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Suzanne Holcomb

Vice Chairs:
James Merrill
Karen Chen
Jackyln Chan



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Edo Bakufu: Samurai Shogun's Council

Edo Bakufu: Samurai Shogun's Council

Esteemed samurai and council members,

It is my pleasure to welcome you to SSUNS 2015's Edo Bakufu Council. The Shogun has generously provided us with the use of what remains and what has been rebuilt of Chiyoda Castle for the duration of our council. He has expressed his regret at not being able to personally oversee this momentous gathering. However, he fully trusts that you, his councillors, will reach the resolutions needed for the current issues which afflict the land. This is a pivotal moment in the history of Japan, and what is decided will set Japan upon a new path in history.

International relations are so deeply rooted in history, and the past of East Asia has left an indelible mark on its present state. In modern international relations so many states are inextricably intertwined by the relatively shrinking distances, increased communication, and globalization. Such a sense of globalization is often taken for granted as an integral part of world politics. This moment in history in which we are engaged marks the beginning of such a meeting of countries, such an exchange of culture and serves to remind us that the crossroads of history do not appear and resolve themselves of their own volition but are created and executed by individuals such as yourselves.

My name is Suzanne Holcomb and I will be your chair during this year's conference. I am a third-year student at McGill pursuing a joint-honors major in Political Science and History with a minor in Chinese language. My particular area of interest is East Asia; its current affairs and especially its history have fascinated me for many years and I am excited to be able to chair this committee. This will be my second time chairing a committee for MUN and my third time being a member of the dais.

It is my pleasure to introduce the members of the dais. They are all driven and passionate members of the committee and all share a strong interest in history. Jacklyn Chan is a student of Political Science and Philosophy. She is from Hong Kong, loves the history of China and has extensive experience as an avid MUNer. Karen Chen was born and raised in Toronto, Canada. She too studies Political Science and Philosophy and is in her final year at McGill. James Merrill is a second year student at McGill from San Francisco. He is studying physics and computer science and is looking forward to his third time being involved in MUN.

Japan has had an extensive history going back far beyond the founding of the current Tokugawa Dynasty. During previous centuries the Mongols were prevented from invading by a kamikaze or by the Japanese military and any thoughts of the Dutch or Spanish directed towards gaining control over Japan were dashed. For over 250 years



there has been internal stability within Japan. Now, all that is being challenged and Japan finds herself at a confluence of history. Edo awaits your arrival and Japan awaits your decisions.

With my best regards,

Suzanne Holcomb Chair, Edo Bakufu

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Edo Bakufu: Samurai Shogun's Council

Introduction

The year is 1845, a cross roads in the Edo Bakufu. Chiyoda Castle had long stood in Edo as a symbol of the strength and longevity of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Its founder, Tokugawa Ieyasu, over 250 years ago claimed it as his palace. In the years that followed it acted as his military base and in the centuries that followed it acted as the keystone to the longest period of peace in Japan's remembered history. However, cracks had begun to appear that were impossible to hide, reaching from the base to the height of its walls. Now, even those cracks have disappeared as much of the castle stands in ruins. Two years prior to this fateful gathering an uncontrollable fire began and tore through the castle, destroying what had seemed indestructible; permanence is no longer guaranteed.

Indeed, anger and resentment are brewing with the commoners and with the elite alike and the Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu's, heir is weak in both spirit and in health. Tokugawa Ieyoshi himself is the twelfth shogun of the Tokugawa dynasty and carries with him the weight of legacy and history. Not all of the imposing castle was destroyed and Tokugawa Ieyoshi lies sick in one of its upper chambers. He is well aware of the dissatisfaction within the country and as peasants begin to put the castle back to rights Ieyoshi awaits the arrival of family members and vassal alike pondering how best to restrengthen and secure Japan and the Shogunate.

The seas that surround the island nation of Japan once acted as a shield, an unsurmountable barrier to Japan's enemies. Indeed, Japan's seemingly divine protection was demonstrated when, centuries before, the kamikaze (divine winds) sank the overwhelming Mongol force that had prior to this swept across Mongolia, China and Korea. However, these same seas which had destroyed Japan's enemies now carry the emissaries of western states to her shores. These emissaries request the opening of trade to Japan and increased diplomatic relations. Three years ago China similarly faced with such a situation fought the British and suffered a humiliating loss with shameful terms of defeat, acceding to all of the British demands. While the representatives of these distant countries might thus far have made largely polite inquiries to Japan, looking across the sea to the West, to China, one cannot but help wonder how long they will remain so courteous.

The military leaders of Japan, such as the castellan of Edo. read in dismay the reports written concerning the Opium War and the utter defeat of Japan's erstwhile rivals. Japan's military structure is no longer what it once was and the coastal defences lie silent since the repeal of the 1842 Repeal of Foreigners law that followed the notorious Morrison Affair. Japan's pride and her capabilities do not currently stand at commensurate levels. The question of whether or not her pride will lead her into naïveté and poor planning or towards a glorious future is foremost on the minds of all those with military experience and security concerns. The Daimyo's of the distant shores know there to be a security crisis and few can any longer believe that Japan will be ignored by the avaricious West.



Mizuno Tadakuni and Inoue Masaharu look on with dismay at the dissatisfaction that has resulted from the Tenpo Reforms that were a defining part of both of their careers. The economic and social policies implemented by the Tenpo Reforms were meant to restore Japan to her rightful glory and security. Instead, violence and anger from commoners has manifested into peasant revolts. While none have fundamentally crippled Japan such a sign of weakness indicates the ineffectiveness of the reforms. If they are to restore their honor and their guarantee their livelihoods Mizuno and Inoue must create solutions.

The emperor sits in the imperial palace in Kyoto as his forefathers have done for countless generations. Like them, he holds little to no worldly power and while he holds an exalted position, it is one so separated and so lofty that the political, military and economic concerns of Japan do not touch him. The imperial dynasty claims to have a history stretching back over 2,400 years and are descendants of heaven. There have been exceptions to their isolated roles as several rebellions over the course of Japan's history have demonstrated. Now, murmurings of the dissatisfied, the young and the religious are growing as they answer the call of the Sonno Joi movement: to restore the emperor and to expel all foreigners. The echoes of these murmurings have reached the Tokugawa and the Imperial courts alike.

