

# Migration and Networks in Early Modern Kyoto, Japan\*

MARY LOUISE NAGATA

---

**SUMMARY:** The question of assimilation networks for migrants is usually applied to international migration. In this study, however, I use the population registers for a neighborhood in early modern Kyoto to look for possible network connections in domestic migration. I found a yearly turnover of fourteen households moving in and out of the neighborhood. Household and group migration was more important than individual migration and there is some sign of primary–secondary migration flows. Service migration did not play a major role in the migration patterns of this neighborhood, but the textile industry was probably an important attraction. Evidence of networks appears in the use of shop names that reflect a connection with a province or some specific location. These shop names usually reflected the place of origin of the household and may have been an effective method of gaining network connections and the guarantors necessary for finding housing and employment.

---

## INTRODUCTION

The study of assimilation networks is a major topic in the study of international migration. The immigrant, far from home and often speaking a language different from the local population, frequently relies upon a network of contacts to settle into his new home. This network is often a local subcommunity with ties to the home country of the immigrant and shares language, culture, and religious affiliations with the immigrant. Such networks often help the immigrant find housing, employment and access to essential services that facilitate his survival and assimilation into the new community.<sup>1</sup>

While assimilation networks are an important aspect of the study of

\* I was able to collect this data with the support of the EurAsian Project on Population and Family History, under the leadership of Akira Hayami at International Research Center for Japanese Studies, with the help of Kiyoshi Hamano. I used the data entry program created by Shuma Morimoto to create the original data file. Since then, I have fleshed out the data file using the original data from the microfilms at the Kyoto City Library for Historical Documents.

1. Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (London, 1993), pp. 22–23.

international migration, this topic is rarely addressed in relation to internal migration. Nevertheless, the rural immigrant to an urban community frequently faces the same problems of assimilation whether the urban community is in his native country or a foreign one. The migrant may use a different dialect from local natives. He may also need guarantors and introductions to find housing, employment, and access to services essential to his survival in the city. Assimilation networks based upon provincial origins, dialect, religious affiliation, or craft could provide this assistance for the internal migrant as well as for the international migrant.

In this study I use the data from the population registers of one neighborhood in nineteenth-century Kyoto to look for evidence of assimilation networks. I found that residents of this neighborhood advertised their origins through the shop names they used in business. This suggests that provincial ties and common provincial origins provided the basis for assimilation networks much like those formed for international migration.

Kyoto was one of the three major cities of early modern Japan under the Tokugawa regime. Studies of labor contracts for Kyoto businesses reveal that individual workers migrated from all over central Japan and sometimes even further afield to find work in Kyoto. Yet these contracts represent, in some respects, the elite of the labor hierarchy, as they usually represent skilled workers who completed apprenticeships to gain contracts as clerks, management employees, and craftsmen and women in Kyoto businesses.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the labor contracts cannot tell us what the overall migration to Kyoto looked like and probably represent only a small portion of the immigrants to the city.

Even today Kyoto has its own dialect that is somewhat different from the rest of central Japan and quite different from the rest of the country. Therefore, immigrants to the city may have faced a language barrier reminiscent of international migration. Moreover, Kyoto municipal laws required guarantors for residents and Japanese national law required guarantors for labor contracts.<sup>3</sup> Laws requiring new residents to have someone vouch for them were designed to prevent roving members of the warrior class from secretly gathering in the city to foment insurrection.<sup>4</sup> Related to this concern was a need to keep track of migration into the city and just keep up with the sheer volume of residential change. The

2. Mary Louise Nagata, "Commercial and Industrial Contract Labor in Central Japan, 1672–1873", (Ph.D., University of Hawaii, 1996) [hereafter, "Commercial and Industrial, 1672–1873"].

3. Akiyama Kunizo, *Kinsei Kyoto chokai hattatsu shi*, [History of the Development of Neighborhood Groups in Early Modern Kyoto], (Kyoto, 1980), pp. 165–173; Ishii Ryosuke, "Hokonin no koto", in *idem, Edo jidai manpitsu* [Essays on the Edo Period] (Tokyo, 1988), pp. 91–105; Nagata, "Commercial and Industrial, 1672–1873".

