

just been repaired.<sup>134</sup> On the 26th July, I was promoted to *hōi samurai*.<sup>135</sup>

On the 7th August, I tendered details of the reception, entertainment, and farewell ceremonies for the Korean Envoys, as I had been bidden to do after my return to Edo. On the 7th October, I was privately ordered to go and meet the envoys on their way and was presented with 100 gold *ryō* as traveling expenses. On the 3rd November, I was told by Sagami-no-Kami Masanao [62] that His Highness's orders were that I was to go and meet the Korean Envoys when they arrived at Kawasaki post-station. I was presented with two pieces of gold and also with the shogunal seal for requisitioning bearers and horses during the journey.

On the 20th November, I was promoted to court rank and appointed Chikugo-no-Kami.<sup>136</sup> I was summoned to audience with His Highness, and he presented me with clothes for the season (three sets). As I retired, Akifusa [24] was bidden to give me a sword (corded and gold-mounted) by Suetsugu and a court costume suitable for those of the fifth rank, and all the accessories. I understand that these had all been ordered to be prepared the day before so that my rank might be raised today.

I set out on the 26th November and arrived at the Kawasaki post-station about noon. That same evening, I met the Korean Envoys, and on the 27th at dawn we left Kawasaki and arrived at the lodgings in Asakusa at about three o'clock.<sup>137</sup> After giving the officials the necessary instructions, I reported to His Highness that I had returned. On the 28th, I attended at the palace to offer thanks for my promotion.

On the 10th December, the envoys' audience with His Highness took place. On the 12th there was a banquet for them. On the 13th, there was an exhibition of Korean horsemanship. On the 20th, the envoys took leave of His Highness, and on the 28th December they departed westward.<sup>138</sup>

On the 31st of the same month, as a reward for my efforts in connection with the visit of the envoys, I was granted an additional 500 *koku* of land in the Kamakura District of Sagami Province (the villages of Ueki and Shiromeguri) and in Kōza District of the same province (Kami-Ōtani village).

I returned the estates I had previously been given in the

Hiki District of Musashi Province and requested that I might receive another instead at Yagū village in Saitama District. This was permitted, and I therefore obtained the whole village of Yagū as my estate. So my whole fief in the provinces of Musashi and Sagami amounted to 1,000 *koku*.

As I have recorded everything which happened at the time of the Korean Embassy in separate documents, I shall not deal with it in detail here.<sup>139</sup> However, as public criticism about me dates from this matter, I also set down an outline of the events here.

In the beginning, after the Taikō Hideyoshi [13] invaded Korea, the Divine Ancestor [8], at the outset of his rule, gave orders that friendly relations were to be established with neighboring countries, as during the Ashikaga shogunate long ago. But the prince and people of Korea professed deep hatred of Japan, and it was more than ten years before envoys were sent for the first time.<sup>140</sup> At that time, the foundations of the shogunate were being laid down, and so it was impossible to arrange ceremonies for receiving ambassadors.

This year the envoys arrived after the Ōgosho [8] had moved his seat to Sumpu in Suruga Province. He informed them that he had handed over the administrative affairs to his son in Edo, and that they must go there. So the envoys went to Edo and carried out their mission. When they passed by Sumpu on their return, they were sent for by the Ōgosho, but they had brought no presents, and as only a minimum of ceremony was observed, one can imagine how matters were carried out. These matters are dealt with in the *Sōgyōki* and other works.<sup>141</sup>

The Korean Embassy in the Tenna era appears to have followed the precedents of Kan'ei.<sup>142</sup> There is no evidence that reference was made to information handed down concerning ancient precedents when ambassadors from foreign countries visited Japan or when our ambassadors went to their countries. In the Tenna era, those in charge of the envoys' reception merely followed the customs of the time, and there were many things not suitable to the national polity.

