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 「歴史研究の生命」 神奈川県史研究4号 昭和44年  
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 「評論家の氾濫」 心情園3巻9号 昭和44年  
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 「まえがき」 大学基準協会会報18号 昭和45年  
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座談会

- 「学校と教育のあり方」 財政経済535号 昭和36年  
 「新年度の教育の課題と展望(各界代表七人の立場からの座談会)」 教育ニュース25号 昭和36年  
 「教育の機会均等と育英制度」 大学時報10巻42号 昭和36年  
 「税制調査会はかく考えている」 同10巻45号 昭和36年  
 「録音本番中(高村象平, 高尾三郎対談)」 TDKタイムズ52号 昭和37年  
 「座談会——学長早慶戦」 螢雪時代32巻3号 昭和37年  
 「近畿府県知事との懇談会」 大学時報10巻49号 昭和37年  
 「今日の大学問題を語る」 大学時報11巻52号 昭和38年  
 「私学の振興について」 文部時報1030号 昭和38年  
 「国と私立大学との関係について」 大学時報11巻55号 昭和38年  
 「若き世代への苦言と期待」 日経人48号 昭和38年  
 「塾風とはなにか——教職員の立場から」 塾4巻2号 昭和41年  
 「日吉木曜会——高村象平教授を囲んで」 塾4巻4号 昭和41年  
 対談閑話「私学に生きる」 毎日新聞 昭和42年(8月12, 13, 15~20, 22, 23日)  
 「期待される大学像」 三田評論666号 昭和42年  
 「大学はどこへいく」 塾6巻6号 昭和43年  
 「戦後教育を洗い直す」 山陽新聞(1月3日) 昭和44年  
 「大学問題(土曜放談)」 同(2月15日) 昭和44年  
 「学園における学生の地位」 早稲田学報23巻4号 昭和44年  
 「高村象平君に聴く——この人を囲む一時間——」 塾8巻1号 昭和45年  
 「北海道の私大はどうあるべきか」 クオリティ5巻7号 昭和45年  
 「学生生活の問題点」 大学時報19巻93号 昭和45年

(酒田利夫作成)

Tanso Hirose (1782—1856) as a Statesman in the Closing  
Years of the Shogunate (1615—1867)

by Takao Shimazaki

Tanso Hirose, 1782 (the 2nd year of Tenmei) —1856 (the 2nd year of Ansei), was born in Hida Province of Kyushu, which was directly administered by the Shogunate. Ever since his early days, he exhibited his literary talent, studying the *Four Books and Five Classics of Confucianism* (*Shisho Gokyo*) and poetry composition under the guidance of such scholars as his own father, Saburoemon whose pseudonym was Choshunan-Toshū and his uncle, Heihachiro calling himself Shūfuan-Gekka as pseudonym.

As he grew up, he attended the Kamei Private School in Fukuoka, which was directed by Nanmei Kamei and his son, but on account of his delicate constitution, he returned to Hida. Ever since, he devoted himself to learning and poetry at home. He found the private school, Kangien, and educated 3,000 young people. He was a philosopher, poet, moralist and an educationist. He was also an economist, often offering statesmanlike advices against existing social evils. It is natural that such a great scholar came into being in the cultivated and ideologically rich atmosphere of Kyushu that had before produced such great thinkers as Baien Miura and Banri Hoashi, his contemporary.

Tanso studied Shushi Learning, Yomei Learning, the Old Learning and Lao-tze-Chung-tze Learning as well as Buddhism, Shintoism and the Western Learning, establishing himself as an eclectic of these thoughts. His theory was centered around his religious belief in the idea of "Reverence for Heaven", and engaged himself in the training of his students along that line. His idea was developed in his three works: the *Yakugen*, the *Gifu*, and the *Sekigen*. In the *Yakugen* was elucidated the "Reverence for Heaven" in detail through the discussion on the "Heaven's Will", in the *Gifu* was clarified the "Laws of Nature"; and in the *Sekigen* was explained the Lao-tze's philosophy of life (Sei-su).

