

The new cambridge history of JAPAN

VOLUME II

Early Modern Japan in Asia and the World, c. 1580–1877

This major new reference work presents an accessible and innovative survey of the latest developments in the study of early modern Japan. The period from about 1580 to 1877 saw the reunification of Japan after a long period of civil war, followed by two and a half centuries of peace and stability under the Tokugawa shogunate, and closing with the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which laid the foundation for a modern nation-state. With essays from leading international scholars, this volume emphasizes Japan's place in global history and pays close attention to gender and environmental history. It introduces readers to recent scholarship in fields including social history, the history of science and technology, intellectual history, and book history. Drawing on original research, each chapter situates its primary source material and novel arguments in the context of close engagement with secondary scholarship in a range of languages. The volume underlines the importance of Japan in the global early modern world.

DAVID L. HOWELL is the Robert K. and Dale J. Weary Professor of Japanese History and Professor of History at Harvard University.



The New Cambridge History of JAPAN

General Editor

Laura Hein, Northwestern University

Bringing together leading Anglophone and Japanese scholars in three landmark volumes, The New Cambridge History of Japan offers an expansive vision of the archipelago's history from c. 500 to the twenty-first century. With an emphasis on the porousness of Japan's boundaries, it embraces a more global perspective than that of the original Cambridge History, published a generation ago. Its analyses of gender, the environment, and urban life enrich our understanding of political, social, and cultural history. Volume I, Premodern Japan in East Asia, traces the archipelago's history from c. 500 to the late sixteenth century. Volume II, Early Modern Japan in Asia and the World, carries the narrative into the late nineteenth century. The third volume, The Modern Japanese Nation and Empire, brings the story into the twenty-first century. The essays throughout are written in accessible, authoritative prose for a diverse global audience ranging from specialists to students and all those interested in Japan's rich history.

> Volume I: Premodern Japan in East Asia, c. 500–1600 EDITED BY HITOMI TONOMURA

Volume II: Early Modern Japan in Asia and the World, c. 1580–1877 EDITED BY DAVID L. HOWELL

Volume III: The Modern Japanese Nation and Empire, c. 1868 to the Twenty-First Century EDITED BY LAURA HEIN



THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF JAPAN

VOLUME II

Early Modern Japan in Asia and the World, c. 1580–1877

Edited by

DAVID L. HOWELL

Harvard University

General Editor LAURA HEIN







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

 $\label{lem:cambridge} \mbox{ Cambridge University Press \& Assessment,} \\ \mbox{ a department of the University of Cambridge.}$

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108417938

DOI: 10.1017/9781108283748

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Tonomura, Hitomi, editor. | Howell, David L. (David Luke),

1959– editor. | Hein, Laura Elizabeth, editor.

TITLE: The New Cambridge History of Japan.

Description: Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, [2023–2025] | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Contents: V. I. Premodern Japan in East Asia, c.500–1600 / edited by Hitomi Tonomura – v. 2. Early Modern Japan in Asia and the World, c. 1580–1877 / edited by David L. Howell – v. 3. The Modern Japanese Nation and Empire, c.1868 to the Twenty-First Century / edited by Laura Hein.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023002199 | ISBN 9781316510254 (vol. 1 : hardcover) |
ISBN 9781108417938 (vol. 2 : hardcover) | ISBN 9781108283748 (vol. 2 : ebook) |
ISBN 9781107196131 (vol. 3 : hardcover) | ISBN 9781108164535 (vol. 3 : ebook)
SUBJECTS: LCSH: Japan – History.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC DS835 .N49 2023 \mid DDC 952–dc23/eng/20230215 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023002199

Three Volume Set ISBN 978-1-978-110818246-1 Hardback Volume I ISBN 978-1-31651025-4 Hardback Volume II ISBN 978-1-10841793-8 Hardback Volume III ISBN 978-1-10719613-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Figures page viii
List of Maps ix
List of Tables x
List of Contributors to Volume II xi
Preface xiii