Crucial issues concerning the viability of Japan's economy, her relations with foreign states, and the very political and social structure on which she stands form the basis for this gathering of the distinguished samurai of Japan. Some are Bakufu officials, others members of the Tokugawa clan, and many others the landed daimyos of Japan's han. All of the issues which face the council members, senior roju and daimyo alike, form a pivotal moment in Japan's history. As we know Japan's history to be, the Tokugawa failed to implement meaningful economic and domestic policy changes and opened to the West following Commodore Perry's 1952 arrival in Japan. The dynasty was eventually overthrown and the emperor placed as the head of the state. This would lead to a half century of remarkable change that would end even more violently than it began.

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Edo Bakufu: Samurai Shogun's Council

Topic 1: Economic and Foreign Policy

Tokugawa Period:

The Tokugawa period of Japan (1603-1867) is the final era of traditional Japanese government, culture, and society before the Meiji Restoration and the introduction of the modern era¹. In this period of military dictatorship, there was a stunning presence of internal peace, political stability, and economic growth. The national economy extended rapidly from the early 1680s to the early 1700s².

Economic Development

The economic development begun from the very beginning of the Edo period would lay the stones for the later economic system of the Tokugawa and what would follow. The characteristics of this economic system defined the Japanese economy. The following list lays out these signature aspects.

- 1. Political unity and stability
- 2. Agricultural development in terms of both area and productivity
- 3. Development of transportation and the existence of nationally unified markets
- 4. The rise of commerce, finance, and the wealthy merchant class
- 5. The rise of manufacturing (food processing, handicraft, etc.)
- 6. Industrial promotion by central and local governments (sometimes successful but not always)
- 7. High level of education

Perhaps the most interesting part of the economic development is the contrast between the Tokugawa rulers' vision of the ideal economic system and the reality of economic growth and change³. The shogunate and *daimyo* (feudal rulers) viewed the economy in simple terms: the peasants were responsible for producing basic food, and give a portion of their products in tax to support the ruling classes. Merchants, who were deemed the "necessary evil" of the economic system, provided goods that could not be acquired by any other means.

As previously mentioned, the early Tokugawa period (until the mid-18th century) saw extremely rapid growth. This was accomplished through merchant-driven trade and market activity⁴. Economic development during this period included urbanization, an increased shipping of commodities, expansion of domestic and foreign commerce, and a diffusion of trade and handicraft industries⁵. Construction trades, banking facilities, and

¹ History.com: Tokugawa Period and Meiji Restoration

² Encyclopedia Britannica: Tokugawa Period | Japanese History

³ Colorado.edu: Tokugawa Japan: An Introductory Essay

⁴ Colorado.edu: Tokugawa Japan: An Introductory Essay

⁵ New World Encyclopedia: Édo Period



merchant associations also flourished⁶. Japan's increased domestic and foreign trade, its infrastructure of roads, and the bureaucracy governing system all contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the state⁷.

Policies

Agriculture

The Tokugawa shogunate placed great emphasis on agricultural production, and this created considerable growth in the economic sector⁸. In addition, the expansion of commerce and the manufacturing industry surpassed the emphasis on agricultural production, and this was stimulated by development of large urban centres⁹. These large urban centres were Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo, and these centres catered to merchants, samurai, and townspeople¹⁰. By the mid-19th century, Edo had a population of one million; and Osaka and

*	Table 2-1 Estimated Land under Cultivation (unit: thousand hectare)	
	930 AD	862
	1450 AD	946
	1600 AD	1,635
	1720 AD	2,970
	1874 AD	3,050
	Source: S. Oishi (1977).	

Increase of Agriculture

Kyoto had each more than 400,000 inhabitants ¹¹. Many other towns also flourished. While Edo was the center for food and essential urban consumer goods, Osaka and Kyoto became major trading and handicraft production centers ¹².

Agricultural and Food Production

Agricultural Production	Food Production
Fine Silk	Rice (the base of the economy)
Cotton	Sesame Oil
Paper	Indigo
Porcelain	Sugar Cane
	Mulberry
	Tobacco

⁶Ibid.,

⁷ Hokusai Online: Edo Period Japanese History

 $^{\rm 10}$ History.com: Tokugawa Period and Meiji Restoration

⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica: Tokugawa Period | Japanese History

⁹ Ibid..

¹¹ New World Encyclopedia: Edo Period

¹² Ibid.,



As indicated above, rice was the base of the economy. The *daimyo* (feudal rulers) collected taxes from the peasants in the form of rice¹³. Taxes were very high, about 40% of the harvest. The rice was sold in Edo, and to raise money, the daimyo used forward contracts to sell rice that was not harvested yet¹⁴.

The production of these materials increased trade massively, and flourished in the cities and towns. This increase in mercantile activity therefore gave rise to wholesalers and exchange brokers, as well as the use of currency and credit produced powerful financiers¹⁵. A wealthy merchant class emerged, and a new urban culture surfaced.

The primary source of income in this period was a fixed stipend tied to agricultural production¹⁶.

Results

With the implementation of these new economic policies came some issues for certain classes. Many Tokugawa authorities were fixated on the traditional static, agrarian-based economy ¹⁷. Furthermore, the samurai class (forbidden to engage in profitable trade or farm) was disadvantaged. The ruling class was prevented from taking advantage of economic growth, and benefits went to merchants and peasants – this resulted in the inversion of the hierarchical "four class system" ¹⁸. A wealthy, educated commoner population was created, while the samurai (especially those of low rank) became economically weaker.

While the official hierarchy of the Edo period was the samurai at the top, followed by farmers and artisans with merchants at the bottom 19, the social reality contradicted this by inverting the four-class system. The samurai often borrowed money from wealthy merchants, and the balance of power began to shift. A rise in commoner culture surfaced, and merchant prosperity fostered this.

Growth in Agricultural Production and Population

Through this agricultural growth (by careful monitoring and the spread of information about cropping patterns, fertilizer, etc.), Japanese peasants in the Tokugawa period continued to increase their land's productivity²⁰. This caused a general well-being of the people, and an economic surplus. This surplus was a key factor in Japan's rapid industrialization in the late 19th and early 20th centuries²¹.

¹³ New World Encyclopedia: Edo Period

¹⁴Ibid..