The time, when Tanso was active, can be considered internally as typically represented by the Tenpo Reform by Lord Mizuno, and Heihachiro Oshio's Revolt, that were none but exhibitions of the declining age of the Shogunate when the provincial feudal lords under its control were seriously suffering from the straitened financial conditions. And externally, the nation was under the pressing impact from the Western countries, such as the Commodore Perry's visit at Uraga, requesting the open-door of Japan for trade in 1853.

With the object to relieve the adverse finances of the provincial governments, Tanso wrote the book *Ugen*. In this work, he stressed the importance of industry and economy as practical

measures on the basis of his principle "Reverence for Heaven", and boldly developed his idea of reforming some existing institutions, for example, the "daimyo's alternate year residence in Edo" ordered by the Shogunate of the provincial feudal lords.

Concerning the Japan's open door, he published the *Rongo Sangenkai* (Explanation of the Three Significant Words in the Analects of Confucius) in relation to the merits and demerits of Japan's open door to the outsiders: the best policy is to keep on secluding, the first preference is to keep on secluding, the second preference is to launch out on trading, and the third one is to go into war against them, thus calling the people's attention to the importance of armaments, regardless which of the above mentioned policies be adopted, seclusion or open-door. In other words, he held the view that a social and political reform was essential for the solution of the existing poverty, so that the nation would prosper in opulence.

It is true that Tanso introduced nothing new in economics, but certainly he should be given the credit for the religious belief by which he inculcated the people with the idea of the necessity for some measures in economics and armaments in the declining period of the Shogunate.

Also, he was useful in showing that the Confucian teaching was quite helpless to build up the political economy in the early Meiji Era (1868-1912) of Japan without resorting to the modern science of economics of the West.

### The Industrial Revolution of England and the Industrialization of the United States of America

by Katsumi Nakamura

The Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815) ruined the foreign and coastal trades of the United States of America and made the internal manufactures prosper as was the case with the continental Europe.

Alexander Hamilton indicates in his *Report on Manufactures* (1791) the existence of household manufactures in the South and the incidental trades in New England coastal towns, such as boat-making, sail-making, rope-making, etc., depending on the state of commerce; the domestic manufactures of inland towns; the manufacturing establishments as regular trade; and "S.U.M." factories.

Tench Coxe refers in his *Digest of Manufactures* (1810) to the establishments making the labor saving machines and such goods as cotton, woollen, flaxen and mixedclothes, in addition to

the industries mentioned by Hamilton. Also, he points to the large number of iron manufactories producing various machines including furnaces and forges, as well as to the rolling and slitting mills making machines demanded by farmers.

Pease and Niles indicates in their *A. Gazetteer* (1819) the collapse of the manufactures that were dependent on the coastal fishery and commerce in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the development of the internal cotton industry. J.W. Barber gives the suggestion in his *Historical Collections* (1841) the similar industrial development in Massachusetts as is described above.

What were the reasons which brought about such a sudden industrialization? In the first place, there existed in the United States no such thing as feudalism. Especially, there were instituted such things as the "town system" and the free farmers (proprietors) in New England. Thus it was not necessary to enforce the abolition of serfdom and the freedom of business as the prerequisites for the industrialization in the United States, different from the old Continent of Europe. The free farmers were differentiated into the two poles, giving rise to such groups of people, business leaders and laborers.

In the second place, the free farmers consisted of devout Puritans. The *Massachusetts Colonial Records* often provided for the discouragement of idleness, the prevention of drunkenness and disorder, the punishment of adultery and the requirement to observe the attendance at the worship on Lord's Day. These provisions played an important role in cultivating the ethics of "calling."

Thirdly, these Puritan free farmers and artisans introduced industrial techniques from England, and being assisted financially by local merchants and gentlemen, the domestic manufacturing industries were established.

