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# Introduction

*Robert Hellyer and Harald Fuess*

The Meiji Restoration began largely in private within the grounds of Kyoto's Imperial Palace. Following meetings that commenced the previous day, on the morning of January 3, 1868, an alliance led by samurai from the Satsuma and Chōshū domains seized control of the palace complex, thereby assuring their influence over the young emperor, Mutsuhito. Later that day, alliance leaders proclaimed the restoration of imperial rule.[1] In response to the proclamation, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, who had abdicated his position as shogun a few months earlier, deployed his forces near Kyoto. In the ensuing Battle of Toba-Fushimi, the alliance achieved a surprisingly easy victory and continued to press its military advantage in central and northern Honshu throughout 1868 in what became known as the Boshin War (1868–1869). By the summer of 1869, the nascent regime, headed by Emperor Meiji, had vanquished the fragmented opposition and established its control over the main islands of Japan, including Hokkaido.

In these dramatic events of 1868–1869, the primacy of internal forces is apparent. We can say the same of the models that inspired the men of the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance in constructing a new regime. Initially the samurai heading the alliance looked not to the words of a foreign philosopher, as the leaders of the American Revolution did from Montesquieu and Rousseau, but instead to the Japanese past. They declared a desire to revive "ancient kingly rule" (*ōsei fukko*) as had existed during the earliest days of the Japanese state in the seventh and eighth centuries. Moreover, unlike the US Civil War (1861–1865), neither side in the Boshin War actively courted intervention by foreign states. For their part, Western governments officially declared their neutrality and chose not to overtly

[1] A copy of the proclamation, issued on 1867/12/09, the date according to the Japanese calendar, is included in reel number KE161-0798 of the "Dai Nihon ishin shiryō kōhon" [Manuscript of Historical Records of the Meiji Restoration of Japan], a document collection in the archives of Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo. Perhaps because of the brevity of the January 3 proclamation, historians of Japan have given more focus to the Charter Oath, issued in April 1868. For an English translation see, David Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History*, Vol. 2 (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 308–310.



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aid one side, a stance different from that taken by some Western states during the Taiping Rebellion in the Qing Empire (1850–1864), and one that ended up assisting the Meiji government.

Given the prominence of internal actors and dynamics, the "global" within the Meiji Restoration is often understood in a limited way – as an outside trigger mechanism symbolized by the arrival of US Commodore Perry in 1853. In the decade surrounding the 1968 centennial, Japanese and Western historians, often employing Marxist theory, debated global influences by comparing the Restoration to other revolutionary turning points in world history, notably the French Revolution.[2] At the same time, prominent US historians identified the Restoration as the start of a process whereby Japan, by imitating Western models, followed a path to modernity blazed by European nations and the United States.[3]

Partially in response to these approaches, Western historians crafted studies focused on identifying and dissecting political, military, and economic causes and motivations during the pivotal 1850s and 1860s.[4] This trend extended throughout the 1980s and brought the publication of edited volumes examining conflict in the form of loyalist, peasant, and millenarian uprisings in the 1850s as well as political and institutional change surrounding the 1868 watershed.[5] Scholarship also explored the global in the form of Japan's Western borrowing of ideas, policies, and practices that after the initial embrace of the mythical Japanese past, guided the new regime during most of the Meiji period (1868–1912).[6]

The 1990s witnessed Western historians giving more consideration to socioeconomic trends across the nineteenth century, deemphasizing 1868 as a turning point.[7] The decade also welcomed studies that importantly gave voices to ordinary people and women within the story of the

[2] Kawano Kenji, *Furansu kakumei to Meiji ishin* [The French Revolution and the Meiji Restoration] (Tokyo: Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1966).
[3] Marius B. Jansen, ed., *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965).
[4] W. G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972); Conrad Totman, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1862–1868* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1980).
[5] Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann, eds., *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Marius Jansen and Gilbert Rozman, eds., *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).
[6] Ardath W. Burks, ed., *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985); D. Eleanor Westney, *Imitation and Innovation: The Transfer of Western Organizational Patterns to Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).
[7] David Howell, *Capitalism from Within: Economy, Society, and the State in a Japanese Fishery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Kären Wigen, *The Making of a Japanese Periphery, 1750–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