¹⁵ Encyclopedia Britannica: Tokugawa Period | Japanese History

¹⁶Ibid.,

¹⁷ Colorado.edu: Tokugawa Japan: An Introductory Essay

¹⁸ Colorado.edu: Tokugawa Japan: An Introductory Essay

¹⁹ UShistory.org: Life in the Edo Period.

²⁰ Colorado.edu: Tokugawa Japan: An Introductory Essay



Trade

With such an increase in agricultural production and population growth, a subsequent growth in trade was inevitable. As reliable and effective transportation networks were developed, the rate of trade increased. The road system was expanded and improved under Tokugawa rule²². Shipping networks were also expanded. Because of the growth in trade, more and more people used money. Tokugawa Ieyasu and his successors worked hard to standardized currency²³. In turn, this laid the foundation for a local and national economy that was very well developed:

- Regional and local capitals linked by good roads
- Smaller market towns and settlements grew along these roads
- Goods were shipped to and through Japan's growing cities²⁴

Therefore, the national economy grew and strengthened.

External Trade: Closed-Door Policy

Foreign Influences

At the beginning of the Tokugawa period, Japan was actively trading with many countries, including Korea, China, the Phiippines, Thailand, and Europe²⁵._When the Tokugawa came into power, the top priority was the restoration of the peace and stability of Japan after more than a century of civil war.²⁶ The wars had completely torn the country apart. Ieyasu's rise and victory over contenders for the Shogunate were able to end such violence and establish an era of peace and stability. The Tokugawa suspected that Western influence might disrupt the societal stability that has helped to ensure the peace. They concluded that outside influence needed to be strictly controlled and limited. To do otherwise would allow for dangerous inroads of Western culture and influence that might disturb the system which has placed the Tokugawa so high.

The National Seclusion Policy and Sokoku

"Sakoku", otherwise known as locked country, was the foreign relations policy in Japan under Tokugawa Lemitsu. This was titled the National Seclusion Policy. It was an effort by the Bakufu to "strengthen its authority and maintain a strong centralized government" 27. It was developed over six years from 1633-1639.

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²² Colorado.edu: Tokugawa Japan: An Introductory Essay

²³ Colorado.edu: Tokugawa Japan: An Introductory Essay

²⁴ Coloradu.edu: Tokugawa Japan: An Introductory Essay

²⁵ Schools.cbe.ab.ca: Why Did Japan Isolate Itself from Much of the World?

²⁶ Classroom.synonym.com: What Caused Japan's Policy of Isolation?

²⁷Ibid.,



This series of edicts were intended to control the influence of foreigners and tighten control over the daimyo²⁸. This policy also oversaw the banning of Christianity, as the shogunate believed that the Spanish and Portuguese influence posed a threat to the stability of its political order. This triggered the Shimabara Rebellion in 1637-8, an uprising of 40,000 people (mostly Christian). During these years the Tokugawa was affected by the bitter rivalry among the few Europeans in Japan and the work of Catholic missionaries²⁹. This large-scale event combined with fears over cultural influence and instability led to the reinforcement of the ban on Christianity with the penalty of death³⁰. This was seen as a successful attempt in removing any religious challenges to the political authority of the Shogunate.



Image 2. Map of Nagasaki. 1801

It was this strict political, social, and trade policies that allowed for this golden age of economic prosperity ³¹. The Closed-Door Policy was an attempt to keep foreign powers out of Japan. Countries that Japan expelled included:

- Spain
- England
- Portugal³²

However, Japan still frequently (but strictly) conducts regulated

trade with Korea and China³³. This would of course greatly benefit those most in the

position to financially reap the reward. As the coasts have flourished from this trade, to disrupt it would greatly harm its controllers. In fact, from Europe, only the Dutch were allowed to trade with Japan, but they were restricted to a small post on an artificial island in the Nagasaki Harbor³⁴. Thus far these policies have coincided with the preservation of Japan's sovereignty. All around, nations and countries of the East are assaulted, invaded and conquered by the new arrivals from the West. The isolation policy has been a part of Japan's foreign policy for so long that to effect a complete reversal would be seen to be transformational to some and a betrayal in the eyes of others.

²⁸ Schools.cbe.ab.ca: Why Did Japan Isolate Itself from Much of the World?

²⁹ Vam.ac.uk: The Edo Period in Japanese History.

³⁰ Laver, pg. 180

³¹ UShistory.org: Life During the Edo Period.

³² Ibid.,

³³:Ibid.,

³⁴ ibid.,



For many years Japan had maintained a law and defense policy which stipulated that no foreign ships would be allowed to land. This was called the 1825 Edict to Repel Foreign Vessels and it condoned the use of military force to prevent such an encroachment. In 1837 the American-commanded ship, the Morrison, attempted to come to Japan in order to return shipwrecked Japanese. When they approached they were fired upon and driven out to sea³⁵. In the months that followed several Japanese who wrote favourable opinion pamphlets and articles about the Morrison were imprisoned on the basis of a law prohibiting the writing of such pieces by any not appointed to a government position. Ultimately all of the authors took their own lives out of shame. Soon afterwards, in 1842, Japan repealed the Edict to Repel Foreign Vessels³⁶.

The question of security and sovereignty is at the forefront of Japan's complex and largely closed-off relationship with the West. If there had ever been any question as to the determination and greed of the Westerners or their capability, it was put to rest by the defeat of the Chinese Empire. China's defeat was complete and the humiliation which followed the writing of the Treaty of Nanjing (1842) has instilled in the rest of East Asia a deep wariness of the West³⁷. The naval and military might of the British is a formidable new variable in the region. The major and ancient power of the East has been defeated, and whether one chooses to engage or isolate from the outside, the West cannot be utterly ignored. China has long been the larger neighbor of Japan, who while powerful and strong had never managed to successfully attack Japan. Similarly, the Japanese had also failed repeatedly to defeat China. This ancient animosity has been put in perspective by China's defeat at the hands of the West.

Questions to Consider

- 1. What aspects of their worldview made Japan decide to close the borders to the Western World?
- 2. Consider the cause and effects of the inversion of the "four class system".
- 3. What are the relative considerations of profit, security and tradition?

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³⁵ Grant K. Goodman, Japan and the Dutch 1600-1853 (Cornwall: TJ International, 2000) 200.

³⁷ "Treaty of Nanjing" Encyclopedia Britannica Online. July 23, 2015.