It is said that ceremony arises within a hundred years.<sup>143</sup> It was therefore time to settle these matters, and accordingly, His High-

ness made inquiries about them, but the answers were not clear, so he turned to me and finally gave orders that I should make proposals concerning the ceremonies.<sup>144</sup>

Among these, the most difficult was the restoration of the *shōgun's* title. The problem was as follows: From the commencement of friendly relations between the two countries, the Koreans had used the title of "Nippon Koku-ō" in their letters. This was in accordance with the precedent dating from the Kamakura and Ashikaga periods whereby foreigners had addressed the Japanese emperor as "Nippon Tennaō" and the military ruler as "Nippon Koku-ō."<sup>145</sup> But after orders were given in the Kan'ei era that he should be addressed as "Nippon Koku Taikun," this became the custom in later times. (This was owing to some trouble between the *daimyō* of Tushima Province and his retainers.)<sup>146</sup>

However, "Taikun" is an official title granted to a subject in Korea, and so to give orders that the *shōgun* should be addressed by this title is like receiving an official title from that country.<sup>147</sup> It also appears in Chinese books as another name for the emperor; since this is so, there would be confusion with the emperor in Japan.<sup>148</sup> Therefore, His Highness gave orders to Tushima-no-Kami [72] that he should be addressed as "Nippon Koku-ō" as originally.

When I informed Taira Naokata [73] (an elder in Tushima Province called Hirata Naoemon), a retainer of Tushima-no-Kami Taira Yoshikata [72], of this at the beginning of the affair, he said there was no difficulty. To think of the emperor as "Heaven" and call him "Nippon Tennaō," and to think of the *shōgun* as "Controller of the Country" and call him "Nippon Koku-ō," is as natural as the unchangeable positions of Heaven and Earth. To call both by the title "Nippon" was like bestowing the title "Chou" on the King of Chou and the Duke of Chou, prince and subject alike. But the rustic scholars who were in Tushima Province did not know this and expressed various opinions, and I heard that the retainers refused to use the title "Koku-ō."<sup>149</sup> When I again sent a letter to Naokata setting the matter forth, as Naokata had said in the first place, the Koreans brought documents with the title altered to "Nippon Koku-ō," without any objections having been raised in Korea.<sup>150</sup>

Also in the Tenna era, in accordance with the precedents

of Kan'ei, tribute was presented to the Heir Apparent also.<sup>151</sup> However, as the Heir Apparent was still a child, Shōshō Masatoshi [11] acted as his representative. When it came time for the envoys' audience with him, they went home without paying their respects, pleading that on the day they received their official orders, they had been told they must pay their respects to the Heir Apparent, but nothing had been said about paying their respects to an administrator. At the present time also, the Heir Apparent was still a child. His Highness, deciding that it would be troublesome to have disputes about these matters, also, sent a message to Tushima stating that it was not necessary for the envoys to pay their respects to the Heir Apparent as he had not yet left the nursery.

Also, recently, a custom had arisen of the Korean masters-of-ceremonies sending communications to our administrators. Although formerly under the Ashikaga shogunate, communications from the Korean government were still sent to the Tandai of Kyushu, Korea probably no longer wished that custom to be followed, and Japan also did not require it.<sup>152</sup> His Highness informed Tushima that this too should be discontinued.

Although a Korean official called the Togunegi-Fusu, or some such, sent a communication making representations concerning these two matters to Tushima-no-Kami, this also was carried out in accordance with His Highness's instructions.<sup>153</sup>

Also, recent custom was that at all places through which the envoys passed, they were entertained at morning and evening meals of three courses consisting of seven, five, and three dishes, respectively, and one at midday consisting of three courses of five, five, and three dishes respectively.<sup>154</sup> This is not done even when we entertain imperial envoys, and, in particular, it entails incalculable waste for the provinces that lie along their route. They were informed at Tushima that henceforth, as was done for our envoys in Korea, except at four places along the road where feasts would be given, they would be given money instead.<sup>155</sup> To this their envoys had no objection, as they had always found the banquets tedious and the presentation of money was more convenient.

Also, according to recent custom, the envoys entered their lodgings riding in their palanquins. Even when our messengers visited their lodgings, there was no welcome or farewell ceremony.

These arrangements were not at all in conformity with ancient customs, and they also differed from the custom when our envoys went to Korea in former times. They were informed at Tsushima that henceforth, the envoys would alight from their palanquins before entering their lodgings, and when our messengers arrived at their lodgings, the ceremony of welcome and farewell at the foot of the steps would be the same as was formerly observed by our envoys when they went to Korea.

With regard to these two pronouncements, the envoys disputed the etiquette by referring to recent custom, and though they had already arrived at Ōsaka, they would not attend the banquet on this account, it was said, and all the people criticized it, but eventually this matter too proceeded as His Highness ordered.