4. Akiyama, *Kinsei Kyoto chokai hattatsu shi*, pp. 165–173.

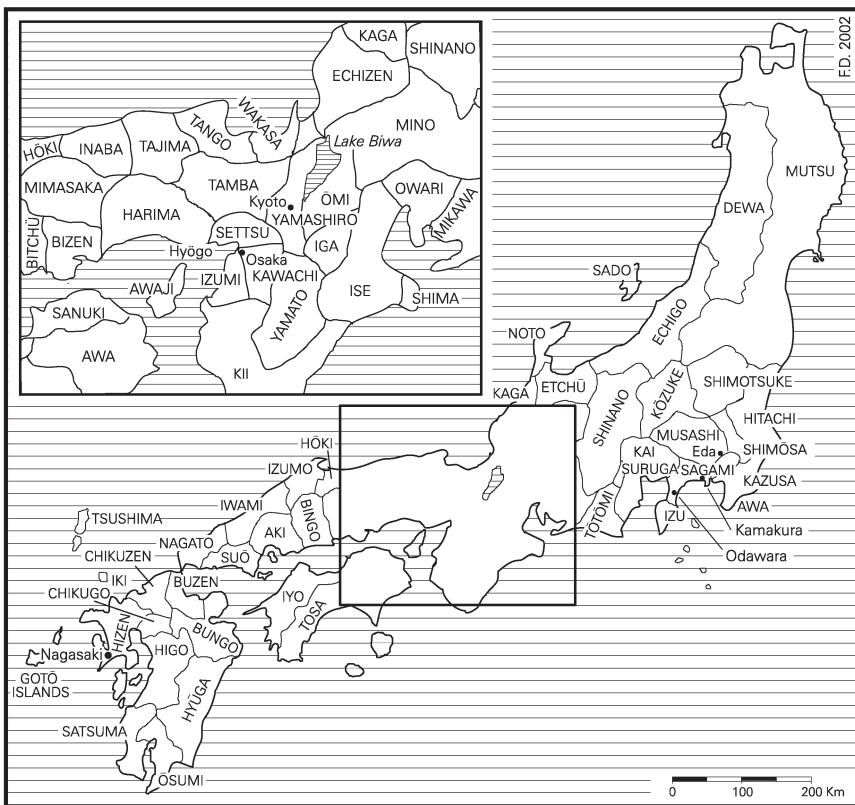


Figure 1. Traditional provinces of Japan

guarantor requirement had the potential to make life quite difficult for the new immigrant who had no personal connections. Yet the volume of migration into the city suggests that people found ways around these requirements. One obvious method would be the use of assimilation networks. These networks were likely based upon provincial origins as guarantors were legally required to have provincial or personal connections to the people they guaranteed. However, other network connections such as religious sect or type of business were also possible.

Much of the demographic research on Tokugawa Japan has focused on rural villages. Akira Hayami has been the pioneer in this field, collecting population registers known as *shumon nibetsu aratame cho* from communities all over Japan. The advantage of the rural population registers is the detailed quality of the data and the long runs of data allowing analysis to follow individuals throughout their life course, and

families through several generations.<sup>5</sup> The registers of Shimomoriya and Niita villages in Fukushima prefecture, for example, contain 150 years of yearly enumerations that follow both the *de facto* and the *de jure* populations of the two villages.<sup>6</sup> Possibly because of the detailed form of the enumerations, analysis of migration using rural population registers has focused upon individual migration and mobility. Certainly the volume of individual household members migrating alone is far greater and more obvious than household migrations, which are hardly visible.

Analysis of urban population registers, however, is more complicated than analysis using the rural population registers. Village officials in the provinces were concerned about the size of the agricultural population and maintaining the agricultural labor force. When villagers were absent from the community, the registers often record where they were and why. Urban requirements were in some ways less stringent. Urban officials were more concerned with keeping track of the present population rather than the absent population and labor force was not a consideration. Urban population registers were often enumerated by ward or even neighborhood instead of including the entire community and there were residents – nobles and members of the warrior class – who were not included. Moreover, analysis of urban population registers has revealed the urban population to be highly fluid with a high rate of turnover. Hayami's analysis of the registers for a neighborhood in the center of Kyoto shows households staying an average of only three to five years, and Smith's analysis of wards in two commercial towns reveal a similar turnover of household populations.<sup>7</sup> With this kind of turnover, it is not possible to follow households through several generations or even individuals through their life course. The demographic events recorded in the registers depend entirely upon the happenstance that they occurred during the stay of that household in that particular neighborhood.

The population registers of Kyoto impose even further restrictions on

5. For a comprehensive discussion of Japan's early modern population registers, see Hayami, Akira, "Thank You Francisco Xavier: An Essay in the Use of Microdata for Historical Demography of Tokugawa Japan", *Keio Economic Studies*, 16 (1979), pp. 65–81; and Laurel Cornell and Akira Hayami, "The Shumon Aratame Cho: Japan's Population Registers", *Journal of Family History*, 11 (1986), pp. 311–328.