Introduction: Genealogies of Japanese Early Modernity 1
DAVID L. HOWELL

PART I THE CHARACTER OF THE EARLY MODERN STATE

- I The End of Civil War and the Formation of the Early Modern State in Japan 15 MORGAN PITELKA
- 2 Politics and Political Thought in the Mature Early Modern State in Japan, 1650–1830 58
 KIRI PARAMORE
 - 3 Regional Authority during the Tokugawa Period 97
 DAVID L. HOWELL
- 4 Tokugawa Philosophy: A Socio-Historical Introduction 128 FEDERICO MARCON
 - 5 Foreign Relations and Coastal Defense under the Mature Tokugawa Regime 159 ROBERT HELLYER

v



Contents

6 The Meiji Restoration 184 MARK RAVINA

PART IIECONOMY, ENVIRONMENT, AND TECHNOLOGY

7 International Economy and Japan at the Dawn of the Early Modern Era 229 ADAM CLULOW

8 The Tokugawa Economy: Of Rulers, Producers, and Consumers 267 KOMURO MASAMICHI AND BETTINA GRAMLICH-OKA

9 The Pacific Context of Japan's Environmental History 296
BRETT L. WALKER

10 Scientific Communities and the Emergence of Science in Early Modern Japan 342 YULIA FRUMER

II The Problem of Western Knowledge in Late Tokugawa Japan 363 Hansun hsiung

12 Technology, Military Reform, and Warfare in the Tokugawa-Meiji Transition 397 D. COLIN JAUNDRILL

PART III SOCIAL PRACTICES AND CULTURES OF

EARLY MODERN JAPAN

13 Religion in the Tokugawa Period 443

MARK TEEUWEN

14 The Medical Revolution in Early Modern Japan 478 SUSAN L. BURNS

15 Flows of People and Things in Early Modern Japan: Print Culture 507

vi



Contents

16 Labor and Migration in Tokugawa Japan: Moving People 537
AMY STANLEY

17 The Tokugawa Status Order 567 MAREN EHLERS

18 On the Peripheries of the Japanese Archipelago:Ryukyu and Hokkaido 603DAVID L. HOWELL

19 The Early Modern City in Japan 629 THOMAS GAUBATZ

20 Popular Movements in Early Modern Japan: Petitions, Riots, Martyrs 659 ANNE WALTHALL

21 Civilization and Enlightenment in Early Meiji Japan 689
AMIN GHADIMI

Index 739

Please see List of Contributors to ascertain surnames and personal names.



Figures

2.1	Structural schema of the Tokugawa state	page 66
2.2	The public sentiment cycle	71
2.3	Establishment of domain academies during the Tokugawa period	88
2.4	Graphic representation of the number of domanial state Confucian	
	teachers associated with Sorai or Shōheizaka (shogunal academy) in the	
	later Tokugawa period	88
8.1	Fluctuations in economic variables	274
II.I	Oranda gogaku genshi	373
II.2	Frontispiece to Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kinmō kyūri zukai	379
15.I	Record of Famous Sites of the Eastern Capital (Tōto meishoki late 1840s–1860)	521



Maps

Map Frontispiece The Japanese archi	pelago page xv
3.1 Territorial divisions in 1664	98
9.1 Kuroshio and Oyashio currents	319



Tables

9.1	Major seismic events, 1600–1923	page 300
9.2	Major early modern famines	330
I2.I	Ranks for officers and noncommissioned officers in the	
	Tokugawa army and navy	408



Contributors to Volume II

BURNS, Susan L. (Professor of Japanese History, East Asian Languages and Civilizations, and the College, University of Chicago)

CLULOW, Adam (Professor of History, University of Texas at Austin)

EHLERS, Maren (Associate Professor of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte) FRUMER, Yulia (Associate Professor of History of Science and Technology, Johns Hopkins University)

GAUBATZ, Thomas (Assistant Professor of Japanese Literature and Culture, Northwestern University)