Also, according to recent custom, on the day the envoys arrived here in Edo, the administrators, as the Shōgun's Envoys, went to the Korean Envoys' lodgings and thanked them for coming.<sup>156</sup> What are called administrators in Japan correspond to councilors in the Korean government, but when our envoys went to Korea, the custom of their councilors coming as envoys to our envoys' lodgings was not observed.<sup>157</sup> Why should our administrators give thanks to their ambassadors? Therefore, on this occasion, the *kōke* were employed as envoys. However, the reason the Korean Envoys said nothing about this was because, as none of the Japanese Envoys conveying thanks at Ōsaka, Kyōto, and at country places had been an administrator, now they could not object to it.

As soon as the Korean Envoys arrived in Edo, orders had been given to Tsushima-no-Kami to present them with a document containing six articles describing the amended procedures. In this it was said that, according to recent custom, when the Korean Envoys were received by the Shōgun, the letters from their king had previously been presented by one of the *changchangwan*, but this was incorrect and now it was to be done by the Chief Envoy himself.<sup>158</sup>

Also, they had previously been given seats in the same place as the Lords of the Three Houses, but this too was not correct, and more suitable seats would be allotted to them.<sup>159</sup> Also, at the banquet, they had previously been placed with the Three Lords. This was not done even in the case of the envoy from the

Imperial Court. Nor was it in accord with ancient custom. The entertainment our envoy had received in their country was not so either. Therefore, the procedure had been amended.

But on the point of their being placed with the Three Lords, up to the day of the banquet, and after the envoys were installed in their seats in the palace, they disputed about it for a long time with me, though they eventually gave way, and the ceremonial was carried out as ordered by His Highness.

When the ceremony of taking leave was completed, I was spoken to about their statement that, in our reply to their letters, we had violated the taboo of an ancestor of their king, seven generations removed, and that we must change it.<sup>160</sup>

I replied: "The ancient rule is that no taboo lasts beyond five generations. The son avoids it in the case of the father, and the vassal in that of his lord. This is because of the feelings of delicacy in these relations. But why should the princes of neighboring countries avoid each other's taboo as if they were sons and vassals? And if the lords of both countries did avoid each other's taboo, there is no case in ancient lore of avoiding one in the seventh generation. There is also the principle of not doing to others what you do not like done to yourself. And when we examine the credentials brought by Korea, we see that there is a definite violation of the taboo of an ancestor of the present Shōgun.<sup>161</sup> In spite of the fact that it is said we must respect a taboo in the seventh generation of that country, why do they bring something which violates ours? All their statements were impolite. There is nothing I can say about such claims."

They did not desist but approached Tsushima-no-Kami about the point. Before His Highness had given directions about it, a great commotion arose with everyone saying that if the envoys could not order matters as they wished, it looked as if they were determined not to return to Korea alive, and that war might result between the two countries.<sup>162</sup> At this juncture, high-ranking people remonstrated with me. However, this statement of the envoys and the first part of our dispute were all unimportant points of etiquette and not worthy of discussion, but since I thought that the avoidance of the Korean taboo and matters connected with it were of the utmost importance, and, moreover, as I had borne certain matters in mind from the beginning, I



too swore on my death that I would not change my first words.

And so His Highness said: "If in the letters from Korea, they first avoid the taboo of our country, my answer will also avoid the taboo of their country," and finally, also as His Highness ordered, after they altered the letters from their king, he sent our official letters altered.

In all the matters concerning this event, I have been more abused by my own compatriots than by the Koreans. Naturally, they would not say anything against His Highness, and so they directed all their criticism against me. That Confucius performed valuable services at the meeting at Chia Ku was natural, seeing that he was, as we know, a sage.<sup>163</sup> Why should the present discussions be criticized since they are not unlike the cases of Ts'ao Mo of Lu and Mao Sui of Chao?<sup>164</sup> Why has this state of society come about, in which people are ignorant of the shame put on our country? It is said that of old, there were men who forsook society and lived retired. It has also been stated that the superior man loses no time.<sup>165</sup> Reflecting on all this, I composed a letter to the effect that I intended to resign from office as from today and sent it to Akifusa toward two o'clock on the day the mission left Edo.

