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THE AGRICULTURAL STRUCTURE OF JAPAN IN THE PERIOD OF MEIJI RESTORATION (II)

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(III) Differentiation of Farmer Classes

I said that the agricultural structure of that period can be characterized by that commercial agriculture that had grown to form the home market. Such a commercial agriculture would necessarily be accompanied by the differentiation of farmer classes correspondingly. It may safely be said that the agricultural structure of that period in its proper sense of the words can be grasped as a specific form of differentiation of farmer classes corresponding to such a commercial agriculture. It must be noted, however, that by differentiation of farmer classes, we mean the differentiation of land-holding farmers (本百姓) who constituted the basic farming population under the Shogunate regime into both extremes under the newly developed circumstances of advancing farmer commodity economy and progressing farmer land-ownership.

1) Types of Farmer Class Differentiation

The fact that commercial agriculture devoloped so highly as to establish home market means that the law of value gained perfect validity on a nation-wide scale. Such a development of commercial agriculture would be

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accompanied by the differentiation of the land-holding farmer = the middle-class farmer who is the land holder = the producing farmer into the rising farmer = rich farmer and the falling farmer = poor peasant or farm-hand. In order that commercial agriculture might bring about such differentiation of farmer classes, there should have been completed at least two historical prerequisites. Firstly, farmer classes should have had some surplus (the so-called embryonic profit) after paying feudal rents. Feudal rent had a tendency to become more fixed while agricultural productivity tended to rise gradually, and we believe that this historical prerequisite has been completed in many parts of the country by the end of Shogunate and the Imperial Restoration period. Once the farmer produced surplus, land-holding itself won the significance of a surplus-producing source, and finally became the object of transactions. The second prerequisite was that being the object of transactions, land-holding should have virtually grown into farmer land-ownership. As to the process of how an interdiction of buying or selling of land ended in a scrap of paper, we discussed in chapter (ii) of this article. When these two prerequisites, the *de facto* farmer land-ownership and the embryonic profit of farmer were completed, and the law of value gained perfect validity through the development of commercial agriculture, the differentiation of farmer classes would take place. When the shifting of land-holding to land-ownership is fairly easy, the so-called differentiation of the farming middle class into the rich farmer, the poor peasant and the farm-hand, would take the form of a rich farmer expanding his land as he enlarges the scale of his farm business, and of a poor peasant reducing business or even abandoning it as loses his land — a form in which land-holding and land-owning roughly carresponds to the scale of cultivated land which can be equated with the scale of business in a most popular phrase. This is the earliest form of the differentiation of farmer classes under discussion, and we shall call it the original model.

But as commercial agriculture advances and the differentiation of farmer classes progresses, this earliest form or the original model reaches the limits. It is because the differentiation of the scale of cultivated land into both extremes would reach the limits, although the expansion of farmer's land-holding = land-ownership and the differentiation of land-holding into both extremes will keep going. In other words, it is because the differentiation of land-holding would get separated from the differentiation of farming business. The answer to the question of how far does this differentiation of farming business develop, in other words to what extent does capitalism in agriculture progress depends, as often said, not only on the degree of progress of commercial agriculture, but also on what stage of growth does

capitalism stand in the field of agriculture itself. It is needless to say that commercial agriculture of this period was not a child born out of a revolutionary change in the essential qualities of laboring process proper to the agriculture of the Tokugawa period. Instead it was based entirely upon what were handed down from old. In this sence, it may as well be called commercial agriculture standing on the so-called "small commodity production" stage.[1] At the small commodity production stage of agriculture, middle farming classes were differentiated imperfectly, rich farming classes were confronted by a narrow limit prohibiting further expansion of their farming enterprise, and poor farming classes were still retaining some competitive power. There was a narrow limit to the differentiation of farming classes, hence the differentiation of farming classes has never been brought to perfection. As a proof of it, we can refer to the fact that it was not until the second enclosure in England movement based on the Nofork system that farming classes were completely differentiated. At the "small commodity production" stage of agriculture before that movement, the differentiation of farming classes was incomplete.

Besides there is another factor we have to take into consideration. The small commodity production has a tendency of not only transforming agriculture into commodity production, but also transmuting self-sufficient village industry into commodity production, and further forcing the gradual separation of commerce and industry from agriculture. The first result of such transformation would be the shifting of the labor power hitherto hired by rich farming classes to commercial or industrial avocation, the boosting of the wages of farm laborers out of proportion to the productivity, the lowering of the upper limits of rich farm enterprise, and the contraction of the limits of farm enterprise. A number of proclamation issued in the closing days of the Shogunate well demonstrate this situation. The Shogunate government gave out in 1842 an official notice announcing that "the lack of female as well as male hands prevailing in recent years resulted in the soaring of wages as a matter of course. It is told that those girls known as weavers are earning especially overmuch wages. This is nothing but an outcome of the flowing of helping hands into other avocation …… Every farmer shall exert himself for his farming works." In 1844 the Kaga clan sent out a similar notice to the same effect,[2] and either restricted or prohibited commercial and industrial avocation, while in Shimose village of Shinano, a backwarded village still retaining the old *nago* (名子) system,

1) see Lenin's *The Develoment of Capitalism in Russia* chapter II.
2) *A Treatise on the History of Agricultural Policy of the Kaga Clan* by Yoshinojo Oda, pp. 57 sq.

the village headman filed a petition, explaining his situation as "due to the lack of farm hands, I was obliged to hire many servants at a high wage just to cultivate the land in my charge. With one servant's work can be reaped a crop worth somewhere between three *ryos* (両) two *bus* (分) ····· Since I am paying a wage of three *ryos* to three *ryos* and two *bus* per servant, I must suffer a loss of his board or so·····Such is our time that if we had enough tenants, we would certainly reduce our own farming".[1] The collapse of rich farming enterprise caused by these reasons would become worse, as agriculture becomes more stagnant at the small commodity production stage and industry advances towards the manufacture and the big mechanized factory stages, thereby leaving wider gaps between agriculture and industry. The lowering of the limits of farm enterprise accelerates land accumulation which in turn further develop the landlord-tenant relation. The second result would be the supporting of petty farming with the income from commercial and industrial avocation so that the former could survive, as the aforementioned proclamation descrives. For this reason, poor peasants or laborers would remain in their villages if there is prosperous commercial or industrial avocation as we find in a silk raising or reeling district or in a cotton belt, while in a rice-producihg district, petty farming cannot coexists and the population flows out into commercial or industrial districts.

Granting that the differentiation of middle farming classes created rich farming classes, however, it becomes possible that notwithstanding their land accumulation, rich farming classes do not expand their farming enterprise beyond a certain limit, while fallen farming classes, though contracted and even gave up farm enterprise and are leasing their land and losing it, can continue farming by means of renting land. Here land-holding and farm enterprise still correspond with each in principle, nevertheless, due to the limitation or its lowering of the differentiation of farm enterprise, the differentiation of land-holding runs alone, creating the landlord-tenant relation or the so-called parasitical landlord ownership. The landlord-tenant relation is nothing of the kind that emerged as a heterogeneous being from outside the model of the differentiation of farming classes. No, it was a most natural product of the differentiation of farming classes at the small commodity production stage. Let us call it the second, transitional form of the differentiation of farming classes.

