-	27
1817	5	1	2	6	5	5	-	-	-	-	24
1831	7	3	2	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	20
1834	4	3	7	4	4	4	-	-	-	-	26
1837	3	1	3	1	5	4	1	-	-	-	18
1838	2	3	2	1	4	4	-	-	-	-	16
1840	2	5	4	4	4	3	1	-	-	-	23
1843	3	6	3	1	6	2	1	-	-	-	22
1844	2	6	5	4	6	1	2	-	-	-	26
1847	1	5	4	4	5	6	1	-	-	-	26
1848	1	5	7	4	8	4	1	-	-	-	30
1849	-	4	6	4	9	2	2	-	-	-	27
1850	2	4	5	7	6	3	-	1	-	-	28
1851	2	6	4	7	5	4	1	-	-	-	29
1852	1	4	7	4	2	3	3	-	-	-	24
1854	5	4	4	2	3	3	1	-	-	1	23
1855	3	2	4	5	2	3	2	1	-	-	22
1856	4	2	3	7	4	8	-	1	-	-	29
1858	8	3	6	4	5	4	1	1	-	-	32
Total #	191	224	216	174	163	113	28	7	2	1	1,119
o/o	17.1	20.0	19.3	15.5	14.6	10.1	2.5	.6	.2	.1	100o/o

Table 18

Tennōji, Horikoshi-machi

Registers of the Iemochi (House-owners) 1757-1858

Number of Houses with Given Number of Family Members

Year	Number of Family Members									Total Number of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1757	6	4	7	5	3	2	1	-	-	28
1760	5	3	5	5	3	2	1	-	-	24
1761	6	3	4	3	3	3	3	-	-	25
1762	6	3	3	4	5	3	1	-	-	25
1763	3	5	1	6	5	2	-	1	-	23
1765	4	3	3	3	5	2	-	2	-	22
1766	4	3	3	1	6	2	1	-	2	22
1767	3	3	4	-	6	4	-	1	1	22
1784	5	5	1	3	8	-	1	-	1	24
1785	7	4	1	4	7	1	-	1	-	25
1788	10	1	4	2	5	2	3	-	-	27
1795	2	2	4	4	6	3	-	-	-	21
1797	2	2	4	5	4	2	-	-	-	19
1798	2	1	6	4	4	1	1	-	-	19
1802	1	3	4	2	4	2	-	1	-	17
1805	2	1	4	5	3	1	2	-	-	18
1806	3	-	4	4	3	3	2	-	-	19
1816	4	1	5	1	2	5	1	-	-	19
1817	3	4	1	2	4	4	2	-	-	20
1831	5	1	4	3	5	1	2	1	-	22
1834	5	-	2	4	6	2	2	2	-	23
1837	6	-	2	5	6	2	1	1	1	24
1838	7	-	2	6	5	3	-	1	1	25
1840	6	1	2	6	4	4	1	2	-	26
1843	6	1	1	4	8	1	3	-	1	25
1844	4	1	2	4	6	2	3	-	1	23
1847	5	1	2	4	4	3	2	2	-	23
1848	3	1	1	7	3	2	2	1	1	21
1849	4	1	-	9	3	3	1	-	1	22
1850	3	1	-	7	4	2	2	-	1	20
1851	5	-	1	6	4	2	2	1	-	21
1852	5	1	1	6	4	2	2	1	-	22
1854	5	1	-	4	4	3	2	2	-	21
1855	6	1	1	3	2	4	4	-	1	22
1856	5	1	2	2	2	3	4	1	1	21
1858	6	1	3	2	5	4	3	1	-	25
Total										
#	164	64	94	145	161	87	55	22	13	805
o/o	20.4	8.0	11.7	18.0	20.0	10.8	6.8	2.7	1.6	100o/o