### A Study on the Establishment of the Gokinzo-Kawase System at the End of the Seventeenth Century

by Hiroshi Shimbo

In this paper the writer tries to throw light on the preconditions for the establishment of the *Gokinzo-kawase*, which is supposed the epoch-making event in the development of exchange transaction in the *Tokugawa* Era. At the 4th year of *Genroku* (1691) the *Shogunate* established the *Gokinzo-kawase* system, by which the *Shogunate* became to be able to transfer from *Osaka* to *Edo* without the shipment of specie. In this exchange transaction two payments were involved.

In *Osaka* the *Shogunate* delivered funds in silver to the exchange merchants, and 60 days after in *Edo* the exchange merchants or their correspondents paid to the *Shogunate* funds in gold, which were commuted for silver according to the rate of exchange at the date of delivery in *Osaka*. The *Gokinzo-kawase* was connected with merchants' exchange called *Shita-kawase*, which is something more than a transfer of funds, a loan to the merchant. The exchange merchant, taking up the money delivered by the *Shogunate*, lent the money to the *Osaka* merchant by the bill drawn on the *Edo* merchant, and was repaid in *Edo* at maturity. Thus, the *Gokinzo-kawase* included two sorts of exchange transaction: (1) a pure transfer of funds for the *Shogunate* and (2) a loan to the *Osaka* merchant by the bill of exchange.

Though the establishment of the *Gokinzo-kawase* in 1691 accelerated the development of the exchange business, by the 60s-70s of the 17th century the exchange dealing between *Osaka* and *Edo* had established and the merchant specialized in exchange business had come into existence. The *Oyashiki-kawase*, in which a pure transfer of the *Daimyo's* funds by exchange was connected with a loan to the *Osaka* merchant by the bill on the *Edo* merchant, emerged in the middle of the 17th century and was prevailing through the latter half of the century. Such an exchange dealing was the precedent and model of the *Gokinzo-kawase*.

The commutation of the different currencies was involved in the exchange transaction. So the stabilization of the rate of exchange was necessary for the establishment of the exchange dealing. At the beginning of the *Tokugawa* Era there had been the great difference between the rates of exchange in *Osaka* and *Edo*. But the difference was diminishing and the rates of exchange in *Osaka* and *Edo* was becoming in equilibrium. In regard to the rate of exchange the precondition for the establishment of the exchange business had been brought forth as early as in the 30s of the 17th century.

## Industrialization and Changes in Australian International Economic Relations

by *Takashi Kotonno*

The international movement of goods, services and factors of production has been a central feature of the economic growth of the world during the past century and a half. An International Economy which emerged in the mid-nineteenth century can be characterized by a division of the world between 'the centre' and 'the periphery' on the one hand and the interdependence

or the inter-relatedness among individual national economies on the other.

The author considers the patterns in the international movement of capital, labour, techniques (of production and management), economic ideas and institutions etc. from the centre to the periphery, and the corresponding movement of goods and services between them can be classified under three headings: (a) the spontaneous movement between the centre and areas settled by white where the stage was set (socially and culturally speaking) to accept the above economic factors from the centre, (b) imposed movement between the centre and areas of non-western peoples, being largely linked with European colonial exploitation, (c) self-induced movement between the centre and areas of peoples either European or non-western who are prepared to start industrialization, being Japan in the Meiji era, Australia since her federation in 1901 and many of newly independent nations in the post-World War II period, examples for this category.

The aim of the present article is to examine changes which appeared along with the process of self-induced industrialization in the international economic relations of a national economy formerly committed to the spontaneous movement. Australia is chosen for close examination.

## Alfeu Fief Héritage

par *Kunihiro Watanabé*

En France, à l'époque de l'ancien régime, suivant la différence des situations qui donnent naissance à propriétés foncières, celles-ci avaient été divisées en alleu, fief, héritage.

