

Index

Abe Masahiro, 111, 113, 114, 164, 171, 175, 181, 182, 183 see also Tokugawa: Tokugawa Nariaki	militarism, 9, 17 militarist critique of society, 255, 259, 261, 262
Adams, Will, 33	self-defence force (jieitei), 281
agriculture	tensions between army and navy,
crisis 1934–5 in Tohoku, 253,	259–60, 270, 277–8
262	see also constitution, emperor, navy
falling incomes 1930s, 250, 252, 253	Aston, W. G., 320
relative decline of, 252	
see also rice	Baba Sajūrō, 149, 150, 151, 153
Ainu, 19, 50, 97, 98, 227	bakufu, see shogunate
revolt 1789, 138, 143–5	banking, 251, 288
see also Ezo islands	Banshowagegoyō (bureau for translating
Aizawa Seishisai, 117, 136	foreign books), 14, 129, 149–51,
1824 interviewed whalers, 153-5	318
kokutai, 157	establishment of Bansho-shirabesho,
Shinron, 157, 263	185–6
bible of shishi, 187	barley, 23
see also Christianity	see also rice consumption: substitution
Alcock, Sir Rutherford, 172, 188, 189	for coarser grains
Allied Occupation, 17, 278, 279–80, 291	Beasley, W. G., 308, 309
see also MacArthur	Benyowsky, Moric Alasdar, 95, 97, 137,
Andō Shōeki, 116, 117, 125, 284	146
Aoki Rinzō, 176	memoirs translated into Japanese, 97
Arabs, 24	Bird, Isabella, 172
Arai Hakuseki, 95, 107, 110, 111, 124,	Boissonade de Fontarabie, Gustave Emile,
230	206
armed forces, 6, 9	Borton, Hugh, 283–4, 315
absence of Tokugawa, 57	Bougainville Louis Antoine de, 97
and constitution, 16	Broughton, W. R., 47, 65, 140, 141, 142,
and emperor, 222	156
and politics, 269	Buddhism, Buddhist, 18, 134, 226
see also cabinets	priests, 59, 62
and 'Shōwa Restoration', 262–3	as early educators, 122–3
army, early Meiji, 11, 208	see also education, Tokugawa times
armaments expenditure 1860s,	bugyo, bugyo posts, 59-60, 112
189–90, 191	see also kanjō bugyō, Nagasaki: bugyo
changing leadership and character,	office
225–6, 258, 260	Burma railway, 278
farmer-soldiers, Tonden hei	bushido, 6, 17, 265–7
(Hokkaido), 228	Hagure, 266, 267, 304
outlay 1919–22, 257	see also Nitobe Inazō

346



cabinets, 9	policy towards, 34–6
first cabinets, 218–19	prohibition of, 28
instability, 16, 260, 261, 267-8, 269,	Chwostoff (Khostov), N. A., 137, 145
279, 280, 289	Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism, 18, 62,
Cambodia, 43	99, 123, 124–5, 307–8
Caron, 130	Confucian ethics, 210
castle towns, 51, 70	constitution 1889, 8, 9, 16, 220
expansion of, in south and west, 71	cabinet formation, 222
Chamberlain, Basil Hall, 207, 222	see also cabinets
Chikamatsu Monzaemon, 85, 94	post-World War II, 281
China, 1, 3, 7, 16	powers of parliament, 221, 223, 269
Arrow War 1856–60, 187	role of emperor under, 221
Boxer rebellion, 232	see also emperor
Chinese communities in Japan, 33, 40	Cook, James, 97
Nagasaki interpreters, 39	copper, 2, 21
demand for copper, 44	exports of, 44, 46
demand for silver, 20, 22	temporary ban 1630s and 1640s, 42
Japan, relations with	fall in, in first half of 18th century, 78
differences over Korea, 231	smelting at Sakai, 81
in 1920s, 257	cotton, cloth
future, 282, 292	increased use of, 66
1932 massacre, 272	industry, 211, 213
	Osaka, 212
twenty-one demands, 239–40	currency
silk, output in, 22	
Sino-Japanese war 1894–5, and Triple	belief in debilitating shortage, 73
Intervention, 232	debasement and public finance, 136
massacre, Port Arthur, 1894, 271	1695–1711 debasements, 71, 72,
intervention from 1937, 269–70; rape	106–7
of Nankin, 271–3, 275	1736 Yoshimune, 107, 113
smuggling by Chinese, 41	post-1818 operations, 107, 169, 190
see also Satsuma: trade	division of Japan into two currency
trade, Chinese, with east Asia, 19–21,	zones, 73, 74–5
23, 24	later weakening of silver zone, 76–7
Chinese ban on, 1557, 19	exchange rates between gold and silver,
with Japan; 17th century, 13, 34,	73, 76
42–4; 18th and 19th century, 45–6;	dominance of Osaka houses in setting
Japanese regulation of, 37	rates, 75–6
western trade, ban on, 1722, 48	gold, silver, copper, 72–3
see also Nagasaki, silk, silver, trade	devaluation 1860 of silver, 76–7
Choshu han, 4, 16, 26, 56	restoration 1714 of sound currency,
adjustment to Meiji settlement, 217	106, 107
batteries in Shimonoseki strait, 189, 190	speculation 1859–60, 192
civil war 1864, 195, 216	see also Osaka
relationship with shogunate and	
Satsuma, 192–3, 194–6, 197	daikan, 8
alliance with Satsuma, 196	daimyo, 7, 14, 25
Tempō reform in, 165	compensation for loss of rights at
Tokugawa expeditions against, 1864 and	Restoration, 208, 209
1866, 191, 198	confined to one castle, 51
uchi harai policy in, 16	categories
Christianity, 3, 10, 13, 29, 60, 310	fudai, 7, 8, 25, 38, 53-6, 58, 110
Aizawa Seishisai's views on, 155	sanke, 31, 55
ban on books in Chinese on, 41, 131	tozama, 7, 8, 25, 26, 28, 38, 52,
fear of, 49, 62	53–5
fear of spread in Ezo islands, 97	daimyo rice and borrowing, 79, 82