Akifusa did not give any answer but told me to come at once, as His Highness wished to say something to me urgently. I was anxious to know what he would say, so I went immediately and was told: "I am surprised at your proposal. This is because of the various criticisms people have made. I heard these sorts of things were being said from the beginning, and I know from where these views originated.<sup>166</sup> Relations between the two countries depend on their respective strength and prestige, and as the matter was very important, discussions were held about it from the beginning, and as your views were exactly in agreement with my wishes, you were placed in charge. Although the Korean Envoys had much to say about it, everything was done as we had decided. But when the affair was almost concluded, a problem unexpectedly arose, and when there was talk about it, I told Echizen-no-Kami [24]: 'As this was the first occasion, I had entrusted this matter to Chikugo-no-Kami [2], and he would make no mistake. It cannot be called a complete success if even one point out of a hundred is not settled. Would it not be regrettable if all he had

accomplished so far were to be rendered in vain because of this one thing? Buddha speaks of "two bodies but one mind" and that describes myself and Chikugo-no-Kami.<sup>167</sup> If he has made a mistake, it is of course mine; and if I have made a mistake, he must have made a mistake. And so now I have nothing to say. You must take care not to be misled by the populace in what you say. Just carry out matters as he arranged, and, in the end, it was all carried out as I wished. But if you now do as you propose, people will probably say that I have dismissed you because now I, too, disapprove of what you did. If that were to happen, your previous distinguished services would be thrown away, exactly as I said before. You must not think that all these things are your responsibility alone. They are all mine as well. However you regard it, you must think only that it was done for my sake and refrain."

And when His Highness spoke thus of our being "two bodies but one mind," I was overcome with emotion and wept despite myself, and could say nothing except that I would do as he said.

On the 30th of the same month [December 1711], an order was conveyed through Yamato-no-Kami Shigeyuki [61] that His Highness had something he wished to tell me on the following day. When I went on the 31st, I was first told by Akifusa that today His Highness had given orders through the Rōjū about rewarding me, and that as he had said the other day, whatever I felt, I must raise no objections. He then presented me with an increase in fief as a reward for my services on this occasion, sending Kaga-no-Kami Tadatomo [53] to inform me of this. Thereafter, he also said through Akifusa that, as he knew that if he rewarded me in a fashion suitable to the occasion, I would refuse it, he barely repaid my services. I said: "Everything on this occasion depended on His Highness's divine intention. What services did I perform? However, I would not presume to disobey his orders," and retired.

When the Divine Ancestor [8] first became Shōgun, letters were sent from foreign countries on many occasions. At that time, a man called the San'yō Chōrō had charge of these matters.<sup>168</sup> This had come about because, when the Divine Ancestor had moved to the Eastern Provinces in Hideyoshi's [13] time, San'yō was head of a school in Ashikaga-no-Shō in Kōzuke Province and had been charged with

looking after these matters.<sup>169</sup> It was afterward called Enkōji. After this Chōrō died, Sūden Chōrō [63] had charge of it. He later became Sōroku of Konji-In, and after this Sōroku died, Hayashi Dōshun Hōin [74] took charge of these affairs.<sup>170</sup>

When the present Shōgun succeeded, since nothing was as it had formerly been, Daigaku-no-Kami Nobuatsu [21], wishing he could reinstate himself in favor as before, claimed that since ancient times Korean affairs had always been entrusted to his family.<sup>171</sup> As Masanao [62], who heard this, had always been on good terms with Nobuatsu, he transmitted it to His Highness, who accordingly gave directions that Nobuatsu should write out a program for it. So Nobuatsu prepared and presented two volumes. When His Highness asked him about some matters contained therein, as he was not really an expert on these matters, his answers were not clear, so His Highness turned to me and eventually entrusted it to me.

When Masanao was first entrusted with these matters, he inquired about the precedents from Nobuatsu. He also summoned and questioned those among Tushima-no-Kami's [72] retainers who happened to be here, but when, later, different counsels emerged on these matters, Masanao, who was no scholar, did not understand where the significance of such lay. It was only natural that he should feel like a rudderless boat in a swift current.

In particular, I heard that it was Nobuatsu's grandfather [74] who had proposed the title "Taikun" when the use of the title "Nippon Koku-Ō" was discontinued in the Kan'ei era. Also, it could not have been unknown in Tushima Province that this title was an official designation in Korea. When I put forward the opinion that the use of this title could by no means be continued, unexpectedly everyone agreed with me. However, it was thought that it would probably be impossible to overturn this one detail only, and that therefore none of His Highness's commands could be carried out, whereupon even Masanao was perplexed by these conflicting views. When Masanao put forward these various opinions, His Highness agreed with me completely

and gave orders, and eventually everything was carried out as he ordered.