Quand on ne peut s'orienter pour se moderniser, on doit, pour vivre, maintenir la propriété foncière. On a pensé à atteindre son but en se mettant en rapport avec leur seigneur sur qui, en effet, on comptait beaucoup. Mais, puisqu'on est protégé de leur seigneur puissant, ce sera en quelque sorte à leur charge. Quand on possède un terrain, on a dû faire entrer ce sacrifice en calcul. On ne peut plus discuter sur la possession dans un sens absolu. Pour maintenir la possession, on était obligé de penser à la charge. Malgré cela, c'est une caractéristique française d'avoir maintenir la situation de propriété foncière. Le règlement du seigneur ne pouvait être si complet pour expulser tout le monde de la propriété. Par rapport à cela, on pourra s'imaginer la nécessité du roi. Le roi regardait les propriétaires foncières comme contribuables assurés. Comme contribuables, il est désirable qu'ils soient stables. Cependant, exploiter en assurant la propriété foncière, c'était efficace. L'égoïsme du seigneur, la nécessité financière du roi qui



fieffe, dans tous ces rapports, la situation de posséder le terrain s'est fixée en France.

Quoique son propre terrain, on n'en peut prétendre avoir le droit. Quand on possède le terrain, on a dû avoir des rapports avec le roi et avec le seigneur. D'autre part quand le roi et le seigneur l'acceptent, ce n'est qu'un marché avantageux. Nous considérons de divers aspects de cette réciprocité, au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle, au point de vue de l'alleu, du fief, et de l'héritage.

### The Regional Features of Population Change in Late Tokugawa Japan

by Akira Hayami

It has been told that the national population of Japan during the later half of Tokugawa Period had practically little change and stagnated around 30 million. Looking at more carefully, however, this poses many questions.

The figures, calculated by Tokugawa Government from the reports of daimyōs and magistrates, were far underestimated, and we have no empirical sources mentioned the numbers of population dropped down from the reports. Moreover, the regional variation in the population change was so great. In the north and east part of Japan, especially in the Pacific Coast side, the population was decreasing or stagnating. In 3 provinces of Kantō, population decreased from 1.8 million to 1.3 million. On the contrary, in the western part, population was increasing; for example, in 6 provinces of Sanyō, it increased from 1.8 million to 2.3 million. Such a contrast is even very extreme, but it is sufficient to deny that the population stagnation was covering all over Japan. From 1721 to 1846, there were 3 great disasters of famine and epidemic years. Population decline due to the disasters was remarkable in the north and eastern part, but in the other years, most part of Japan had a population growth. A few exception was found in some provinces of Kantō and Kinki Districts, where the growth in agriculture, commerce and industry was highest in this country, in spite of population stagnation in the normal years. This strange sight can be explained merely by the fact of high mortality of cities and towns in the pre-industrial society. The urban population (the cities over 10,000 inhabitants in 1875) of South-Kantō District was 18.6% and that of Kinki District 30.8% to the total respectably.

### The Economic Analysis of the Tokushima Provincial Feudal Lordship

by Shuichi Yasuzawa

This work aims at representing the economic order of the provincial feudal lordship in the Tokugawa Period of Japan (1615-1867) as exemplified by the Tokushima Clan. The analysis was made on the three aspects of the economics of the feudal lordship: (1) the scale of the economics of a provincial feudal lordship and the system of its distribution, (2) the economic development of a feudal lordship, (3) the local peculiarities and the economic policies of a feudal lordship.

(1) The study was made first of the economic scale appraised in terms of the *koku* (a *koku* is 4,9629 bushels of rice), and then of the economic scale which included the total amount of production which does not come under the *koku* estimation. This total sum of production was estimated by the silver coin. Assuming this total sum of production as the general income of the Tokushima Clan, the author applied it as the distribution basis among the fivefold classes of people; the Lord of the Clan, the higher retainers paid with *koku* of rice, the lower retainers paid with rice counted in cash, the tradesmen and farmers. The average income per person, each class, has been computed.