daimyo (cont.)	to countries other than United States,
income, 29	237
crisis in, mid-17th century, 69	see also Hawaii, United States
indebtedness, 79, 81	emperor, 9, 25
red seals for Kyushu daimyo, 28	and 1858 treaties, 15
relationship with shogunate, 109-10	common ground with shogunate, 194
daimyo removal and creation, 108-10	divinity of, 218
shogunal succession 1858, fudai	imperial rescript on education, 221
support for Kii candidate, 181–2	later emphasis on status and origins,
see also han, rice, sankin kōtai, shogunate	263
Davidoff (Davidov), G. I., 137, 145	emperor Hirohito and war responsibility
Dazai Shundai, 167	286
Doeff, Hendrik, 130–1	peace intervention 1945 by, 278
Dore, Ronald, 305	emperor Kōmei, 117, 118
Dower, John, 284, 287, 303, 308, 309, 317	and his court, 202
Duus, Peter, 309	and shogunate, 178, 183
	death of, 1867, 16, 198
Edo (Tokyo), 3, 8, 14, 15, 19, 45	'emperor system', 286
court life, 87–8	legitimising or unifying role, 8, 15, 26,
food supply, 84–5	204, 221, 306
military security of Edo bay, concern for,	post-1868 role, 16, 221
98, 164, 171	England, English, 3, 28, 33
dispute 1839 over defence of bay,	request for trade 1673, 49, 96
159	see also Adams, Great Britain
state of defence post-1845, 171,	Etō Shimpei, 217
173	Ezo islands, 15, 18–19, 137, 317
number of junks arriving 1871, 83	Ezo-ga-shima (Hokkaido), 18–19, 27
population, 78, 135	fish from, 84, 93–4
largest city in world, 85 samurai numbers, 86–7	frontiers, 143–5
shift of cultural leadership from Osaka,	1785 mission to, 95 later surveying missions, 141–2
113	surveying and defence in Ezo,
trade, wholesale character less marked	138–41
than Osaka, 86	see also Honda Toshiaki, Kondō Jūzō,
see also sankin kōtai, shogunate	Mamiya Rinzō, Mogami Tokunai
Edo Gensin, 132, 133	Russian attack on in 1807, 117
education, Tokugawa times, 122	see also Russia
Meiji reorganisation of, 207	source materials for study of, 141–2
higher education, 127–8	Tokugawa Nariaki and, 155, 165
character of, 125, 133-4	trade with Osaka, 78, 83
weaknesses of, 127, 134	see also Hokkaido, Russia, Sakhalin
see also Buddhism, Hayashi family,	
Hita: Hirose Tansō, Nakai	famine, 11, 63
Chizukan, Tekijuku, universities	famines 1641-3, 1732, 1783-4, 1786-7
Egawa Hidetatsu, 158, 159	1836-7, 29, 91-2
elections	1732, 109
general	rice exports 1732 from Sendai to Edo
1890, 223	92
1915, 224, 256	1783, 1786–7, 100–1
1936–7, 268	rice exports 1784 from Osaka to Edo,
electorate, 256	92
electoral franchise, women, 280	harvest failures 1732, 1780s, 14
emigration from Japan	1833, 1836, 164
beginnings, 234	interpretation of, 91, 99
restricted permits for, 236	pictorial representation of, 313