6. Mary Louise Nagata, "Labor Migration, Family and Community in Early Modern Japan", in Pamela Sharpe (ed.), *Women, Gender and Labor Migration* (London [etc.], 2001), pp. 60–84.

7. Akira Hayami, "Kyoto machikata no shumon aratame cho: Shijo Tachiari Nakanomachi" ["The Religious and Population Registers of Kyoto Residents: Shijo Tachiari Nakanomachi Neighborhood"], in Takugawa Rinse, *Shi Kenkyū Jo, Kenkyū kiyo*, (Kyoto, 1980), pp. 502–541; Robert J. Smith, "Small Families, Small Households, and Residential Instability: Town and City in 'Pre-Modern' Japan", in Peter Laslett (ed.), *Household and Family in Past Time: Comparative Studies in the Size and Structure of the Domestic Group over the Last Three Centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and Colonial North America, with Further Materials from Western Europe* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 429–471.



Figure 2. Map of Kyoto city

analysis. The registers do not record age or any migration or other event information before 1843. Thus households and individuals appear and disappear in the registers with no indications whether these changes were the result of fertility, nuptiality, and mortality, or migration. Moreover, there is no way of knowing whether any migration is intra-urban or extra-urban. Fortunately, the Kyoto population registers change from 1843 by providing the age and birth province of each individual. Moreover, the address of the former home temple of registration is provided in case it changed upon moving to the neighborhood. Demographic events such as births, deaths and marriages, however, remain often difficult to distinguish. I will return to this issue later in this study.

The registers I use for this research record the population of Sujichigaibashi neighborhood in the northern part of the city and span the years 1843–1862. There are three more registers in the collection – 1826, 1827 and 1829 – but these older registers do not record the same

information as the later ones do and I have left them out of the data set. Kyoto registers were usually compiled in the ninth month of each year according to the lunar calendar. From 1845, however, the registers include a second update enumeration of new residents in the second month of the following year. The collection includes the registers for 1843–1845, 1848–1851, 1856–1857, 1860, and 1862 with updates in the second month of 1845–1846, 1849–1852, and 1857–1858. Although the register compiled in the ninth month of 1861 is missing, the 1860 register was updated in the fourth month of 1861. Finally, neighborhood officials investigated the need for household assistance of several households in the neighborhood in the eighth month of 1861. In summary, the data set includes the ninth-month registers for eleven of the twenty years covered in the data period, mid-way updates for nine years, and some welfare documents from 1861.<sup>8</sup>

Some of the households in the neighborhood had servants and the registers provide useful information for studying them. Some people also left the neighborhood to enter into service and I include them in the investigation. Sujichigaishi neighborhood is located in the Nishijin district of the city that was and is famous for its silk textiles. Many of the households in the neighborhood were employed in this industry in some way. The welfare documents include a description of the actual work the household head did and the reason this household required assistance, as well as the shop name, their landlord, and a list of the family members living in the household at that time. I will use these three groups of information for the section on servants and employment.

These registers are particularly useful for studying migration and networks because of the information they provide about each individual and household. For one, the registers include the birth province of each individual and the addresses of their registered temples as well as religious sect. If a household moved into the neighborhood from outside Kyoto, then the address of their temple of registration before the move gives an idea of where they lived before coming to Kyoto. Moreover, several households changed religious sects when they moved their registrations to Kyoto temples, suggesting that some sort of network may have been organized around temple or sectarian membership. Many of the residents were renters, and the registers record their landlords, and often the addresses of their landlords, if the landlord lived outside the neighborhood. Finally, all but one household had some sort of shop designation and shop names could also reveal some sort of network connection. Many of the shop names reflected the name of a province or village. Thus, the province of Etchu is reflected in the shop name Etchuya meaning Etchu

8. "Kyoto Sujichigaishi-cho shumon ninbetsu aratame cho" ["Religious and Population Investigation Registers of Sujichigaishi neighborhood, Kyoto"], 1826–1861, Kyoto City Library for Historical Documents.

shop. This type of shop name may reflect a provincial connection that was useful for networking. Provincial connections were particularly important for finding guarantors and employment as a guarantor was legally required to have a provincial connection with the person he guaranteed. I will use the above information to look for evidence of assimilation networks for migrants into the neighborhood from outside Kyoto in the section on networks.