If the differentiation of land-holding further advances while the differentiation of farming enterprise is confined within such narrow limits as we

1) *A Study of Rural Communities in the Southern Part of Shinano in Shogunate* by Kiyoto Hirasawa, p. 115.

have said above, the reducing or giving up of farming operation among rich farmers is bound to progress more rapidly, and these farmers will become more and more dependent upon farm rent. The fallen farmers who lost land would maintain petty farming business by means of renting land from others. Thanks to commercial or industrial avocation and especially to hired labor, petty tenant farming is possible at the small commodity production stage. Here, it may look as if the correspondence between land-holding and farming operation has been lost and the two have no connection what-so-ever. That is the third and final form of the differentiation of farming classes at the small commodity production stage. We may well call it the completed form of the landlord-tenant relation or the parasitical landlord ownership.

So far we have viewed rather schematically the three patterns of development of the differentiation of farming classes at the small commodity production stage. And these three developmental patterns coexisted at the same time in different areas in the end of that period. Now we shall try to define in a more concrete and positive form these three developmental patterns by relating them to the geographical patterns of the differentiation of farming classes established in connection with their integration into the home market. Much to my regret, however, there remain very few historical records serviceable to our present purpose, from which we can pull out both figures of land-holdings and cultivated for each and every household of a whole village. We have only three kinds of records available for us at present, excepting some very special cases. One of them is the documents of village headmen in those areas where there was a custom that rent paid to parasitical landlord in rice as well as feudal rent to feudal landlord were first delivered to the village headman, through whose hands they were transferred to the parasitical landlord,[1] the second is Man Survey of Land-holdings and Cultivation[2] which must have been conducted widely in connection with the Tempo reformation, and the last one is the survey for the sake of the land-tax reform.[3] The collection of these historical records is far from perfect, and their analysis has made little progress. This paper may safely be called the first regular study

1) see *Agricultural Structure in the Formative Period of the Landlord System* by Ryuzo Yamazaki, pp. 53–4.

2) see the historical records introduced in *The Resolution of Farming Classes in the Senshu Province in the Closing Years of the Shogunnate* by Tetsu Nakamura, Journal of Historical Study (Rekishigaku Kenkyu) vol. 236, pp. 236–7.

3) *The Land-tax Reform and the Parasitical Landlord Ownership* by Hideo Nagai, included in Vol. I of *Studies on Land-tax Reform* edited by Kozo Uno, pp. 163–171.

based on historical records of this kind. Here in this paper, we pick up four villeges, and demonstrate in a concrete form the regional patterns of the differentiation of farming classes in those villages.

Table IV Structure of Farming Classes by Area and Sizes of Cultivated Land

	Size of cultivated land	Number of families	Cultivated land	Land-holding	Land for rent	Land leased	Hired hands	putting out hands	Rate of tenant farm
Backwarded Area (Shimoiawase village of Yama hundred, Aizu in 1842)			within-village	within-village			ser-vants		$\left(\frac{\text{Land for rent—Land leased}}{\text{Cultivated land}}\right)$
	80 *kokus* and more	% 1(3.1)	*kokus* % 80(15.4)	*kokus* % 41(11.5)			% 4(80.0)		
	20–30 *kokus*	6(18.7)	114(21.7)	51(14.3)					
	15 *kokus* and more	8(25.0)	115(22.0)	86(24.0)			1(20.0)	% 1(33.3)	
	10 *kokus* and more	9(28.2)	41(8.3)	110(30.9)					
	5 *kokus* and more	5(15.7)	4(7.7)	43(12.0)				1(33.3)	
	Less than 5 *kokus*	1(3.1)		14(5.0)				1(33.3)	
	Extinct families in the village	2(6.2)		12(3.3)	in addition, 25 extinct families whose holding is 149 *kokus*				
	Total	32(100)	526(100)	357(100)					
Silk-raising Area (Kamikurihara Village, Higashi-yamanashi hundred, Yamanashi Prefecture in 1874)				within village			(1872)	(1872)	
	10 *tans* and more	7(8.5)	*tans* 118(34.2)	*tans* 170(52.7)	*tans* 45(81.9)	1(1.3)	7(77.8)		
	9 *tans* and more	3(3.6)	27(8.0)	24(7.4)	3(5.7)	7(8.2)	1(11.1)		% 14.8
	4 *tans* and more	25(30.1)	157(44.7)	99(30.9)	4(7.3)	56(65.9)	1(11.1)	2(15.4)	33.7
	Less than 4 *tans*	28(33.7)	45(13.1)	28(8.8)	2(4.1)	21(24.6)		10(76.9)	42.2
	Uncultivated	20(24.1)		—(0.2)	—(1.0)			1(7.7)	
	Total	83(100)	349(100)	321(100)	53(100)	85(100)	9(100)	13	9.2

	Size of cultivated land	Number of families	Cultivated land	Land-holding	Land for rent	Land leased	Hired hands	putting out hands	Rate of tenant farm
Cotton-producing Area (Ohtori Village, Ohtori hundred, Izumi in 1854)					(estimated)			(estimated)	
	10 *tans* and more	% 12(9.8)	*tans* % 168(37.2)	*kokus* % 168(45.1)	*kokus* % 22(36.2)	*tans* % 37(18.6)	% 18(66.7)		% 10.8
	8 *tans* and more	8(6.5)	69(15.3)	85(23.0)	26(43.6)	25(12.7)	4(14.8)	% 5(4.0)	
	4 *tans* and more	22(17·9)	121(26.8)	58(15.7)		69(34.4)	4(14.8)	6(4.8)	57.0
	More than 1 *tan*	35(28.4)	87(19.3)	31(8.5)	2(3.4)	1(0.9)		28(22.1)	73.0
	Less than 1 *tan*	2(1.6)	1(0.4)					3(2.4)	100.0
	Uncultivated	43(35.0)		8(2.2)				84(66.7)	
	Total	122(99.2)	446(99.0(	350(94.5)	50(83.2)	199(100)	26(96.3)	26(100)	33.4
	Landlord	1(0.8)	4(1.0)	20(5.5)	10(16.8)		1(3.7)		
	Grand total	123(100)	450(100)	307(100)	60(100)	199(100)	27(100)	126(100)	30.9
Rice-producing Area (Iwate Village, Nakakubiki hundred, Niigata Prefecture in 1870)			(estimated)	within & outside village	(estimated)			teporary hands	
	10 *tans* and more								
	8 *tans* and more	4(15.4)	*tans* 33(21.6)	*tans* 33(21.6)		*tans* 4(1.9)		3(9.1)	% 87.5
	4 *tans* and more	14(53.9)	84(54.4)	84(54.4)		1(0.4)		18(54.5)	98.8
	Less than 4 *tans*	3(11.5)	9(6.0)	9(6.0)		6(2.4)		6(18.2)	22.2
	Uncultivated	2(7.7)						6(18.2)	
	Total	23(88.5)	126(82.0)	11(4.7)		113(100)		33(100)	89.7
	Landlord	3(11.5)	27(18.0)	247(95.3)	219(100)				
	Grand total	26(100)	153(100)	258(100)	219(100)	113(100)		33(100)	73.8

Notes: (1) The figures in the column of Shimoiawase Village of Aizu Province were borrowed from *A Structural Analysis of Japanese Feudal System* by Shun Yamada, pp. 206 & 212, and those for three other villages were taken from *The differentiation of Farming Classes and Landlord Ownership* by Yuichi Takasawa, *Journal of Japanese History* (Nihonshikenkyu) vol. 47, pp. 30–31. These historical materials will be discussed later.

