

Edomae: Changing Environmental Relations between the Fishers, Fish Merchants, and Fishing Grounds of Nineteenth-Century Tokyo Bay*

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After being roughly awoken by his wife, Katsu stumbles out into the darkness of the cool morning. A fish peddler with a penchant for drink, the hung-over Katsu shoulders a pole on which his fish tub and knife box are balanced and walks toward the local fish market. “It’s usually getting light by now,” Katsu mutters as he walks, “I don’t much care for this gloom. Isn’t one of the wholesalers awake yet? Why ... are the wholesalers taking the day off? Hmm, with the wholesalers taking a day off, there’s no use in my coming down here. It sure is dark. Hey, sun, you taking the day off, too? ... Or, what the...,” Katsu clicks his tongue, “ah, the wife mistook the time and woke me early. Agh, how annoying.”

After thinking about heading back home for more sleep, Katsu resigns himself to being awake and heads down to the beach for a smoke and to wait for the wholesalers to open. Laying his tub and knife box down on the sand, Katsu washes his face in the surf. Sucking in a deep breath of sea air, he exclaims “Ahh, that sure is a good smell ... ummm ... ah, can’t get enough of that... It was just for want of this smell that I got into this business.” While wandering along the beach, Katsu gazes eastward out over the bay to watch the sky lighten and change color. “What the ... hey ... there’s a boat with its sail up. Already returning [from fishing], eh?” Looking about, Katsu finds a nice-sized stone, sits down, lights his pipe, and takes a puff.

*Shibahama*¹⁾

When the well-known *rakugo* actor Katsura Mikisuke performed this mid-nineteenth-century comic monologue a century later in the 1950s, he needed to preface it by explaining to the audience that just as there had once been a fish market in Nihonbashi there had also been one in Shibahama. “The fish caught all along this shoreline,” Katsura added, “were referred to as Shibahama fish. That’s why they were the ones with the real taste of Edomae. And the eating was good.”²⁾

While *Shibahama* turns out to be a heartfelt story of how hard work rewards itself with Katsu eventually owning his own shop along the main street, it is also a homily for hard times. What Katsura was likely unaware of was how even in Katsu’s day a combination of early-modern urbanization and commercialization had combined to reduce Shibahama to a shadow of its former self. And, as the fishers, peddlers and merchants of Shibahama grappled with the rapidly changing environment—in its broadest ecological, economic, social, and political sense—of the late-nineteenth



Illustration 1: Boats and dry racks for seaweed in Tamachi just south from Honshiba in the late 1950s. Tōkyō-to Minato kuyakusho, ed., *Minato-ku shi*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to Minato kuyakusho, 1960).

century, they increasingly found themselves to be more farmers of than fishers of the sea and paupers than proud merchants.³⁾

Moreover, just as it does today, in the 1950s, Edomae—literally meaning ‘in front of Edo’—continued to symbolize good fresh fish, but the appellation embodied an entirely new set of environmental relations. Edomae no longer suggested Shibahama. And, Shibahama was little more than a few stalwart seaweed farmers caught up in a tangle of railways, roads, and smoke-belching factories (**Illustration 1**). To better understand the multiple meanings of Edomae, in section one I examine the use of the term within the city of Edo to suggest the different and broad meanings the term once evoked. In the second section, I show how it was Edo’s eighteenth-century commercial growth that brought the bay into the city and the city into the countryside, in effect generating the regional networks that came to define and sustain Edomae. In this sense, I show that, even in the early modern period, Edomae grew to become both a specifically defined place and a tangle of region-wide environmental relations.

Following this discussion of the regional scope of Edomae, in the third section of the essay I return my focus to Shibahama and its two communities—Kanasugi and Honshiba—of fishers and fish merchants. Here, I show how the decline of these two communities owed less to industrialization and port construction of the modern period than to the urbanization, commercialization, and overfishing of the early modern period. In this sense, although Katsura identifies the “real taste of Edomae” with Shibahama, by the Meiji Restoration the fish that made the taste of Edomae were already being shipped from fishing villages throughout the entire region. Finally, I conclude this essay by sketching some of the important changes of the late-nineteenth century when, despite the first signs of Tokyo’s port construction and industrial water pollution, the fishers of Kanasugi and Honshiba eked out a living by giving up their poles and nets in favor of tending beds of oysters and fields of seaweed. Nonetheless, throughout both the early modern and modern periods, Edomae continued to be

defined by a complex of socially shaped and materially based relations.

The Meanings of Edomae

Edomae has meant different things to different people at different times. For those who have loved and fetishized Edo and later Tokyo, Edomae is synonymous with the vigorous urbane culture of the *Edokko* (Edo native). For connoisseurs and consumers of fish, Edomae has symbolized everything from eel broiled in the *kabayaki*-style to *nigiri*-style sushi and thinly sliced sashimi. For the wholesale fish merchants who have for more than three centuries supplied the city with fish, Edomae has meant both the vibrant culture of the marketplace and the social and material ties that have bound them to the fishers and fish of the sea. And, for the fishers themselves, Edomae was the clearly demarcated body of water from which they earned a living. As Katsura Mikisuke suggests above, however, whether a splendid taste or specific place, Edomae has consistently derived its meaning from the relations that bound the city to the nearby sea and the bounty of fish it provided.

Although the nuance was lost during Tokyo's postwar transformation, Edomae was once intimately associated with the urban vigor of the *Edokko* who inhabited Edo's and later Tokyo's 'low city' (*Shitamachi*). This association with the specific atmosphere and verve of the 'low city' likely emerged in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries with the establishment of a culinary culture amongst the wealthy commoners of Edo. During this period, famed restaurants like Daishichi and Musashiya in Mukōjima and Sakuragawa and Manpachi at Yanagibashi opened for business and began to shape the preparation and very taste of food in the city. As the historian Nishiyama Matsunosuke explains, many of these restaurants lay along the Sumida River where "... fresh ocean and river fish were available in abundance and at a reasonable price." And, he adds, "Much of the culture of the city of Edo, with its standards of *iki* and *tsū*, arose here" in these waterside restaurants, teahouses, and pleasure quarters.⁴⁾ Well into the twentieth century, Edomae continued to be associated with the culture of the 'low city,' but less with the refined tastes of restaurateurs and their clientele of wealthy merchants than with a wholesome mix of youthful pluck and pride (*inase*) as seen in the area's shop owners and workers. This newer sense of Edomae can be seen in novels and short stories where Edomae's fish merchants (*Edomae no sakanaya*)⁵⁾ are youthful and vigorous and its boat pilots are seasoned and steady at the rudder (*Edomae no sendō*).⁶⁾

As Katsura Mikisuke suggests above, however, it was and remains the eating of fresh fish that lies at the heart of Edomae.⁷⁾ At different times, the word itself has acted as a synonym for Edo-style sushi and sashimi cut thin and eaten with soy sauce, *shijimi* and *asari* clams boiled in miso soup, and especially the eel caught along the nearby seashore and broiled in the *kabayaki* style.⁸⁾ In his lengthy 1830s exposition on the city of his birth, Terakado Seiken captures the scene if not the smell of Edo's *kabayaki*-style roast:

"An exquisite broil, beautiful marination, and, a place without rusticity, for this it is known as Edomae. Now precisely [the cooking] is taking place at Edomae and everywhere the smoke is rising. This smell is decidedly good. Hence, people from