In this study I focus largely upon households rather than individuals. This is the second report of analysis using the Sujichigaibashi registers and the analysis of individual migrations aside from servants will be a topic for future analysis.<sup>9</sup>

#### ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES

Studies of other neighborhoods in early modern Kyoto have revealed a great deal of in and out migration. In Hayami's 1980 study of a neighborhood in central Kyoto, only one household in the neighborhood remained throughout the fifty-year data period.<sup>10</sup> Hamano's study in 1998 used the registers of yet another Kyoto neighborhood on the south side of the city to show the rapid turnover of renters in the community.<sup>11</sup> One striking aspect of these studies is the volume of household migration that appears on the registers, especially since studies of migration from villages generally focus on the overwhelming migration of individuals entering employment of some kind.<sup>12</sup> Sujichigaibashi on the north side of Kyoto is no exception to this rule of household migration. The 11 years of registers out of a 20-year period record 307 households with 241 households arriving and 238 households departing during the data period. These numbers are conservative, since there is no data on the households that entered and left during the years of missing data. Since the mid-year updates for each register only record new entries, a single household could only make a maximum of eleven appearances in the register data.

9. The first analysis of this data set will be published as Mary Louise Nagata, "Family Strategies in Stem Family Businesses in Early Modern Kyoto, Japan", in Eugenio Sonnino (ed.), *Living in the City* (Rome, forthcoming).

10. Hayami, "Kyoto machikata no shumon aratame cho".

11. Hamano Kiyoshi, "Kinsei Kyoto no shakuyanin no ido ni suite" ["The Mobility of Renters in Early Modern Kyoto"], *Kyoto Gakuen University Review*, 8 (1998), pp. 119–136.

12. Akira Hayami, "Rural Migration and Fertility in Tokugawa Japan: The Village of Nishijo 1773–1868", in Susan Hanley and Arthur Wolf (eds), *Family and Population in East Asian History*, (Stanford, CA, 1985), pp. 110–132; Akira Hayami, *Edo no nomin seikatsu shi [Edo History of Peasant Life]* (Tokyo, 1989); *idem*, *Kinsei Nobi chibo no jinko, keizai, shakai [Population, Economy, and Society of the Early Modern Nobi Region]* (Tokyo, 1992), pp. 101–120, 225–284. Mary Louise Nagata, "Leaving the Village for Labor Migration in Early Modern Japan", in Franz van Poppel and Michel Oris (eds), *Leaving Home in Eurasian Perspective* (Cambridge, forthcoming); *idem*, "Labor Migration, Family and Community", pp. 60–84.

Nevertheless, more than half of the households appear in the data only two times or less with over one-quarter appearing only once, and at least twenty households only appearing in the updates. The average stay in the neighborhood during this period was five years, but about two-thirds of the households stayed for only three years or less, and only twenty households remained during the entire twenty-year period.

The authorities do not seem to have been interested in the various reasons why people and households entered or left the neighborhood. Entries can be roughly classified as individual events and group events, with groups representing either households or parts of households. Entries are recorded quite simply with notes to add this person or these people to the register or just enter them in the register. The only other recorded event is a change of temple or religious sect. Ten households changed their religious affiliation upon immigration to the neighborhood and another thirty-two households kept their religious affiliations, but moved their temple registrations to temples inside of Kyoto. A change in the temple registration did not always signify a new immigrant, however, as several households changed their registrations one to three times while living in the neighborhood.

The eighty-eight individuals entering existing households recorded in the registers hide a number of demographic events such as marriage and birth as well as migration. Much more investigation is needed before the events can be broken into various demographic categories. A woman who first enters an existing household as a wife to a man who had been living alone, for example, might seem to be entering for marriage. However, several of the small-group entries in the registers include women or men entering an existing household as spouses with children. Were these couples marrying or had they been living separately for a short period and were now only reuniting? This question cannot be answered with the available data. The entries do not represent all of the individual arrivals to the neighborhood during this twenty-year period. Instead, they mark the events that brought new residents to the neighborhood during the eleven years we have records for. Many other individuals entered the neighborhood during one of the years missing from the data series and merely appear in households where they had not been recorded before.

Group entries are also sometimes difficult to interpret as in the example above. Parents, siblings, spouses, and children of all ages suddenly appear in households in small groups, often with the simple note to please enter them into the registers. Although at least 241 households moved into the neighborhood during the data period, only 105 are recorded as new immigrants in the existing records that record another 21 small-group entries to existing households. The entries noting the other new households have been lost.