(2) 1 acre $= 4\frac{8}{10}$ *tans*(反), about 5 *tans*. *koku*(石) means here that area which produces a koku in rice. It is about a *tan*. Virgate in Japan of that period is about 0.5—1.0 *tan*.

As a village representing the original pattern of the differentiation of farming classes, let us take up Shimoiawase village of Yama hundred in Aizu in 1842. As you can see in table ii, the Iwashiro to which belonged Aizu has grown up into a leading sericulture and silk-reeling area in the early years of Meiji, but the fantastic development came only after the opening of the Japanese ports, and especially after the reign of the Emperor Meiji started. The pace of development of commodity economy was far slow in 1840. Besides, as you can easily imagine from the fact that the holdings of extinct families were reapportioned to farmers, the exaction by the clan authority was so severe that practically some arable land was turned into the land which had not holders (手余地). Under these conditions, the farm of a farmer was made up of, in principle, the land-holdings and the reapportioned land, excluding the incoming and outgoing of pawned land which does not amount to much. The proprietorship and the managment were not separated. The class of 10 to 20 *koku*s was the thickest, occupying 53.8 % of the total number of families, and 46.9 % of the entire arable land. The middle farming class (10 to 30 *koku*s bracket) which includes the class of 20 to 30 *koku*s with 18.7 % of the total number of families and 21.7 % of the arable land in addition to the above-said class, occupied 71.9 % of the total number of families and 68.6 % of the entire arable land. On the other hand, there was only one extraordianrily rich family, which was producing 80 *koku*s with the aid of farm hands, occupying 15.4 % of the entire arable land. The class of less than 10 *koku*s occupied 25 % of the total number of families and 16 % of the entire arable land, while there was only one poor peasant family which was producing less than 5 *koku*s. Here the middle farming class was overwhelmingly weighthy, and the rate of differentiation into both extremes of the rich and the poor was so weak that the landlord-tenant relation did not develop. Above all, the class of less than 5 *koku*s was extremely small, and the peasants in this bracket were virtually the object of poor-relief. Finding themselves unable to earn their living in their village, they deserted their place to become extinct families. Ih those places like Shimoiawase Village, where commercial agriculture did not develop well and hence there did not grow any commodity economy avocation, the middle class owner-farmers became predominant in their villages, and the falling peassants were flowing out. There was no room for poor peasants and tenant farmers to exist.

Let us take up the structure of farming classes classified by the size of cultivated land of Kamikurihara Village of Higashiyamanashi hundred, Yamanashi Prefecture in 1874, a village belonging to the sericulture and silk-reeling area as representing the second and transitional form of the

differentiation of farming classes. Yamanashi Prefecture was already known as a leading sericulture and silk-reeling in 1874, and was bound to devolop by leaps and bounds into one of the leading machine-reeling centers after 1878. In this village was developing commercial agriculture based on sericulture and silk-reeling, whereas there was still remaining widely the old hand-reeling as a farmer industry. Besides, this village was situated right on the Nakasendo highway, which enabled it to draw good income from the post-town business. There developed avocations of farmers. Here the class of 4 to 10 *tans* occupied 33.7 % of the total number of families and 52.7 % of the entire arable land and formed a thick class. The class of more than 10 *tans* which employed farm-hands, occupied only 8.5 % of the total number of families, but as much as 34.2 % of the entire arable land, while the peasant class of less than 4 *tans* which was sending out a great number of hands occupied as much as 33.7 % of the total number of families, but only 13.1 % of the entire arable land. The class of 4 to 10 *tans* was primarily dependent upon its own farm-land, and yet it was cultivating tenant-land as well. And this is the class which marked the borderline between the incoming and the outgoing of farm hands. The class of more than 10 *tans* was not only cultivating its own farm land, but also leased lots to tenant farmers. In the peasant class of less than 4 *tans* the rate of tenant farm was high. Thus in this village the class of 4 to 10 *tans* which may as well be called the middle farming class was still weighty, but it formed the differentiation cross-roads from both the view-points of the separation of management from proprietorship and the incoming and outgoing of farm-hands. The class of more than 10 *tans* was made up of rich owner-farmers or landlords hiring some farm-hands, while the class of less than 4 *tans* was represented by poor landed farmers or tenants sending out farm-hands. In other words, the differentiation of management was not quite separate from the differentiation of land-ownership. Further, it is worthy of note that non-farming villagers occupied 24.1 % of the total number of families, and that they were completely separated from land-ownership as much as from own business operation. They earned their living by doing hand-reeling or becoming machine-reeling factory workers or day-laborers. In this respect, they differ greatly from their counterparts in Aizu which we have just seen above or those in Niigata Prefecture which we shall discuss later, and bear closer resemblance to those in Osaka. The peasant class of less than 4 *tans* depended upon avocations of this type. In those areas which were well integrated into home market for their sericulture and silk-reeling industries, the non-farming or peasant classes dependent on these avocation tended to remain whithin the village, and

accordingly the differentiation of farming classes often took a normal form. Even if it was within the same prefecture, the rice-producing area of Yamanashi Prefecture assumed the Niigata form of differentiation which was entirely different from this. The high rate of tenant farm in Yamanashi Prefecture shown in table vi can be regarded to have been influenced more strongly by the rice-producing area than by the sericulture and silk-reeling area.

As the third and final form of the differentiation of farming classes, let us take up Ohtori Village of Izumi which was a cotton producing district in 1854 and Iwate Village of Niigata Prefecture which was a single-crop rice-producing district in 1870. As definitely shown in table vi, Osaka and Niigata Prefectures were the two areas that recorded the highest rates of tenant farm of those days. For all that, the differentiation of farming classes took considerably different forms in these two areas. Let us take up Ohtori Village first.

