

‘Cho’ and the Regional Society in Early-Modern and Modern

Chō (neighborhood unit or city ward) in early modern Japan were an administrative unit composed of groups of landlords called *iemochi*. These groups existed for the purpose of maintenance of property and city ward management. Individual city wards maintained their own law codes known as *chō shikimoku* which regulated the sale of land within the city ward, such as mandating the consent of all *iemochi* when land within the ward was bought or sold. This was a system that depended on the consent of the existing members of the city ward.

Such restrictions on the purchase or sale of land by an individual were abolished after the land reforms of the Meiji Restoration of 1868. However, recent scholarship has demonstrated that until the early 1880s in Osaka, groups of *iemochi* created regulations similar those of the early modern period, including the continuation of regulations that mandated the consent of all *iemochi* when land was purchased or sold, indicating a continuation of some practices at the local level. Nevertheless, unlike Kyoto where early modern practices continued long into the Meiji period, between the 1890 and 1900, the system whereby associations of landlords directly represented their city ward were gradually dismantled in Osaka.

Historian Kitajima Naoko has examined the neighborhood of Naiandōjichō nichōme in the modern period, which was a town ward situated on the edges of the Uemachi plateau that runs north to south in Osaka City. According to Kitajima’s research, many volunteer “militarist societies” (*shōbu dantai*) were formed in Naiandōjichō and after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), and existed until the middle of the 1910s. These groups not only supported veterans and their families, but also acted as representatives of their city ward, and were used in voter drives during elections for the city government. In the 1920s, Osaka began to establish “neighborhood associations” (*chōnaikai*) on the model of Tokyo; however, multiple groups or associations within one neighborhood coexisted until the 1930s, resulting in a chaotic situation for neighborhood representation.

Eventually, these competing groups were abolished in 1938 under a regime mobilizing for total war, and in every ward of Osaka neighborhood associations were established by government decree that required the enrollment of all resident families. These wartime neighborhood associations formed a part of the government’s system for rationing and resource control, and wielded absolute power over their residents. Yet, they also acted as a means of protection for residents during wartime air raids, thus giving the neighborhood associations a long life after the war. During the American occupation of Japan these associations were banned by order of the occupation authorities (GHQ), but survived after the 1950s by changing their names to “local development societies” or acting as volunteer branches of the Japanese Red Cross. Thereafter, they survive to this day by serving as a basis for conservative politics in Osaka. But under the recent control of the Osaka Restoration Party (Osaka Isshin no Kai), these old associations have resisted plans to restructure Osaka City and Osaka Prefecture, and have consistently demanded greater local autonomy for city wards.

近世～近代大阪の「町」(ちょう)と地域社会

日本近世の町は、家持(いえもち)と呼ばれた地主の団体であり、財産と営業の共同保全をはかる組織であった。町式目(ちょうしきもく)と呼ばれる独自の法を持ち、そこには町内の土地売買に際して家持全員の同意を義務づけるなど、土地売買を規制する条項が含まれた。町の構成員を既存の構成員同意無しには決められない仕組みであった。

こうした個人の土地売買を制約するルールは、明治維新に伴う土地改革によって否定された。しかし、近年の研究によると、1880年代初めまでは、大阪でも家持集団が近世のような規約を定め、町内の土地売買に他の家持の同意を求めるルールを地域内部で存続させることがあった。とはいえ、同様の事態がその後も長く続いた京都とは異なり、大阪では、1890～1900年代に地主の団体が町内を即自的に代表するような状態は解体に向かった。

内安堂寺町二丁目を対象にした北嶋奈緒子の研究によると、上町地域の周縁部に位置した同町では、1894～95年の日清戦争、1904～05年の日露戦争をきっかけに結成された有志による複数の尚武（しょうぶ）団体が、1910年代半ばまで併存した。これらは出征兵士やその家族を援護するだけでなく、その一つが町内を代表して、市議会議員選挙の集票活動に利用されるといった事態が見られた。大阪市では、その後、1920年代に東京市の町内会整備を参照して大阪市が推進した町内会整備政策にもかかわらず、1930年代まで、一つの町内に複数の町内団体が併存、乱立する状態が続いた。結局、大阪市では、総力戦下の1938年に、市内全域の各町・丁目の一つずつ、全戸加入型の「町会」が整備され、それまで乱立していた町内団体は、すべて解散させられた。この戦時町会は、総力戦下の配給統制組織と位置付けられ市民の生殺与奪の権を握る一方、市民生活防衛のための手段としても活用されたため、敗戦後も、比較的長く存続することになった。GHQによる禁止時期を経て、1950年代以降も「日本赤十字奉仕団」「地域振興会」などと名称を変えながら、現代においても大阪市内の保守的な政治基盤としての地位を維持してきた。近年の「維新」勢力による府市政の下では、むしろ地域解体政策に反対して、住民自治を求めるような役割を担いつつある。

A Note on ‘Yūkaku-Society’ (The Social Structure of Licensed Pleasure Quarters)

A growing trend in the field of Japanese history is the study of the various social relations surrounding “*yūkaku*” from the perspective of urban social history, called “*Yūkaku Social History*.” *Yūkaku*, or “pleasure quarters,” were enclosed, licensed brothel districts in Japanese cities. This trend has departed from earlier approaches informed by women’s studies and focuses on elucidating the history of the *yūkaku* by analyzing its social structure; *yūkaku Social History* has produced research that focuses on such topics as the characteristics of the management of *yūkaku* as city wards, the composition of brothel owners’ associations, the relation between landownership and management of the brothels, and the development, new establishment, and improvement of *yūkaku* within Japanese cities.