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Restoration and the early years of the Meiji state.[8] Other research identified global influences in the form of Western military and political pressure viewed as steadily mounting following Britain's victory over the Qing Empire in the Opium War (1839–1842).[9] In addition, scholarship explored in new and valuable ways Japan's diplomatic sparring with Western nations during the 1850s and 1860s.[10] Increased interest in the Meiji Restoration in advance of the 2018 sesquicentennial, which prompted discussions that led to this volume, stimulated a more recent surge in publications in English and Japanese.[11]

Building on the foundations laid by these interpretations, this book submits that the "global" must be identified and analyzed anew within the complex landscape that brought the downfall of the Tokugawa regime, the civil war that followed it, and the formation of a Japanese nation-state in the decades after 1868. The contributors view and employ the word "global" as encapsulated in the external forces, trends, and influences that in immediate and contextual ways, shaped the course of the Meiji Restoration.

This volume's use of global draws upon the burgeoning field of global history, which along with the related fields of universal and world history, world systems theory, as well as diplomatic and international history, shares a basic aim of expanding the scope of inquiry beyond the confines of the nation-state or geographical boundaries.[12] Many practitioners of

[8] George M. Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan: Motives in the Meiji Restoration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Anne Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Published somewhat earlier is the important work on Meiji period life, Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcasts* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 1982).

[9] Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "Opium, Expulsion, Sovereignty. China's Lessons for Bakumatsu Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 47, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 1–25.

[10] Key-Hiuk Kim, *The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order: Korea, Japan, and the Chinese Empire, 1860–1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Michael Auslin, *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[11] Mark Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World: Japan's Meiji Restoration in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Daniel V. Botsman and Adam Clulow, eds., "Commemorating Meiji: History, Politics and the Politics of History." Special Issue *Japanese Studies* 38, no. 3 (November 2018); Catherine Phipps, ed., "Meiji Japan in Global History," Special Issue, *Japan Forum* 30, no. 4 (December 2018); Daniel V. Botsman, Tsukada Takashi, and Yoshida Nobuyuki, eds., *Meiji hyaku-gojūnen de kangaeru – kindai ikōki no shakai to kūkan* [Thinking Through Meiji 150 – Social and Spatial Change in the Transition to Modernity] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan-sha, 2018).

[12] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974); Bruce Mazlish, "Global History" *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2–3 (2006): 406–408; Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

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global history emphasize the need to overcome a standard focus on national political elites by exploring groups or topics transgressing territorial borders. Since the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, an increasing number of edited volumes have appeared, as well as monographs using more specialized lenses such as food, that chart connectivity in global history.[13] The field of global history has also come to include what many view as canonical collections and like any self-respecting subfield, now supports a dedicated journal.[14]

In Japan, early Meiji universal history (*bankokushi*) preceded world history (*sekaishi*) as an established concept in school education for the study of history, with a focus on the West and China.[15] The academic realm has also seen the publication of important works that emphasize the role of foreigners, engagement with the outside world, and global contexts in the course of the Restoration and the creation of the Japanese nation-state.[16] *Gurōbaru hisutorī*, written in the *katakana* syllabary for foreign loanwords, has appeared in about forty book titles and articles since the start of the twenty-first century, including a Japanese translation of

[13] Prominent edited volumes include A. G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalization in World History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002); A. G. Hopkins, ed., *Global History: Interactions Between the Universal and Local* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); and Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens, eds., *Conceptualizing Global History* (New York: Westview Press, 2006). Also Raymond Grew, *Food in Global History* (New York: Westview Press, 2008).