(2) What structural transformations in the economics of the secluded clan took place are explained diagrammatically.

Further, the economic development of the Clan was estimated by the attained degree of the growth of *koku-daka* (amount of rice crop) and the increasing extent of indigo plant acreage.

Also, it was found that a rapidly increasing period of production and a slowly increasing period of production occurred alternately, and that it was in a slack time that the shifting of a major farm product happened, and further that, as a long term proposition, the productive speed was increasingly accelerated with the passage of time.

(3) This Tokushima Province was studied economically as divided in three; (1) the area where agriculture is fairly commercialized, (2) the area where its productivity is high and stabilized centering around rice raising, and (3) the area where productivity is low and the exploitation of land is retarded. In order to overcome the economic instability due to the local divergences in economic development as described above, the marketing system in and out of the Province was promoted. The economic transformation like this meant at the same time the tendency toward replacing the status conditioned feudalistic control which supported the *koku-daka* stipend method and the agricultural community structure in the Tokugawa period by the

economic functioning of marketing mechanism.

## The Disposal of Property by Collapsed Peasants in Tokugawa Era

by Mine Yasuzawa

We can find many "tsubure-hyakusho" (collapsed peasants) through the Tokugawa period. They would find themselves in a state of collapse for various reasons; one might be that a peasant had no heir who would succeed to his estate, another that he had gone to insolvency due to his large debt. Those "tsuburehyakusho" (collapsed peasants) in the latter case would have to dispose of all the property they owned to pay their debt, not only both real and personal estate but also utensils which were used in daily life. The process is called "bunsan" (disposal).

There have been found thirteen cases of "bunsan" (disposal) in Renkoji village (a village to the west of Edo) from Tenmei to early Meiji. The reason for all the collapsed peasants in Renkoji village was due to the large amount of their debts, which added up to from five-ryo to as much as one hundred seventy ryo. Their debts seem to have occurred by two characteristic causes; (1) failure in ordinary expenditure for farming and everyday life and (2) failure in trading commercial farm products such as cocoons and reels of silk yarn. The reason for most "bunsan" cases in Renkoji village can be found in the latter one. Those collapsed peasants whose debts were caused by trading could pay only from two percent to twenty or thirty percent of their debts, while others whose debts were due to failing in ordinary expenditure would pay from forty to eighty percent by disposing of all the property.

Another characteristic of their debts is that the lenders are very large in both number and area. The number of lenders can be counted from twenty to twenty-seven in each case, and the areas of these lenders' villages and towns are widely spreaded from the neighboring villages to Hachioji and Edo. The sum of most debts borrowed from other peasants is not so large as those from merchants and financiers. These small debts might mean so much in regard to the spread of financial business among peasants in these villages, and the development of money economy in the Tokugawa era.

## Altena: Ein Drahtindustrie-Städtchen des Sauerlandes

—die genetische untersuchung—

von Makoto Terao

In der Urkunde von 1367, die Engelbert III, der damalige Graf von der Mark für die Bewohner in Altena hat entwerfen lassen, um ihnen die städtischen Privilegien zu verleihen, heißt es betreffend der Reichweite ihrer Freiheit wie folgt; Ind de vryheyd sal alz verre ryken, as de hus to Althena getymmerd stan, op allen syden umme unse borch to Althena ind darin bynnen vry ummermere. Der letzte Satzglied, „darin bynnen vry ummermere“ ist bisher nur so ausgedeutet worden, als ob die Freiheit in die Burg auch hätte reichen sollen.