Index

349

Tempō famines, 29 Haeghe, Carolus Van der, castaway diarist, excess mortality in Hida village of 40, 147 Miyamura 1837, 102 Hakuseki, see Arai Hakuseki Osaka 1836-7, 78 Hall, J. W., 5, 285, 287, 288, 304, 315 Tohoku, precarious food supply and Hamaguchi Osachi, 257, 259 famines, 66, 91, 101-2 see also ikki, rice, uchi kowashi definition, and pattern of, 27, 53-5 France, 3 earlier term for, 27 French encroachment in Indochina, hansatsu (han paper money), 108, 168-9 231 see also daimyo, revenue, shogunate, invaded 1940, 275 taxation interests in Korea, 232 Hara Kei, 224-5, 243, 247, 256, 257, 259, Nagasaki interpreters learning French, 260 146, 149 Harris, Townsend, 132, 172, 180, 182, Russian letter in Ezo in 1807 in French, 183, 188 146 Haruma, Edo and Nagasaki dictionaries, ties with shogunate in 1860s, 196-7 131-2, 149 French officers in shogunate's last Hashimoto Sanai, 181, 184, 196 battles, 203 hatamoto, 30, 54-5 Frois, Luis, 59, 122 backbone of shogunal administration, Fujita Satoru, 306 111 - 12Fujita Tōko, 176 see also bugyo fukoku kyōhei, 11, 178, 193 Hatasaki Kanae, 159 Fukui han, 54, 181 Hawaii, 7, 233, 234 immigration from, to United States Fukuoka han, 39, 52 Fukuzawa Yukichi, 11, 99, 127, 218, 271 prohibited 1907, 236 fūsetsugaki, 3, 60, 121, 158, 318 Japanese emigration to, 234-5 transit point for United States post-1898, 235, 236 gaikoku bugyō, 186 see also Ii Naosuke Hayami Akira, 99, 316 genrō, 9, 222-3, 225 Hayashi family, 14, 123, 160, 161, 185, Genroku period 318, 319 cultural significance, 94 Akira, 163, 174, 178, 184, 185, 319 economic boom, 29, 68, 135 Jussai, 117, 159, 163 Osaka's cultural blooming, 85, 135 Razan, 59 Satō Issai, 163 gold, 19, 21, 46 see also currency growth of role, from 1804, 162-3 Golovnin (Golownin), Wasely (Vasilii) school, 124, 125-6, 128 Mikhailovich (Mikhaylovich), 1, 57, Shoheiko, 127, 134, 162 95, 97, 121, 148, 150, 156, 163, 310, see also Tsūkō ichiran 311 Hayashi Shihei, 137, 139, 140 Golownin jiken and later published Hearn, Lafcadio, 282 account, 151-2 Heihachirō, see Ōshio Heihachirō new translation, 1942 Japan, 263 Heusken, Henry, 87 reprinting, 1851 Russia, 180 Hida province, 102 gōshi, 52 Hideyoshi, see Toyotomi Hideyoshi Gozan monks, 43, 59 Hikone han, 54 Great Britain Hirado, 3, 23, 29, 36, 37, 39, 60 Anglo-Japanese agreement 1902, 233 interpreters at, 61 alliance not renewed 1922, 246 sales of rice by Matsuura, daimyo of, 64 Macartney mission to China 1792, 96 Hiraizumi Kiyoshi, 6, 267 Hirata Atsutane, 125, 136 see also England Grew, Joseph, 245, 248, 261, 268, 284, Hiroshige, 135 285 Hita, 38 Gubbins, J. H., 244, 271, 320 Hirose Tansō school, 127, 135



Hokkaido	contacts with Kaempfer, 61
agricultural prospects, 213	interpretation in Dutch, 12
settlement of, 227–8	switch from Portuguese to Dutch, 61
see also Ezo islands	teaching by, 14
Hokusai, 135	transfer from Hirado to Nagasaki, 39
Holland, Dutch, 3, 23, 28, 33, 34	transfer of some to Edo 1808, 149
hofreis, 39, 128-9	see also Baba Sajūrō, Haruma, Nagasaki
trade	Sidotti
early regulation of, 36–7	Inukai Tsuyoshi, 259, 262
halted 1628-32, 36	Ishin Suden, 59
later regulation, 43	Ishiwara Kanji, 255, 269
Taiwan, Dutch driven from, 40	Itagaki Taisuke, 201, 217, 223
turnover, 18th century, 46	Itō Hirobumi, 194, 205, 218, 219, 220,
two vessels 1643 to north coast of Japan,	221, 223, 225, 233
39	Itō Jinsai, 94
see also Adams, copper, Hirado,	Iwakura Tomomi, 194, 202
interpreters, Nagasaki, silver	see also missions to the west
honbyakushō, 118, 166	Iwasaki Yatarō, 210
Honda Toshiaki, 136, 138, 140–1, 213	Twasaki Tataro, 210
writing revived, 141, 283	Jansen, Marius, 6, 33, 287, 304, 305
Honjō Eijirō, 141, 283, 303, 304, 315	Japan
Hotta Masayoshi, 111, 113, 114, 175, 182	globalisation, 288–9
Hyogo, 86, 180, 198, 212, 214	modern writing on, 288
see also Osaka	savings, 289
see uiso Osaka	Security Council seat, 292
Ida aastla tarre 92	
Ida, castle town, 83	social issues, 290
Ii Naosuke, 30, 111, 113, 114	structural reform, 289, 290, 291
ascent, 181, 183	fiscal system, 289
assassination, 184	political system, 291
creation 1858 of <i>gaikoku bugyō</i> , 185	vested interests, 290
purge by, 184	Vocamentar Engelhant 1 10 40 48 61
<i>ikki</i> (social unrest), 5, 11, 63, 118–19,	Kaempfer, Engelbert, 1, 19, 40, 48, 61,
135, 306	62, 70, 83, 133, 309, 311
analysis of, 119–21	Kaga han, 27, 53, 54, 66
in 1866, 191	costs of sankin kōtai, 87
see also uchi kowashi	Kanazawa, 66
industrialisation	opening of ports, 200
Tokugawa period	rice shipments to Osaka, 66, 83
see cotton, Osaka, Sakai, silk	kaibō gakari (kakari), 15, 173, 185, 186
post-1868	Kaitai shinsho (New writing on anatomy),
electricity, 250	129, 131
exports of textiles, 251, 253, 255	kanjō bugyō, 8, 98, 140, 161, 164
growth of heavy industry, 250, 251,	Katsu Kaishū, 99, 195
253	Katsura Tarō, 219, 224, 260
later contraction of silk, 253	Keene, Donald, 140, 141, 282, 304
rise in numbers in manufacturing	Keio University, 218
1930s, 250	Kido Yakayoshi, 195, 205, 218
see also cotton, silk	Kii han, 54
Inoue Kaoru, 194, 218, 233	Iemochi (Yoshitomi), 14th shogun, 181
interpreters, 14, 48, 95, 98, 128, 129	Tokugawa Harusada, daimyo of, 124
changed status of, 3	Kobe, see Hyogo
Chinese and Dutch interpreters in	kokutai, 157
Nagasaki, 60–1	Kondō Jūzō, 141, 142, 164
comments on, 132, 133	Konoe Fuminaro, 267, 269
compilation of <i>Haruma</i> by, 131–2	Kōnoike, 81, 210