The fact that His Highness mentioned that he knew where these views originated shows that he must have been well aware of all the slanders against me. I have heard that even now there is some argument about this matter of the title "Taikun." I think that people who disregard our national disgrace and suggest that it was a mistake do not understand human righteousness.

About that time, one of the most far-fetched slanders against me was that I had accepted large bribes from Tushima Province. Among Yoshikata's [72] retainers, a man called Taki Rokurōemon came and said: "When Hirata Naoemon [73] returned to his province, he said something to me. It was that I must ask if, in regard to the responsibilities you have undertaken at this time, there is anything you find difficult to do. Now when the envoys return, I have heard that they will pass by your dwelling place. In spite of the fact that your fame has spread even to Korea, your residence appears to be small, and moreover this does not redound to the credit of Japan. As there still remains some timber that was used for building the residence of my lord some time ago, I will rebuild your house for you."

I replied: "His Highness has said there is no need to rebuild the houses which the envoys will pass on this occasion, but unsightly defects should by all means be repaired. Although my house is small, there is nothing shabby about it. If I were to rebuild it, it would be most embarrassing if it came to light that, despite the fact that His Highness has said not to, those in charge of the ceremony said that it would actually be better to rebuild it. I will not forget your kindness."

After that, also, when I received orders that I must go to meet the envoys on their arrival at the Kawasaki poststation, the fellow came again and said: "It is for the sake of Japan. It will be unfitting if you do not change your traveling apparel on the journey. I have hastened hither in order to receive your orders about this." I said: "Last year when I went to Kyōto as Shōgun's Envoy, I had plenty

of traveling clothes made. From Edo to Kawasaki is but a single day's journey, so the traveling expenses will not be heavy. But if I do lack anything, I will come to you." However, although he talked till late at night, he knew that my mind would never change, and saying: "If you have any requests, we shall do anything at all," he went back. If I had not been charged with carrying out His Highness's orders at this time, I would not have had these approaches made to me.

All these propositions concerned public affairs. I thought I must not regard them as private matters, and since I explained this point of view in detail, there could be no doubt about my intentions in the opinion of the world at large. But those who did not understand public morality probably thought in their hearts that I was just taking care of my own welfare, not knowing that I had dedicated myself to my country.

There is no need to seek for distant examples in Chinese and Japanese history. In recent times, a man called Yamamoto Dōki was a military adviser in the House of Takeda of Kai.<sup>172</sup> When Takeda fought against Uesugi of Echigo, at a place called Kawanakajima in Shinano Province, this Yamamoto, realizing that his own side was defeated, flung himself into the forefront to die.<sup>173</sup> That was the conduct of a man of honor. And I too thought that if anything I advised on this occasion was not in accordance with His Highness's commands, even though he himself did not criticize me, I should have no countenance left to appear before him again. Therefore, from the time that I received these orders, I regarded myself as non-existent. I took this resolution because I thought that if I made a mistake, whatever happened to me at home, abroad dishonor would fall on Japan.

The letter I sent, when I heard that the people of Tsushima Province refused in the matter of the restitution of the *shōgun's* title, was the beginning of my argument about this matter. The draft of this letter is still in existence. Later, when I presented the draft of the letter I was going to send Tsushima-no-Kami, on hearing that the envoys were disputing

the ceremony in Ōsaka, His Highness approved it, but when it was reported that the ceremony had already taken place, it became unnecessary to send it. However, as he had read this draft, I shall transmit it to my posterity.

The present Yamato-no-Kami Shigeyuki [61] witnessed the incident when the envoys later disputed with me about ceremony within the Shōgun's palace. Other witnesses besides him must still be alive. Seeing that His Highness had already taken his place, everyone was disturbed, but I was unmoved and finally overcame the three of them with my arguments. You can infer how resolute my heart was at these times. After that, when the question of the national taboo arose again, there was not a single person who was not upset. That I alone was unmoved was because I had steeled my resolution from the beginning. As these facts were also known to His Highness, he said: "Your suggestions are right and proper," and as he said nothing more, everything I proposed was eventually carried out.