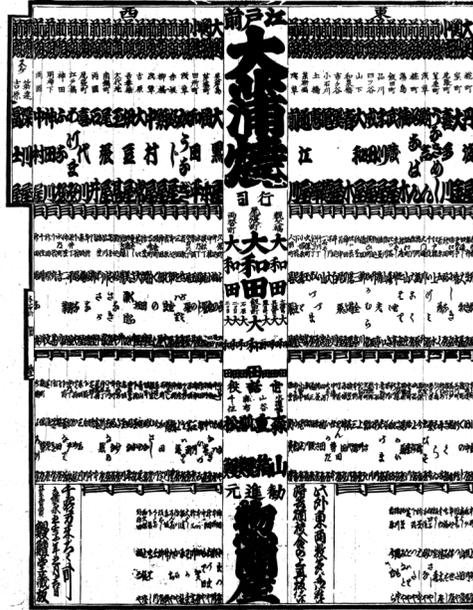


Illustration 2: 1852 ranked listing (*banzuke*) showing all the major, and many minor, “Edomae” (broiled eel) shops in Edo. “*Edomae ōkabayaki*,” (Edo: Mansendō, 1852), Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library, Tokubetsu bunko-shitsu, #4239.

far away call it the aroma of Edo (*Edo kaori*).”⁹⁾

And, as the sheer number and distribution of eel shops on this 1852 ranked listing (*banzuke*) shows, Seiken had good reason to identify the smell of Edo with that of the sweet aroma of eel coated in a sauce of saké and soy and sizzling over braziers of open coals (**Illustration 2**).¹⁰⁾

But where the work and play of Edo’s inhabitants provided Edomae with an ever effervescent quality, those who caught and brought the fish to Edo’s markets were of necessity keenest on providing Edomae with a clear definition. For these fishing communities and the wholesale fish merchants with whom they dealt, Edomae was a clearly delineated area framed by the rights of certain communities to specific fishing grounds. In the following 1819 document to the City Magistrate’s Fish Office (*Osakana-yakusho*), representatives for the wholesale fish merchants associations in Nihonbashi describe Edomae as a “sea” (*umi*) with clearly demarcated boundaries:

“... the place called Edomae is west from the first post at the spit (*susaki*) in Shinagawa in Musashi Province where the Haneda Sea enters the Edomae Sea (*Edomae-umi*). On the east, it is from the pine post at the spit in Fukagawa in Musashi Province where the Shimōsa Sea enters the Edo Sea. The above first post and pine post are the markers (*mikiri*), and this has from long ago been called the Edomae Sea. To the west and outside of the first pole is called the Haneda Sea, and to the east and outside of the pine pole is called the Shimōsa Sea. The east-



Illustration 3: Section of a map accompanying an 1824 *honzōgaku* (botany and *materia medica*) guide to the various products of Musashi Province. Iwasaki Tsunemasa, *Bukō sanbutsu-shi* (1824), (Tokyo: Inoue shoten, 1967).

west mark is on the west at the cape (*subana*) in Hashirimizu Village, Sagami Province and on the east at the cape in Futtsu Village, Kazusa Province. This whole area has come to be called the Inner Sea (Naikai) and has from long ago been fished by an intertwining (*irikumi*) [of many communities].”¹¹⁾

In this definition, Edomae was both the area just in front of Edo—hence the name—and one of many “seas,” all clearly divided by capes, spits, and poles and together facing out onto the deep waters of the Inner Sea (See **Map 1**).

Where the waters of the Inner Sea were deep, reaching fifty meters in places, the waters of the Edomae Sea and the neighboring Haneda and Shimōsa Seas were remarkably shallow. Essentially a submerged delta plain, the Edomae Sea reached a maximum depth during high tide of only two meters at a distance of one kilometer from the shore and emerged at low tide as an expansive tidal flat. In this surface of mud and sand, the ebb and flow of the tides carved out shoals which twice daily emerged as chimera like islands. Some of these shoals emerged regular enough to earn themselves names like Desu (Appearing Shoal), Maesu (Front Shoal), Okinosu (Offing Shoal) and even occasional mention on maps (**Illustration 3**).¹²⁾ Nonetheless, these tidal flats were in continuous flux as tides shifted and eroded their shoals and rivers like the Naka, Sumida, Furu, Meguro, and Nomi inexhaustibly replenished them with sediment.¹³⁾

Expanding Networks of Fishers, Fish Merchants, and Fishing Grounds

Interaction with Edomae's shallow and shifting seascape also encouraged its regular and repeated inscription by the Tokugawa *bakufu*, shipping associations (*kaisen-don'ya*), and local fishers. As Edo rapidly grew to become one of the world's largest cities with nearly one million people by the early eighteenth century, the ruling *bakufu* took various measures to secure a regular supply of foodstuffs and goods from western and northern Japan. During the reforms of the Kyōhō Period (1716–1735), the *bakufu* recognized existing shipping associations and required all other shipping merchants to join or form such an association.¹⁴ Joining the tides and river silt in modifying the tidal flat that stretched out in front of the city, in 1723 the City Elders (*machi toshiyori*) ordered and began supervising the shipping associations' dredging of shipping channels and the driving of twelve 'channel poles' (*miokui*) to mark routes of safe passage and anchorage (**Illustration 4**).¹⁵ In addition to the dredging and marking of shipping channels, the shipping association's boat pilots drew out of the coastal seascape another geography of hills and bluffs, the peaks of prominent temples and shrines, and large shoreline trees like the famous sandalwood (*sendan*) of Kanasugi.¹⁶ In an age before the use of sextants and reliable navigation charts, it was these landmarks and channel poles by which pilots guided their bulky coastal sailing ships to and from Edo's anchorages in the Shinagawa Offing (*Shinagawa-oki*) and shallower Tsukuda Offing (*Tsukuda-oki*).

The water's shallowness also contributed to the Edomae Sea's distinctive tidewater

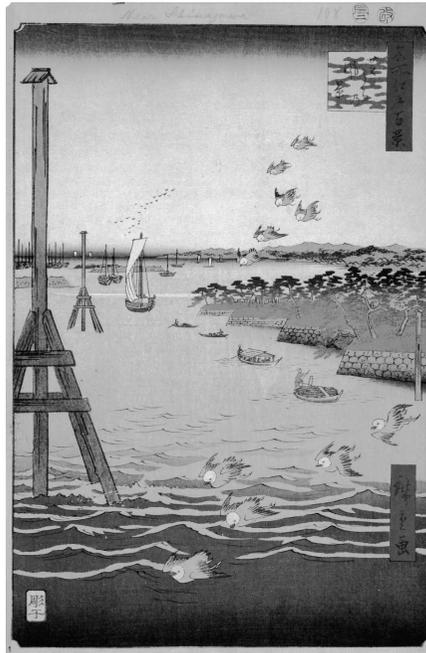


Illustration 4: Print of Shibaura with two shipping channel poles (*miokui*) shown on the left. Andō Hiroshige, “Shibaura no fūkei” (1856) in *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, ed. Henry Smith, (New York, N.Y.: George Braziller and Brooklyn Museum, 1986).

habitat and hence to a particular kind of fishing culture amongst the communities that ringed its shores. Tidewaters exhibit several features that distinguish their ecology from that of rocky and open shores and the deeper waters of the bay or open ocean. In this kind of shallow water environment, the gentler flood and ebb of the tides exposes the broad tidal flats to the air and the extremities of winter and summer temperatures.¹⁷⁾ And, owing to the area's many rivers and freshets, Edomae's tideland waters were relatively low in salinity and high in nutrients and thereby supported a particular variety of fish, shellfish, crab, shrimp, and seaweeds.¹⁸⁾ Moreover, just as the boat pilots of the large coastal sailing ships used landmarks to navigate by, local fishers also used these same landmarks to seasonally stake out and sail to and from their fishing grounds and fields of seaweed (**Illustration 5**).