Table 19

Tennōji, Horikoshi-machi

Registers of the Iemochi (House-owners) 1757-1858

Number of Houses with Given Number of Residents

Year	Number of Residents																Total No. of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1757	6	3	3	5	3	4	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	28
1760	5	1	1	7	1	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	24
1761	6	1	1	3	3	5	3	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	25
1762	6	2	1	2	7	1	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
1763	3	3	-	4	5	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	23
1765	4	1	1	3	4	2	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	22
1766	4	1	1	1	6	2	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	22
1767	4	1	1	1	3	4	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	22
1784	5	2	2	-	3	4	1	-	2	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	24
1785	7	3	1	1	1	2	2	3	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	25
1788	10	1	2	-	-	2	5	2	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	27
1795	2	-	2	1	3	1	5	2	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	21
1797	2	1	-	2	1	4	3	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	19
1798	2	-	2	-	-	6	1	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	19
1802	1	-	3	-	-	3	4	2	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	17
1805	2	-	2	1	1	1	4	2	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	18
1806	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	19
1816	4	-	1	1	1	2	2	1	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	19
1817	3	1	1	2	-	-	4	4	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	20
1831	5	-	1	1	2	4	4	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	22
1834	4	1	2	3	5	2	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	23
1837	6	-	1	5	5	2	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	24
1838	7	-	2	4	5	2	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
1840	6	1	2	4	4	3	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	26
1843	6	1	1	3	7	3	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
1844	4	-	3	2	6	2	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	23

1847	5	-	2	3	4	4	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
1848	3	-	2	7	3	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
1849	4	-	1	9	3	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
1850	3	1	-	7	4	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
1851	5	-	1	6	4	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
1852	5	1	1	6	4	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
1854	5	1	-	4	4	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
1855	6	1	1	3	2	4	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
1856	5	1	2	2	2	3	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
1858	6	1	3	2	5	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
Total #	163	31	51	106	113	102	98	55	37	23	13	4	5	1	2	1	805
o/o	20.2	3.9	6.3	13.2	14.1	12.7	12.2	6.8	4.6	2.9	1.6	.5	.6	.1	.2	.1	100o/

Table 20

Tennōji, Horikoshi-machi

Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1757-1858

Number of Houses with Given Number of Family Members

Year	Number of Family Members											Total Number of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1757	6	5	9	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
1760	7	15	10	10	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	48
1761	9	17	7	8	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	51
1762	10	12	5	10	5	4	-	-	-	-	-	46
1763	10	13	10	9	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	52
1765	9	6	12	5	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	40
1766	14	5	8	9	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	42
1767	11	5	13	9	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	43
1784	4	8	7	10	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	36
1785	4	5	12	10	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	39
1788	2	8	7	11	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	37
1795	-	11	7	7	8	5	-	-	-	-	-	38
1797	1	6	8	12	6	2	5	1	-	-	-	41
1798	2	5	9	13	8	2	3	1	-	-	-	43
1802	5	5	16	6	5	-	6	2	-	-	-	45
1805	9	10	10	9	7	3	4	3	1	-	-	56
1806	10	8	5	10	8	2	4	3	1	-	-	51
1816	4	7	15	10	4	2	6	1	-	-	-	49
1817	9	5	11	11	3	3	3	1	-	1	-	47
1831	7	15	6	8	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	43
1834	12	12	9	7	3	2	3	1	-	-	-	49
1837	7	10	5	4	8	3	2	1	-	-	-	40
1838	8	12	5	3	8	2	-	1	-	-	-	39
1840	7	8	13	4	3	4	1	1	-	-	-	41
1843	5	2	9	8	3	1	1	-	-	1	-	30
1844	7	5	8	10	1	3	1	-	-	1	-	36
1847	5	3	11	5	5	3	1	-	1	-	-	34
1848	2	4	13	5	5	2	1	-	1	-	1	34
1849	4	6	11	8	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	35
1850	7	6	8	8	3	3	1	-	1	-	-	37
1851	5	9	8	10	4	2	1	-	1	-	-	40
1852	6	11	11	6	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	43
1854	7	13	7	9	1	3	2	-	-	-	-	42
1855	6	10	7	10	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	38
1856	5	11	7	9	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	36
1858	6	7	5	10	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	33
Total #	232	300	324	297	161	82	52	19	7	3	1	1,478
o/o	15.7	20.3	21.9	20.1	10.9	5.5	3.5	1.3	.5	.2	.1	100o/o