All this was due to the Divine Spirit of Japan. It could not have been achieved by human power. It is not fitting to say that it was because of my services. It would be much more unfitting if I boasted of my services. If even one single point in my proposals had not been carried out, where would my merit have been?

We should let nothing pass by that we see or hear. We should seek the origin of everything carefully. This is in fact what was called natural philosophy itself in ancient times.<sup>174</sup> Although they are trifles, there were not a few matters which I had seen and heard long ago which proved to be useful in connection with the Korean Embassy, which I have described above. I shall set down one or two here.

For instance, when I was studying the *Teikin Ōrai* as a child, among methods of house building discussed, if I remember correctly, in a section of a letter dated the third month, there were some, not heard about or seen now, which were difficult to follow.<sup>175</sup> However, as soon as I was capable, I began to read ancient stories and old diaries, and, in the course of time, came upon information that threw some light on them. I also heard that in Kamakura there was a plan of the palace of the Kamakura



*shōgun*, and it occurred to me that it might refer to what I had read about in the *Ōrai*.<sup>176</sup> I searched for many years and finally was able to obtain a copy of it, but, upon examination, it did not appear to belong to the Kamakura period. Nor did it appear to belong to the period of the Kamakura Kanryō during the Ashikaga shogunate.<sup>177</sup> It seemed rather to be the plan of a mansion of someone of a later period, which had been handed down in the family of some master carpenter living in Kamakura. I also happened to hear that in the Kujō Palace there was a sketch of the "Congratulatory Banquet" for the Ashikaga *shōgun*.<sup>178</sup> When I visited Kyōto, I requested to be allowed to see it and was permitted to borrow it. I was also able to see a plan of the gate in the Konoe Palace called the "Kaimon" and was able to get an insight into the construction of houses as described in ancient documents.<sup>179</sup>

Later, I was ordered to design a new "middle gate" for the visit of the Korean Embassy. The theory was then advanced that it was an ancient custom dating from the time of the Udaishō [75], the Kamakura *shōgun*, not to use roof-coverings on gates in the houses of the military classes. It is said that in proof of that statement, a plan dating from the time of the Udaishō was presented.

When His Highness asked me about this, I replied: "I have for many years made a practice of noting down items of interest I have come across. I have a copy of this plan myself. However, it does not belong to Yoritomo's [75] age, and this can be proved without trouble. The first appearance of what is now called a 'long-spear' occurs in the *Taiheiki*, and the fact that a room called the 'long-spear room' is shown in this plan is proof of the period the plan belongs to.<sup>180</sup> Nor is it necessary to cite examples in China or in ancient times. The stone foundations of gates, dating from about the era of Kan'ei, in the Nijō Palace are still in existence."<sup>181</sup> (The hip-roofed gate and the Chinese gabled gate constructed at this time were removed to the Retired Emperor's Palace afterward.<sup>182</sup> Now only the stones remain.) "Also the palace gate of Konji-In in Nanzenji is one which the Divine Ancestor had transported from the Juraku-Dai long ago.<sup>183</sup> Therefore it is clear that for many generations, the Tokugawa Family has used hip-roofed gates and Chinese gabled gates,

and it is only that these gates have not yet been constructed in Edo Castle. Such assertions as that under discussion are completely unfounded, and His Highness should not follow such advice," I replied. I heard that after I wrote out these comments, those who had advised about this matter ceased their arguments.

I heard that Daigaku-no-Kami Nobuatsu [21] himself said that the fact that there was a place called the long-spear room was proof that it was not a plan belonging to the age of the Kamakura shogunate but of more recent times. I said: "It is claimed that the ancient custom of not using covered gates in warriors' houses was because of taking banners in and out. But, as regards the problem they have brought up of taking banners in and out, it is not necessary that they should be taken in and out of this gate only. If, among all the other gates, there were none without roofs, there might be some reason for their objections." His Highness thereupon said: "It is not necessary to discuss the question fundamentally." I heard that the reason Nobuatsu put forward all these conflicting opinions was because, as I recorded before, he was determined to oppose every change His Highness intended to make on this occasion.