While physical geography played an important role in shaping its definition, Edomae's clearest boundaries emerged through the interaction of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, the region's fishing communities, and their use of the waters that became fishing grounds. When Tokugawa Ieyasu entered the Kanto region and chose the castle town of Edo to be his headquarters in 1590, he and his subordinates began rapidly to change the existing political and social geography of the region. Acting under the principle of *kōgi*, the Tokugawa authorities assumed ownership and authority over all land and waters within its domain and granted farming and fishing communities the right to use those lands in return for obligatory services or taxes.¹⁹⁾ Moreover, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Tokugawa *bakufu* (founded in 1603) ordered a number of unprecedented engineering projects that resulted in the building of the country's largest and most magnificent castle, the rerouting of both local and regional rivers for transport and flood control, and undertook the reclamation of the area around the Hibiya Inlet to settle the tens of thousands of commoners who were settling in Edo to serve the Tokugawa and other domain lords residing in the city.

Along the shores of "Edo Bay"—known variously in the sixteenth century as the "Eastern Sea" (*Tōkai*) or "Inland Sea" (*Iriumi*), the new Tokugawa regime had by the



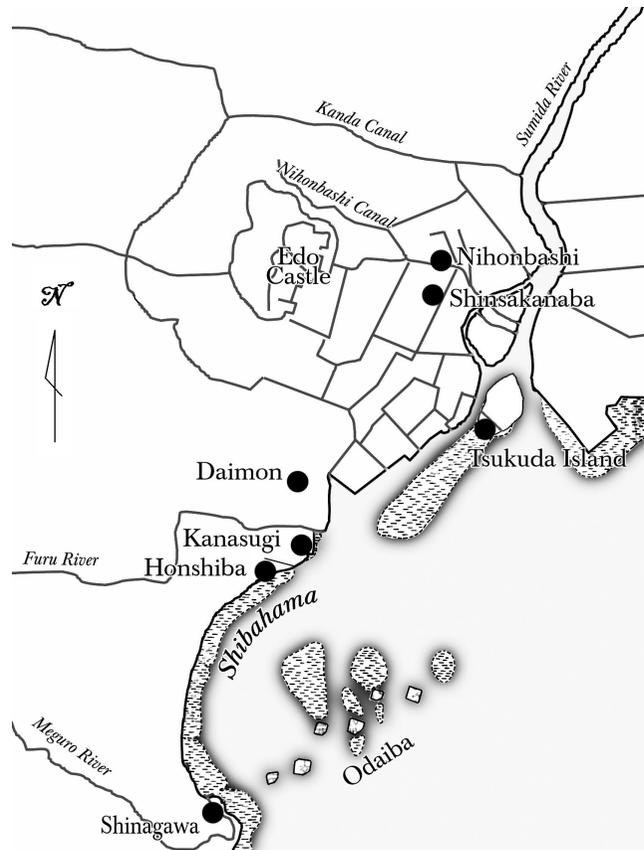
Illustration 5: Picture postcard of seaweed cultivation just to the south of Shiba in Shinagawa (c. 1890). Ishiguro Keishō, ed., *Meiji Taishō Shōwa Tōkyō shashin daishūsei*, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2001).



Map 1: The seas and eight tribute-paying fishing villages of Tokyo Bay

early seventeenth century designated Kanasugi, Honshiba, and later six other communities to be tribute-offering fishing villages (*misai misakana ura*) (Map 1).²⁰⁾ In return for the right to sail in levy-free boats and fish in the Shogun's seas, these eight fishing villages were obliged to supply Edo Castle with fish and shellfish and make their boats available upon request.²¹⁾ In addition, the Tokugawa regime granted extraordinary fishing rights to a community of vassal fishers who had migrated from distant Settsu Province and eventually settled on the island of Tsukuda in the estuary of the Sumida River.²²⁾ At a time when there was little or no market for fish in the Kanto region, these tributary relations between the Tokugawa regime and local fishing communities proved a successful means for procuring food and supplies for Edo Castle.²³⁾

By the early eighteenth century, however, Edo's rapid commercialization and development of a large market in fish led to a rapid decline in the older system of tributary procurement. Having already begun buying fish from wholesale fish merchants (*uodon'ya*) to supplement the fish it received in tribute, the *bakufu* decided to discontinue the tributary system for fish all together during the reforms of the Kyōhō period. In place of these separate and burdensome relations, the City Magistrate established the *Onaya* in Nihonbashi to buy fish at a fixed price from designated



Map 2: Edo, its fish markets, and local fishing communities

wholesale fish merchants.²⁴⁾ During the same period, the *bakufu* also granted permission to an additional three wholesale and intermediate (*nakagai*) fish merchant associations to establish their own fish markets. Thus, in addition to the century-old four fish markets along Nihonbashi Canal (Hon'odawara-chō, Honfunne-chō, Honfunne-chō yokodana, and Anjin-chō), the Shinsakanaba was established along the nearby Kaede Canal in Honzaimoku-chō, and the Kanasugi and Honshiba merchants established a market along the Iriai Canal in Shiba (**Map 2**).²⁵⁾ While the term Edomae may have been used earlier to describe the area laying in front of Edo Castle, it was with the eighteenth century's vigorous commercial development and establishment of several fish markets that a broader meaning of Edomae came into its own.

As Edo grew, so too did its appetite for fish. This consumptive appetite of Edo was so great that it stimulated the development of a regional economy bent on feeding it. During the eighteenth century, fishing villages along the shores of Sagami, Musashi, Shimōsa, Kazusa, and Awa Provinces began to develop in tandem with Edo's market in fish (**Map 1**).²⁶⁾ Eventually numbering 84 officially recognized fishing villages (*ura* or *hama*), fishers from these villages began to drop line and net in waters both near and far from home.²⁷⁾ In addition to these officially recognized fishing villages, a

number of shoreline farming villages (*mura*) and hamlets (farming areas within a fishing village) also began to turn to the neighboring sea to fish and gather seaweed for fertilizer, food, and sale.²⁸⁾ Pressing exclusive rights to fish and clam in the waters closest to their homes, these shoreline farming villages increasingly came into conflict with fishers from other fishing villages.

As such disputes increased in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, representatives from the forty-four communities nearest to Edo gathered in Kanagawa Village (within present-day Yokohama City) during the summer of 1816. The agreement reached at this historic Kanagawa Convention influenced fishing throughout the bay and shaped the meaning of Edomae in a three important ways. First, as Ōta Naohiro has argued, by delegating authority to the original eight tribute-offering fishing villages—the fishers of Tsukuda island deigned to participate—to lead this supra-village compact and by placing restrictions on shoreline farming villages, the Convention ratified a three-tier hierarchy of status and privilege among these forty four and eventually all of the bay’s eighty-four fishing communities.²⁹⁾ Moreover, in recognizing the problem of declining catches, the Convention sought to address the problem by restricting the number of fishing methods to thirty-eight kinds of “traditional” (*kyūkan*) nets, poles, and traps.³⁰⁾ Finally, with this agreement to restrict fishing techniques and equipment, the Convention delineated an external and internal geography of fishing grounds for the entire region, wherein Edomae alone was singled out as an area requiring further restrictions.³¹⁾ More symptom than solution, however, the 1816 agreement only highlighted the decline of the fishery but did little to improve the situation. As a later account of traditional fishing methods noted, “... as the years passed, the agreement was broken and fishing methods became utterly confused.”³²⁾

While the Kanagawa Convention points to the early-modern degradation of the fisheries that fed Edo, this historic meeting and its inability to thwart overfishing also attests to the complexity of Edomae. A tangle of tidal flats, fisheries, fishers, merchants, fish markets, *bakufu* officials, and hungry consumers, Edomae was both at once a specific place and a complex of material and social relations.