In Ohtori Village in 1854, the class cultivating 4 to 10 *tans* occupied 24.4 % of the total number of families, and 32.1 % of the entire arable land, and was far weaker than its counterpart in Kamikurihara Village which was a silk-raising district. On the other hand, the class cultivating more than 10 *tans* occupied 9.8 % of the total number of families and 37.2 % of the entire arable land, while the class cultivating less than 4 *tans* occupied as much as 30% of the total number of families with only 19.7% of the entire arable land. Here in this village, the class of 4 to 10 *tans* showed a higher percentage of tenant farmers, and it hired less farm hands than it sent out. The class of more than 10 *tans* was not only cultivating large tracts owned by themselves, but also letting out more lands on lease. In an extreme case, there was such a parasitical landlord who was cultivating only 4 *tans* himself. Practically all peasants in the class of less than 4 *tans* were tenant-farmers, and at the extreme bottom of the class there was a group of non-farming villagers which reached to as high as 35%. From this class, and especially from the group of non-farming villagers came a great number of farm hands. Though it still left a bit of traces of the ranking based on landownership, the social stratification based on the scale of farming became separated distinctively. The differentiation of the class of 4 to 10 *tans* became remarkable so that the class grew thinner and approached to tenant-farming. The class of more than 10 *tans* and the class of less than 4 *tans* were equally thick. The former was directly connected with parasitical landlords, while the latter class of poor tenants and peasants was connected with non-farming proletarians. The differentiation of farming classes centering in the middle farming class treaded the path of

parasitical landlords —— rich landed-farmers and landlords —— the differentiation of landed middle-class farmers —— poor tenant-farmers —— non-farming proletarians, and the development of the differentiation was far more advanced here than in silk-raising districts. Quite naturally the development of the landlord-tenant relations was much faster here. Once an advanced cotton-producing area, and now having abundance of avocations with highly progressed social division of labor, this district was a model district for the differentiation of farming classes that took place in the end of the Shogunate and the Imperial Restoration period.

The Nakakubiki hundred to which Iwate Village belonged, was the single-crop rice-producing district second only to the plains of Kambara, and it became a landlord predominating district. Because a single-crop rice-producing district depends solely upon rice production and has no other products, the reproduction will be destroyed completely once the farmer is visited by a failure of crops. Besides, rice is a highly elastic commodity and is subject to radical fluctuation in price. It is also easilp influenced by merchant's capital. Therefore, the uncertainty of reproduction constituted the characteristics of the farmers in this district. The differentiation of farming classes advances rapidly with the progress of commodity economy. In a single-crop rice-producing district, there leaves no room for advent of any processing or finishing avocation or social division of labor because rice is a commodity which does not require any finishing or processing operation, excepting rice-polishing. This excludes the indirect economic force which would otherwise serve to make up for or stabilize the reproduction among farmers. For these reasons, a single-crop rice-producing district tends to develop the differentiation of farming classes at a far higher speed than the pace of growth of commodity economy. In Iwate Village. the class cultivating 4 to 10 *tans* was concentrated so much as to occupy 69.3% of the total number of families and 76% of the entire arable land. On the other hand there was not a family cultivating more than 10 *tans*, while the peasant class cultivating less than 4 *tans* shows extremely low rates. The high concentration into the farming class cultivating 4 to 10 *tans* is the grand feature of this village, and this characteristic is more distinctive here than in Shimoiawase Village of Aizu. However, the farming class cultivating 4 to 10 *tans* which is the most highly concentrated class is made up of nearly perfect tenant farmers who lost ownership of land. These tenant farmers of medium size held their ground from three parasitical landlords who concentrated 95.3% of the entire arable land under their proprietorship. This is another grand feature which distinguishes this village from Shimoiwase Village which showed a similar concentration of farmers into the

medium-sized farming class. Another distinguishing trait of this village is the fact that the peasants in the less than 4 *tans* brachet, and especially, non-farming villagers flowed out of the village only because they could not earn their living within the village, and also emigrant laborers originating from practically all layers of village society went to urban areas of Kanto for work temporarily or permanently. The lack of avocations and the circumstances which did not permit petty farming to exist were the very cause which brought about the concentration of falling villagers into the tenant middle farming class. Following the through differentiation the landed middle class farmers became pure tenants, and these falling tenants were concentrated in the tenant middle farming class that was the lowest possible level of the village life, and their remaining even at this peasant level demanded additional income to be earned by their going for work to Kanto. This is the model differentiation of farming classes in single-crop rice-producing districts deeply involved in commodity economy. The rice-producing districts in Yamanashi Prefecture followed a similar course of differentiation.

We have seen the four area models of differentiation of farming classes.[1] Corresponding to their respective stages of development of the differentiation of farming classes, their relation may be represented as follows.

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1) Our explanation as to the area models of development at the small commodity production stage also applies to the British agriculture of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, although it is generally believed that the agriculture of Japan differs greatly from that of England. To help you to understand the justice of our explanation. I will touch upon the British agriculture briefly.

Haslingden is a village that falls under the Celtic farm land system. Wye Manor comes under the Kentish farm land system, and Crondal Manor under the Midland farm land system. Here is arranged in tabular form the differentiation of farming classes in all areas having these types of farm land system, excepting some areas that come under the East Anglican farm land system. Now, it is generally accepted that England in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries was at the small commodity production stage.

In Haslingden, the class of 10 to 40 acres which we consider as the farming middle class, occupied 51.2 % of the total number of families and 39.3 % of the entire farming land, and the differentiation of farming class was delayed most. Although it appears that the landlord-tenant relations were developing in a considerable measure, the fact is that huge accounts arising from land-lend transactions among a small number of farmers raised the figues up as we see them in the table. The landlord-tenant relations were not popularized yet. In Wye Manor, the farming middle class occupied 38.1 % of the total number of families and 38.7 % of the entire arable land, and in Crondal Manor, the same class occupied 29.6 % and 19.8 % respectively. In both places, we notice that the farming middle class became less weighty. On the other hand, the class cultivating more than 60 acres occupied 3.4 % of the total number of families and 32.0% of the entire farming land in Wye Manor, and 19.4 % and 54.4 % respectively in Crondal Manor, and the class of less than 10 acres occupied 64.3 % of the total number of families and 16.0 % of the entire farming land in Wye Manor, and 34.4 % and 2.7 % respectively in Crondal Manor. The differentiation of the farming middle class was progressing rather intensely, and was turning out a large number of tenants. While the farming middle class was being split into the rich and the poor farming

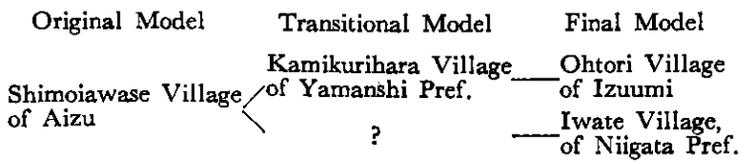
Table V Structure of English Farming Classes by Area and Sizes of Cultivated Land