Table 21

Tennōji, Horikoshi-machi

Registers of the Shakuya (Renters/Tenants) 1757-1858

Number of Houses with Given Number of Residents

Year	Number of Residents											Total Number of Houses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1757	6	5	9	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
1760	7	14	9	12	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	48
1761	8	15	8	9	6	5	-	-	-	-	-	51
1762	9	13	4	11	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	46
1763	9	14	9	10	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	52
1765	7	7	13	4	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	40
1766	13	6	8	8	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	42
1767	11	5	11	8	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	43
1784	4	6	7	7	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	36
1785	4	5	12	9	7	1	-	1	-	-	-	39
1788	2	7	6	12	5	3	1	1	-	-	-	37
1795	-	10	5	9	8	5	-	1	-	-	-	38
1797	1	6	8	10	5	4	4	2	-	-	-	41
1798	2	5	9	12	6	5	4	-	1	-	-	43
1802	5	5	15	6	3	2	6	3	-	-	-	45
1805	7	11	9	10	6	4	5	3	1	-	-	56
1806	6	10	6	7	10	3	4	4	1	-	-	51
1816	3	7	14	9	6	2	7	1	-	-	-	49
1817	9	5	11	8	4	3	5	1	-	1	-	47
1831	7	10	7	11	3	2	2	-	1	-	-	43
1834	8	14	8	7	5	2	3	2	-	-	-	49
1837	4	10	6	5	8	3	2	2	-	-	-	40
1838	7	11	5	5	8	2	-	1	-	-	-	39
1840	6	6	14	6	3	4	1	1	-	-	-	41
1843	4	2	6	10	5	1	1	-	-	1	-	30
1844	5	5	6	12	3	3	1	-	-	1	-	36
1847	3	5	7	8	6	2	2	-	1	-	-	34
1848	1	5	10	7	5	1	2	-	1	1	1	34
1849	3	5	12	8	3	2	1	-	1	-	-	35
1850	4	7	8	9	4	2	2	-	1	-	-	37
1851	3	8	10	10	4	3	1	-	1	-	-	40
1852	4	9	13	8	4	2	3	-	-	-	-	43
1854	6	8	11	11	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	42
1855	6	8	6	12	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	38
1856	5	8	9	8	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	36
1858	5	7	5	10	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	33
Total #	194	284	316	312	182	89	64	23	9	4	1	1,478
o/o	13.1	19.2	21.4	21.1	12.3	6.0	4.3	1.6	.6	.3	.1	100o/o

Table 22

Percentage of Houses with Given Number of Persons per Family and Household:

1713-1868 All Wards and All Categories of Register

9,973 Households

		Number of Persons						o/o
		1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-12	13-16	
Registers Combining House-owners and Renters/Tenants	Family	8.0	28.5	37.3	19.9	6.3	--	100
	Household	7.0	26.6	37.2	21.0	8.1	.1	100
Registers of the House-owners	Family	19.9	28.8	32.5	14.3	4.5	--	100
	Household	16.5	24.1	30.7	18.8	9.64	.76	100
Registers of the Renters/Tenants	Family	21.1	39.7	28.5	8.8	1.9	--	100
	Household	18.2	38.7	29.9	10.5	2.7	--	100
Registers of All Categories: Totals	Family	19.5	33.9	31.1	12.1	3.4	--	100
	Household	16.5	31.2	30.9	15.0	6.27	.13	100

a feature of these town and city wards, for 93.6% of the households had seven or fewer residents. It is of interest, furthermore, to note that single-person households account for 16.5% of the total appearing in all the registers.