The authorities were rather more concerned with recording why people

left the neighborhood. Individual events include death, divorce, marriage out, and service. Four people are recorded as returning to or reuniting with families that live outside the neighborhood, although no mention is made of where. Nevertheless, fifty-six individual departures are merely noted as gone, left, removed from the registers, or simply crossed out with an X mark. Similarly, the 148 group departures are frequently recorded with a simple note saying they are gone or have left, with others simply deleted with an X, or a note to remove them from the registers. The most common group departure, however, is a note that a household or a group within a household has moved to another neighborhood, suggesting that these groups and households remained in the city. Again, since many households left the neighborhood during years missing from the data series, only 148 group departures are recorded of which 114 are household departures although at least 238 households left the neighborhood during the data period.

In summary, there was a great deal of immigration into and emigration from Sujichigaibashi neighborhood by individuals and small groups joining existing households as well as by new households. The registers often provide little information about this movement and half of the movement occurs during years of missing data. This lack of information complicates analysis of migration in and out of the neighborhood.

#### SERVICE, SERVANTS AND EMPLOYMENT

No study of migration in early modern Japan would be complete without considering labor migration and servants. Studies of rural population registers reveal that labor migration for service was the primary reason for migration. Comparison of labor migration in different regions of Japan, however, also has shown that regional patterns can differ greatly depending upon local government policies, economic development, and the local demographic and household structure.<sup>13</sup> In Sujichigaibashi, only five servants employed by four households appear in the data for a total of nine person years. All five of them are males ages nine to twenty-one, which is the peak age period for entering service in central Japan.<sup>14</sup> Four of the five servants are members of the same religious sect as their employers, with registrations at temples inside the city, but none reside in the neighborhood outside of their employment term. The fifth, Yoshimatsu, aged twenty, had a different religious affiliation from his employer and his temple of registration shows that he came to Kyoto from Sanuki province on the island of Shikoku. None of the servants appears to have stayed with

13. Nagata, "Labor Migration, Family and Community"; *idem*, "Leaving the Village".

14. Nagata, "Labor Migration, Family and Community"; *idem*, "Commercial and Industrial, 1672–1873", pp. 34–37.

their employers for longer than one or two years. The record only notes that each must be added to the record for the employer's household. When they leave, the record notes that the servant was returned to his parents or family or merely notes that he is gone.

The four households that employed servants might be considered among the wealthier households in the neighborhood. They were relatively stable residents with appearances in the data for seven and sixteen years for three of the households. Nevertheless, none of the households remained throughout the data period and three immigrated to the neighborhood from outside Yamashiro province – one coming from Etchu province in the northeast. Two households, including the one appearing for two to four years depending on its stay during the missing data period, owned their residences, while the other two rented from neighborhood housing.

Seven members of six Sujichigaibashi households left to enter service: three female and four male. The female servants were ages ten and seventeen, while the males were ages ten, thirteen, twenty-four, and forty-three. Two of these servants were siblings who left their household together. Five of the servants were children of the head of household, one was the younger sister and one was the household head. This last servant, Kihei, is the only one who returned to the neighborhood from service, but his is the only one of these households remaining in the neighborhood in 1862. While two of the households sending members into service only remain in the neighborhood for three years or less depending on how long they stayed during the missing years, the other five households were among the more stable households in the neighborhood appearing for five or more years. Nevertheless, five of the six households rented their residences from a variety of landlords usually not living in the neighborhood. Kihei's household appears for fifteen years and is the only one that owned its residence. In short, these urban households also tended to send their younger collateral members into service without expecting them to return. Kihei, however, shows that older household heads also went into service for brief periods perhaps to earn extra income. This will be a topic for future research, however, together with investigation of individual entries to the neighborhood.

Although nearly all the households in the neighborhood are recorded as shops with their shop names, the shop names rarely reflect the nature of their businesses. However, the welfare investigation documents of eleven households in 1861 state explicitly the businesses of the household heads and why these poorer households needed assistance. Their shop names reveal very little about their actual work. Five of the shop names were place names such as Tamba shop after Tamba province. The other names were sometimes vague and innocuous such as wisteria, pine, or round. None of the shop names was even remotely connected to their actual

work. Instead, most of the heads of household worked in the Nishijin silk textile industry. Three were weavers and a fourth was a wage weaver at a workshop. Two were spinners and two more were wage spinners, the difference being whether they worked at home or as skilled laborers in some workshop. Two household heads are described as wandering workers or casual laborers while a third is simply described as a helper, a service trade even lower than a servant. Finally, one household head was a fireman who also worked on construction sites. All of these households rented their residences. Four households rented from Kiya Haya, two from Tambaya Koto, and the remaining rented neighborhood housing. Considering the source of this information, I assume that the two private landlords probably charged the cheapest rents and may have housed all of their tenants in one residence.