Redefining Edomae: The Rise and Ebb of Shiba’s Fishing Communities

As the above outline of Edomae’s development shows, the term’s meaning and geographical extent were in constant flux. At first little more than a relational term used to describe an area vis-à-vis Edo Castle, during the eighteenth century Edomae took on a life of its own with the commercial development of the bay’s fisheries and the city’s fish markets. And, as the tendrils of Edo’s economy extended outward to embrace the entire region during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the meaning of Edomae itself began to be defined by this greater geographical extent. The expansion of these environmental relations, however, also changed the place most clearly identified as Edomae—the two fishing communities of Honshiba and Kanasugi and the local fish market near Shibahama where Katsura Mikisuke argued one could once find the “real taste of Edomae.”

The home the fish-peddler Katsu stumbled out of that early morning was very likely a back alley tenement (*ura-nagaya*) in Honshiba, an urban district that lay south



Map 3: Shiba area (Based on *Edo kiriezu*, (Owariya Kiyoshichi-ban, 1861))

of central Edo in the bayside area of Shiba (**Map 3**). Making his way along either the Tōkaidō Highway or the other main street running parallel to it, Katsu headed toward the stalls of the canal-side fish market (*kashi*) where he planned to haggle with the wholesale fish merchants (*uodon'ya*) over the price, kind, and quality of fish he would fill his tub with that day.³³⁾ Being a peddler (*bōtefuri*) too poor to have his own shop, Katsu supported himself and his wife off the margin between the buying and selling price of his daily lay-in of fish. Arriving early that morning, Katsu decided to wander the short distance over to the Shiba beach (*hama*), a regulated and taxed space used by Honshiba fishers to dry their nets and beach their boats.³⁴⁾ Having washed his face and taken a puff from his pipe, Katsu noticed the sail of a fishing boat making its way back from the area's fishing grounds and likely on its way to the local fish market along banks of the Iriai Canal. At this riverside wharf that also served as a market, these fishers unloaded and sold their daily catch to the local wholesale merchants, who in turn sold the fish to intermediate merchants (*nakagai*) and peddlers like Katsu.³⁵⁾ Although a work of fiction, *Shibahama* evokes a reliable picture of the social geography of Shiba's fishing community. In doing so, it also exposes the sinuous character of the area's environmental relations, the ties that bound neighborhood, market, beach, and bay to one another through the work of local fishermen,

wholesalers, peddlers, and consumers.

This social geography during Katsu's day was defined by status and wealth. As with the rest of Edo, the administration, ownership, and use of land in Shiba was foremost determined by the Tokugawa regime's strict enforcement of social status (*mibun*).³⁶⁾ Families of warrior status in Shiba lived on the estates of such domains as Satsuma, Higo, and Ise, which occupied swaths of land set back from the Tōkaidō Highway and along the breezy seashore. Beside the high walls of these domain estates and amidst back street neighborhoods, Buddhist monks, Shinto priests, and their attendants lived in and managed the affairs of the area's many temples and shrines. Finally, between the shoreline and domain estates and spread out directly along the Tōkaidō Highway, Shiba's commoners lived and worked in some of Edo's poorest and densest neighborhoods.³⁷⁾ While poverty and crowding characterized much of Shiba's back streets and alleys, wealthy merchants attracted by the passage of people and goods maintained large shops along the Tōkaidō Highway, Iriai Canal, and Furu River (called the Kanasugi River where it flowed into the bay).

Until the mid-eighteenth century, however, Shiba's two fishing communities of Honshiba and Kanasugi acted as the economic mainstays and dominant users of the area's waterside spaces. As described above, the first two of only eight tribute-paying fishing villages recognized by the Tokugawa authorities in the 1590s, Kanasugi and Honshiba long enjoyed the privilege of sailing the bay in levy-free boats and catching fish throughout the inner portion of the bay.³⁸⁾ Moreover, along the riverbanks and bay shore, the fishers had been granted wide net-drying areas (*amihoshiha*) where they could dry their equipment and beach their boats.³⁹⁾ In return for these privileges, though, the Honshiba and Kanasugi fishing communities were also obliged to make their boats available upon request and to offer a portion of their catch (*misai misakana*) to the Kantō Deputy (*Kantō gundai*), which following the Kansei Reforms in 1792 was to be partially paid in money at a fixed rate.⁴⁰⁾

From the late-seventeenth century, however, Edo's growing population and consumptive habits singularly transformed the landscape and seascape of Shiba—and, in effect, led to the formation of Edomae. While the destruction of much of Edo in the 1657 Meireki Fire momentarily dampened the city's growth, concern about another fire encouraged domain lords to build second and third estates on the Azabu hills upstream from Kanasugi and along the Shiba shore.⁴¹⁾ This physical expansion of the city eastward across the Sumida River and southward into Shiba, however, required a similar expansion in the city's riparian infrastructure.⁴²⁾ As such, the nearby Furu River was widened and dredged in 1675 and again in 1698 and crossed with a number of new bridges to integrate the developing Azabu and Shiba areas with the city proper.⁴³⁾ Similarly, as the shipping associations described above completed the dredging and marking of shipping channels in the bay, increasing numbers of ships began to drop anchor in the nearby Shinagawa Offing. Owing both to this expansion of the city and to the increasing foot traffic along the Tōkaidō Highway, Shiba's fishers also found a ready and growing market for their catch.⁴⁴⁾ During the eighteenth century, however, the urbanization of the Shiba area began to encroach on the land and sea that were also the livelihood of its fishers.

To grasp the affects of urbanization on the fishing communities of Honshiba and

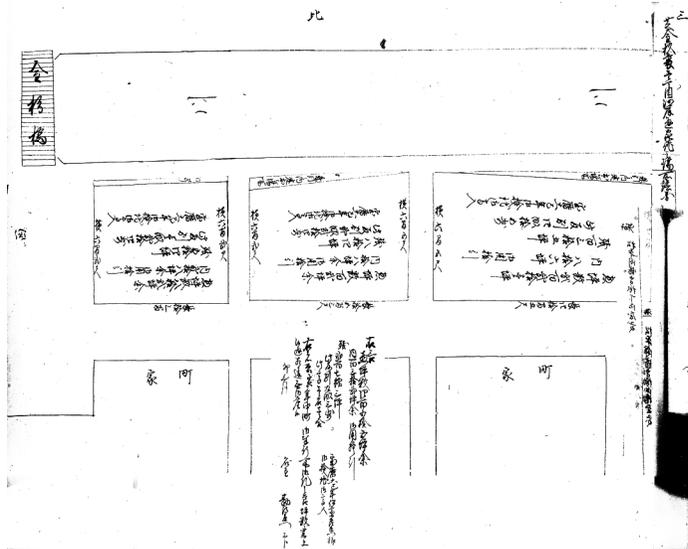


Illustration 6: Sketch submitted along with an 1842 report about waterside land (*kashichi*) use along the south bank of the Furu River just downstream from Kanasugi Bridge (upper left corner). *Shichū torishime ruishū: kashichi shirabe no bu*, (National Diet Library, #812-3).