Konyo, 129	Maebara Issei, 195
Korea, 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, 40, 43, 225, 227, 279	Maeno Ryōtaku, 129, 131 Makino Nobuaki, 240, 242, 243, 261
comfort women, 273, 275 cultural influences from, 18	Mamiya Rinzō, 141, 151, 152, 156, 158, 176
current relations with, 282	Manchu, 20, 29, 32, 40, 62
early Tokugawa relations, 31–2	Manchuria, 7, 16, 240, 257, 263, 270
export of silver to, 44	assassination of Chang Tso-lin, 259
Japanese invasions of, 1590s, 26–7, 31,	Manchurian question, 245, 255
32	migration to, 262
Korean embassy 1711, 111	see also Tartary
mining techniques from, 20	Manila, 22, 34
Russian and Chinese encroachment in,	Maruyama Masao, 125, 264, 265, 284,
16	302, 303, 306
tensions over, in 1870s, 229	Masuya, 81, 210
Tokyo killing of Koreans 1923, 256, 272	Matsuda Denjurō, 142
treaty with, 1876, 230	Matsudaira Sadanobu, daimyo of
post-treaty relations, 1880s, 230–1	Shirokawa, 4, 98, 111, 112, 113–14,
subsequent relations and annexation	126, 136, 185, 288, 307, 319
1910, 233	decree on teaching, 161
later history, 256	Edo bay defence, 163, 164
Krusenstern, Adam Johann (Ivan	views on Ezo problem, 143
Fedorovich), 137, 142, 143, 148	Matsudaira Shungaku, daimyo of Fukui,
Kuchiki Masatsuna, daimyo of	181
Fukuchiyama, 130	Matsukata Masayoshi, 218, 219, 223, 243
Kumazawa Banzan, 40, 66, 68, 90, 93, 94,	Matsumae han, 15, 52
104, 122, 124	Edo control of 1799–1807, 145
Kume Kunitake, 218, 222	ended 1822, 151
Kuril islands, 29, 97–8, 229	re-established 1854, 179
see also Ezo islands, Russia	restoration of han to family, 1822, 151
Kuroda Kiyotaka, 218, 219 Kusama Naokata, 81, 127, 169	Matsuura han, 29 see also Hirado
Kyoto, 22	Matsuyama han, 167
1788 fire, 112	medical doctors, 122, 126
population, 78	and rangaku, 129–30, 133
replaced as financial centre by Osaka by	metsuke, 8, 112, 115, 140, 159, 161
1650s, 78	Minobe Tatsukichi, 264
silk weaving industry of, 70	Mishima Yukio, 267
5 ,	missions to the west, 5, 16, 190
La Pérouse, Jean-François de Galaup de,	Iwakura mission, 205, 206, 240
97, 142	Mito, 54, 57, 71, 101, 105, 110, 266, 307
Langsdorff, G. H. Von, 148, 156	civil war, 1860s, 177, 216
law	Kodokan school, 126, 127
codification of, 207	mitogaku, 116
Tokugawa civil and criminal, 121–2	Tempō reform, 165
see also Boissonade de Fontarabie	Tokugawa execution of Mito rōnin, 197
Laxman, Adam, 49, 97, 98, 147, 150,	see also Tokugawa Nariaki
156	Mitsubishi, 210, 226
League of Nations, 242, 243, 245	Mitsui, 210, 226
Liaotung peninsula, 232	Mizuno Tadakuni, 30, 111, 113–15, 160, 317
literacy, 122	politics 1841–3, 170–1
MacArthur, Douglas, 280	Tempō crisis and reform, 164–5
Macao, 23, 33	Mogami Tokunai, 138, 140, 141, 142,
see also Portugal	156