[14] Such as Bruce Mazlish and Akira Iriye, *The Global History Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2005) and D. R. Woolf, *A Global History of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). The *Journal of Global History*, an organ of the subfield, is published by the London School of Economics. In the German-speaking world, Globalgeschichte [Global History] has also become a widely used term. In addition, German historians have produced publications that have become influential in English-language scholarship such as Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016) and Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[15] In the 1870s, Japanese secondary school textbooks were based on, for example, Peter Parley, *Peter Parley's Universal History on the Basis of Geography* [With Illustrations] (London: John W. Parker, 1837).

[16] Some examples include: Sakata Yoshio and Yoshida Mitsukuni, *Sekaishi no naka no Meiji ishin: gaikokujin no shikaku kara* [The Meiji Restoration in World History: From the Perspective of Foreigners] (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1973); Shibahara Takuji, *Seikaishi no naka no Meiji ishin* [The Meiji Restoration within World History] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977); Miyachi Masato, *Kokusai seijishita Meiji Nihon* [Meiji Japan Under the International Political System] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 1987); Tanaka Akira, ed., *Sekai no naka no Meiji ishin* [The Meiji Restoration within the World] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001); Mitani Hiroshi, *Meiji ishin to nashonarizumu – bakumatsu no gaikō to seiji hendō* [The Meiji Restoration and Nationalism: Diplomacy in the Closing Days of the Shogunate and Political Change] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 2009). Meiji Ishin-shi Gakkai, ed., *Kōza Meiji ishin: Sekaishi no naka no Meiji ishin* [Studies on the Meiji Restoration: The Meiji Restoration in World History] (Tokyo: Yūshisha, 2010).

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Pamela Crossley, *What Is Global History?*[17] A number of Japanese historians have used *gurōbaru hisutorī* when discussing the history of Asia but also occasionally in reference to Europe or the United States. Many have included discussions of Japan in *gurōbaru hisutorī* when explicitly examining cross-cultural dimensions, such as a study of foreign communities in the port of Nagasaki.[18] Recent studies have explored the Restoration and early Meiji periods through the lens of Japan's engagement with nineteenth-century globalization. The 2017 volume in the important series edited by the Meiji Restoration History Seminar (Meiji Ishin Shigakkai) examines Japan's embrace of "global/Western" standards of international relations following attempts to revise and reinterpret the East Asian diplomatic system of "civilization and barbarian" that governed early modern East Asia's connections with the outside world.[19]

Inspired by these historiographic trends, this book offers comparative insights on Japan and other parts of the nineteenth-century world. Yet as its primary approach, the book traces several global threads and their particular and profound intersections with the Japanese experience of the mid-nineteenth century. It first examines the global economic contexts that shaped the Restoration and early Meiji periods, revealing ways in which growth in commodity production and surging demand throughout much of the world created risks and opportunities on state, domain, and individual levels. Discussion across several chapters elucidates how a 1860s' global commodity boom – manifested in maritime resource extraction, agriculture, and foreign trade – shaped socio-economic and political trajectories across Japan both before and after the Restoration.

The economic thread intersects with the book's multifaceted examination of the endemic violence and armed conflicts that arose throughout the Japanese state in the 1860s. Japan was part of a worldwide trend that witnessed some 177 armed conflicts across the globe between 1840 and 1880, with the 1850s and 1860s proving especially bloody and

[17] Pamela Crossley, *What Is Global History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006); Pamela Crossley and Satō Shōichi, trans. *Gurōbaru hisutorī towa nanika* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2012).

[18] For example, Tōyama Jun, "Nihon to Higashi Ajia no komyunikeshon no sōgō teki kenkyū, Gotō-Nagasaki o meguru ibunka kōryū no toboguraf ī – sakoku shikan kara gurōburu historī no shiten e – joron ni kaete [General Research on Communication in Japan and East Asia – The Topography of Exchange with Foreign Cultures in Nagasaki and the Gotō Islands: Moving from the Historical Perspective of the Closed Country Concept to a View Using Global History, An Introduction] *Momoyama Gakuin Daigaku sōgō kenkyūjo kiyō* 37, no. 1 (July 2011): 109–123.