Kanasugi, land ownership and land use of the area's riverbanks and the seashore serve as a useful index. In 1722, local landholders (*iemochi*) petitioned and were later allowed to use the area along the south bank and beach area of the Furu River just downstream from the Kanasugi Bridge (Illustration 6).⁴⁵⁾ Long an area used by fishers to dry their nets and equipment, owners explained, the net-drying area was no longer needed because of the decreasing number of fishers in the district. Moreover, having already begun helping the fishers to fulfill their tribute obligations, the owners emphasized that they desired to use this area for assisting the district's obligations to the *bakufu*. While the details of this assistance are unknown, by 1761 rents earned from the area were used to help pay the district's tax obligation.⁴⁶⁾ All along the Shibahama shore as well, areas once used exclusively for drying nets and the beaching boats were being redeveloped with homes and shops.⁴⁷⁾

A decreasing number of fishing boats also serves as a good index of the declining fortunes of Shiba's fishers. Although contemporary documents, such as those cited above, frequently mention the declining fishing population and shifting tax burden, it is difficult to ascertain by how much the Honshiba and Kanasugi fishing population declined. This difficulty is another factor of Shiba's urbanization. Unlike rural fishing villages where the population of people engaged in fishing is easier to gauge, from 1662 onward Shiba and its fishers were part of Edo proper and increasingly lived amidst a mixture of people in different occupations and recorded only by their propertied statuses (e.g. landowners (*iemochi*), land renters (*jigari*), and tenants (*tanagari*)). Where this population change is difficult to ascertain, though, a parallel decline in fishing boats perhaps says enough. Between the mid-eighteenth century and mid-nineteenth century, the total number of fishing boats declined by nearly two

thirds going from a high of 245 boats in 1715 to only 98 boats in 1880.⁴⁸⁾ Once the mainstay of their community, by the early-Meiji period Kanasugi's and Honshiba's remaining fishers were mostly clustered in the Hama-chō of Kanasugi or living along the back alleys of Honshiba and Shinami-chō amongst fish peddlers like *Shibahama's* Katsu, makers of fishing equipment, and others unrelated to the area's fishing economy.⁴⁹⁾

Shiba's eighteenth-century urbanization and commercialization affected the area's fishing community much differently than its community of fish merchants. Though fish had long been sold in the Shiba area, it was only with the early-eighteenth century Kyōhō Reforms that local fish merchants were able to establish two associations of wholesale fish merchants (*uodon'ya nakama*), one each in Kanasugi and Honshiba.⁵⁰⁾ Like Edo's five other fish merchant associations (all in the central Nihonbashi area), the wholesale merchants of Kanasugi and Honshiba also established their fish market along the banks (*kashi*) of a canal in 1725.⁵¹⁾ Commonly known as the Shiba *zakoba* or 'market in small miscellaneous fish,' this market and the Honshiba and Kanasugi wholesale merchant houses who ran it were always considered a rank below those in Nihonbashi and restricted to dealing mostly in locally caught shallow-water fish such as flathead (*kochi*), flounder (*karei*), and various kinds of smaller fish (*sago*).⁵²⁾ These wholesale merchants then sold the fish to intermediate merchants, small-time fish merchants (*koshōnin*), and to peddlers, who like *Shibahama's* Katsu made the rounds to valued consumers.⁵³⁾ Famous for their live fish tanks (*ikesu*), a number of restaurants near the bluff in Takanawa also bought fish from the nearby Shiba fish market.⁵⁴⁾ By the end of the eighteenth century, documents frequently mention that Shiba's fish merchants had come to outnumber its fishers.⁵⁵⁾ With thirty-six wholesale merchant houses and scores of intermediate merchants, fishmongers, and peddlers in Kanasugi district alone, the late-eighteenth century was the heyday of the Shiba fish market.⁵⁶⁾

Within a few decades, however, the tides had begun to turn. In an 1837 report listing active and discontinued members of the Kanasugi Wholesale Fish Association, nine are described as having retired their licenses (*kabu*) in the early-nineteenth century. Thereafter, a gradual attrition in members reduced their numbers to seventeen by the time of the report.⁵⁷⁾ Finally, in the winter of 1869, the Kanasugi and Honshiba Wholesale Fish Associations jointly submitted a petition the new Tokyo Prefectural government requesting approval to relocate the entire market to a more prosperous area in the nearby district of Daimon. Numbering only thirteen houses in each district, the wholesale merchants blamed their misfortune on the local fish merchants and peddlers whose situation they describe as even more dire than their own:

Since peddlers and small-time merchants have fallen onto hard times. They buy goods [fish] in the market and sell each to their established customers. After returning, they should pay money to the wholesale and intermediate merchants for their order, but it does not work out well. Every evening until the night, the wholesaler and intermediate merchants send collectors around to dun for [payments], but time and days are extended and there are difficulties so they become delinquent. For each peddler and fish merchant, 50 to over 100 [*zeni*] *kan*

of debt remains in arrears. Gradually, their abuse has become worse. [And], from the year before last [1868], [their dealings] have become especially bad.⁵⁸⁾

In response to the considerable debt owed to them by these local fish merchants, the petition continues, the wholesale merchants all but stopped selling fish locally and send seventy to eighty percent of it on to the Nihonbashi fish markets where, despite the cost of shipping, they earn certain cash for their efforts.⁵⁹⁾ Despite the local context and blame attributed for these economic woes, it was larger regional changes that were redefining the very relations that had first given shape to Edomae.

In the most general sense, Shiba's reversal of fortunes owed significantly to the very exclusive trading rights and rising commerce to which its and Nihonbashi's wholesale merchant houses had gained their previous profits. After rising for decades, the price at which the wholesale merchants bought fish was markedly higher than the set price at which the City Magistrate procured the Shogun's supply of tribute fish through its century-old Fish Office (*Osakana yakusho*). For decades, the wholesale merchants had passed this same lower price on to the tribute-supplying fishing communities. The decline of Edomae's local fishers and the regional expansion of its market relations, however, meant that fish for market and tribute were increasingly being supplied from afar and at a higher cost than the wholesale merchants were willing to pay. In response, fishers along the bay near Edo, small-time fish merchants throughout the city, and even some wholesale fish merchants began circumventing the wholesale merchants' control of the fish market to engage in prohibited side sales (*waki-uri*) and side deliveries (*waki-age*) at bridges and wharves along the city's many rivers and canals.⁶⁰⁾ As the historian Yoshida Nobuyuki has shown, though, this selling of fish outside the wholesale-merchant controlled market contributed to a further increase in the price of fish, transforming an occasional activity into a regular if not rampant practice.⁶¹⁾

Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century, Kanasugi's and Honshiba's status of being a tribute-paying fishing community had become less of a privilege and more of a burden. Shiba's relative decline was also a sign of the broader and more significant changes to the local and regional relations that constituted Edomae.