money, monetary system, 14	commissions in classical Chinese, 126
monetisation of incomes, 69	content of thought, 123
replacing barter, 68	views on Japanese institutions, 108, 109
Mori, daimyo family of Choshu, 25	111-12
Morioka han, 99, 100, 101, 105	views on rising living standards, 67–8
Morrison episode, 1837, 158, 164, 165,	Oishi Shinzaburō, 314
172, 179	Okubo Toshimichi, 205, 218, 219
Moto'ori Norinaga, 116–17, 127 views of, 123–4	Okuma Shigenobu, 206, 211, 217, 219, 223, 224, 231
Murakami Shimanojō, 141	ō-metsuke, 8
Murakami Teisuke, 150–1	Omura, 35
	Omura Masujirō, 195
Nagasaki, 3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 23, 37, 39,	opium, 96
45	Opium War 1840–2, 158
bugyo office	Osaka, 8, 14, 15, 16, 36, 64, 86
archives of, 161, 318 early, 37, 38, 62	banking and trade centre of Japan, 28, 63, 73–4
later, 38, 59-60, 112	bugyo office, 86
castaways returned via, 12	business houses of, 81-2, 108
Chinese community in, 23, 37, 40	cultural centre of early Tokugawa Japan,
see also China	85
Christians, execution of, 28, 36	daimyo ties with, 74
Deshima, 36	economic trends, shift of business to
Phaeton, British warship in Nagasaki,	hinterland, 77, 85
1808, 146, 149, 150, 154	post-1868 business and industrial
Russian fleet wintered, Meiji times, 138	recovery, 212
trade with Osaka, 78	Heihachirō rising and fire 1837, 164
transfer to direct rule 1587, 32	population 1740s and later, 71, 77,
see also China, Holland, interpreters,	135
silver, trade	post-1868 foreign trade, 214, 215
Najita, Tetsuo, 305	rebellion 1614–15, 52
Nakai Chikuzan, 112, 125, 127, 207	rice
Nakai Rikken, 307	imports 1890, 215
navy	inward movement of: 1836-7, 78;
expenditure, 224, 258, 259	1866, 191, 214
international naval conferences, 246-7,	market, 78–9
257	sources of supply, 66
naval race, 246	warehouse rice, 79
see also armed forces	schools
Niigata, 83, 180, 200	Kaitokudo, 112, 124, 126
Nish, Ian, 309	Tekijuku, 127
Nitobe Inazō, 6, 255, 266, 271, 282	shogunal possession from 1619, 108
see also bushido	trade
Norman, E. H., 283-4, 287, 303, 304,	coastal, 45, 83-4
305	copper, main outward item, 78
	figures collected from 1714, 79-80;
Oda Nobunaga, 25, 27, 59	for 1714 and 1766, 80, 84; values
Ogata Kōan, 127, 133	inflated in 1714 figures, 80
transfer to new academy in Edo 1862,	Hyogo, transhipment point for, 86,
186	198, 199–200, 201, 203
see also Tekijuku	structure
Ogyū Sorai, 58, 67, 94, 110, 112, 123,	commodity trade deficit, 80-1
267	current account surplus, 81
comments on conditions on road to	under taxation of, 72
Kofu, 172	conflict of interest with Edo, 68, 77



goyokin on merchant nouses from	on racial equality, 238
1761, 169–70	on relations with United States: 1907–8,
prospects of taxing Osaka 1860s,	236; 1919–20, 244
77, 115	
Ōshima Takatō, 171	rangaku, 4
Ōshio Heihachirō, 164-5, 170, 176, 307	basis for empirical studies, 161
Ōtsuka Hisao, 303, 315	compilation of dictionaries, 131–2
Ōtsuki Gentaku, 129, 149, 150, 186	see also Haruma
Owari han, 54	difficulties in translating, 131
Owall hall, 51	growth of, 128–9, 136, 186
Doubres Sin House 180 104 100 206	
Parkes, Sir Harry, 189, 194, 199, 206,	rangakusha, 287
213, 230, 244	schools of, 133
parties, political, rise of, 217, 219–20, 223–4	translations from Dutch, 130, 132, 133 see also Banshowagegoyō
from 1920s, 225, 256	red-seal permits, 28, 34, 36, 42
Liberal Democratic Party, 280, 291	reform programmes, 106
see also Hara Kei	as response to rigid revenue, 168
Phaeton, see under Nagasaki	Kyōhō, Kansei and Tempō reforms,
Philippines, 7, 22, 33, 34, 233, 234, 237	106, 168
see also Manila	Kyōhō reform, 106
population	Tempō, 170
estimates, 63, 64	see also Mizuno Tadakuni
growth, post-1868, 211	Reischauer, Edwin, 282, 284
early Meiji birth rates, 215	revenue, public (han and shogunal), 14,
Meiji infant mortality rates, 215	29–30, 31, 32, 52, 54–5
pre-1721 counts, 98	crisis in revenue, 63, 69–70, 106
returns, from 1721, 98–101	fixed income of shogunate and han, 72,
abortion, 104	107–8
birth and death rates, 102, 103	reasons for inability to expand revenue,
infant mortality and infanticide, 103–4	108
infectious disease, 102	shogunal and han rice levy, whether a
marriage ages, 102–3	tax or rent, 165–8
Portugal, Portuguese, 3, 13, 23, 32, 33,	shogunal income expressed in western
34, 36	equivalent value, 55
Japanese trade, 34	tenryō, policy regarding, 108–9
halted 1628–30, 36	Rezanov, N. P., 49, 97, 138, 145, 146,
regulated 1620s and 1630s, 36	147
two vessels in Nagasaki bay 1647, 39,	Nagasaki mission 1804, 148–9
56, 96	rice, 19, 23, 28
see also Christianity, Macao, sakoku	assessments for levy on, 51, 69
press, 220	fall in, in Tohoku, 105
prices	non-fiscal use of, 52–3
debasement and, 71, 107	see also taxation
differential effect of, on samurai and	consumption, 64
townsmen, 135	dietary pattern in Tohoku, 105
long-term fall in rice prices, 71–2,	substitution for coarser grains, 64, 65,
104–5	66
low prices 1819–20, 169	production
prices in 1860s, 191	
	actual output compared with assessed
rise in Osaka prices relative to Edo	value, 166
1860s, 77	flood prevention works, 65, 90–1, 93
prostitution, 87, 88	irrigation, 65, 90, 91
public opinion, 220, 257	problems in manure supply, 93
current, 291	rice strains and terracing, 64–5
on policy in 1930s, 268	rice riots 1918, 262