The households appearing in the welfare investigation documents show that the textile industry was probably a major draw for migration into the neighborhood whether from outside the city or from other neighborhoods in the city. Many of the households entering the neighborhood from other neighborhoods in Kyoto may represent artisans going independent upon completing an apprenticeship. This type of labor migration is not apparent from the records because labor in this industry did not take the form of live-in service.

In short, there was far more in and out migration of households to this neighborhood than of servants. This lack of servants, however, was probably due to a combination of factors. One was surely the transitory nature of the neighborhood. Employers of servants and households that sent members into service tended to be among the households that stayed in the neighborhood for longer than five years and these households were in the minority. The welfare documents suggest a second factor. If many of the household heads supported their households through casual labor or working for textile workshops, then they would hardly be in the position to hire servants. On the other hand, the textile industry was probably an objective for labor migration into the neighborhood.

The three groups of households examined in this section seem to represent a stratification based on economic status. The employers were the among the neighborhood elite, the households that sent members into service represent a middle class and the households receiving economic assistance were, of course, the poorest households in the neighborhood. While this stratification seems extreme for a small neighborhood, it is consistent with neighborhoods in Kyoto today.

## MIGRATION AND NETWORKS

Since new immigrants needed local guarantors for finding employment or housing, they probably formed and relied upon various assimilation

networks to provide the contacts they needed to survive in the city. One likely network would be based upon the region the household migrated from as they would speak the same dialect and could act as guarantors for each other. Another would be through religious sect or temple of registration. In this section I look for evidence of such network connections.

The registers provide two kinds of data revealing where a household came from. All of the households were registered in local temples. The households that immigrated to the neighborhood from another province, therefore, needed to move their temple registration from the province to a local temple. The addresses of the former temples thus provide information regarding where the household lived before coming to Kyoto. At the same time, the registers record the birth province of each individual. For this analysis I will use only the birth province of the household head and save the individual analysis for future research.

The records of fifty households in the data show some migration from outside Yamashiro province where Kyoto was located. Of these fifty households, forty-one moved their temple registration to a Kyoto temple and the address of the former temple reveals roughly where they came from. According to these records, the households moved to Kyoto from ten provinces generally north or east of Kyoto. In order of importance the households came from Tamba (ten households), Wakasa (ten households), Etchu (nine households), Echizen (four households), Kaga (two households), Noto (two households), Omi (one household), Mino (one household), Owari (one household), and Tango (one household). An overlapping group of forty-one households had household heads born in these same provinces with the exception of Owari. The combination of these two pieces of information per household head reveals thirty households that migrated from the birth province of the household head and nine households with heads that migrated to Kyoto sometime before entering the record. Another eleven households migrated across provincial boundaries more than once since they moved to Kyoto from a province other than the birth province of the household head. The majority of the households (257) show no evidence of migration. However, many may have moved to Kyoto from some other location within Yamashiro province, or they may have moved to Kyoto sometime before moving to Sujichigaishi neighborhood. In any case, most probably moved to the neighborhood from other neighborhoods within the city.

I consider five kinds of information together with the migration information to reveal possible assimilation networks based on regions or based on religious or temple membership. This information includes the religious sect, the temple of registration, the *yago* or shop name, whether the household rents or owns their residence, and landlords.

All but one household has a shop name; the exception was the "vassal"

or hereditary servant of some lord not living in the neighborhood. These shop names can be misleading. The welfare documents examined in the previous section show that some households had shop names even though the household head did not have a business. Were the shop names representing the business of the spouse? We cannot know from the data. Moreover, many shops are named for some province, region or even village. Let me begin by examining whether these place name shop names reflect the origin of the household that used them.

The households in Sujichigaibashi neighborhood used 102 different shop names, but the top 10 most common names include 6 named for various provinces. The 4 most popular shop names were Tambaya (35 households), Omiya (21 households), Wakasaya (20 households) and Etchuya (17 households). These names reflect the provinces Tamba, Omi, Wakasa, and Etchu, all of which were provinces of origin for the households that migrated into the neighborhood. Other data has shown that a shop might keep such a name for many generations after the move. The head of the carpenter shop called Omiya Kichibei, for example, in the southern part of Kyoto, maintained the same shop and headship name throughout 150 years of contract and business data. Since 14 of the 23 contracts in the Omiya Kichibei collection of the Tanaka family were for workers from Omi province, I find it likely that such shop names might represent some network connection.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the Tanaka family moved to Kyoto from Omi province during the seventeenth century.