Also, it was the custom for the box containing the letters sent from Japan to be made of silver and for gold rings and scarlet cords to be attached. (This had been the custom from the age of Tokubuyō [46], as can be seen in the *Kōkushi Niki*).<sup>184</sup> When His Highness asked me about this, I recommended a style of box and stand for the presentation of the official letters which I had seen in Kyōto, so that on this occasion we adopted that style. Also, since on this occasion the envoys had to alight from their palanquins outside their lodgings, I spoke to Tushima-no-Kami [72] about an enclosure outside the gate, so that at Ōsaka, it was said, they provided wooden shaft-rests (wrapped in carpet) within the enclosure, and when they heard about that in Kyōto they provided Chinese chairs within a striped curtain. Since this was done to meet a sudden demand, it could not be helped, but I said that such preparations were unsuitable, and had a variegated curtain and stools brought posthaste from Kyōto, and at Edo we provided these stools within the variegated curtain. I heard that when the former Sesshō [57] heard about this he praised it.

When I was ordered to go to the post-station of Kawasaki to meet the envoys, I considered the costume I should wear on that occasion. This was what in ancient times was called an informal meeting, and so what was worn at Edo Castle was not suitable. It was the ancient custom of the military to wear a tunic with rosettes on all military occasions, and I intended to wear this; while I made inquiry unofficially, the envoys had sent a messenger to Tsushima-no-Kami to ask what sort of headgear and robe I as guest would wear on that evening, so that they would know how to appear. Tsushima-no-Kami communicated this to me. I replied that the occasion was a meeting at an inn, that I intended to wear the ordinary military dress, and that they should also wear their ordinary dress. At the ceremony that evening, I wore a lacquered court cap with a brim, a tunic of yellowish red with rosettes belted into the trousers, and a silver-mounted slung sword. I thought that some of their officials would probably come out to meet me, so I put a pair of sandals into my palanquin. Just as I thought, when I got to the gate, some high officials appeared to be coming out, so I at once brought out the sandals, put them on, and went in. All these matters, both pertaining to the national polity and the ancient customs of the military, are things that do not admit of discussion with those who know nothing about them.

There are one or two other things I remember in connection with my account of the visit of the Korean Envoys. First, when I passed through Ōgaki in Mino Province on my way to Kyōto, I noticed that in all the houses in this town, measurements had been marked off and notices stuck up stating that one *jō* was to be cut off here and one *shaku* off there.<sup>185</sup> They said that when the officials in charge of the Korean Embassy had come this way (the *ōmetsuke*, *kanyō bugyō*, etc.), Tsushima-no-Kami's retainers, who accompanied them, had said that the road here was narrow and they would have trouble when the large banners were carried along, and so they ordered these adjustments to be made. When I asked if it was the first time the envoys had passed this place, they replied that every time the envoys came, they had always passed along this route. In my letter reporting my arrival in Kyōto, I mentioned this matter and said that this kind of thing must be a burden in all the provinces along the whole

route. There had never been any difficulty since the envoys first came, therefore, it was most unfitting that there should be such orders now. I afterward heard that these schemes were all put a stop to.

Also, the duty of supplying saddle horses for the party on the envoys' journey from Kyōto to Edo and back was imposed on the *daimyō*. This was the custom. It seems that in the document presented, which described the precedents for assigning that duty, the duty on the road east of Tōtōmi Province was imposed on the *daimyō* of the Western Provinces, and the duty on the road west of Mikawa Province on the *daimyō* of the Eastern Provinces. The performance of that duty was limited to one day, one day coming and one day returning, and in no case did it exceed two days.

When I saw this document, I said: "I do not consider this arrangement a suitable one. We should assign the duty on the road west of Mikawa Province to the western *daimyō* and the duty on the road east of Tōtōmi Province to the eastern *daimyō*. After the retainers of the *daimyō* of the Western Provinces have seen the envoys off on their way to Edo, they should return to the residences of their respective *daimyō* in Ōsaka, and, on the envoys' return, they should set out sufficiently ahead of time to greet them. Also, the retainers of the *daimyō* of the Eastern Provinces should assemble in Edo after they have greeted the envoys and should see them off on their return. If this is done, it will be convenient for everyone and travel expenses will be automatically reduced by half. Furthermore, it is not sensible to limit the performance of this duty to just one day. It makes little difference to the *daimyō* of the various provinces whether they perform this duty for one or two days. If it is limited to two days going and coming, and those who are too distant or of insufficient income are exempted from this service, the number of *daimyō* charged with this duty will be reduced, and, moreover, the matter will be accomplished with half the number of saddle horses."