rice (cont.)	Saga, 39, 52, 204, 217, 218, 266
Tokugawa Japan	rising 1874, 216
a food surplus country, 90	see also Ōkuma Shigenobu
post-1868 harvest outcomes, 214-15	Saigō Takamori, 176, 184, 193, 194, 195,
trade	197, 198, 199, 200, 217, 218, 219
daimyo dealings in rice with Dutch, 64	Saionji Kimmochi, 224, 225, 240, 267-8
statistics for, 214	Sakai, 78, 81, 86
Tsugaru, export of rice from, 66	Sakamoto Ryōma, 196
see also daimyo, Osaka, prices	sake, 23, 51, 66, 210
roads	Sakhalin (Karafuto)
and road traffic, 53	Japanese settlement confined to south,
commodity traffic, on, 82-3	143–5
Nakasendo, 89	surveying of, 142–3, 156
passenger traffic, 89–90	see also Ezo islands, Russia
Tokaido, 70, 89	sakoku, 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 213, 279
see also sankin kõtai	benefits of, 9–10
Roches, Léon, 196	definition and debate, 48-50
<i>rōjū</i> , 55, 59, 111, 143, 155, 160, 173,	interpretation of, 10, 11-12, 287
182–3, 185, 186, 187, 195	place of Ryukyus and Ezo in, 51
cabinet of four to six ministers, 319	policy, 1–2, 38
rōnin, 69, 87, 88, 122, 187	regulations during 1630s, 13
see also Mito	see also Ezo islands, Russia, Ryukyus,
Rostow, Walt, Stages of economic growth, 5	uchi harai
Russia, 5, 7, 8, 12, 16	samurai
east Asia, trade with, 96	castle town residence, 51
expansion in Ezo, 14, 29, 62, 137-8	changing status, 208
attacks in Ezo islands 1806-7, 145-6	numbers of, 56, 70
uchi harai order to fire on Russian	pessimism of writers, 106
ships 1807, 148	post-1868 condition, 209
Uruppu, recognised as Russian, 143	commutation of rights, 208–9
see also Ezo islands	restricted income of, 63, 105, 106
Korea, interests in, 231–2	crisis in incomes, 70; see also daimyo,
relations current with, 292	gōshi, revenue, Satsuma, shogunate
relations with Japan	sankin kōtai, 39, 56
czarevitch, 206	cost of, to han, 79, 81, 87
Putiatin and treaty negotiations	daimyo
1853–5, 179	retainers in Edo, 87
request for trade 1792, 97–8; see also	Tohoku visits financed by Osaka
Laxman	advances, 85
Rezanov negotiations Nagasaki 1804,	traffic on roads, 88–9
49; see also Rezanov	reductions in requirement, 109, 112
Sakhalin and Ezo, in 1850s, 180–1	Satsuma retinue and Richardson
clashes in Sakhalin 1860s, 227	incident, 188
1875 agreement on Kurils and	significance of, 52
Sakhalin, 229	suspended 1862, 189, 192; restored
war with Japan 1904–5, 271	1864, 197
defeat, 233	Sansom, George, 305
Ryukyus, 16	Satchō, 220, 223
constitutional position, 50 annexation 1879, 226–7, 229–30	dominance of Choshu and Satsuma in early cabinets, 218–19
regulated value of trade, 44	resentment of, by others, 224
substantial size of later trade, 46–7	Satō Nobuhiro, 112
relations with Satsuma, 27, 40	Satow, Sir Ernest, 188, 197, 200, 201, 202
threat from abroad 1840s and 1850s,	229, 231, 243, 244–5, 266, 310, 320
173, 234	Satsuma, 3, 16, 26, 28
see also Satsuma	and Hideyoshi, 27