Comparison of these figures with more recent data on number of persons per household is also possible. Toda (1937: 217), citing the 1920 census, reports that 95.4% of all households in Japan had seven members or less. For Tokyo and Osaka in the same year, households with seven members or less accounted for 88.1% and 90.6%, respectively. In a study done in 1956 and 1957, Koyama (1960: 57) reports that 97.2% of non-farm households in the former village of Komae, engulfed by the spreading Tokyo metropolis, had seven members or less, while 98.8% of the households in a large Tokyo apartment complex had fewer than seven members.[6]

Let us now turn to the question of residential stability. I have done an annual tally of the rate of turnover of households (not individuals) for the registers of the Tennōji wards, Horikoshi-machi and Kubo-machi, for the years 1757 through 1858. The duration of households is analyzed separately for house-owners and for renter/tenants in Tables 23 and 24. The nature of the registers is such that it is possible to trace succession; therefore, households of long duration may have had several heads as son succeeded father, widow took over upon the death of husband, etc. A word of explantion is in order concerning the somewhat cumbersome double entries under each category in Table 23. We do not have complete consecutive runs of registers for these wards, but only the registers for 36 of the 102 years between 1757 and 1858. In each tabulation in the odd-numbered columns (labeled "Minimum"), I have given the number of households of a given number of years duration as actually shown in the scattered registers available. In the even-numbered columns (labeled "Maximum") I have given the number of households of a given number of years duration, calculating the maximum number of years in which they theoretically could have appeared if there were a register available for every one of the 102 years.

Table 23

Tennōji, Horikoshi-machi and Kubo-machi

Duration of Households 1757 - 1858

Number of Years Duration	Horikoshi-machi								Kubo-machi							
	House-owner				Renter/Tenant				House-owner				Renter/Tenant			
	Col 1		Col 2		Col 3		Col 4		Col 5		Col 6		Col 7		Col 8	
	Minimum		Maximum		Minimum		Maximum		Minimum		Maximum		Minimum		Maximum	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	38	38.8	8	8.2	159	36.9	62	14.4	37	19.5	11	5.8	155	41.2	54	14.3
2	3	3.1	5	5.1	64	14.9	40	9.3	20	10.5	8	4.2	57	15.2	19	5.1
3	-	-	14	14.4	23	5.3	61	14.2	6	3.2	19	10.0	21	5.6	70	18.6
4	7	7.1	7	7.1	24	5.6	26	6.0	9	4.7	7	3.7	30	7.9	41	10.9
5	2	2.0	2	2.0	28	6.5	17	3.9	6	3.2	8	4.2	23	6.1	10	2.6
1-5	50	51.0	36	36.8	298	69.2	206	47.8	78	41.1	53	27.9	286	76.0	194	51.5
6-10	14	14.3	24	24.6	48	11.1	61	14.2	16	8.4	22	11.6	32	8.5	62	16.5
11-20	4	4.1	5	5.1	53	12.3	99	22.9	28	14.8	26	13.7	41	10.9	75	20.0
21-30	11	11.2	10	10.2	22	5.1	45	10.4	15	7.9	32	16.8	10	2.6	36	9.5
31-40	3	3.1	7	7.1	7	1.6	15	3.5	11	5.7	12	6.3	4	1.1	4	1.1
41-50	2	2.0	2	2.0	3	.7	5	1.2	12	6.3	10	5.3	2	.5	4	1.1
51-60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.6	8	4.2	1	.3	1	.3
61-70	3	3.1	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	8	4.2	7	3.7	-	-	-	-
71-80	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	3	1.6	4	2.1	-	-	-	-
81-90	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2.6	5	2.6	-	-	-	-
91-100	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	8	4.2	8	4.2	-	-	-	-
101	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
102	2	2.2	2	2.2	-	-	-	-	3	1.6	3	1.6	-	-	-	-
Totals	98	100	99	100	431	100	431	100	190	100	190	100	376	100	376	100
Average duration in years	20.5		23.2		6.1		9.9		23.0		27.2		5.1		8.8	
Median duration in years	5		7		2		3		11		17		2		4	

Table 24.