Topic 2: The Shogunate's Structure and Function as a Political Institution

Introduction:

The Tokugawa Shogunate has been Japan's ruling political institution for nearly 250 years, since the Tokugawa and their allies secured military dominance over feudal Japan. 38 The structure and political practices of the Tokugawa Shogunate have remained fairly set in its ways: ruling with an iron fist, regulating Japan's culture and economy. Simultaneously, the feudal lords known as daimyo are allowed a great deal of autonomy, while still being kept under a watchful eye. However, the current state of the economy, civil unrest, threats from the outside, and growing resentment among certain factions of daimyo have raised questions about the effectiveness of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Delegates will need to come up with answers to the following fundamental questions: What is the purpose of the Tokugawa Shogunate? Is it currently fulfilling this purpose? If not, what changes must be made for it to do so? Does the Shogunate even need to exist? All these and more will need to be carefully examined by the members of this council, and those members will need to take care to come up with multi-faceted, balanced solutions to the complex, deeply intertwined issues involved in this topic.



Image 3. The Battle of Sekigahara, depicted on a replica Japanese screen, 1854.

 $^{^{38}\,}$ "Battle of Sekigahara." Encyclopedia Britannica Online. July 6, 2015.



To fully understand the intricacy and extent of the contentious issues surrounding the current state of the Shogunate, it is necessary to discuss the structure and function of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu won absolute military control over Japan in the Battle of Sekigahara. Japan has since been run as a feudalist military dictatorship, with members of the Tokugawa clan at the helm. The centerpiece of Japan's system of government is the *bakuhan* system. In its current state, the Tokugawa shogunate's intricate *bakuhan* system, a conjoining of two words *bakufu* and *han* includes a few institutions: the Bakufu, or the overarching (literally "tent") government of Japan. The bakufu is administered by the Shogun, and his retinue of officials and advisors. The Tokugawa clan directly administers and collects taxes on about 20% of Japan, including Edo, and much of the fertile Kanto Plain. The rest of Japan is divided into fiefs, or *han*, which are administered by the daimyo, or feudal lords. The Shogun has absolute say over the distribution of the *han*. He possesses the power to divide up, redraw the borders of, and reassign *han* to different daimyo. The daimyo have dominion over these *han*, and have a great deal of autonomy.

There are three classes of daimyo in Japan under the Tokugawa Shogunate. The daimyo who are actual Tokugawa clan members are called the *shimpan*. The daimyo from clans closest to the Tokugawa, those that supported them in the Battle of Sekigahara and are considered Tokugawa family, are called *fudai* daimyo. These two classes of daimyo are largely placed in charge of lands surrounding Edo and Tokugawa-held lands. Finally, the daimyo who belong to houses which held equal status to the Tokugawa before the Battle of Sekigahara, but were not allied with them are called the *Tozama* (literally, "outsider")⁴¹. The Tozama daimyo are seen as exactly that: Until recently they were not allowed to hold Bakufu positions, and, even now, there is a great deal of mistrust between the Tozama and the other classes of daimyo. These classes are a great source of divisiveness among the ruling class of Japan, and interplay with many other issues currently facing the Bakufu. 42

Daimyo are not taxed; rather, they are allowed a great deal of economic and civil autonomy within their *han* The Shogunate itself oversees about 20% of Japan and gets its revenue from this land. Otherwise, daimyo have dominion over their *han*, administering their economies and civil law enforcement, collecting taxes, as well as possessing their own militaries⁴³; It is easy to see how such a system might easily lead to overthrow or revolution.⁴⁴

However, the Shogunate does not leave the daimyo wholly unattended; In fact, there is a unique system in place called Sankin Kotai (literally, alternate attendance), wherein the daimyo are required, in alternating shifts, to return to Edo from their han, and

⁴¹ "Daimyo". Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2015. 29 May. 2015

³⁹ "Battle of Sekigahara." Encyclopedia Britannica Online. July 6, 2015.

⁴⁰ Han". Encyclopædia Britannica Online. May 29, 2015

⁴² "Tozama Daimyo". *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2015. 29 May. 2015

⁴³ "Han". Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2015. 29 May. 2015

⁴⁴ "Daimyo". Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2015. 29 May. 2015



at all times leave their immediate family members there. In addition, the daimyo are required to spend a year living in Edo for each year spent living in their *han*. Sankin Kotai has the additional effect of limiting the power of the daimyo financially: by being forced to return to Edo every year with his retinue, a daimyo is responsible for maintaining the residence, upkeep, and travel expenses for him, his hundreds of retainers, and for housing his family in Edo. The combination of these effects made Sankin Kotai a system which ensured the inability of the daimyo to revolt against the Bakufu. That said, the limitations on the power and ability of the daimyo to administer their *han* has engendered resentment and anti-shogunate sentiments among certain daimyo.⁴⁵



Image 4. Scene from Act III of the Revenge of the Loyal Retainers, depicted on color wood-block print. 1840.

The Tenpo reforms were a set of laws put into place over the last several years by the Bakufu. They were meant to attack the issues of rampant poverty and civil unrest, as well as reorganizing and seizing han to centralize Bakufu influence around Edo. They additionally were an attempt to put Japan's economy back on track after a series of famines and natural disasters. Strict social embargoes and attempts to force landholders near Edo away in order to centralize

Bakufu influence were also part of these reforms, and have been highly unpopular, both with the ruling class and the peasantry. The actual successes and failures of the Tenpo reforms are largely outside the scope of this topic; that said, the *perception* of the success or failure of the Tenpo reforms are highly relevant, and crucial to understanding the key grievances of some of the delegates at this council regarding the Shogunate's fundamental structure and function.

The Tenpo reforms have been largely judged a failure at this point by many daimyo, and much of the population in their stated aims of addressing poverty and civil unrest. This has led to many questions regarding the effectiveness of Japan's current system of government: The widest-scale set of reforms instituted by the Bakufu in almost 50 years has been nearly completely ineffective in its intended purpose, and the policies themselves have resulted in the marginalization of the peasantry and the ruling class of

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⁴⁵ Perez, Louis G. Japan at War: An Encyclopedia. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013. 360-361.