economic and social conditions in han,	avoidance of foreign war, 97
119, 167	defence, 108, 163–4
Kagoshima shelled by British 1863, 189	reform, see reform programmes
Meiji navy dominated by, 219	political conflict in 1860s
relationship	attempt under Yoshinobu as Regent to
with shogunate, 16, 115, 177	strengthen shogunate, 196, 197,
with Choshu and shogunate, 175, 177	199, 200–1; long-term decay,
rising 1877, 216–17	debatable view, 108
Ryukyus, 16, 46–7, 157–8	opposing concept of confederacy of
see also Ryukyus	han, 195, 201
samurai residing in countryside, 52	ports as issue dividing han and
largest samurai population of any han,	shogun, 198, 199, 201
56	nomination of Yoshinobu as shogun,
shipwrecked mariners 1704, 147	189, 193
students and exhibitions abroad, 191	denouement, decisive action by
Tempō reform, 165	Choshu and Satsuma, 201–2; order
trade, Chinese vessels in, 40, 158	of 8 Nov. 1867 for overthrow of
smuggling by Chinese vessels, 47–8,	shogunate: ambiguities and course
157	of events, 202–3; Yoshinobu's
withdrawal of Saigō's followers from	withdrawal to private life, 203; final
Meiji army, 219	battles, 203
school history textbook controversy,	shogunal succession, 15, 56
273–5, 281, 282, 291	1858 conflict over, 181–2
see also Korea: comfort women	shūmon aratame chō, 34, 100, 101
Shantung peninsula, 232, 257	Siam, 22, 23, 24, 33, 43
German Shantung occupied by	trade with Japan, 49, 50
Japanese, 239–40	managed by Chinese, 50
importance of issue at Versailles, 242,	Sidotti, Giovanni Battista, 95
243–4	Siebold, Philip Von
effect of, on American policy, 245	Narutaki academy, 133, 152
restored to China 1922, 246	Von Siebold affair, 155–7, 159
Shiba Kōkan, 136	silk, 2, 10, 13, 19, 20–1
Shidehara Kijūrō, 257, 268	international output and trade, 22
Shimabara rising, 29, 36	Itowappu, 34, 37
Shimazu, daimyo of Satsuma, 25, 29	Japanese industry, expansion of, 70
Hisamitsu, 217	post-1868, 211, 213
Nariakira, 179, 181, 184, 217	United States market for, 6, 213
Narioki, 173, 217	quantity imported, 41
Shigehide, 119, 130, 173	from Macao, 32–3
Shinto, 218, 221–2, 226	via Tsushima, 43
shishi, 193, 194	silver, 2, 13, 19, 21, 22, 28, 33
shogunate	international trade in, 20, 22
administration, bureaucracy, 57–8	Japanese, 3
decentralised, 317	final prohibition, 42
number of retainers, 56	purity of coinage, 41
structure, 160	rise of output, 28
see also bugyo, daikan, hatamoto, kanjō	statistics of exports, 41, 42
bugyō, metsuke, Nagasaki: bugyo	Spanish, 20
office, ō-metsuke, rōjū	see also China, currency, Holland,
authority of, 7, 25	smuggling
relationship of shogunate and	Smith, T. C., 2, 167, 286, 305, 316
emperor, 115–18	smuggling, 43, 62
bakufu, 8	Chinese role in, 41, 47
use of term, 193, 315	precious metals, 73
bakuhan taisei, 7	prosecutions in Nagasaki, 158
policy, formulation of, 110	Satsuma, role in, 157