[19] Morita Tomoko, "Sōron: Meiji ishin to gaikō" [General Remarks: Diplomacy and the Meiji Restoration] in Meiji Ishin Shigakkai, ed., *Kōza Meiji ishin 6: Meiji ishin to gaikō* [Studies on the Meiji Restoration 6: Diplomacy and the Meiji Restoration] (Tokyo: Yūshisha, 2017), pp. 1–14.

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destructive.[20] Japan's death toll during its violent 1860s – around 30,000 souls – pales in comparison to the millions who perished during the Taiping Rebellion or the approximately 700,000 lives lost during the US Civil War.[21] Yet, as discussions across multiple chapters will make clear, to better understand the Meiji Restoration we must take a closer look at the roots and consequences of Japan's decade of conflict. Here, too, global intersections proved key and came in tangible forms, such as Western military incursions and the importation of more advanced European and US rifles used in battles large and small. As several chapters will explore, the fear of Western attacks proved equally transformative, helping to instigate clashes and new methods of military mobilization. Together global influences, both concrete and perceived, shook the status system and established political structures, setting the stage for the political watershed of 1868.

As its title reveals, this book places particular focus on exploring the Japanese experience within mid-nineteenth-century global environments that witnessed, over the span of a decade, the birth of a string of new nation-states: Italy, Germany, and Canada (as a unified British dominion). To explain how the Meiji Restoration brought forth Japan's transformation into a "global nation," a member of what was initially a European-American "nation-state club," several chapters highlight an underemphasized theme in current scholarship: the reconciliation achieved following the violence of the 1860s. Together, the chapters show how local authorities and the new Meiji central government took steps to allow those who had previously contested their rule to become stakeholders in the coalescing Japanese nation-state that notably included Hokkaido, which had existed on the margins of the Edo period state.

The closing chapters further that conversation by demonstrating ways in which the creation of a new Japanese national identity involved significant intersections with global trends, embodied in decisions about images embossed on currency, the diplomatic role of the Emperor Meiji, and the emergence of Kyoto and Nara as cultural capitals. As these chapters make clear, Japanese leaders and intellectuals did not simply imitate established Western methods and practices. Rather, as they found inspiration in an idealized Japanese antiquity, the leaders of

[20] Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "Global Violence and Nationalizing Wars in Eurasia and America: The Geopolitics of War in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 4 (October 1996): 622. In their chapters, Brian Platt and Harald Fuess explore these comparisons and connections in more detail.

[21] Mitani Hiroshi, *Kokkyo o koeru rekishi ninshiki – hireishi no hatten teki kōyō* [Historical Understanding Across National Borders – The Value of Advancements in Comparative History] *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi* 22 [Iwanami Studies on Japanese History 22] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2016), p. 267.

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the new Meiji state simultaneously moved in conjunction with unfolding global trends in nation-state construction.

Overall, by highlighting the breadth of global intersections, the book innovatively employs global history, which often seeks to move away from the story of the nation-state, to explain in numerous new ways the formation of a modern, Japanese national polity. Although not explicitly explored in them, the volume's wide-ranging discussions also point to ways to consider how that polity became invested in creating an empire in Asia and the Pacific in the early twentieth century.

## Global Connections, Internal Conflicts, and Domestic Resolutions

As its temporal parameters, this volume examines the *bakumatsu*, the "last days of the shogunate," extending from the early 1850s until the Meiji Restoration in 1868, as well as the Restoration period, spanning from the regime change in 1868 to the final stages of nation-state formation in the 1890s. Chapters in the first section, Global Connections, reveal the larger, mid-nineteenth-century interfaces with global economic trends and contexts, highlighting the socioeconomic impacts of expanded foreign trade on individuals and the course of the Boshin War. Exploring macroeconomic trends, Mark Metzler identifies 1866 as a point of global economic conjuncture. He outlines ways in which the *bakumatsu* and Restoration periods were shaped by Japan's intersection with a world revolution in prices, the global commodities boom of the 1860s, as well as harvest crises and grain shortages throughout much of Eurasia. Through a careful analysis of nineteenth-century global economic history, Metzler offers a number of novel conclusions surrounding socioeconomic unrest during the *bakumatsu* period. He shows that, in international finance as well as the reconstitution of political regimes, 1866 marked a watershed both in Japan and on the global economic stage. In so doing, Metzler demonstrates that in order to understand the *bakumatsu* and early Meiji periods and their global intersections, we should take seriously the unexpected unities revealed in "synchrony": comovements in places and social realms we have assumed to be separate.