Conclusion

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the tethers between Shiba's fishers, wholesalers, and peddlers most clearly knotted together along the rough-hewn stone embankments of the Shiba fish market. It was this particular social space with its fleshy ties to the bay and the beach that the *rakugo* artist Katsura Mikisuke had sought to animate time and again throughout the 1950s and 1960s. But acting and pantomiming alone could not revive the environmental relations that Edo's urbanization, commercialization, and overfishing had already undone. Moreover, the transnational character of the modern period saw a further unraveling and redefinition of Edomae through the impossible transformation of its tidal flats into a deepwater seaport and the booming production of dried seaweed and cultured and canned oysters for a global market.⁶²⁾

By the time Tokyo bay's oysters were being eaten in the United States in the early



Illustration 7: Shibaura wharf and warehouses (c. 1930). Jinnai Hidenobu, ed., *Tōkyō no mizu*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993).

twentieth century, though, Shiba's fish market had all but vanished. Citing their poverty and peripheral location vis-à-vis the fish merchants in Nihonbashi, in 1870 the Honshiba and Kanasugi Fish Merchant Associations succeeded in gaining the prefectural government's approval to open their market every two months in Daimon, where they set up their market along both sides of a wide street.⁶³ The move did little to revive their fortunes, however. Thereafter, in fact, the Shiba fish market's decline was so sharp that when the Tokyo Municipal Reform Plan Committee met in 1888 they first had to confirm whether the Shiba market should even be considered a market at all before voting to relocate it to the banks of the Furu River.⁶⁴ And, after 1903, the city and prefecture no longer kept track of each individual association's sales.⁶⁵

The fate of Shiba's fishers was quite different, however. Though they continued to supply most of the fish sold at the Shiba market, changes in the bay forced many to seek work as peddlers and rickshaw drivers. In addition, to the long-term decline in their catch, Shiba's two fishing associations also complained of the irrevocable damage caused by the Tokugawa *bakufu*'s 1853–54 building of several battery islands (*Odaiba*) in the bay. The massive stadium-sized emplacements, they explained, changed the flow of water over the tidal flats causing their fishing grounds to become shallow and thereby reducing their harvest of shellfish.⁶⁶ Moreover, between 1870 and 1872, the new Ministry of Public Works (*Kōbu-shō*) built the country's first railway between Yokohama and Shinbashi, which from Kanasugi to Shinagawa was built atop the beach and tidal flats of Shibahama.⁶⁷ And, in response to more than a decade of arguments for improving Tokyo's port facilities, in 1892 the prefectural government began a series of construction projects that by the 1930s transformed the bay's tidal flats into a port for deep-hulled oceangoing ships (**Illustration 7**).⁶⁸ During the first



Illustration 8: Photograph of winter fields of seaweed in Tokyo Bay near Haneda (1954). From Tōkyō-to naiwan gyogyō kōbō-shi kankōkai, ed., *Tōkyō-to naiwan gyogyō kōbō-shi*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to naiwan gyogyō kōbō-shi kankōkai, 1971).

two decades of this port construction, much of the dredged tidal flat was deposited along the Shiba shore, thereby turning much of Shiba’s traditional fishing grounds into vast swaths of new prefectural property that was in turn rented out to the factories and warehouses.

Despite this relentless transformation and degradation of the bay and tidelands, however, membership in Shiba’s two fishing associations managed gradually to increase during much of this period.⁶⁹⁾ Oddly enough, this increased membership reflected the demise of their traditional fishery by forcing many to give up fishing in the bay in favor of farming it for seaweed and oysters (**Illustration 8**).⁷⁰⁾ This rising membership, however, also reflected an integration of the bay area’s local and regional markets with national and global markets where most of the dried seaweed and canned oysters were sold. Thus, as Shiba’s local fish market withered and faded away in the early twentieth century, its fishers were increasingly drawn into a new set of environmental relations with marketplaces and consumers throughout Japan and the world. In this sense, while Edomae remained in front of the city, it was also reaching its way across the globe.

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Notes

- 1) This paraphrase of the beginning of *Shibahama* is based on the following rendition of this classic *rakugo* comic monologue. Katsura Mikisuke, “Shibahama,” in Iijima Tomoyasu, ed., *Koten rakugo: dai*

- ni kan*, (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1968), 277–298.
- 2) Katsuura, “Shibahama,” 282.
 - 3) While much research has been done on the Japanese fisheries and fishing villages (including works in English by David Howell and Arne Kalland) as well as on the Nihonbashi fish market and its merchants, there is very little research on Tokyo’s fishing communities. David L. Howell, *Capitalism from Within: Economy, Society, and the State in a Japanese Fishery*, (Berkeley, Cali.: University of California, 1995); Arne Kalland, *Fishing Villages in Tokugawa Japan*, (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995). Observing this ‘gap’ in the research, Yoshida Nobuyuki has recently written the following essay on Shiba’s fish market and wholesale fish merchant associations. No research, however, has yet been done on Shiba’s fishers. Yoshida Nobuyuki, “Shiba kanasugi-chō kumi uodon’ya nakama to zakoba,” in *Kyodai jōkamachi Edo no bunsetsu kōzō*, (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1999), 240–267.
 - 4) Nishiyama and earlier scholars like Mitamura Engyo and Yada Sō’un before him have rhapsodized at length upon the refined tastes (*tsū*) and the urbane discernment and strength of character (*iki*) said to characterize true *Edokko*. Nishiyama Matsunosuke, “Sesō to ryōri,” *Nishiyama Matsunosuke chosakushū*, included and translated to English in Nishiyama Matsunosuke and Gerald Groemer, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600–1868*, (Honolulu, Hi.: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997), 168.
 - 5) Izumi Kyōka, *Onna keizu* (1907), in *Kyōka zenshū*, vol. 10, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1940), 340.
 - 6) Kōda Rohan, “Gendan” (1938), in *Gendan Kangadan*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 42.
 - 7) In his study of Tsukiji—heir to Tokyo’s earlier fish markets and now by far the world’s largest such market, the anthropologist Theodore Bestor provides a sense of how the meaning of Edomae has changed in the second half of the twentieth century: “The ‘Edomae’ catchphrase came into common use by sushi shops only after World War II—long after the bay had ceased to be a major source for fresh seafood—and has now become simply a general term for Tokyo-style sushi as well as an implied assurance of freshness.” Theodore C. Bestor, *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World*, (Berkeley, Cali.: University California Press, 2004), 154.
 - 8) Shibata Ryūsei, *Nokosareta Edo* (1911), (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1990), 141–143. Natsume Sōseki’s *Botchan* also captures this sense of Edomae as an urbane attitude toward food. While listening to his fellow teachers happily slurp away and munch down their dinner of overdone *chikuwa* and thickly cut sashimi at a local inn in the provincial city of Matsuyama, Botchan thinks to himself that “They’ve likely never eaten Edomae cooking (*Edomae no ryōri*).” Natsume Soseki, *Botchan* (1907), in *Nihon bungaku zenshū*, vol. 8, (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 1967), 251.
 - 9) Terakado Seiken, *Edo Hanjōki* (1831–1836), (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), 274.
 - 10) “*Edomae okabayaki*,” (Edo: Mansendō, 1852). Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library, Tokubetsu bunko-shitsu, #4239.
 - 11) Sakamoto Sadao, ed., *Nihonbashi uoichiba enkaku kiyō*, (Tokyo: Nihonbashi gyokaijo, 1889). Republished in *Meiji kōki sangyō hattsu shiryō*, vol. 363, (Tokyo: Ryūkei shōsha, 1997), 76–77.
 - 12) Iwasaki Tsunemasa, *Bukō sanbutsu-shi* (1824), (Tokyo: Inoue shoten, 1967).
 - 13) Johannis de Rijke, a Dutch engineer in the employ of the Home Ministry, briefly explains the dynamics of tidal drift in Tokyo Bay in his 1889 survey report on the potential of building a deep water port for the Tokyo. “Kōshi Derēke chikkō iken mōshiage,” (8 March 1889). Reprinted in *Tōkyō-shi shikō: kōwan-hen*, vol. 4, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-shi, 1927), 369–374.
 - 14) Yoshida Nobuyuki, “Ryūiki toshi—Edo,” in Itō Takeshi and Yoshida Nobuyuki, ed., *Mizube to toshi*, (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2005), 14–16.
 - 15) “Kaisen-donya bu” (1842), Tōkyō-to, ed., *Edo-Tōkyō tonya shiryō: sho-tonya enkaku-shi*, (Tokyo: Tokyo-to, 1995), 15–26. See, also, Reiko Hayashi, “Provisioning Edo in the Early Eighteenth Century: The Pricing Policies of the Shogunate and the Crisis of 1733” in James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru, eds., *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 217.
 - 16) Tōkyō-to Minato kuyakusho, ed., *Minato-ku shi*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to Minato kuyakusho, 1960), 857–858. For mention of the Kanasugi’s sandalwood, see, for instance, Okuyama Shōzō, ed., *Shibaura gyogyō kiritsu*, (Place of publication and publisher unknown, 1883). Tokyo Metropolitan Archives, #CM-147. Portions republished in *Tōkyō-shi shikō: sangyō-hen*, vol. 14, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to,