⁴⁶ "Tempo reforms". Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2015. 29 May. 2015



lords. It is not unreasonable, at this point, to assume that this has given rise to some grave concern regarding the entire system of government. This has left many daimyo, and greater populace of Japan with disappointment in the Bakufu, and a general sentiment that the Bakufu is incompetent.⁴⁷

Daimyo Autonomy and Central Authority:

Finding a balance between the relative autonomy of the daimyo and a strong, united central authority is an issue that hits very close to home for many of the delegates of this council: Nearly all of them are daimyo and/or bakufu officials. With concern growing over external threats, the idea of a strong central authority is appealing, and, according to some, necessary.

Each side of this balancing act has its advantages and its disadvantages. A centralized authority gives unity to political, economic, and military action, perhaps making for a more efficient, or more decisive defense in the event of an invasion, as well as for centralized diplomatic negotiations with external powers. Autonomy allows for each individual region to have more of a unique identity, and for specially tailored, local policies to be enacted by their individual lords. Greater autonomy keeps the daimyo content, and more likely to remain loyal to the Shogun.

The rampant spread of civil unrest and poverty which elicited the Tenpo reforms, as well as the failure of those reforms, perhaps show that the rule of the daimyo is ineffective, and that the attempts at fixing it from the current central authority have not helped. Two hundred and fifty years have passed since the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate, and it is indeed a distinct possibility that the times have changed, creating circumstances that have left members of the ruling classes wondering if feudalism is even a viable system of government anymore. Is it possible that the economy, and society as whole has become too complex to be ruled by lords and vassals?

That said, the daimyo themselves are less than willing to relinquish their autonomy, especially those belonging to the outer domains, the han which lie on japan's borders, often governed by Tozama daimyo. These have historically functioned more or less independently from the Bakufu both because of their large size and significant economic output, as well as these daimyo's estrangement from the Tokugawa. The reluctance of these daimyo to give up their autonomy has also been exacerbated by the hostile treatment they receive from the Shogunate, such as the immediate threat of having their lands stripped from them (which will be elaborated upon later in this guide).

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⁴⁷ Loftus, Ronald. "The Kansei and Tempo Reforms". Willamette University. http://www.willamette.edu/~rloftus/temporeforms.html



The Balance between Kyoto and Edo

The above issues are further complicated by the fact that even the daimyo who do agree with the need for a central authority do not necessarily wish to see the Shogunate be the institution to hold this authority: Many daimyo are in favor of an imperial restoration, or at least some kind of dual government (called Kobu Gattai) in which the emperor holds more political power than it currently does. These beliefs are particularly predominant among some of the Tozama daimyo, many of whom hold grudges against the Tokugawa dating back centuries, and who feel they have been deliberately marginalized by the Bakufu, including, for example, the daimyo presiding over the Satsuma Domain in southern Kyushu, which has spent years interacting with and studying Western thought, yet has just been prohibited from doing so by the Tenpo Reforms. In addition, the powerful Sonno Joi movement ("praise the emperor, expel the barbarians") has been gaining traction among the general populace in various domains, particularly the outer ones. However, even those close to the Tokugawa, such as the Mito domain, one of the historical seats of Tokugawa influence, have become hotbeds for this political movement.

However, full restoration of the emperor to absolute rule would likely result in the abolishment of the feudal system, and consequently, the daimyo needing to surrender their lands, which is understandably an unappealing prospect for many of them. Any

proposed joint-ruling system of government would need to address how power would be divided and balanced among the Emperor, daimyo, and the Shogunate.

The Outer Domains and the Tozama Daimyo

The Tozama daimyo are the descendants of historical rivals of the Tokugawa, who were allowed to remain rulers due to the influence and status of their clans. However, they often had their original lands seized and were given dominion over territories on the outer edges of Japan. From the rise of the Tokugawa Shogunate until relatively recently, the Tozama daimyo have been prohibited from holding Bakufu positions. Even now, they are treated as outsiders, despite the fact that some hold large domains with sizeable economic influence and military power. The Tozama have decreased in



Image 5.

A map showing the ruling clans of certain domains and their status (shimpan, fudai or Tozama).

http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/525049/Satsuma>.

⁴⁸ "Satsuma". Encyclopædia Britannica Online. May 29, 2015

⁴⁹ Thach, Marcel. "Sonno-joi." Samurai Archives, July 6, 2015. http://www.samurai-archives.com/snj.html>.



numbers from 119 to 97 since the beginning of Tokugawa rule, signifying that some have had their lands seized, and their titles made worthless. Such treatment is enough to incite rebellious tendencies, and dreams of overthrowing the Tokugawa, for some Tozama daimyo.⁵⁰

Yet now, with the potential external threats, outer regions have become just as important as inner ones to the Bakufu. Owing to their coastal location (though it's worth pointing out that no point in Japan is more than 150 km from the coast) and their historically increased contact with outside entities (i.e, Satsuma with the Dutch, and Tsushima with Korea), the outer domains have become crucial strategically in any hypothetical invasion, or attempts at diplomacy with the encroaching Western powers. The Bakufu has historically treated the outer domains and their rulers as outsiders due to their role as potential rivals, yet there seems to be a growing need for Japanese unification. That said, many of the daimyo of the outer domains don't even want to work with the Shogun, and favor transferring more power to the emperor, or perhaps even an overthrow of the Bakufu.⁵¹

Conclusion:

The current political landscape of Japan is highly tumultuous, and there are many points of contention among the ruling class at the moment, all of which tie together. The issue of balancing central authority with the autonomy of individual *han* is inexorably linked to the issues of imperial restoration, and to the daimyo class system. Any proposed reformation of the political structure of the Bakufu will need to be a meticulous balancing act of these three issues.

Questions to consider:

- 1. What purpose does the Shogunate serve? What changes, if any, need to be made in order for it to fulfill this purpose?
- 2. To what extent should power remain in the hands of the Tokugawa Shogunate? What, if any, should be the Emperor's role in Japan's political system?
- 3. Can the daimyo retain their current degree of autonomy? To what extent does Japan need a strong central power?
- 4. Should outer domains be further integrated into the Shogunate? Is a unified Japan possible, or even desirable?

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⁵⁰ "Tozama Daimyo". Encyclopædia Britannica Online. May 29, 2015

⁵¹ "Satsuma". Encyclopædia Britannica Online. May 29, 2015

http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/525049/Satsuma>.