Tennōji, Horikoshi-machi and Kubo-machi: 1757 - 1858

Duration of House-owners and Renters/Tenants Households
Compared with Duration of All Households

Number of Years Duration	All House-owners				All Renters/Tenants				All Households			
	Col 1 Minimum		Col 2 Maximum		Col 3 Minimum		Col 4 Maximum		Col 5 Minimum		Col 6 Maximum	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	75	26.0	19	6.6	314	38.9	116	14.4	389	35.5	135	12.3
2	23	7.9	13	4.5	121	15.0	59	7.3	144	13.2	72	6.6
3	6	2.1	33	11.4	44	5.5	131	16.2	50	4.6	164	15.0
4	16	5.6	14	4.9	54	6.7	67	8.3	70	6.4	81	7.4
5	8	2.8	10	3.5	51	6.3	27	3.3	59	5.4	37	3.4
1-5	128	44.4	89	30.9	584	72.4	400	49.5	712	65.1	489	44.7
6-10	30	10.4	46	16.0	80	9.9	123	15.2	110	10.1	169	15.4
11-20	32	11.1	31	10.8	94	11.7	174	21.6	126	11.5	205	18.7
21-30	26	9.1	42	14.6	32	4.0	81	10.1	58	5.3	123	11.2
31-40	14	4.9	19	6.6	11	1.3	19	2.4	25	2.3	38	3.5
41-50	14	4.9	12	4.2	5	.6	9	1.1	19	1.7	21	1.9
51-60	3	1.0	8	2.8	1	.1	1	.1	4	.4	9	.8
61-70	11	3.8	9	3.1	-	-	-	-	11	1.0	9	.8
71-80	3	1.0	5	1.7	-	-	-	-	3	.3	5	.5
81-90	6	2.1	5	1.7	-	-	-	-	6	.5	5	.5
91-100	9	3.1	9	3.1	-	-	-	-	9	.8	9	.8
101	-	-	1	.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.1
102	12	4.2	12	4.2	-	-	-	-	12	1.1	12	1.1
Totals	288	100	288	100	807	100	807	100	1,095	100	1,095	100
Average duration in years	22.2		25.8		5.7		9.4		10.0		13.9	
Median duration in years	8		14		2		6		3		7	

For example, we do have the registers for 1757 and 1760, but not for the two intervening years. For any given household appearing in the 1757 register, but not in the 1760 register, the "Minimum" duration would be one year. The "Maximum" possible duration, however, would be calculated at three years, since it is theoretically possible that this household appears also in the registers for 1758 and 1759, only to drop out in 1760.

The truth probably lies somewhere between the two, for I would guess that the former underestimates actual duration, while the latter overestimates it.

The evidence for a very high degree of turnover in these Tennōji wards accords nicely with the findings of Yokoyama (1949) for a ward in Kyoto for the period 1786-1867 (Smith 1963: 419-420). Yokoyama found that of the 343 households listed in the registers of the ward Koromo-no-tana-chō during this eighty-two-year period, 70% appeared for five years or less and 87% for ten years or less, while five households (1.5%) persisted throughout the entire period. In Tennōji's two wards, 1,095 households appear in the 102-year period. Taking our "Maximum" figures, 44.7% appeared for five years or less; 60.1% for ten years or less; twelve households (1.1%) persisted throughout the entire period.