England	Haslingden in Lancashire (1599)				Wye Manor in Kent (1452)				Crondal Manor in Hampshire (1567)			
	Number of families	Cultivated land	Land for rent	Leased land	Number of families	Cultivated land	Land for rent	Leased land	Number of families	Cultivated land	Land for rent	Leased land
100 acres and more	3.8%	37.0%	100%		1.7%	22.4%	44.0%	7.9%	8.6%	32.9%	81.0%	1.3%
80 acres and more					1.7	9.6	4.2	7.0				
60 acres and more									10.8	21.5	17.8	3.3
40 acres and more	8.2	15.3		83.5%	4.1	13.3	29.3	19.8	16.6	23.1	1.2	3.8
20 acres and more	51.2	39.3		16.5	11.9	22.9	11.6	26.5	17.2	14.4		12.8
10 acres and more					16.2	15.8	1.5	14.8	12.4	5.4		20.4
5 acres and more	36.5	8.4			19.7	9.5	2.5	10.8	21.0	2.7		35.8
Less than 5 acres					44.6	6.5	6.9	13.2				
Non-farming villagers									13.4			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	200.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: Haslingden Village——"*Formation and Resolution of Self-Governing Village Community*" by Jiro Tomioka (Jimbun-gaku-ho, No. 9)
Wye Manor——"*The Differentiation of Farming Classes in the Fifteenth Century England*" by Masayuki Hamada (Seiyoshi Kenkyu, No. 6)
Clondal Manor——"*The Differentiation of Farming Classes in the Sixteenth Century England*" by Nobuyoshi Shinozuka (Shigaku Zasshi, Vol 67, No. 1)

classes, the rich farming class was growing to become big landlords who owned enough land to let out and the poor farming class of less than 10 acres was being transformed into a tenant class at the same time. Here, the differentiation of land-ownership continued to hold correspondence with the differentiation of management, although the former was far more advanced than the latter, and was dangled after by the landlords-tenants relations. Haslingden corresponds to Shimoiawase Village of Aizu as Wye Manor and Crondal Manor do to Kamikuirhara Village of Yamanashi Prefecture.

Both Mr. Nobuyoshi Shinozuka who made an analytical study of Crondal Manor and Mr. Masayuki Hamada who made an analysis of Wye Manor criticised positively Mr. Akihiko Yoshioka who denied the capitalistic form of the differentiation of management and tried to cover the explanation exhaustively by the parasitical landlord form of differentiation (*The Criterion of the Analysis of Parasitical Landlord System* by A. Yoshioka in *Studies on Parasitical Landlord System*, edited by Fukushima University, Economic Society, Chapter I, and other articles dealing the same subject). In corroboration of their criticism, they demonstrated the historical evidence of the capitalistic form of the differentiation of management. Their studies smashed the theory of the parasitical landlord form of differentiation that had long been cherished by Messrs. Yoshioka and Shun Yamada whom we mentioned before. Both Yoshioka and Yamada seem to have given up their view.



Now that the economic and social (class) set-up of each area model has been clarified and the interrelations among these area models were represented so plainly in order of development, let us take a nation-wide view of the agricultural structure in the end of the Shogunate to the Imperial Restoration period, bearing these area models in mind. At the present stage of our studies, a presumptive or hypothetical general view will be the best we can expect to make. A more definite picture of it must await the completion of extensive and positive studies covering numerous districts.

2) **Nation-wide General View**

In order to get a nation-wide general view of the agricultural structure of Japan in that period it is necessary to have two sets of historical records, namely one which would provide us with a nation-wide general view of commercial economy, and the other which would provide us with a nation-wide general view of the differentiation of farming classes. As for the first one we have already discussed in chapter (ii). As for the second one, no complete historical records were available until *the Agricultural Statistics* began to be compiled in 1908. Its analysis can be found in *The Basic Structure of Japanese Agriculture* by Hyakuju Kurihara. We must look to such second materials that may enable us to infer a nation-wide general view of the differentiation of farming classes indirectly, but here let us use the estimated rate of tenant farm by prefecture for 1873 which is widely used. This is an approximate of tenant farm for 1873 deduced from the rates of annual increase of tenant farm for the period from 1883 (or 1884) to 1892. Hence it is assumed that the period from 1873 to 1882 (or 1883) had annual increases of tenant farm at the same rates as the period from 1883 (or 1884) to 1892. If this assumption should be wrong, the validity of this appoximation would also be lost. But we have no choice but to use it as yet.

Due to different methods of calculation employed, the national average of the rates of tenant farm was estimated differently. It was estimated at 30.6% by Mr. Gitaro Hirano,[1] at 28.7% by Mr. Saburo Shimoyama and at 32% by Mr. Kunio Niwa which I mentioned above. But judging from

1) see *The Structure of the Capitalistic Society of Japan*. pp. 54–55.
2) *On the Land-ownership in the Second Decade of Meiji* in *Rekishigaku Kenkyu* vol. 176, p. 3.

Table VI The Rates of Tenant Farm by Prefecture in the Early Years of Meiji

		Production per *tan* at the time of land tax reform		The rates of tenant farm				Production per *tan* at the time of land tax reform		The rates of tenant farm	
		Rice field	Dry field	1873 (est.)	1892			Rice field	Dry field	1873 (est.)	1892
		koku	*koku*	%	%			*koku*	*koku*	%	%
Group I	Aomori	1.00	0.33	12	35	Group II	Wakayama	1.61	1.24	18	47
	Akita	1.16	0.42	15	47		Shiga	1.57	1.75		34
	Yamagata	1.30	0.60	34	38		Kyoto	1.43	0.88	35	40
	Niigata	1.34	0.39	41	52		Nara	1.57	0.67	38	40
	Toyama	1.47	0.42	40	60		Osaka	1.93	1.08		57
	Ishikawa	1.50	0.40		38		Hyogo	1.62	1.12	42	46
Group II	Iwate	0.99	0.39	11	24		Okayama	1.49	0.71	27	46
	Miyagi	0.99	0.56	12	32		Hiroshima	1.35	0.62	19	38
	Fukushima	1.23	0.96	5	22		Yamaguchi	1.18	0.87	24	38
	Tokyo	1.27	1.08	38	45		Tokushima	1.35	0.78	31	41
	Tochigi	1.06	0.90	6	31		Kagawa	1.44	0.44	49	63
	Gunma	1.25	0.98	18	38		Ehime	1.29	0.72		46
	Yamanashi	1.36	0.86	47	47		Kochi	1.29	0.70	21	30
	Nagano	1.38	0.50	28	36	Group IV	Tottori	1.40	0.65	41	54
	Gifu	1.28	1.08	27	47		Shimane	1.34	0.97	43	51
	Fukui	1.37	0.41	31	42		Fukuoka	1.38	0.77	43	48
	Ibaragi	1.01	0.88	19	35		Saga	1.45	0.61	33	36
	Chiba	0.97	0.88	18	48		Nagasaki	0.91	0.63	27	42
	Kanagawa	1.26	0.96		39		Kumamoto	1.35	1.06	38	43
	Saitama	1.25	1.08	24	38		Oita	1.24	0.51	12	39
	Shizuoka	1.34	0.97	33	54		Miyazaki	1.15	0.63		29
	Aichi	1.58	1.78	38	45		Kagoshima	1.00	0.60		27
	Mie	1.53	1.47	27	39		National average	1.32		32	40

Notes: (1) "The production per tan at the time of land tax reform" was computed by Mr. Moritaro Yamada on the basis of the *Bulletin of Land Tax Reform of Prefectures* reprinted by the Society for Publishing Meiji Literatures (*The Structure of Agricultural Productivity of Japan*, pp. 28–30, 95–7). As for the "rates of tenant farm", we borrowed those which Mr. Kunio Niwa calculated on the basis of *The Statistical Year-book of the Japanese Empire* as a major source, and some prefectural statistical books for supplenetary data. The estimate for 1873 was calculated back on the basis of the rates of annual increase of tenant farm for the periods from 1883 (or 1884) to the 1886 and from 1886 to 1892.