Topic 3: Social and Economic Unrest

Peasant revolts are on the rise and in recent decades homes of the elite have been burned. The Tenpo Years have just come to a close and despite the passing of the Tenpo Reforms, little has been accomplished. There is still agrarian discontent, urban poverty and crime; famine and plague have left a dark mark on the country. This topic will engage with how the central government should deal with domestic unrest both preventatively and once it has begun. Related to this is the fact that the Shogunate, and therefore bakufu, is running perilously low on funds. Delegates will have to discuss how the central government can jump-start the stagnating economy, generate funds, and control civilian unrest. In dealing with these issues, larger issues within the social hierarchy, daimyo-shogun relations and political obligations will invariably present some challenges. This topic marks an important juncture in setting the narrative of the Bakumatsu period, a period where Japan has ended its isolationist foreign policy and begun the start of its modernization reforms.

A period of social and economic unrest; background conditions

The internal struggles within in the Tokugawa precipitated the anti-bafuku ⁵² movement that would eventually undermine the structures of the shogunate. The years at the end of the Tokugawa period are marked by social and economic unrest due to the decline of government authority and organization. The introduction of foreign trade destabilized the Japanese economy, resulting in the major successes of some merchants, but the bankruptcy of others. Unemployment rose during this period, as well as inflation, creating a crisis within trade and currency. The local daimyos resent the authority of the Shogunate; peasants are also on the rise, challenging the political stability of the Shogunate. The samurai class is also relatively discontent, due to the rise of the merchant class, undermining their once privileged position in society. The traditional class system no longer reflects the social hierarchy, generating greater challenges with the government who now face a critical junction in face of these issues.

The Famine Years

The social discontent within the period grew enormously as Japan was marked by a series of unfavourable natural conditions. The weather had dropped greatly in the spring of 1833; to temperatures so cold that it resulted in general crop failure that year, marking the first year of the famine⁵³. Resentment grew from poor living conditions as Japan suffered from earthquakes and the shortage of food supplies The effects of the famine was spread throughout society, prices of goods in the city shot up, samurai allowances were cut, many people fell sick in light of their poor health⁵⁴. These years greatly weakened Tokugawa Japan, as they suffered over 100,000 deaths⁵⁵, a battered economy

⁵⁴ Jansen, pg. 120

⁵² Bafuku, meaning the umbrella government ruled over by the Shogun (Hauser, Haas)

⁵³ Jansen, pg. 118

⁵⁵ Disputed, as officials exaggerated numbers to their own interests to get more aid, Jansen, pg 120



and a low faith in the shogun. This triggered civil disorder as there was an increased awareness of the poorly controlled organization of the bakufu, especially in the daimyo's refusals to granting more food supplies. Rural uprisings and urban riots during the famine period rose dramatically, destabilizing the peaceful structures of society in Tokugawa Japan.

The Tenpo Reforms

The Tenpo Reforms were economic policies introduced by the Shogunate in 1842. They were made in efforts to relieve the domestic unrest in military, economic, agricultural, financial and religious systems. Social policies such as bans on immigration and formation of societies were passes, as well as an introduction of new coinage. Part of the reforms also was to reassert the authority of the Tokugawa shogunate, which involved forcing land transfers on some of the local daimyos to the bafuku, which fostered resentment among the daimyo class⁵⁶.

These policies were not very effective in the way that it did not alleviate the frustrations deep within society or address the increased awareness of foreign presence in Japan⁵⁷. These sentiments were further exacerbated by natural disasters that weakened the efforts of the Shogunate. The failure, or insufficiency of the reforms in alleviating social unrest sparked political instability within the hierarchical structure of the Shogunate

Social Challenges and Instability

Changing Political Order

The Samurai class by the Tempo era had been living off privilege, stipends and government aid for over two centuries. The famine and social disorder raised questions to legitimacy of their bureaucratic position, and they faced a critical juncture in their merits as a class towards the end of the Tokugawa period. As Japan's standing army, it was their duty to spring to their nation's defense in a time of unfortunate circumstances, and in face of western threat. However, the Samurai class had not been in battle since the Shimabara Rebellion in 1637, over 2 centuries ago. With inflation, lack of training and equipment over the years, the Samurai were poor men, undertrained, unwarlike and so demoralized they no longer



Image 6.
Later painting in 1888,
"Samurai by the Bridge" by Shibata Zeshin."

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⁵⁶ Hauser, pg.54

⁵⁷ Hauser, pg.54



reflected the prestige of an honoured class⁵⁸. For many samurai, they were in fact mostly in debt that always had to be repaid. This upset the political order, reflecting a social hierarchy that could no longer catch up with the changing society in a more modern era.

Ideological and political factions were also created towards the last decades of the Tokugawa, between the pro-imperialist/nationalist forces and pro-shogunate forces. It reflected the two phases of Japanese foreign policy, Sakoku (locked/isolated country) and Kaikoku (open country). The imperialist forces recognized that impending intrusion of the West, knowing that the political structure under the shogunate could no longer bear the weathering of time as merchants grew more powerful and the samurai had lost their privileges. Pro-imperialists drew communal support for their ethnic distinctiveness, and their capacity to mobilize on their resources in learning the ways of Western trade⁵⁹. They also recognized that Japan had to modernize to be able to face any competition/protection against the highly developed Western powers.

Challenge to the Shogunate by the Daimyo

There was resentment from the "Tozama" daimyos or outside lords within the government, upsetting the stable political order that held the Shogunate together. Daimyos were increasingly frustrated with the distribution of power within the shogunate, whom would impose their authority in ways that limited the powers of the daimyos. Resentment was strong between the Daimyo and the Bakufu, especially after the passing of the Tenpo Reforms, which involved the daimyos conceding their own fertile land to the revenue of the Bakufu.

Anti-Western Sentiment

Before the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1953, an objective for the Japanese had been to preserve Japanese sovereignty and culture in their foreign policy. They held reservations about the Western countries and believed that it threatened the Shogun's political/social order. The expulsion of Christianity had fostered a resentment against these 'foreign devils' by the government themselves, as nationalists rallied behind their own ethnic kind in culture, religion and race⁶¹. Although they frequently did trade with the Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese, the anti-Western sentiment grew during the forced negotiations with the United States, with negotiations of other Western powers following soon after.