The figures given in Tables 23 and 24 show that the duration of house-owner households is very much greater than that of the renters/tenants. Using the "Maximum" figures for Horikoshi-machi, we see that whereas no renter/tenant household has a span greater than fifty years, nine house-owner households (9.2% of the total) persist throughout the entire 102 years. In Kubo-machi, the story is much the same; only one renter/tenant household has a span of more than fifty years, while only three house-owner households (1.6% of the total) persist throughout the entire 102 years. I have not tabulated the Nishinomiya wards, but careful inspection of the registers suggests that the situation was essentially like that of Tennōji and Kyoto.

Implications

The outcome is clear. These wards were far from stable communities. When one is reminded that it is household, not individual mobility which is under consideration, the implications can be seen even more clearly. The people who lived in these communites and the officials responsible for their administration were all exposed to a social environment of constantly shifting composition. Although the continuity of the house-owners is more marked than that of the renters, even they move as households with great frequency. The "Maximum" median span of households of house-owners in Horikoshi-machi was only seven years; in Kubo-machi it was only seventeen years. The renter/tenant households in both wards for this same period had a span of three and four years respectively. The average "Maximum" duration was in every case higher than the median case, but was only 27.2 years at the longest (for the house-owners of Kubo-machi). The median "Maximum" duration was only seven years for households of all types.

Faced with such rates of in- and out-migration, it is hardly surprising that the administrative structure of the urban wards was based on the village prototype. Only through incessant checking on residents and frequent enumeration could the Tokugawa government retain a degree of control over the population of the cities. That the administrators were faced not merely with a declining or rising population is evident. If we take the over-all population figures for the four wards under consideration we find that even the variation in these figures does not reveal with an clarity the fluidity of the actual composition of the wards. When it is further stressed that the individuals enumerated in one annual census of a ward may be almost entirely replaced within the decade, the scale of the problem faced by the Tokugawa government can be better appreciated.

Conclusions

I do not know that the size of the family and household was equally small in urban communities in the pre-industrial periods of other societies, nor am I certain that their rates of turnover were so extraordinarily high. For the Japanese case, however, it is possible to offer some generalizations.

The situation which I have outlined here had, I think, become typical of the wards of city-dwelling commoners in Japan's towns and cities by the early eighteenth century. At least three features of the system strongly predisposed the Japanese to swift and easy urbanization on the "early industrial" model. First, commercial and small manufacturing endeavors were, well before the 1870's and 1880's, already in the hands of small households with small-family nuclei made possible by the general practice of single-heir inheritance. Whether expressed through primogeniture, ultimogeniture, or "adopted husband" marriage (so that the daughter of a house is used to guarantee continuity of the line through adoption of a husband for her who takes her family name and assumes the status of legitimate heir), it was the custom to select only one child as successor to the name and property, and custodian of the ancestral tablets of the house. The first Meiji civil code simply regularized this custom by giving preference before the law to first-son succession.

Second, the small size of the residential unit appears to have facilitated mobility, or at least not to have inhibited it. Our data, as well as Yokoyama's (1949), show quite clearly that urban mobility was not limited to single individuals, and that families moved in and out of cities as units well before the "modern period".[7] Further analysis may reveal whether they were simply circulating about the city or back and forth between the city and the countryside. Wherever their residents came from and whatever their destination, the fluidity of the composition of the wards cannot be denied.[8]

Third, I would maintain that the nature of Japanese kinship terminology also has important bearing on the ease with which transition to the urban-industrial style was made. Japanese terminology, as first recorded in the tenth century A.D., was and remains bilateral (Smith 1962a; 1962b). "Yankee" in type, it differs from contemporary American usage in only one important particular; there is an age distinction in sibling terms. Members of these small families, then, identified an extremely limited range of kin by specific terms and "cousin" usages appear to have been as ambiguous in eighteenth century Japan as they are in contemporary Britain and the United States. In the registers with which we have dealt, the number of kin terms which appear is extremely small and all terms used are of the modern Japanese bilateral system.