(2) The group classification employed in this table corresponds roughly to that of table ii.

the method of calculation he employed, 27.4% of Mr. Toshio Furushima who deduced the national average of the rates of tenant farm after he obtained the totals of landed farmers' lands and tenant farmers' lands of all prefectures seems to be most faithful to the truth. If it is true, we may conclude from this that the parasitical landlord system of our country has made considerable development after the land tax reform. Not only that, but also we can learn that the rates of tenant farm ranges widely from 5% of Fukushima Prefecture to 49% of Ehime Prefecture (including Kagawa) as the table of the rates of tenant farm by prefecture shows clearly, and that there were developing areas side by side with those areas where the parasitical landlord system had already been established. In other words, the parasitical landlord system was not yet established in a definite form of agricultural institution. We have to say that it is wrong to believe that the parasitical landlord system had long been established before the land tax reform.[1)]

When we examine the estimated rates of tenant farm for 1873 by prefecture, we will find the following points.

1. With the exception of a few prefectures like Fukushima, Tokyo, Wakayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi or Nagasaki, the rates of tenant farm were generally proportionate to the production per *tan*, especially of the rice field before the land tax reform. In other words, they were higher in those prefectures which were producing more per *tan*, and lower in those prefectures which were producing less per *tan* on the whole. It is because the amount of the production per *tan* decides the amount of the embryonic profits of farmers, which in turn determines the pace of development of the differentiation of farming classes. Both the production per *tan* and the rates of tenant farm were extremely lower in Aomori, Akita, Iwate, Miyagi, Tochigi, Ibaraki and Oita prefectures, although the last named was a little bit different from others (and probably in Miyazaki, and Kagoshima Prefectures, too). These prefectures were located either in the frontier or a mountainous province of Tohoku or Kyushu where the productivity was low and commercial agriculture was not developed. In short, these prefectures were backwarded areas.

2. Excepting the two prefectures of Fukushima and Yamanashi, the sericultural and silk-producing prefectures like Gumma, Nagano and Gifu which we classified into group ii ranked the middle in the productions per *tan* as well as in the rates of tenant farm. The past studies that have been made on Fukushima Prefecture show that although the rates of tenant farm

1) *The differentiation of Farming Classes before and after the Land Tax Reform and the Lanlord System* by Tsutomu Ouchi, included in *Studies on Land Tax Reform* edited by Kozo Uno, Vol. I.

were pretty advanced in Shinobu and Date Hundreds, the old sericultural and silk-producing center of the prefecture, it was only after the Meiji Restoration that the Aizu Basin and other counties started sericultural and silk-reeling industry, and that was not on a large scale. The high rates of tenant farm in Yamanashi Prefecture was not due to the influence of her sericultural and silk-producing ares. They were resulted by a strong influence by her rice-producucing areas, as we have seen before.

3. When we arrange prefectures in group iii in order of higher rates of tenant farm, we will have a list of Ehime (including Kagawa), Hyogo (more than 40% in these two prefectures), Osaka (including Nara), Aichi, Kyoto, Shizuoka and Tokushima (more than 30% in these prefectures). In these prefectures with the only exception of Kagawa where the rice-production occupied a higher percentage, commerce and industry and commercial agriculture were developing considerably and the production per *tan* was comparatively high. It may be safe to consider that Osaka Prefecture rank the top. Other prefectures ranked the middle as it was the case with those sericultural and silk-reeling prefectures which we have mentioned above.

4. Niigata, Toyama, and Yamagata Prefectures in group i, Shimane, Fukuoka, Tottori, Kumamoto and Saga Prefectures in group iii, and Kagawa Prefecture which we mentioned in iii were leading rice-producing prefectures of Japan. Although the production per *tan* was about average in these prefectures, the rates of tenant farm ranked high. We stated the reasons when we explained about the type to which Niigata Prefecture belonged.

Thus, when we examine the estimated rates of tenant farm by prefecture for 1873 we will notice the following special features: (1) In the prefectures of Tohoku and Kyushu which are situated at both ends of our country as well as in the Aizu Basin, the rates of tenant farm were the lowest. (2) In those prefectures where sericulture and silk-reeling industry was developed as well as those where cotton production and cotton yarning were developed, the rates of tenant farm were at the middle level, averaging 20 to 30% in most cases. Osaka, Hyogo, and Aichi Prefectures recorded the highest rates of tenant farm for those days. (3) In the rice-producing prefectures of Tohoku, Hokuriku, Sanin and Kyushu districts which were sandwiched in between the border prefectures of Tohoku and Kyushu and the mid-Japan prefectures mentioned in (2), the rates of tenant farm were the highest of those days. From such a nation-wide view of the rates of tenant farm, we can see it easily that the original model of the differentiation of farming classes — the differentiation model of Shimoiawase Village of Aizu — applies to such areas as the border prefectures of Tohoku and

Kyushu and the Aizu Basin mentioned in (1), and the second and transitional model of the differentiation of farming classes — the differentiation model of Kamikurihara Village of Yamanashi Prefecture — applies to those sericultural and silk-producing prefectures and cotton [and cotton-yarning prefectures which were listed in (2). Finally, we will discover that the final differentiation model which we described in our explanation of Iwate Village of Niigata Prefecture applied to rice producing prefectures, and the final differentiation model which we described in our explanation of Ohtori Village of Izumi applies to the most advanced prefectures producing cotton and cotton yarns, which were listed in (3). We may safely conclude that in the period of Meiji Restoration, most areas were in a period of transition from the original to the final model. This is the nation-wide general picture of the differentiation of farming classes in the period of Meiji Restoration.[1] As I said at the beginning of this section, this nation-wide general view was built up upon estimation and assumpion, and what is more, this estimation and assumption often disregarded marked local differences existing in a prefecture. You must not forget that.