Comparison of the shop names for the fifty households with migration information reveals six groups depending upon the match between the province they migrated from, the birth province of the household head and whether the shop name matches these places. I must mention that Tamba and Tango provinces seem to be related in some way, as are Echizen and Etchu provinces. In the latter case, Echizen literally means “front Etsu” and Etchu means “middle Etsu” while Tamba and Tango have a similar relationship.

The largest group is twenty households with shop names that match the birth province of the household head that is also the province they moved from. The second group in order of size is seventeen households with shop names that do not reflect a place. Group three is five households with shop names that reflect the birth province of the household head that is not the province they moved from. Group four is three households with shop names that reflect the province that the household moved from that are not the birth province of the household head. Group five is two households with shop names of a province close to or related to either the birth province of the head or the province the household moved from. The final

15. “Hokonin ukejo no koto”, labor contracts from the Tanaka Kichibei document collection 1717–1859, Kyoto City Library for Historical Documents.

group is two households with shop names that reflect a province different from the migration information provided for the household.

In short, thirty-three of the fifty households used shop names that reflected place names. Most of these thirty-three shop names show some relation to the migration information provided for the household with the relation to the birth province of the household head slightly stronger than the relation to the province the household migrated from. Only two such shop names showed no match to the migration information provided. I conclude, therefore, that a place name shop name probably reflects the geographical origin of the household and may have been used for networking.

The households in Sujichigaibashi neighborhood each belonged to one of seven Buddhist sects. Comparison of the birth provinces of the household heads reveals a certain amount of concentration for those migrating from other provinces. For this analysis I will look only at the households whose heads were born in Etchu (ten households), Wakasa (nine households), Tamba (eight households), and Kaga (five households). The number of household heads born in any of the other provinces outside Yamashiro is too few to consider. Even the small numbers for the above four provinces, however, reveal a certain amount of concentration. All of the households from Kaga and nine out of ten households from Etchu were members of the Higashi Honganji sect of Jodo Shinshu. Similarly, six of the nine households from Wakasa were members of the Zen sect. The eight households from Tamba show no pattern of concentration. Thus the religious sect seems to be a likely candidate as a basis for networking.

Since nine households changed their religious sect when they moved to Kyoto from another province, I use these changes to check the possibility that religious sect was used for networking. The results are rather mixed and inconclusive, but the three households migrating from Wakasa all with different birth provinces suggest an explanation. The former religious sect for these households in Wakasa was Zen, which matches the concentration for Wakasa found above. However, these three households changed their religious sect upon arrival in Kyoto away from this possible network. While the households may have used the religious network before migration to gain information, but felt no need to maintain the affiliation after arrival in Kyoto, another possibility is that there was less choice in provincial villages than in the capital. In other words, these households used the opportunity provided in Kyoto to return to membership in a religious sect that was not available to them in Wakasa province. Thus the change of religious sect was probably not a network strategy, but the result of greater opportunity in the city.

If immigrants used religious affiliation to establish support networks they would probably tend to register with the same temples as their network contacts. However, Kyoto has many temples. The 307 house-

holds appearing in the registers for Sujichigaishi neighborhood were registered at 150 temples. Even the 2 households that were members of the Tendai sect were registered at 2 different temples. Although a number of households moved their registration from one local temple to another during the data period, the number of temples is so large that, even taken sect by sect, only two households were registered per temple on average. In short, I find that religious and temple affiliations were probably not used as the basis for assimilation networks in this neighborhood.

Finally, networks may have been used to find housing. The situation here, however, is as complicated as with the temples. Many households changed their residences in the neighborhood several times during the data period, even with the rapid turnover of residents from in and out migration. Some renters changed landlords one to three times while others went from renters to owners or vice versa. Because of the complexity, I examine the residence patterns by household years measured as appearances in the registers. The households in the neighborhood made a total of 1014 appearances in the registers. These appearances can be divided into three rough groups: owners, renters of local housing, and renters from private landlords. Neighborhood residents rented housing from forty-nine private landlords during the data period. A year-by-year breakdown reveals a yearly average of twenty-seven households that owned their residences, nineteen households listed as simply renting neighborhood housing, and forty households renting from nineteen landlords. The last group is somewhat misleading. Many landlords rented housing to only one or two tenant households per year, but a small number of landlords rented to as many as twelve tenant households in a single year. Closer investigation shows no obvious pattern by shop name, religious sect, or migration information. Therefore, I cannot find the networks used to find housing from the data provided in the registers. The only positive note is that none of the new arrivals owned their residences when they first appeared and they tended to rent neighborhood housing rather than from private landlords. Thus finding a private landlord may have required some time whereas networks may have helped migrants find neighborhood housing.