Scholars have uncovered a wide array of different examples of *yūkaku* districts from across Japan and are engaged in a project of comparative history in order to discover various regional characteristics of different *yūkaku* districts. At the same time, other scholars have focused on the lived realities of the women who worked in the *yūkaku* districts. The brothel owners’ associations, who formed the top of *yūkaku* society, were also a barrier that the women they exploited were forced to confront on a daily basis. Current scholars are reexamining the lived realities of these women from the perspective of gender history in an attempt to rediscover their struggles to overcome the obstacles the *yūkaku* society presented.

In early modern Osaka, prostitution was restricted to Shinmachi ward, the only licensed *yūkaku* district in the city. However, as the city developed, many so-called “tea houses” emerged on the edges of the city which were tacitly permitted to engage in prostitution. In the nineteenth

century, as part of the restrictions on customs in the nationwide Tenpō Reform (1841-43), all prostitution outside of Shinmachi was outlawed; still, three tea houses managed to evade the law by calling themselves “inns” (*hatagoya*). Following the repeal of the Tenpō Reform in 1843, these “inns” continued to operate (while changing their name slightly to *tomari-chaya*) alongside the earlier form of tea houses, which were allowed to resume operations after 1843. Thus, until the end of the Tokugawa period in 1868, there were three kinds of establishments operating in prostitution in Osaka: the officially licensed *yūkaku* district of Shimachi, and the semi-legal tea houses and *tomari-chaya* inns.

In 1869, the new Meiji regime established a licensed brothel district attached to the foreign settlement in Osaka known as the Matsushima *Yūkaku*. By 1872 there were six brothel districts operating in Osaka: Shinmachi, Matsushima, the three *tomari-chaya* inns, and newly established Horie. In 1872 the Meiji government promulgated the “Emancipation Edict for Female Performers and Prostitutes” (*geishōgi kaihōrei*),” which banned the sale of women into prostitution and declared that all prostitutes were to be freed from their contractual obligations, with no compensation to the brothel owners. However, prostitution was still legal so long as women entered into it “voluntarily.” Following the edict of 1872, all six brothel districts of Osaka were once again licensed to employ prostitutes; where there had been only one licensed brothel district in the early modern period, there were now six in the modern era.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century licensed *yūkaku* brothel districts proliferated across the Japanese archipelago. Along with continuing the “tradition” of a highly structured system of prostitution inherited from the early modern period, modern Japan was a time of popularization and expansion of prostitution as it was now linked to the military, regional development, and colonization. The Matsushima *yūkaku* brothel district became one of Japan’s largest brothel districts by the 1930s, while Osaka became leading region for prostitution in Japan.

付論：近世～近代大阪の遊廓社会史

近年、日本史分野では遊廓をめぐる社会的諸関係を都市社会史の視点から分析する「遊廓社会史」の潮流が発展しつつある。従来の女性史の視点から一旦離れ、遊廓における町制（都市自治）の特徴や、遊女屋や茶屋の仲間（同業集団）のあり方、土地所有と遊女屋経営の関係、遊廓の開発とその主体のあり方などを、社会構造分析の方法によって解明する研究である。各地に多様に存在した遊廓の事例を広く掘り起こし、こうした諸要素に注目して相互に比較することで、その特徴が明らかになってきた。同時に、遊女屋仲間を頂点とする「遊廓社会」の構造は、その下で搾取された女性たちが対峙した「壁」でもあり、現在、こうした「壁」を乗り越える女性たちの闘いの実相に、あらためてジェンダーの視点から切り込む研究も登場しつつある。

近世の大坂では、長らく公認遊廓は新町遊廓一つに限定されていたが、市街周縁部の開発に伴って「茶屋」と呼ばれる性売買営業が各地に「黙認」されていった。19世紀に入り、「天保の改革」による風俗取締策の一環として大坂でも、原則として新町以外での性売買はすべて禁止されたが、茶屋営業地のうち3か所が、女性のいる「旅籠屋」を名目に、事実上の例外として営業存続を認められた。その後、幕末までに、この「旅籠屋」が「泊茶屋」と名目を変えたのに加え、従来の茶屋も一部復活が許されたため、新町（公認）・泊茶屋（準公認）・茶屋（黙認）という三種類に遊所を区分する統制が形成された。1869年になると、維新政権の外国人対策として松嶋遊廓という居留地付属の公認

遊廓が新設された。紆余曲折を経たのち、1872年に政府が発した芸娼妓解放令を機に、大阪では新町・松嶋に天保改革時の3か所と堀江を加えた6か所の遊廓が、貸座敷と娼妓・芸妓の営業許可地として公認され、近世には1つだけだった公認遊廓が6つに増えた。19世紀後半には、日本列島全体で公認遊廓が増大した。近代日本は、性売買が深く構造化された社会であった近世の「伝統」を引き継ぐとともに、軍隊や新たな地域開発、植民地支配と結びつく形で、性売買が大衆化しながら広く普及した時代であった。松嶋遊廓は1930年代に日本最大の遊廓の一つになる。大阪は近代日本有数の性売買地域だったのである。