Wenn der Satzglied mit den entsprechenden Satzgliedern von Wetter („eine gantze vryheit binnen der muren tho wetter“) und Blankenstein („eyne gantze vryheit bynnen dem haegen to Blankenstein“) vergleicht wird, liegt es sehr nahe, daß es sich jedenfalls um die Reichweite der städtischen Freiheit handelt, also der Freiheit nicht binnen der Burg selbst, sondern der Freiheits-(bzw. Vorburg-) mauer (Wetter), binnen dem Hagen, dem Waldgürtel um die Vorburg, (Blankenstein) und der binnen den bewohnten Bezirken auf allen seiten um die Burg Altena. Mit dieser Annahme stimmt die topographische Betrachtung von den drei Ortsteilen in Altena, nämlich Freiheit, Mühlendorf und Nette, über. Freiheit- und Mühlendorf-Bezirk, wo der die Vorburgen von Wetter und Blankenstein entsprechende Kern zu finden war und Nette-Bezirk, worum das Gebiet der früheren (9-13 Jahrhundert) Eisenindustrie sich erstreckt hatte und worin die rapide Siedlungsballung infolge der technischen Umwälzung der industriellen Kraftnutzung, also von der Handarbeit zur Maschinenarbeit mit Wasserkraft im Verlauf des 14 Jahrhunderts geschah.

Das Hauptzweck der Freiheitsverlehung von 1367 muß wohl darin gelegen haben, den Bezirk-Nette zum Bezirk-Freiheit und wahrscheinlich zum Bezirk-Mühlendorf auch, deshalb dem früher schon irgend ein Privileg zu verleihende Kern eingemeinden zu lassen. Mit der Doppelschicht, die in dem Freiheitsbrief erwähnt wurde, einmal „unse burgere to Althena“, zum andern „alle degene, de myd en bynnen der vryheyd wonachtych syn, de burgere ind bure syn inde de sy vorstan ind vorhalden wyllen vur er burgere und bure“, könnte die Bewohner beiden Teilen gemeint werden.

## Changes in New York Agriculture

by Yasuo Okada

New York has been, and still is, a great agricultural state. One might say, however, that it was in the middle of the nineteenth century that New York agriculture had its heyday. The relative position of New York among agricultural states and the relative importance of the agricultural sector in the New York economy were at their height in the mid-nineteenth century. Francis W. Squires, a young farmer of Lewis County and later of Oswego County, began to keep his diary in 1840, and we can get a glimpse of farming in northern New York in the golden age through his diary. The purpose of this paper is confined to tracing the changes in farm life described in this diary mainly for the period between 1840 and 1860.

The years between 1840 and 1860 can be subdivided into three periods according to the residence of the diarist. (1) The Martinsburgh period, 1840-1846. During this period Francis worked on his father's substantial dairy farm. (2) The New Haven period, 1846-1853. He still worked on his father's farm. Non-agricultural activity was introduced into the farm economy. (3) The Volney period, 1853-1860. The diarist acquired his own farm, but non-agricultural activity was increasing its importance in the farm economy. Each period not only represents a different place of residence, but a different stage of the farm economy. The change from full-time commercial farming to part-time farming can be traced through these periods. Though his diary only gives us accounts of a particular farm, the changes on his farm might be a reflection of a larger trend in New York agriculture.

## The Elizabethan Puritan Movement

by Tsuneo Imazeki

In this paper I intend to investigate the following question: Who were the main bearers of Elizabethan Puritanism, especially in Yorkshire? To what extent did the teachings permeate

through the common people who belonged to the rising middle class? How did individualism develop in relation to the Puritan teachings and movement?

As a preliminary investigation I would like to present a general picture of Puritanism in comparison with Anglicanism. The Puritans believed that all the spheres of man's activity, not only religious but also political and economic, ought to be established on the teachings of the Bible. From the viewpoint of how to apply this principle to the Vestiarian Controversy manifested their practical and historical way of thinking. Because of such teachings and way of thinking they refused to submit themselves to the principle of the feudal community.