His Highness said: "Your advice is perfectly reasonable, but if I give a new set of orders about these arrangements, those who misunderstand their intention will be unable to carry them out effectively. Therefore you must write out your recommendations." I presented them the following morning. "How did you



do it so quickly?" he asked. I replied: "I arranged it so that the *daimyō* of the various provinces do not go more than 100 *ri* from their own castles in carrying out this duty, so the details were simple to work out." (According to the first plan, as arranged by Ogiwara Ōmi-no-Kami Shigeiide [51], merchants supplied pack and saddle horses and the *daimyō* paid for these services. I did away with this arrangement on the grounds that it was most unfitting to the national polity.)

Also, it was said that His Highness would give orders to the members of the guard companies that on the day of the banquet for the envoys on their way through Sumpu in Suruga, they should serve as stewards for the high officials and above, and to Naitō Buzen-no-Kami Kazuo that he should provide the stewards for those of lower rank.<sup>186</sup> (It was because he was Commander of Tanaka Castle in Suruga Province.)<sup>187</sup> I said: "This is a foolish arrangement also. We cannot impose double duty on the *daimyō* in our preparations on this occasion. All the *daimyō* whose fiefs border on the Tōkaidō have the duty of meeting the envoys. If in addition to that, His Highness imposes this burden, he will be imposing a double duty on these men only. When I passed by Sumpu in Suruga on my mission as Shogunal Envoy, I noticed the fine appearance of the local inhabitants as a result of the long residence there of the Divine Ancestor. If merchants' sons are chosen and charged with this duty, they will do far better than rough country *samurai*." His Highness gave orders in accordance with my recommendations on this matter also.

When I was summoned on the 17th August of this year, I heard about the extraordinary happening in which 4,116 farmers from 85 villages on the fief of Murakami in Echigo Province made a disorderly protest.<sup>188</sup> It appears that upon this, orders were given to the feudal lord that he must punish them severely. His Highness gave me the letter from the Bugyōsho (*kanyō bugyō*) and told me to consider it. The letter from the Bugyōsho said: "Last year when Matsudaira Ukyō-Daibu Terusada [38] received Murakami Castle in fief, the farmers in Mishima, Kambara, and other districts, territory producing 40,000 *koku* of rice, petitioned for that territory to be taken under the direct control of the *shōgun*. When it was explained that their request could not be granted, they returned home, but the villagers concerned would not obey

the orders of the *daiikan* and also would not pay last year's tax. At this time, we summoned 50-odd leaders to the Hyōjōsho and questioned them about the reasons for their dissatisfaction, and they said that they wished to become farmers under the direct control of the *shōgun*. Although they were told many times that their request could not be granted, they would not obey. Shall we now send other messengers to question them, or imprison the 50-odd ringleaders and send two or three messengers to the fief of Murakami to deliver the remainder at once to the feudal lord? (The *daiikan* should be employed as messenger.) As for those who had defied orders, should they, on the authority of the feudal lord, be put to death or banished or imprisoned, and their lands and houses forfeited to the feudal lord, according to the gravity of their offense?" A letter from the Daikansho in that province, dated the 6th July, was attached. (The residence of the *daiikan* was in Kurokawa, and his name was Kawara Seibei.)<sup>189</sup>

Furthermore, the *daiikan*'s letter asserted that rumor had it that the remainder of the group had been deeply aroused by the arrest of the 58 ringleaders at this time. They had written many pledges, swearing a firm oath to one another, and more than 100 farmers who had gone to the prison with the arrested men had decided that if the 58 were sentenced, they themselves would bring forward a complaint, and if they were also punished, the other 4,000-odd farmers would also come and they too would make a complaint. It was stated that all regarded the *daiikan* as their enemy, and so they had willfully seized last year's tax-rice for sale and loaded it on boats. Although the village headman had forbade them, they had defied him. (According to rumor, they had made a priest of the Ikkō sect their commander and had made preparations for war, but this was not stated in the letter.)<sup>190</sup>

On the following day I presented a memorial. The gist of it was: "I have finished reading the letters which you handed to me yesterday. Now, who is there to whom the poor unprotected people of the empire can complain at such a time? It has been considered a crime that they disregarded the orders given by the *bugyō* in the first place and protested. In addition, a conclusion, based merely on rumors which appeared in the report from the office of the *daiikan*, has been reached, and now they are judged