Such was the agricultural structure of Japan in the period of Meiji Restoration in which farming classes tried to and did confront with the

1) In establishing area groups of all Japan for the early Meiji period, Mr. Toshio Furushima used "the rates of tenant farm and the characteristics of regional economies" as the standards of his grouping. He grouped into the following five areas: 1) The single-crop rice-producing area which was to be represented by big lords of 200 acres, 2) The area where souvenir-type commodity production was highly developed, 3) The area where reeling by machinery was newly developing, 4) The area that has entered the stage of commodity circulation because the land tax in money was newly introduced, 5) The area which did not go deep into the stage of commodity circulation even after the introduction of the land tax in money (*The Expansion of Landlord Proprietorship after the Land Tax Reform and Agrarian Legislation* in *Studies on Japanese Landlord System* compiled by Toshio Furushima, pp. 340–6.) Retouching the Furushima's grouping, Mr. Kaichiro Ohishi excluded the 3) area as a rather peculiar case, included the 1) area in the 4) as a variety of the 4), and established his own grouping of 2) the advanced area, 4) the passing area, and 5) the backwarded area on the basis of "the degree of development of commodity economy" (*An Introduction to the History of Local Finance of Japan*, pp. 86–9). Also there is another grouping established by Mr. Tsutomu Ohuchi (*The Differentiation of Farming Classes before and after the Land Tax Reform and the Land-lord System*, included in Volume 1 of *A Study on the Land Tax Reform* compiled by Kozo Uno.)

In the first place, the Ohishi theory has much disagreement with the facts and is in utter confusion as it neglected the facts that Niigata and Toyama Prefectures grouped under the "passing area" were already showing a higher degree of differentiation than "the advanced area" by the end of the Shogunate, and that the same prefectures of Niigata and Toyama showed a degree of differentiation which was entirely different from that of the mountainous area of Kumamoto Prefecture that was grouped under "the passing area" equally. To speak of the Furushima's theory, it lacks a measure to determine marked differences in degree of differentiation between different parts of the same area. For example, it has no measure to determine the disparity of degrees of differentiation between Niigata and Toyama Prefectures and Miyagi and Aomori Prefectures, all of which belong to the single-crop rice-producing area of 1). It appears that groupings established in the past have a common defect of being too much theoretical and lacking positive foundation.

feudal land ownership, the state land ownership. We are trying in this paper to establish positively the representative area models that built up the agricultural structure of Japan with the support of historical proof. Finally, by adding a brief outlook, we shall conclude the introduction.

(IV) **The Outlook**

If we assume that the national average rate of tenant farm for 1873 was 32%, there was an increase of as much as 8% in the following twenty years because the national average rate reached 40% in 1887. Fifty years afterwards, it went up to 48% in 1930 which was the year of the highest rate of tenant farm, recording another increase of 8%. From this we can see how striking was the increase in the rates of tenant farm that had been recorded during the period from 1873 to 1887, especially in the latter half of the second decade of Meiji. It is generally agreed that the differentiation of farming classes was progressing rather intensely during this period. If we assume that the national average rate of tenant farm for 1873 was 27%, we must say that the pace of differentiation of farming classes was really fantastic. When we compare the rates of tenant farm given in table vi for 1873 with those for 1887, we can learn that although there were a few exceptions, the rates of increase were higher in those prefectures which recorded low rates of tenant farm in 1873, whereas they were lower in those which recorded high rates of tenant farm, thus averaging somewhere between 40 and 50% as a whole. The differentiation in farming classes progressed rapidly in backwarded areas, and stagnated relatively in advanced areas.[1)]

Let us take a brief look at the stormy furiousness of the differentiation of farming classes after the land tax reform, and its levelling effect. It is proverbially said that the land tax reform only changed the conventional tribute (land-tax in kind) into the land tax in money to tap a new source of revenue needed for the purpose of fostering Japanese capitalism so that backwarded Japan might become a strong independent country in the capitalistic world. But it served to turn the farmer's rights to hold land into the rights to own land, and the rice paid as rent into the land tax in money. The transformation of the rights to hold land to the rights to own land meant that a farmer could become a free land owner, but the adjective 'free' had another meaning of being free to concentrate lands or part with

1) For further details, refer to *The Local Characteristics of Dealings in Real Estate in the Second Decade of Meiji* by Kunio Niwa, included in Vol. IV of *Studies on the Period of the Democratic Movement* compiled by H. Horie and S. Tohyama.

them. It is true that the feudal system tolerated such freedoms, but it certainly did not encourage them in any way. The transformation of the rice paid as rent to the land tax in money in itself was a history-making progress, but is also dragged farming classes into commodity economy at the same time. The deepening of commodity economy stimulated the differentiation of farming classes, and the establishment of land ownership helped to clear of legal obstacles that have been arresting the progress of differentiation. The land tax reform program was almost completed by 1780 whereby was established a new foundation favoring the differentiation of farming classes. After consolidating the financial basis by the land tax reform program, the Meiji Government started to frame indefatigable policies towards capitalistic modernization with 'the political change of 1887' as the starting point. And during this process, the possibility of the differentiation of farming classes that was well prepared by the land tax reform burst out into flames of a hard fact. This double process of land tax reform and 'system-bred depression' was of such nature that it affected the whole country evenly. The result was that it only dragged backwarded areas into commodity economy, and thrust them forcibly into a depression more violently than elsewhere.

As to what form or model did this aggravated differentiation of farming classes assume, however, nothing is known but the fact that land-ownership was concentrated, that is, the landlord-tenant relations were advanced, nor any effort has ever been made to collect historical records. It may safely be said that this period has been left almost untouched in the field of this study. For all that, we can reassure that the following points are true beyond any shadow of doubt.

1. The so-called 'Meiji agronomy'[1] raised the productivity of Japanese agriculture, and made possible throughout the country the existence of the embryonic profits of farmers which were a prerequisite of the differentiation of farming classes, but it was not that the laboring process was raised to the manufacturing or machine production level, but that the conventional manual labor continued to exist or was improved at best. We can say that the Japanese agriculture continued to stay at the "small commodity production stage" even after the Meiji Era.

2. The land tax in money which was introduced after the land tax reform dragged farmers into commodity economy, but the commodity economy of these farmers also underwent a change. In the first place, cotton and cotton yarn, indigo, safflower and sugar which were the principal products

1) *The Development of Agricultural Technics since Meiji*, published by the Agricultural Technics Society. For detailed information, see "*The History of Agriculture of Japan*" in 10 Vols.

of the areas located west of the center of Japan were snatched away, and tea and especially sericulture were developed both intensively and extensively as foreign trade infiltrated. In the second place, with the development of capitalism within this country, cotton spinning and reeling that had been developed as a farmer's industry was taken away from farmers and brought under factory production system, whereas weaving-jobs spread far and wide among farmers working as sub-manufacturers. The first result of these two processes was the expansion of rice-producing and silk-raising areas. The second result was that while both of these areas lost within-village commercial and industrial avocation on the whole, there has newly emerged weaving-jobs which created avocations in textile-producing areas. Thus, an old special production locality was turning into a rice-producing area, an expanding silk-raising area was grandually becoming a character of a 'rice-producing' area in that within-village avocations were being lost. And finally a rice-producing or silk-raising area which had textile industry at the same time was approaching an old special production locality in character in that within-village avocations were on the increase.