Numerous other chapters point to cases of synchrony, including Noell Wilson who addresses a long-standing omission in our understanding of whaling, a global trend that shaped the *bakumatsu* period. Past scholarship invariably mentions how US whalers, fanning out throughout the Western Pacific, helped prompt Commodore Perry's mission. Yet historians have neglected to examine fully the whaling fleets that subsequently called in large numbers at Japanese ports. Wilson points out the

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synchrony inherent in the continued US demand for whale oil, and its impact on emerging Japanese maritime agendas. She also identifies it in yet another key event of 1866: an often, overlooked convention, signed that year between the shogunate and the United States. Although concerned primarily with bilateral trade, the agreement included a few lines permitting Japanese to obtain passports and travel overseas. Wilson explains how thereafter Japanese began to serve on whaling vessels plying the Pacific, thereby individually participating in the North Pacific commodity and cultural flows that stretched the northern latitudes between Russia and the Americas.

The section's two subsequent chapters outline not only global influences on socioeconomic, military, and political events but also touch upon the process of reconciliation within nation-state formation following 1868. Through a microhistory approach, Simon Partner elucidates how the world commodity boom shaped the life of a Japanese merchant in the treaty port of Yokohama. Partner chronicles Shinohara Chūemon, who in 1859 at the age of fifty, traveled to Yokohama to begin selling silk from his home province to Western merchants. As he overcame commercial challenges, Shinohara grappled with a commercial scene destabilized by attacks on Westerners in and around Yokohama. Shinohara navigated tensions in the market brought by these events and especially the panic that gripped the port amidst British threats to use naval force to retaliate for the murder of a British merchant in 1863. Partner explains that Shinohara faced bankruptcy following another synchronic event: the dramatic drop in silk prices that occurred with France's loss in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). Overall, through Shinohara we understand not only individual merchant initiatives within the turbulent political and commercial landscapes of the 1860s, but also the possibilities for personal reinvention present in a more globally connected, *bakumatsu* Japan.

Harald Fuess examines the ways in which the global weapons trade fueled armed conflicts beginning with interdomain clashes in the early 1860s and extending into the Boshin War. He details the personal relationships and the breadth of weapon imports, demonstrating the intersection of internal military and political events with Japan's expanding economic connections with the United States, Europe, India, and China. Examining especially the activities of German and Dutch trading firms, Fuess details how independent European and US traders supplied both sides in the Boshin War, further exacerbating internal divisions. Tracing the international arms flow to Japan, he argues that Satsuma-Chōshū leaders may have staged what they believed was a preventive coup d'état in January 1868 out of fear that the import of foreign arms would soon

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strengthen the military prowess of the Tokugawa regime. Fuess also locates international diplomatic influence in another example of political reconciliation: the Meiji government's decision to assume the debts to foreign arms dealers held by several domains, even those that had actively opposed the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance.

Chapters in the "Internal Conflicts" section identify numerous global influences while illustrating the toll – both real and anticipated – of armed conflicts during the 1860s. Maren Ehlers explores how leaders in Ōno, one of the smaller domains in the Edo period state, grappled with the threatened arrival of a rebel, samurai band from Mito. The Mito group was part of a loyalist cause advocating a revival of imperial influence and the forced expulsion of foreigners, a movement that emerged in response to real and perceived threats of Western military encroachment. Ehlers underscores the contextual influence of global forces by illustrating how the people of Ōno, living in a previously peaceful domain, confronted the Mito band. As they prepared for the band's anticipated incursion, domain leaders sacrificed the well-being of Ōno's commoners to protect the samurai elite, laying bare simmering, intradomain class tensions.