Economic Crises and impacts

Frustration of the Samurai Class and the Rise of the Merchant Class

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⁵⁸ Jansen, pg. 127

⁵⁹ Totman, pg. 5

⁶⁰ Hauser, pg. 54

⁶¹ Miller, pg. 70





Image 7. Matsumura Goshun, "Fishmarket". 1770-1811.

Towards the late Tokugawa period, the Japanese society was slowly moving away traditional lifestyle and culture. It moved from a warrior-dominated society to one that no longer sought the need for traditional samurais and their swords. This caused a a limitation of social mobility within the Samurai class, they were an privileged class, but had no legitimate outlet for militarism⁶². The shogun was low on funds due to preexisting conditions such as the famine, and the cost of the Tenpo reforms; they faced the strain of economic pressure as they continued to support an expiring class of privileged warriors. Their allowance was not increased in face of economic inflation, and as a result they held little purchasing power As the economy started evolving into one more focused on trade, merchants who sold goods for for gold were making more money as the expiring samurai class depended on the bakumatsu for annual allowance.

Breakdown of Monetary System

The coinage exchange rate was a crucial factor for the foreign trade in Japan to prosper, however it brought along many problems. This was partly caused by the restriction of foreign trade in the earlier 1650s by the bafuku⁶³, as the total value of trade was no more than 6,600 tons of copper a year⁶⁴. With the silver and gold monopolized by the government, it made it harder for

them to adjust their currency controls by the time foreign trade was growing in Japanese cities. The exchange rate within Japan between gold and silver was 1:5, whereas the international standard was at 1:15. This also allowed foreigners to bring silver to Japan and exchange it for gold at a rate of 200% profit. The outflow of gold from Japan destroyed the gold standard system in Japan, forcing the Japanese authorities to devalue their currency⁶⁵. Another problem they had was that they were issuing other forms of currency to replace the bullion. Paper money was not officially printed, yet the bakufu issued bills of credit and private promissory notes⁶⁶. Daimyo also issued their own note called the *hanatsu*, which was to be backed by actual currency⁶⁷. However the lack of regulation with paper money caused the *hanatsu* to be overissued, and having it in circulation put a pressure on the actual currency to devalue as they could not back their paper bills.

⁶² Jansen, Warrior Rule in Japan

⁶³ Frost, p. 2

⁶⁴ Frost, p. 2

⁶⁵ Dower, pg. 2

⁶⁶ Frost, pg. 4

⁶⁷ Frost, pg. 4



Hyperinflation: impacts to urban/rural areas

As a result, the hyperinflation caused by the erosion of the Japanese bullion made a destructive impact in the Japanese economy, as the government already faced budgetary issues in face of natural disasters and heavy government expenditures. This was a big issue for the government because due to the ratio of gold to silver, the outflow of Japanese gold meant an influx of foreign silver, which would affect the value of gold to silver to decline to the international ratio standard⁶⁸. This put pressure on the Japanese monetary system to shift to one on a silver standard.

Consequences

The Tokugawa Bakufu will by 1868 due to the immensity of the political tasks that it could not handle in face of imperialist intrusion⁶⁹. Another problem was that this period faced challenges in its social hierarchy, political order and commerce/trade. The late Tokugawa period experienced essential education, social, and political reform, reinstalling the emperor as a political leader. It is up to the delegates in the conference to dictate the path of the Shogun council 25 years before its demise, and present possible directions that can be taken to tackle the social and economic unrest within the Bakufu. Hyperinflation was compounded by the unequal treaties calling for free trade, free monetary flow and very low tariffs that were forcibly imposed on Japan by the Western countries (USA, France and Great Britain) in the later years of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. In what ways can the Bakufu prevent the exacerbation of the social structure and their political authority? How will they retain their legitimacy, with or without the emperor?
- 2. Peasants are unhappy with the Bakufu, how can their social grievances be tackled in face of poverty and hunger?
- 3. How to relieve the pressure of the stagnating domestic economy?
- 4. What methods can be taken in order to properly assess and handle the currency crisis? Is it too late to stop the hyperinflation?

Final Conclusion

This committee will debate key issues that face the Tokugawa. This council offers to the Tokugawa the chance to reverse the weakening of the state and the opportunity to retain their power through better policy making. While to the dissidents it offers a forum for a great and transformational change. As samurai council members you are charged with advancing those policies which will best serve your needs and the needs of the lands you control. Through ruses, diplomacy, trickery and alliances you will mould the course for Japan's future.

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⁶⁸ Smitka, pg. 113

⁶⁹ Totman, pg. xiii

AND STREET STREET

Edo Bakufu: Samurai Shogun's Council

Appendix I. Characters

Council Members:

Tokugawa Nariaki:

Tokugawa Nariaki is the ninth Daimyō lord of the Mito region, home to Mitogaku (Mito school of thought), the core tenets of which are Japanese nationalism and neo-confucian moral ideals. Nariaki was a prominent figure placed in charge of repelling predatory foreigners by the Bakufu. Mitogaku maintains primary allegiance to the emperor and a pro-restoration stance, a set of beliefs which Nariaki shares. He believes that if the Emperor cannot be restored, there should at least be joint government between the Emperor and the Bakufu, a system called Kobu Gattai. He plays an important role as one of the most politically powerful members of the Sōnnō Jōi movement. Nariaki is staunchly anti-Western, and believes Japan should be ready and willing to go to war with encroaching Western powers by strengthening its military and maintaining its isolationist policies.

Aizawa Yasushi:

Aizawa Yasushi is a leading thinker and teacher of the Mitogaku school of thought; In line with the fact that he considers them inferior, "loathsome barbarians," Yasushi is primarily concerned with how to deal with the Western threat. His main beliefs are that Japan must strengthen its central power through a unified Japanese identity and nation, and return to a more moral-based system. He condemned the shogunate for weakening regions at the edges of its sphere of influence to maintain its power near Edo in his work, Shinron ("New Theses"), which is "explicitly anti-western and implicitly anti-Bakufu" and has been secretly copied and distributed extensively throughout Japan. He believes that Western powers have achieved their might through control of their respective citizenries through religion -- and that Japan should adopt a State religion itself. He coined the term "Sōnnō Jōi" in the 1820s to describe a movement and political philosophy he and his colleagues founded-- its name derivative of a Japanese phrase meaning "Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians!" Yasushi is not, strictly speaking, anti-Bakufu; his Theses were intended to advise the Shogunate on how to strengthen itself. That said, he has a track record of being highly critical of its policies.