The Japanese were early possessed of what some writers have claimed is a kin terminology closely associated with modern urbanized industrial societies with highly developed commerce, attenuation of kin ties, high rates of mobility, and increasingly particularistic relationships. The terminology itself is far older than the development of such a state of affairs in Japan, suggesting that caution must be exercised in proposing an inevitable connection between the two. Nevertheless, its prior existence would, I feel, have greatly facilitated the adjustment of the family to the changes required at the start of Japan's emergence as a modern state. Our data show that many of the features of that country's emergence, so often ascribed to the Meiji period (1868-1912), were in fact well developed by the early part of the eighteenth century.

FOOTNOTES

*As others who have worked in the documentary sources of the closing period of the Tokugawa can tesitfy, the foreign scholar inevitably incurs debts among his Japanese colleagues which can be acknowledged but not repaid. I should like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Nakano Takashi of the Tōkyō Kyōiku University, who unwittingly led me into the investigation and subsequently provided much sensible advice. For invaluable assistance in locating and securing the materials on Tennōji, I should like to thank Mr. Enju Reiichirō, Mr. Tokoro Mitsuo, and Miss Asai Junko, all of the Reference Library of the Ministry of Education, Mr. Kanai Madoka of the University of Tokyo's Historiographical Institute, and Professor Hirai Naofusa of the Department of Shinto, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo. For equally essential assistance with the Nishinomiya materials, I must express my debt to Professor Yagi Akihiro of Kōbe University, the members of the staff of the Nishinomiya City Office responsible for the compiling and writing of the history of that city, and Mr. Matsuoka Takashi, an amateur of local history. (All names are given in the Japanese order, surname first.)

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[1]See the engaging exposé by Francisco Benet, "Sociology Uncertain: The Ideology of the Rural-Urban Continuum," Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 6, No. 1: 1-23, October, 1963, of the fallacious nature of the standard presentation of the historical relations of urban centers and rural

regions in the United States. See also Richard C. Wade, The Urban Frontier, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.

[2]Here I draw heavily on the paper by Naganuma Kenkai, "Shūshi nimbetsu aratame no hattatsu" ("Development of the Investigation of Religious Sects"), Shigaku-zasshi (The Journal of History), Vol. 40, No. 11: 13-62, 1929.

[3]Kaempfer, whose descriptions of the highways and cities of Japan in the seventeenth century are referred to below, was interested in the organization of the wards of Nagasaki. In discussing the duties of the officials of these "streets" as he called them, he makes several references to the population registers which they were required to maintain:

> The otona..."keeps books and registers, wherein he enters, what persons are born in the street, how many die, or marry, or go a travelling, or leave the street, as also what new inhabitants come in, along with their names, birth, religion, trade, and so on (i, 279)." The "secretary" is said to be responsible for maintaining all manner of records...."such as, the list of all the houses in the street, and of their Inhabitants, along with their names, age, trade, religion, and so on, a book, wherein are enter'd the names of all the persons that die in the street..., a register book containing what passports have been issued out of his office, with the names of the persons to whom they were granted, the business which call'd them abroad, the time of their departure, and their return... (i, 281)."

He closes with the observation that in the last month of every year, the "Street's-messenger" performs the "hito-aratame":

> "...that is, he takes down in writing the names of all the inhabitants of every house, old and young, with the time and

place of their birth, and the...religion of the landlords."

"Women are only counted in this inquisition, and 'tis added to the list how many there are (i, 287)."

Nagasaki was, to be sure, something of a special case, for the coming and going of foreign vessels, as well as the continuing presence of foreigners, put local authorities on the strictest guard against unauthorized intercourse between them and the Japanese, such an anathema was Christianity. Kaempfer also has an account of the street-by-street check of residents upon the occasion of the departure of a Dutch or a Chinese ship, noting how the names of the inhabitants of each dwelling are read out. Clearly these population registers were kept current with a view to continuous use, at least in Nagasaki. At another place in his journals, however, Kaempfer (i, 486ff) deals at length with the strictness with which the registers of Kyoto were maintained in his time.