Brian Platt also emphasizes how feared Western military incursions prompted proposals to create armed units that included farmer-soldiers (*nōhei*), plans that fundamentally challenged the monopoly on military service held by the ruling samurai class. Platt shows that village-level commoner elites in numerous domains, not just in the well-known case of Chōshū, formed such units as a sense of crisis gripped the Japanese realm. He points to ways in which the long-term significance of peasant mobilization in Japan differed from other parts of the nineteenth-century world. In China regional, private armies raised to fight the Taiping Rebellion contributed to growing regionalism and eventually, the rise of warlords in the early twentieth century. By contrast, Japan's new form of military mobilization merged into a centralized military organization, punctuated by the institution of conscription to create a national army for the Meiji nation-state.

Drawing on his broad research of military practices and technology, Hōya Tōru outlines ways in which armed conflicts during the 1860s, especially the Boshin War, decisively altered long-standing military strategies and organization. Hōya stresses that the expanded use of firearms, particularly imported Western rifles – a trade explored by Fuess – forced a departure from feudal military practices. He reminds us of the military dimension of the success of the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance in both accomplishing the Meiji Restoration and solidifying its grip on power after 1868. In short, the alliance more actively adopted Western weapons and particularly Western-style military organization, compared to the often

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halfhearted attitude toward military reform held by the Tokugawa shogunate and its supporters. Hōya, therefore, presents another global influence on the *bakumatsu* and Restoration periods: how the introduction of Western rifles and military structures substantially eroded the legitimacy of the established status system and thus helped to facilitate the creation of a new national polity in the Meiji period.

Robert Hellyer illustrates yet another perspective on the armed conflicts of the 1860s: the breadth of devotion and personal toll experienced by many Tokugawa retainers. Hellyer examines the life of Imai Nobuo, who organized a pro-bakufu peasant militia similar to those explored by Platt, and subsequently traveled to Kyoto in 1867, joining a Tokugawa ancillary police force. In that role, Imai was involved in the killing of Sakamoto Ryōma, today one of the more popular figures of the Restoration period. An ardent Tokugawa supporter, Imai fought in the major battles of the Boshin War before surrendering at Hakodate in 1869. Along with other vanquished, pro-bakufu groups, he eventually settled in Shizuoka and became a tea farmer. In another case of synchrony, Shizuoka's tea industry emerged thanks to burgeoning US demand for Japanese green tea during the 1860s and 1870s. Hellyer thus reveals how Japan's new interfaces with global markets fostered opportunities for even the most hard-core opponents of the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance to overcome the bitterness and resentment of the Boshin War and create productive, individual niches in the post-Restoration nation-state.

In the initial chapter of the "Domestic Resolutions" section, Steven Ivings builds on the theme of renewal for ex-samurai to show individual reinvention and post-1868 reconciliation through the stories of a new brand of "farmer-soldiers" (*tondenhei*): settler groups, composed of samurai and commoners, which farmed Hokkaido in the decades after the Restoration. Through these groups, Ivings reveals another nineteenth-century global trend evident in post-Restoration Japan: settler colonialism. Furthermore, he demonstrates that the *tondenhei* program was initially geared toward reconciling disaffected elements of the samurai class, especially those from defeated clans in the northeast, and was thus more about internal reconciliation than the professed goal of Meiji leaders to create a buttress against possible Russian incursions.

Mark Ravina uses the lens of paper currency to consider how Meiji leaders harmonized "new" with "ancient" and "foreign" with "Japanese" in their nation-building project. He explains that in 1873, they commissioned a US company to design paper currencies sporting images drawn from ancient triumphs such as the victory over Mongol invaders in the late thirteenth century. Ravina reveals that with these currency choices, Meiji leaders did not simply embrace "Westernization" but rather moved

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