GHADIMI, Amin (Associate Professor, Graduate School of Humanities, Osaka University)

GRAMLICH-OKA, Bettina (Professor, Faculty of Liberal Arts, Sophia University)

HELLYER, Robert (Professor of History, Wake Forest University)

HOWELL, David L. (Robert K. and Dale J. Weary Professor of Japanese History and Professor of History, Harvard University)

HSIUNG, Hansun (Assistant Professor, School of Modern Languages, Durham University)

JAUNDRILL, D. Colin (Associate Professor of History, Providence College)

комико, Masamichi (Professor Emeritus, Faculty of Economics, Keio University)

MARCON, Federico (Associate Professor of East Asian Studies and History, Princeton University)

NENZI, Laura (Professor of History, Emory University)

PARAMORE, Kiri (Professor of Asian Studies, University College Cork, National University of Ireland)

PITELKA, Morgan (Bernard L. Herman Distinguished Professor of History and Asian Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

RAVINA, Mark (Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Chair in Japanese Studies and Professor of History, University of Texas at Austin)

STANLEY, Amy (Professor of History, Northwestern University)

 ${\tt TEEUWEN}, \ Mark \ (Professor \ of \ Japan \ Studies, \ University \ of \ Oslo)$

WALKER, Brett L. (Regents Professor, Montana State University)

Walthall, Anne (Professor of History Emerita, University of California, Irvine)



Preface

The *Cambridge Histories* series form a distinctive genre, one whose essays differ from the monograph chapter, journal article, or encyclopedia entry. We have endeavored to use that genre to bring 73 essays of contemporary scholarship on premodern, early modern, and modern Japanese history to a new generation. The *Cambridge Histories* are intended to be accessible to diverse but specific audiences – that is, to provide a crash course for colleagues who specialize on other parts of the world, a single location for undergraduate and graduate students who are getting a handle on the diversity of the past, and a topography of Japan studies for the general educated reader with an interest in history. An underlying assumption is that we write for readers across the globe, including in Japan, because Japanese history is and always has been part of global history. The porousness of the boundaries between Japan and its transnational context is one of the overarching themes of the essays in this collection.

Another convention of this genre is to put political history at the center of the narrative, even though "political," narrowly defined, does not usefully capture the contours of public life for many premodern and early modern societies, including in Japan. Nor does it help us see modern people who were poorly represented by their political leaders. We deal with these limitations here by expanding our definition of political history to encompass everything that has to do with public, civic, and state activities. This includes categories such as gender, which we see as profoundly political in this sense. Like all *Cambridge Histories*, however, the selection leans toward political, economic, and social topics, here including considerable environmental and urban history.

Since the *Cambridge Histories*' inception over a century ago, the genre has celebrated narrative over accumulation of facts, encouraged its participants to synthesize with gusto, and urged them to choose a point of view that has obvious relevance in the contemporary world. This three-volume collection



Preface

represents the efforts of 85 authors and translators to convey why and how their particular topics matter in a variety of comparative, transregional, and cross-disciplinary frameworks. The multiplicity of authors also implies internal diversity: readers can expect that any given volume represents a range of concerns and approaches, for the past holds many different lessons for the present.

When the first edition of the *Cambridge History of Japan* was published from 1988 to 1999, there was a considerable gap between Japanese- and English-language scholarship in terms of questions being asked, modes of argumentation, and intended audiences. This is far less true today, and these volumes owe much to the rich and exciting scholarship appearing in Japanese. Our efforts also rest on the first edition of the *Cambridge History of Japan*. We concur with the general editors (John W. Hall, Marius B. Jansen, Madoka Kanai, and Denis Twitchett) that "Japanese history belongs to the world, not only as a right and necessity but also as a subject of compelling interest."





The Japanese archipelago Map by Fabian Drixler. The coastlines of Japan derive from Inō Tadataka's survey (1800–1821), in Murayama Yūji, ed., *Dejitaru Inō-zu*, DVD-ROM (Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2015).