Sorai, see Ogyū Sorai	Tōgō Heiachirō, admiral, 259
Spain	Tōjō Hideki, 269, 270, 277
interest in Japan in 1590s, 28	Tokugawa
presence in east Asia, 33–4	collateral branches, 53–4
Storry, Richard, 309	shoguns, Hidetada, 59
sugar, 19, 45	Iemochi (Yoshitomi), 14th shogun,
Sugita Gempaku, 129, 131	181, 184, 198
Sumitomo, 210	Ienari, 30, 111, 114, 173
Sun Yat-Sen, 243	Ienobu, 110
TI: 04 00 04 06 40 64 000 004	Iesada, 181
Taiwan, 24, 32, 34, 36, 40, 64, 229, 234	Ietsugu, 110
Takahashi Kageyasu, 141, 149, 150, 151,	Ieyasu, 2, 25–6, 27, 29, 31, 32, 59
155, 161, 162	Tsunayoshi, 59, 109, 110
drafting of 1825 uchi harai decree, 153–4	Yoshimune, 30, 51, 56, 59, 107, 112,
Von Siebold affair, 156	113, 123, 128, 315; interest in
Takano Chōei, 159	learning, 131; Kyōhō reform, 68;
Takashima Shūan, 160, 170, 171	personal decision making, 110
Takasugi Shinsoku, 195	Yoshinobu, 15, 31, 56, 111, 177, 181
Tanaka Giichi, 219, 259, 261	315; role from 1863–64, 189, 193
Tani Bunchō, 136, 164	Tokugawa Nariaki, daimyo of Mito, 4,
Tanuma Okitsugu, 5, 30, 59, 111, 113–14,	70, 117, 158, 163, 187, 307
165, 286, 304	Ezo policy, 155
Tartary, 97, 138, 142, 149	general assessment of, 177, 311
taxation (shogunal and han)	relations with shogunate, 171, 172,
deductions from samurai stipends as	176–7, 178, 179, 184
embryonic direct taxation, 166–7	Tokugawa Yoshikatsu, 195
direct taxation of towns, absence of, 167	Tokyo
excise taxes, absence of, 167	chosen for 1940 Olympiad, 249
goyōkin, 190	earthquake 1923, 247
miscellaneous taxes moderate, 168	post-1868 development, 211
ikki as a resistance to fiscal innovation,	expansion in 1920s and 1930s,
167	247–8
limited income as a brake on borrowing,	rice riots, 263
168	Ueno district, 215–16
Meiji taxation, 208–9, 210	Tokyo, University of, 218, 249, 264, 265,
rice levy, rent or tax?, 165–8	267
tea, 6, 10	Torii Yōzō, metsuke, 159, 160, 163
increased consumption, 66	Tosa, 52, 54, 204
post-1868 exports, 213	rising 1874, 216
increased output from Shizuoka	see also Itagaki Taisuke, Yamauchi Yōdo
region, 211	Totman, Conrad, 305
tea from Canton to Europe, 96	Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 20, 25, 26–7, 28, 29
European East India Companies, 96	32, 36, 37, 38, 51, 282
Tekijuku, 133	Hideyori, son, 25, 29, 36
see also Ogata Kōan, Osaka	red-seal permits, 28
tenancy (farm), 215	trade
disputes, 1920s and 1930s, 254	coastal, 70, 83–4
land reform, 279–80	Osaka, data for 1714, 1766, 45, 84
tenant organisations, 249	world's largest, 14
Thunberg, C. P., 1, 128, 309, 311	foreign, 2, 13, 20
Titsingh, Isaac, 1, 119, 130, 156, 309,	early boom in, 28; see also China
310, 311	in east Asia, 23–4
tobacco, increased consumption of, 66	later contraction in 17th century, 13
Toby, R., 309	post-1868 expansion of, 212–14;
Togawa, bugyo, 48	devaluation of yen, 251, 252;



> Index 357

exports as percentage of income, 212, 253; role of, in post-1858 Japan, 2 regulation of scale and estimates of, 41, 43-4; miscellaneous imports, 45; trade in excess of nominal ceilings, 47 trade unions, 249 Translations Bureau, see Banshowagegoyō aim of undoing, 5, 11, 15, 16, 279 inequality clauses of, and later negotiations, 205-7 process of opening ports under, 198 views of daimyo, 182 of emperor, 15, 183-4, 198 of shishi, 187-8 on 1854-5 treaties, 178-9 on 1857-8 proposals and treaties, 180 Tsuchiya Takeo, 304 Tsuda Sōkichi, 264 Tsūkō ichiran, 95, 151, 163, 174, 319 Tsunoda Ryūsaku, 140, 141, 283, 304 Tsushima, 1, 16, 32, 39, 42, 109 Gozan monks in, 59 links with Korea, 50 Russian occupation of 1861, 181 statistics for trade of, 43-4 trade, collapse of, 46 uchi harai, 5 evolution of policy, 146-8, 162 flexible nature, 14, 15, 173, 179 interpretation of, 288, 307, 310 modified 1842, 170, 179 proposal to restore 1848, 173 temporary revival 1863, 16 whaling vessels and background to 1825 decree, 153-4 uchi kowashi, 92, 98, 120, 164 United States, 1, 6, 7, 206 Canton, American traders 1780s, 96 China, Open Doors policy 1899, 239 immigration from Japan, 16, 235-6 Pearl Harbor 1941, 275-7 declaration of war, 276

Perry, opening of Japan, 1, 175, 178, 313 post-war American scholarship on Japan, 282-4 currents in, 284-7 relations with Japan evolution of 1868-1941, 233-4, 278 post-war relations, 280-1, 282, 291, 292; defence pact and bases, 281 tensions with, 16, 236-7, 238, 244, see also Hawaii, Philippines, Shantung, peninsula, Versailles universities, 248, 249 private, 218 see also Keio University, Tokyo: University of, Waseda University unrest (social), see ikki, uchi kowashi Uraga, 79, 80, 153, 158, 173 bugyo, 173 see also Morrison episode Japanese deputation at, 240, 247 long-term effects of, 245 racial equality issue at, 240, 242

Versailles, Treaty of, 16 see also Shantung peninsula

Waseda University, 217, 218, 243 Watanabe Kazan, 136, 158, 159 World War I, 239 effects, 247, 250

Yamagata Aritomo, 195, 218-19, 222, 225, 239, 260 Yamagata Bantō, 81, 127, 169 Yamagata Daini, 116 Yamamura, Kozo, 286, 305, 307, 316 Yamauchi Yōdo, daimyo of Tosa, 181, 201 Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, 110, 123 Yanaihara Tadao, 249, 265 Yoshida Shigeru, 280, 289, 291 Yoshida Shōin, 4, 57, 184, 187, 195 Yasuda, 210

zaibatsu, 78, 210, 251, 280 see also Konoike, Masuya, Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Yasuda