In the Elizabethan Age the bishops were assigned the duty to make all the English people conform to the Church of England according to the Act of Uniformity (1559). In order to carry out their mission the Archbishop of York, as other bishops did, engaged the university graduates as parish priests and held meetings ("prophesyings") to improve the ability of preaching of the ordinary parish clergymen. But the prophesyings gradually became the hotbed of Puritanism against the will of the prelates, as there was a Puritan bias among the university men, especially among the alumni of Cambridge University, who were the substantial leaders of the prophesyings. They decidedly objected to the idea that the secular governor was at the same time the spiritual ruler and to the papistic elements which survived in the ceremonies of the Anglican Church. In this way the prophesyings turned into the meeting where laymen were invited and where they were instructed in the Puritan teachings. These teachings took the laymen out of traditional parishes and made them independent. Later the individuals began to combine and formed new communities on the basis of the new, anti-traditional principles.

Of course these processes were decidedly affected by the socio-economic conditions of the day. Therefore the third and final topic to be investigated in the present paper will be: What relationship can we assume existed between the rise of Puritanism and the socio-economic conditions of the time? It is my contention that this may be made clear by examining who were the bearers of Puritanism. Evidence shows that those who were holding the leading position in the Elizabethan Puritan movement were certainly the gentlemen, and secondly that the rank and file of the movement consisted of the rising middle class, for example the West Riding small clothiers who had amassed fortune out of the textile industries. Although the latter point is not fully supported by available evidences, it may be presupposed that the rising middle class who had acquired the new teachings played an important part in the formation of the modern civil society in England.

## Medieval Towns in England

—Boroughs of Devonshire—

by Minoru Yasumoto

The term 'borough' in this paper is used to signify the place where the tenements were held in burgage tenure, by payment of a money rent, and the tenants were freed from agricultural services and had their own borough court. In the Middle Ages, Devonshire in the south-western England had the largest number of boroughs (56 organic boroughs and 18 planted boroughs) of any English county and boasted the highest density of boroughs.

The most plausible explanation of this proliferation of boroughs in Medieval Devonshire seems to be a later interior colonization in this backward south-western county. A late and intense burst of clearance of woods and wastes in Devonshire, particularly in the western parts of the county, began in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries when the population grew rapidly whereas in the Midlands there were not much lands unsettled. The landowners in the Midlands with the increased population in their manors could enjoy the intensive exploitation of this opportunity cultivating their demesne lands with hired labourers or laying heavier burdens on their customary tenants. On the contrary, the bargaining power of the landowners of Devonshire in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries seemed to be weaker than those in the Midlands, for in Devonshire, vast majority of lands was unsettled which was to absorb the increased population in the old settled areas and the landowners could not expect the intensive exploitation of their peasants. They must, therefore, have tried to increase their revenues by making ordinary villages and hamlets boroughs or by planting the new settlements with the hope to collect the market tolls, the taxes upon the merchants and craftsmen and the perquisites from the borough courts.

The boroughs of Devon includes many small towns, the so-called 'village boroughs'. They were not much different from the ordinary villages in population, customs and seignorial revenues. Some of them, however, were large in scale and led other boroughs in England in their privileges and independence from their lords. Plympton Erle, one of the planted towns, for example, farmed the borough for £24 2s. per year in the early thirteenth century and was incorporated in the early fifteenth century. Dartmouth, an organic town, was granted the power to elect the mayor in the early fourteenth century.

In the fifteenth century, many boroughs in Devonshire had to face the difficulties with the stagnation of economic activities all over the country which followed the 'golden age of urbaniza-

tion' and failed on account of competitions with other boroughs and of lack of the hinter-lands. About half of the boroughs in Devonshire lost their urban functions and were fallen into the ordinary villages. The boroughs which survived the fifteenth century, the transitional stage from the medieval to the modern town, were based upon the new rising industries and commerce in the later fifteenth century, the vast expansion of export cloth industry, fishery and the maritime trade connected with them.