In summary, the attempt to use the data in the registers to find networks revealed a strong relation between the shop name and the province the household came from. There was also some weak connection to religious sect, but the variety of choices in sects and temples in Kyoto suggests that this was not used as the basis to form networks. Housing also failed to reveal any network connections.

One question to consider is why households chose shop names that revealed a connection to a place of origin. One possible answer is that guarantors and therefore employment and other important networks relied upon provincial associations. A shop name that advertised the

provincial association of a household may therefore have invited contacts and introductions, making it easier to join a network.

### CONCLUSIONS

The residents of Sujichigaibashi neighborhood were constantly changing with an average of fourteen or more households entering the neighborhood each year and a similar number leaving. The households stayed for an average of five years with owners staying longer than renters. There was a yearly core of about twenty-seven households that owned their residences and about sixty that rented. Evidence suggests that some landlords had several households co-residing in the same residence. The yearly turnover of neighborhood residents was not only in household units. Individuals and parts of households also came and left. The migration of small groups into and out of households suggests a type of chain or network migration in which one or more family members move first to prepare the way and the others join them later. The registers do not make much note of why people showed up, whether by migration, marriage, birth or other reason and these events as well as small-group migrations will be the topic of future analysis. The registers provide slightly more information as to why people left, at least in regards to death, divorce, or joining other family households. However, most departures are simply noted as moved, gone, or people that must be deleted from the record. The events hidden behind these notations will also be the subject of future research.

Service migration did not play a major role in Sujichigaibashi neighborhood migration patterns. There were few servants employed in the neighborhood households during the twenty-year data period and few households explicitly sent members out for service. The few servants found in the neighborhood, whether employed as servants or sent into service, were generally in their teenage years. One exception was an older man and household head suggesting that other employment options were available. The term "service" in this period could apply to a number of occupations and did not necessarily refer to domestic service although it usually referred to live-in employment. Welfare records reveal that some households supported themselves with work as commuting servants and casual laborers. The records also suggest that many of the households may have been part of the Nishijin silk textile industry. This would be consistent with the small number of servants as the industry was organized in a combination of cottage industry and weaving workshops. At least some of the neighborhood residents commuted to work in such workshops as weavers and spinners. Labor as industrial or craft employment probably played an important role in the migration to and from the neighborhood, but much of the necessary information is not available in the registers.

The households in the neighborhood immigrated from a number of provinces to the north and east of Kyoto as well as Yamashiro, the province Kyoto was located in. These immigrant households often used shop names that advertised their connection with their home provinces and this may have been a way of establishing and using networks. Networks would have been useful for obtaining employment and the guarantors needed for contracts of many kinds. Although there seems to be some connection between certain regions and religious sects, this does not appear to have been the basis for forming networks. Network connections are also not apparent in the housing used by renters in the neighborhood. The renters rented from 49 private landlords as well as neighborhood housing. The neighborhood households also were registered with 150 temples. This is too diffuse to hope to find network connections based on temple affiliation or resulting in landlord-tenant patterns. The only evidence of networks was in the shop names.

This paper is a second report of on-going research on the demography of early modern Kyoto using the data of Sujichigaibashi neighborhood. Of course, Sujichigaibashi is only one neighborhood and can hardly be considered representative of the entire city. The location of the neighborhood in the Nishijin district, famous for its silk textile industry, implies that it had a different character from the other Kyoto neighborhoods that have been studied by Hayami and Hamano. However, the data confirms a similar level of migration and household turnover. One puzzling aspect of migration in Japan is that village registers largely show only individual migration while urban registers reveal a large volume of household migration. Village-level analysis does not appear to address this contradiction, particularly since village analysis is overwhelmed by the volume of individual migration. The Sujichigaibashi data has provided two clues to this migration. One is the small-group migration suggesting moves in piecemeal fashion. Another is the data on the actual occupations of the poorest households where the household heads worked as commuting servants, helpers, and casual laborers. Future analysis with this data and registers from other Kyoto neighborhoods is needed to shed further light on these and other questions.