- 1970), 299.
- 17) In his classic biogeographical approach to the invertebrate ecology of the intertidal zone along the Pacific coast of North America, Edward Ricketts' explains that, other than offering protection from the often pounding surf that washes across sheltered and open coastlines, the environment of bays and estuaries is more extreme for marine animals because these areas' later tides lead to a greater variance in temperature, salinity, oxygen, and stress resulting from longer periods of desiccation. Edward F. Ricketts, Jack Calvin, and Joel Walker Hedgpeth, *Between Pacific Tides*, 5th Edition, (Stanford, Cali.: Stanford University Press, 1985 (1938)), 267–395.
 - 18) Numata Makoto and Furota Toshio, eds., *Tōkyō-wan no seibutsu-shi*, (Tokyo: Tsukiji shokan, 1997), 45–73, 117–122; Shioya Teruo, ed., *Edomae kairui gyogyō shōshi: Tōkyō no higata ni ikita kairui ryōshi no oboegaki*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to naiwan gyogyō kankyō seibi kyōkai, 2003), 19–32.
 - 19) Niwa Kunio, “Kinsei ni okeru san’ya kakai no shoyū-shihai to Meiji no henkaku,” in *Nihon no shakai-shi: kyōkai ryōiki to kōtsū*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1987), 173–213, for discussion of the “public” character of the seas see especially 193–200.
 - 20) Submitted by the leaders (*ryōshi-gashira*) of the two fishing associations of Kanasugi and Honshiba to the City Magistrate in 1864, this is a compendium of documents used to demonstrate the historical usufruct rights of both of these fishing communities. Okuyama, ed., *Shibaura gyogyō kiritsu*, 299–303. The other six fishing communities were as follows: Shinagawa, Ōi-ohayashi, Haneda, Namamugi, Shinjuku, and Kanagawa.
 - 21) Examining the *bakufu*'s handling of beached whales in the Shinagawa Offing and elsewhere, Takagi Shōsaku argues that both in principle and in practice the *bakufu* considered the seas and everything in them to be part of the Tokugawa domain. Takagi Shōsaku, “‘Shōgun no umi’ to iu ronri: kujira unjō o tegakari to shite,” in Gotō Masatoshi and Yoshida Nobuyuki, eds., *Suisan no shakai-shi*, (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2002), 171–193.
 - 22) Kawasaki Fusagorō, ed., *Tsukudajima to shirauo gyogyō: sono gyogyō funsōshi*, (Tokyo: Tokyo-to kōbunshokan, 1978).
 - 23) For an example of a similar tributary procurement relation with villages (*mura*), in this case charcoal and firewood from the Chichibu region, see the following essay: Kimizuka Yoshihiko, “Bakufu goyō sumi-yaku no tenkai to sonraku,” *Shikai*, 33, (1986), 29–48.
 - 24) Ōta Naohiro, “Kinsei Edo naiwan chiiki ni okeru ‘sakana’ jōnō seido no tenkai to gyogyō chitsujo,” *Kantō kinsei-shi kenkyū*, 28, (1990), 8–9.
 - 25) Yoshida Nobuyuki, “Sakana naya to itabune—Nihonbashi uoichiba no kōzō tokushitsu,” in *Kyodai jōkamachi Edo no bunsetsu kōzō*, (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2000), 198–239.
 - 26) Gotō Masatoshi, *Kinsei gyogyō shakai kōzō no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2001), 21.
 - 27) Throughout the Kanto region during the early modern period, fishing grounds fell within the administrative boundaries of shoreline villages but were typically managed by contractors (*ukeoinin*) who paid annual fees to local domain lords in exchange for control over a local fishery. Therefore, villagers and others desiring to fish in a fishery were required to pay a duty (*yakukin*) to the village and a separate operating fee (*unjōkin*) to the fishery contractor. Gotō Masatoshi, *Kinsei gyogyō shakai kōzō no kenkyū*, 129–147, but especially 145. Aside from this role of village administration and the important absence of Ainu labor, the Kanto's contract fisheries appear to resemble those David Howell examines in Ezochi (Hokkaido). See, David L. Howell, *Capitalism from Within*, 25–49.
 - 28) Ōta Naohiro, *ibid.*, 6–8.
 - 29) *Ibid.*, 13–15.
 - 30) Hara Kizō, ed., “Naiwan gyokaku shokugyō sanjūhachi shoku,” *Tōkyō naiwan gyogyō shiryō*, doc. #78, (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1977), 102–104.
 - 31) *Ibid.* This agreement was sighted regularly in subsequent disputes among fishers. For specific use of Edomae and the banned *kosarashi-ami* net (later the *tataki-ami* is also mention as being banned) in Edomae, see the following 1865 resolution of a dispute over fishing grounds, see, “Saikyoka torimochiiru beki shōkyo shomotsu no koto,” in *Tokugawa kinrei-kō: kōshū* 1, vol. 10, (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1959–1961), 403.
 - 32) At the request of Tokyo Prefecture, the following survey was compiled by individual fishing communities in 1883: “Kakai hōgyō saimo gyomin gyōgu torishirabe kaki,” *Kaigiroku: hōgyōsaisō*