## A Study in the Technological Changes of the Black Country Iron Industry in the First Half of the 19th Century

by Shin-ichiro Kurimoto

About 120~130 years ago, the Black Country iron industry reached its greatest extent. It was the United Kingdom greatest producer of wrought iron and it had very nearly the largest output of pig iron as well.

In the first half of the 19th century the technology of the Black Country iron industry developed very phenomenally. Strictly speaking, in the 25 years beginning in 1825, its technology and scale continued the expansion which had been so marked in the previous quarter-century.

By 1830, the industry was on the eve of great changes, which were to revolutionize it, both at the furnaces and in the forges. Hot blast, invented and patented by J. B. Neilson, a Scot, in 1828, was the first development chronologically, but as it did not reach the Black Country for some years, consideration of its effects must reserved until later.

The first important item in the period under consideration is the work of J. Gibbons, a Staffordshire man, on the blast furnace. Gibbons was a member of a well-known local family of iron masters. It was in 1832 that his newly-designed furnace was built at Corbyn's Hall. The boshes of furnaces were made steeper and the internal volume of the furnace was increased to 4850 ft<sup>3</sup>. The height was raised to 50 ft. and hearth size increased to over 4 ft. diameter. Not only the shape of furnaces but also the burden and many other things about furnaces were improved by Gibbons. An output of a furnace became 100 tons a week by his improvements.

The major development in puddling in the Black Country was due to also a Staffordshire man, J. H. Hall. He invented the wet-puddling process. He roasted puddling furnace cinder, and this, known by the name bull-dog, was used for the furnace bottoms. Pig iron was charged into the puddling furnace in the usual way, the fettling or lining of bull-dog being repaired



before charging as required. The metal was then melted down and in due course it began to work, as the oxygen from the fettling united with the carbon in the iron. The reaction was violent with the bubbles of carbon and little blue flames called puddlers' candles. Because of this violent ebullition, the process became known as pig boiling or wet puddling.

The technology of finishing process will be treated in next paper because the improvements of forges were not so remarkable in the early half of the 19th century.

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### The Chronology of the *Hotoku-sha* Movement 1847—1902: On the Response Pattern of Farmers to Economic Changes

by Osamu Saito

The purpose of this paper is primarily to find out the value pattern of farmers in the second half of the nineteenth century, with special reference to their response to the penetration of the market economy. For this, the *Hotoku-sha* movement in the Enshu area is chosen as a clue.

Each *Hotoku-sha*, an association established under the influence of Ninomiya Sontoku's idea, functioned, at least up to 1900 or so, as an Agricultural and/or Credit Association with the enforcement of the virtue: diligence, frugality, and saving (expressed, as it were, for the collectivity or other members). It was established on the base of a *mura* community, neither of a *dozoku-dan* nor of a wider district. And it seems that many of them were set up under such an economic condition that caused the exigency (meant subjectively) of the *mura* community as a whole. Considering these facts, the correlation between the three-phase chronology of this movement and the changing patterns of economic conditions during the period in question suggests that farmers tried to cope with the penetration of the market economy in the same manner as with, for example, a bad harvest due to a flood or a drought; and we can find in their responses the same value pattern, i.e. performance-centred *plus* collectivity-oriented.

This characterization is approximately the same as R. N. Bellah's emphasis on the 'goal attainment'. But I don't think his term is appropriate, especially in the case of economic action of farmers; partly because the *mura* community had no such goal that the state made constant efforts to attain through the mobilization of personnels and resources; and partly because it is hardly possible to think that even this mobilization of motivation for production and saving functioned only for modernization or rationalization. Therefore, from the viewpoint of those who take for granted Japan's achievement of modernization as an *explicandum*, my

conclusion may be a moderate one: the influence of the growth of the commercial farming or the market economy upon the farmers' value pattern was, under a certain condition, no more than the substitution of a collectivity that had been oriented (e.g. a *dozoku-dan*) by the other (e.g. a *mura* community).