3. It goes without saying that despite the increase of productivity of Japanese agriculture and the development of commercial agriculture, the differentiation of farming classes was confined within narrow limits due to the fact that Japanese agriculture was stagnating at the small commodity production stage, but it is also true that the growth of capitalism attracts the labor force of rural communities to urban districts and commerce and industry, and by doing so, it raises the wages of farm laborers, thus making agricultural enterprises more difficult and finally leading to their bankruptcy. It was rather frequent after 1911 that the wages of farm day-laborers exceeded 80% of those of manufacturing industry workers if they were men, and exceeded 100% if they were women. It attests that farm laborers were receiving considerably high wages considering aricultural productivity of those days.[1] Thus, the concentration of land-ownership which we have discussed before became more and more separated from the differentiation of management and lead to further development of the parasitical land-ownership. And the parasitical landlownership was growing steadly into a characteristic feature of the agricultural structure of Japan.

We do not hold any actual proofs as to what specific forms did the differentiation of farming classes take in each of the rice-producing areas, the silk-raising areas, and the rural textile-producing areas after the completion of the land tax reform program in the period of Meiji. We have

1) *Basic Statistics of Agriculture of Japan*, compiled under the supervision of Nobubumi Kayo, p. 54.

Table VII Changes in the Composition of Farming Classes of Ido Block of Yuizaki Village, Nara Prefecture Classified by Scale of Farming in the Meiji Period

	Scale of farming	Number of farming	Land owned	Land Cultivated	Owner farm land	Tenant farm land
		tans %	*tans* %	*tans* %	*tans* %	*tans* %
1881–4	More than 15	6 (10.9)	71.3 (15.3)	96.6 (28.0)	55.7 (44.2)	40.9 (18.7)
	More than 10	9 (16.4)	37.6 (8.3)	102.1 (29.6)	43.4 (34.4)	58.7 (26.8)
	More than 5	12 (21.8)	43.0 (9.5)	90.6 (26.3)	26.9 (21.4)	63.7 (29.1)
	More than 3	10 (18.2)	——	38.7 (11.2)	——	38.7 (17.7)
	Less than 3	8 (14.5)	0.3 (0.1)	16.9 (4.9)	——	16.9 (7.7)
	Non-farming		Unknown			
	Total	45 (81.8)	152.2 (33.7)	344.9 (100.0)	126.0 (100.0)	218.9 (100.0)
	Unknown (Landlords & others	10 (18(2)	299.2 (66.3)	?	?	?
	Grand total	55 (100.0)	451.4 (100.0)	?	?	?
1904	More than 15	——	——	——	——	——
	More than 10	11 (24.5)	93.0 (19.4)	131.0 (40.1)	71.0 (60.9)	58.0 (28.0)
	More than 3	24 (49.0)	50.0 (10.4)	165.0 (50.5)	31.0 (25.8)	134.0 (64.7)
	More than 3	3 (6.1)	1.0 (0.2)	10.0 (3.0)	1.0 (0.8)	9.0 (4.4)
	More than 3	4 (8.2)	——	6.0 (1.8)	——	6.0 (2.9)
	Non-farming	3 (6.1)	——	——	——	——
	Total	46 (93.9)	144.0 (30.0)	312.0 (95.4)	105.0 (87.5)	207.0 (100.0)
	Parasitical landlords	3 (6.1)	335.0 (70.0)	15.0 (4.6)	15.0 (12.5)	——
	Grand total	49 (100.0)	479.0 (100.0)	327.0 (100.0)	120.0 (100.0)	207.0 (100.0)

Notes: Taken from *The Differentiation of Farming Class of the Nara Basin in the Meiji Period* by Mikio Araki in *Studies of Nihonshi-Kenkyu* No. 55.

explained it before. However, we may be right to guess that the rice-producing areas of the Meiji period took a developed form of the differen-

1) In his book, *The Basic Structure of Japanese Agriculture* and *The Developmental Structure of Japanese Agriculture*, Mr.Hyokujuu Momotoshi Kurihara examined the Japanese agriculture after the late Meiji period. Detecting a swelling tendency of the farming middle classes, he generalized it and concluded that it was a general rule working at the stage of monopolistic capitalism. However, as we have demonstrated, this swelling tendency of the farming middle classes was not necessarily the law of motion proper to the stage of monopolistic capitalism. Instead, the same tendency could be observed in rice-producing areas during the period of Meiji Restoration. It developed into a general tendency of all farming villages throughout Japan in the Meiji Period. The delusion of Mr. Kurihara came from his total ignorance about Japanese agriculture before the late Meiji Period. And this ignorance is being stretched by the followers of Mr. Kirozo Uno today.

The swelling of the farming middle classes that has been seen in our country from old is a unique form that the differentiation of farming classes at the small commodity production stage assumed under the extraordinary circumstances of developing commodity economy and growing capitalism. It is hoped that all the ruling conditions have been fully clarified in this paper.

tiation model of Iwate Village of Niigata Prefecture, which we have seen already, and that the silk-raising areas of those days took a modified form of the differentiation model of Ohshima Village of Izumi — upper class enterprises dwindled and leaned towards landlords, small enterprises and non-farming villagers decreased in number and flowed out of the village, and consequently tenant middle-class farmers grew more weighty. So, let us examine the changes in the composition of farming classes classified by sizes of farming area of Ido Block of Yuizaki Village in Isoki Hundred, Nara Prefecture which was a cotton-producing district in 1881–1884 and became a rice-producing district with prosperous cotton-weaving industry by 1904. Comparing with 1881–1884 the record of 1904 shows that enterprises cultivating more than 15 *tan*s disappeared, lands owned by parasitical landlords augmented, farm enterprises were concentrated densely in middle-sized tenant or tenant farmer classes cultivating 5 to 15 *tan*s, and small tenant farmers cultivating less than 5 *tan*s decreased noticeably on the contrary[1] (cf. table VII). We can see very clearly from this that it was an outstanding characteristic of the differentiation of farming classes, especially in rice-producing districts of the Meiji period that the situation could hardly be improved by the existence of textile industry within the village. And yet it is owning to commercial and industrial avocations that the class cultivating less than 5 *tan*s together with the non-farming class occupied as much as 20.4% of the total number of village families. In an area like this could be seen the revival of the differentiation model of the old special farm production localities

[My article is the introducing chapter of *The Structure of Japanese Agriculture in the Meiji Restoration* edited by me. The following four chapters will explain the characterisics of agricultural structure of four respective areas—cotton-producing area, rice-producing area, sericultural area and backward area.]

1) *The Differentiation of Farming Classes of the Nara Basin in the Meiji Period* by Mikio Araki in *Studies of Nihonshi-Kenkyu* No.55.