- shoshū*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-fu, 1883), no pagination. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives, #613.C4.O2.
- 33) I have also used documents related to the moving of the Shiba fish market in 1869 and 1870 to confirm and flesh out this description in Shibahama. See, “Shiba uoichiba iten ikken” (1869–1870), *Juntatechō*, Tokyo Metropolitan Archives, #632.D2.D4. Mostly republished in Tokyo-to, ed., *Tōkyō-shi shikō: shigai-hen*, vol. 51, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to, 1961), 195–206.
 - 34) Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, ed., *Dainihon kinsei shiryō: shichū torishime ruishū 12 (kashichi shirabe no bu)*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1974), 67–71.
 - 35) Owing to the market’s relatively small scale and proximity to the city, its wholesale (and later intermediate) fish merchants bought their shellfish and fish directly from fishers in Shiba and other communities further south along the bay. This differed considerably from the contract fishery described above. “Shiba uoichiba iten ikken” (1869–1870), *Juntatechō*, 196 and 198.
 - 36) Edo was divided like a checkerboard into various administrative jurisdictions. On the broadest level, the Tokugawa *bakufu* directly administered the entire city as its own fief, within which as many as 260 domain lords held sway over their own estates that occupied nearly 70% of the city. In the remaining 30% of the city area, administration was divided more or less evenly between the Temple and Shrine Magistrate (*Jisha bugyō*) and City Magistrate (*Machi bugyō*). See, Miyazaki Katsumi, “Edo no tochi: daimyō bakushin no tochi mondai,” in Yoshida Nobuyuki, ed., *Nihon no kinsei: toshi no jidai*, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1992), 130.
 - 37) Matsumoto Shirō, “Bakumatsu-ishin ni okeru toshi no kōzō,” *Mitsui bunko ronsō*, 4, (1970), 129.
 - 38) Okuyama, ed., *Shibaura gyogyō kiritsu*, *ibid.*, 298–299.
 - 39) This document is a statement of origins (*kiritsu*) for the buildings along the riverbank (*kashi*) of the Kanasugi River. Though undated, it was written sometime in late 1842 or early 1843 by eleven land renters (*jigari*) and directed to Kanzaemon, the district chief of Kanasugi District, as part of a larger citywide survey of all such waterside lands during the Tenpō reforms. Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, ed., *Dainihon kinsei shiryō: shichū torishime ruishū 12 (kashichi shirabe no bu)*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1974), 67–71.
 - 40) Okuyama, ed., *Shibaura gyogyō kiritsu*, 294–295.
 - 41) Miyazaki Katsumi, “Edo no tochi,” *ibid.*, 165–170.
 - 42) In 1662, the administrative area under the control of the Edo City Magistrate was also expanded to include these outlier districts. Also, see, the following essay, for its discussion of the expansion of Edo’s riparian infrastructure in the Fukagawa area, to where the city’s flammable lumberyards were relocated following the Meireki Fire: Yoshiwara Ken’ichirō, “Mizu no miyako: Fukagawa seiritsushi,” in *Edo-Tōkyō o yomu*, (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1991), 185–200.
 - 43) Mamiya Kotonobu, Ashida Ijin, and Nemoto Seiji, eds., *Shinpen Musashi fudoki-kō* (1818–1829), vol. 1, (Tokyo: Yūsankaku, 1996), 201–202.
 - 44) Okuyama, ed., *Shibaura gyogyō kiritsu*, 299.
 - 45) Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, ed., *Dainihon kinsei shiryō: shichū torishime ruishū 12 (kashichi shirabe no bu)*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1974), 67–71.
 - 46) *Ibid.*, 70.
 - 47) *Ibid.*, 65–67 and 75–78.
 - 48) Tōkyō-to Minato kuyakusho, ed., *Minato-ku shi*, *ibid.*, 507. Also, an 1873 survey of the Furu River (here called the *Shibuya-gawa* for the village at the river’s headwaters) counted 28 fishing boats, which would likely have belonged to the Kanasugi fishing association. See, Tōkyō-fu, ed., *Tōkyō-fu shiryō* (1873), (Tokyo: Tōkyōto kōbunshokan, 1959), 87–88.
 - 49) Tōkyō-fu, ed., *Tōkyō-fu shiryō*, 43–47.
 - 50) Okuyama, ed., *Shibaura gyogyō kiritsu*, 300.
 - 51) Unlike Edo’s other five wholesale fish merchant associations, however, the Honshiba and Kanasugi associations alternated running the market every month. The following 1842 report to the City Magistrate’s Office provides a sketch and list of the eight (presumably wholesale) merchants renting lots on either side of Kuzushi Bridge along the north bank of the Iriai Canal, which formed the border between the two districts. Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, ed., *Dainihon kinsei shiryō: shichū torishime ruishū 12 (kashichi shirabe no bu)*, 65–67.
 - 52) The following is a list of the kinds of fish, shellfish, and marine animals imported into Tokyo

- Prefecture around 1880. Also indicates the waters from where they were caught. “Tōkyō yu’nyū gyomei gairyaku,” in *Kanasugi uodon’ya kiroku*, 4, (no date), no pagination, Tokyo Metropolitan Archives, #CM 145.
- 53) “Shiba uoichiba iten ikken,” *Juntatechō*, 198.
 - 54) Tokyo-to Minato kuyakusho, ed., *Minato-ku shi*, (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Minato kuyakusho, 1960), 797.
 - 55) See, for instance, Okuyama, ed., *Shibaura gyogyō kiritsu*, 302.
 - 56) Similar documents about Honshiba’s wholesale merchants no longer exist. Yoshida, “Shiba kanasugi-chō kumi uodon’ya nakama to zakoba,” 247–250.
 - 57) *Ibid.*, 250.
 - 58) “Shiba uoichiba iten ikken,” *Juntatechō*, 198.
 - 59) *Ibid.*, 199.
 - 60) For instance, in an 1819 document, the Kanasugi wholesale fish merchant association (*nakama sō-ton’ya*) complains of smuggling (*nukeni*) and requests the four associations of Nihonbashi to expel any insolent wholesaler (*furachi no tonya*) caught smuggling. “Shiba-Kanasugi sakana ton’ya nado yori yon-kumi ton’ya e shōsho sashiire no koto.” Reprinted in *Nihonbashi uoichiba enkaku kiyō*, 78. See, also, Yoshida Nobuyuki, “Shichigumi uodon’ya nakama to wakiuri-wakiage,” in *Kyodai jōkamachi Edo no bunsetsu kōzō*, (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1999), 273–277.
 - 61) *Ibid.*, 277–283.
 - 62) For an overview of the modern transformation of the inner bay from the perspective of its fishers, see Tokyo-to naiwan gyogyō kōbō-shi kankōkai, ed., *Tōkyō-to naiwan gyogyō kōbō-shi*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to naiwan gyogyō kōbō-shi kankōkai, 1971), 127–150.
 - 63) “Shiba uoichiba iten ikken,” *Juntatechō*, 196.
 - 64) These comments are from the typed minutes of a meeting convened at 3:30 pm, 2 November 1888. *Tōkyō shiku kaisei iinkai gijiroku*, iss. 14, vol. 2, 1–3. Reprinted as Fujimori Terunobu, ed., *Tōkyō toshi keikaku shiryō shūsei: Meiji-Taishō*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Honnoyūsha, 1987).
 - 65) In 1903, the Honshiba Association had annual gross sales of 28,230 yen, and the Kanasugi Association had 13,700 yen. These figures pale when compared to the 3,338,665 yen for the four associations of the Nihonbashi fish market. Tōkyō-shi, ed., *Tōkyō-shi tōkei nenpyō*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō shiyakusho, 1903), 589.
 - 66) Okuyama, ed., *Shibaura gyogyō kiritsu*, 302. And, “Kakai hogyō saimo gyomin gyogu torishirabe kaki,” no pagination.
 - 67) Nihon kokuyū tetsudō sōsaishitsu shūshika, ed., *Kōbushō kiroku*, (Tokyo: Nihon kokuyū tetsudō, 1962), 7–11.
 - 68) “Tōkyō-wan miosetsu zokkō” (6 July 1892), in *Tōkyō-shi shikō: kōwan-hen dai-4*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-shi, 1926), 543–554.
 - 69) Beginning in 1876, Tokyo Prefecture began compiling prefectural statistics through which it is possible to see a steady increase in the number of Honshiba and Kanasugi residents engaged in fishing and shellfishing. Tōkyō-fu, ed., *Tōkyō-fu tōkeisho*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-fu).
 - 70) In 1911, Tokyo Prefecture’s annual production of seaweed is estimated to have been 3,000 to 4,000 tons and oysters at around 20 tons. Owing to continued technological advances, a rise in prices, the expansion of seaweed farms and oyster beds, and an improvement in distribution and sales, though, by the mid-1920s seaweed farmers were able to increase their output to 15,000–17,000 tons of the dried laver a year and oyster harvesters were hauling in 200 to 300 tons of the pulpy meat for the city’s fish markets and canneries. Tōkyō-to naiwan gyogyō kōbōshi iinkai kankōkai, ed., *Tōkyō-to naiwan gyogyō kōbōshi*, 146–147.