[4]These historical materials are drawn from Volume 2 of the superb multi-volume Nishinomiya-shi-shi (History of Nishinomiya City) edited by Uozumi Sōgorō and published by the Minicipal Office in 1960.

[5]Sekiyama (1958: 231) is further of the opinion that another reason lies in the fact that a purely commercial city such as Osaka could, in what he calls a "feudal society like that of Tokugawa Japan," sustain a population of not much more than 300,000, a figure to which the totals for Osaka return after two hundred years of abnormal growth in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[6]The following table from Toda (1937: 217) is relevant:

Table 9: Size of Household (1920 Census)

Number of Persons	All Japan	Tokyo	Osaka
1	5.77%	6.16%	6.94%
2	12.52	15.84	18.26
3	15.20	18.81	19.79
4	15.27	16.79	16.42
5	14.57	13.70	12.77
6	12.56	10.00	9.20
7	9.53	6.83	6.17
8	6.32	4.26	3.80
9	3.76	2.60	2.37
10	2.16	1.79	1.53
11 & above	2.34	3.21	2.76

as is the information from Koyama's (1960: 57) study of an isolated farming community ("Rural"), a Tokyo suburban fringe community ("Komae: Farm" and Komae: Non-Farm"), and a Tokyo apartment complex ("Apartment"):

Table 3: Number of Persons Per Household

Number of Persons	Rural	Komae: Farm	Komae: Non-Farm	Apartment
1	3.9%	0.0	11.1%	0.6
2	4.7	1.4	13.9	18.3
3	7.8	8.3	23.6	20.7
4	15.5	6.9	16.7	29.0
5	18.6	11.1	18.1	20.7
6	14.7	15.3	9.6	5.9
7	17.0	23.6	4.2	3.6
8	9.3	16.8	1.4	0.0
9	5.4	8.3	1.4	1.2
10 & above	3.1	8.3	0.0	0.0

[7]In this connection, it is instructive to find Dickinson (1961: 171-183) discussing one instance of a high rate of turnover of population as a feature of modern urbanism. Writing of Rotterdam, which had a population of over 600,000 in 1939, he says of two new districts of that city:

> "These new districts are occupied by people of low income, who find the rent of their former dwelling too high... The residents in these new outer districts are not 'settled in.' On the contrary, a high proportion shift quickly and there are many removals after a short period of those who seek cheaper and better houses in a more desirable neighborhood. Thus, the new district of Bergpolder at the end of 1934, scarcely one and a half years after the construction of the first houses, had already changed many of the tenants. Of 2,552 dwellings, in October 1934 no less than 380 had second, and 37 third, tenants, and there had been no less than 464 removals! Of the removed families, only one-third remained in the district, a sixth left Rotterdam (for a neighboring sub-urban district)..."
>
> "In Rotterdam on the average there were 50,000 removals annually. Without exaggeration, we can say that a third of the total population is involved in this 'nomadic' movement. This mobility, however, in the outer districts is greatest in the tenement districts where there is attachment neither to dwelling nor to neighbourhood (1961: 176)."
>
> "The movement of population indicates that there is a lack of attachment to home or neighborhood. A habit of moving from one house to another develops. This psychological feature is

especially marked in the new and monotonous, characterless multi-storeyed apartment blocks. That type of dwelling does not foster any attraction for hearth, home or neighbourhood... This aspect of our present urban society, in effect a sort of 'modern nomadism', is one that deserves very thorough attention from social psychologists; it is tied up with many of the problems of neurosis and the family... (1961: 183)."

[8]Taeuber (1958: 27) makes the interesting observation that:

"The urbanization of the population increased in the modern period, but the great city was not a product of that period. And movements of surplus youth from the rural areas to the cities were adjustments of population to resources and employment opportunities that ante-dated modern industrialization by some centuries."

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