Mizuno Tadakuni

Mizuno Tadakuni is the Senior Roju, or Chief Senior Councillor to the Shogun. He is wary of the threat imposed by Western powers, particularly with respect to the British Empire's recent crushing victory over the Chinese in the First Opium War, saying of which: "this is happening in a foreign country, but I believe it also contains a warning for us." His policies as Roju have been defined by the Tenpo Reforms which he was primarily responsible for enacting; these were a set of economic and social reforms designed to help the Bakufu recover from the growing economic and social duress undermining their iron grip on Japan. They included: the banning of "Rangaku" or



Western Studies (including technology), limitations on entertainment and displays of wealth, seizing of the lands from Daimyo whose domain was near Edo (to further consolidate the Bakufu sphere of influence), and severe controls on religion. His policy choices are guided by a strong belief in a return to more simplistic, disciplined ways of living, as in the early martial rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Maeda Nariyasu

The han of Kaga belongs to Daimyo Maeda Nariyasu. Nariyasu comes from a long line of elite, distinguished and traditional Daimyos. His family has held the lordship of Kaga for generations, predating the current shogunate's founding. Kaga lies on the Sea of Japan in the Central-Eastern part of Japan. The holdings of this han are extensive, as a result the Maeda family stands second to the Tokugawa in family holdings and in wealth. Nariyasu is a relatively young member of the council being just over thirty. However, this does not point to a lack of experience as he has been the daimyo of Kaga since the age of eleven. He was appointed the prestigious position and title of Chunagon, middle councillor. Nariyasu and his family have benefited greatly from the current shogunate, and as a result Nariyasu does not see it in his family's interest to have a change. However, his family was prominent and powerful before the Tokugawa and their end does not necessarily indicate a fall for the Maeda as well.

He is loyal to a conservative government system and holds a conservative opinion when it comes to dealing with the western powers. However, logic will always overrule conservative inclinations for Nariyasu who is young enough and educated enough to recognize a good argument.

Kuze Hirochika

Hirochika Kuze is the daimyo of Sekiyado Han. Sekiyado Han is an extremely important and strategic province within Japan. It is located near Edo and is at the confluence of the Tone and Edogawa rivers, thus giving the daimyo control over all river traffic. Due to its key positioning, Sekiyado Han had only ever been entrusted to those upon whom the Shogun could wholly rely. Hirochika, along with being the daimyo of this region, is also a Roju on the council. While Hirochika and his family have long been staunch supporters of the Shogunate, many of the younger retainers and family members are listening with increased interest to the ideology of Sonno Joi. Hirochika is strongly in favor of the centralization of power into the Shogunate and contemptuous of the displeasure of the outer daimyo.

Egawa Hidetatsu

Egawa Hidetatsu is a Bakufu official in charge of the defense of Edo Bay. He believes strongly in the use of Western techniques and technology to fight incoming invaders, making him a controversial figure among his peers. As an official directly in charge of defense, he takes a rather pragmatic view of matters, wishing to cut through the debate and discussion of ideology, and focus exclusively on the protection of Japan and the Bakufu. To this end, he is in favor of strengthening the military, consolidating forces around Edo, and leaving the outer domains more to their own devices in line with their



greater power independent of Bakufu forces, and their lower necessity in protecting the center of Bakufu power.

Inoue Masaharu

Masaharu comes from a long line of Japanese elite and daimyo. However, his family's prestige has been lowered and his family shamed by the disgrace of Masaharu's father. The Shogun took the family's traditional lands in Hamamatsu and demoted them to being the daimyo of Tanakura. Masaharu came to age as the daimyo of this land. He is an ambitious figure in the council, eager to remove the stain on his family's name and determined to earn back what his father lost. Already he has made great strides in doing so; he was transferred to be the daimyo of Tatabayeshi, and then to Osaka jodi (Castellan of Osaka). Most recently he was appointed to the rank of Roju, a senior councillor. Masaharu was responsible for much of what went into the Tenpo reforms. Thus, his career and his family's position relies on the successful policies of the council, especially those that concern domestic issues, for as the lesson of his father taught him what has been earned can easily be taken away.

Shimazu Nariakira

Shimazu Nariakira is a highly ambitious member of, and heir-apparent of the Shimazu clan, the Daimyō lords who rule over the Satsuma domain. Satsuma, the largest and one of the wealthiest domains, lies on the southern coast of Kyushu, placing it at one of the farthest points away from Edo. This makes it simultaneously one of the most independent domains from the shogunate, and one of the most vulnerable regions to foreign attack. Another side effect of this distance is mounting tension between the Shimazu and Tokugawa clans. Nariakira, while not Daimyō himself yet, is more trusted by the Shogun than his father, and as such has been selected for this council. Nariakira is highly respected by his peers, considered wise beyond his years owing to his love of learning. He is interested in Western knowledge and technology, and believes in a more moderate approach than pure aggression toward Western powers, believing that diplomacy should be entertained, if for no other reason than to buy time to modernize (and, indeed, to Westernize) the Japanese military. The Shimazu clan also claims rule over the Ryukyu Islands (one of the places in Japan most commonly landed in by Westerners seeking trade relations or diplomacy), so he is well-versed in, and well informed about Western military thought and technology.

Mōri Takachika

Mōri Takachika is the reigning daimyō of the Chōshu domain, one of the outer domains, located on the southern coast of Honshu. Chōshu's ruling clan, the Mōri, has a long standing grudge against the Tokugawa Shogunate, after having their lands reduced by nearly 75%, and being displaced from their historical homeland, over 200 years ago. Chōshu also is home to frequent peasant revolts, due to the high taxes levied on the inhabitants, as well as the Domain-controlled trade of the items most commonly produced in the domain, such as agricultural products and salt. Due to its outer location,



Takachika is concerned for the security of the Chōshu domain, and is gravely upset with the Bakufu for its perceived negligence in this matter.

Matsudaira Yoshinaga

Matsudaira Yoshinaga is the reigning daimyō of the Fukui domain, in Western Honshu, near Kyoto. Important strategically for its close proximity and role as northern guardian to Kyoto and the Emperor, Fukui is one of the most prestigious lands, as well as one of the wealthiest in Japan. Yoshinaga is in favor of imperial restoration, and is concerned by the seemingly growing insecurity of the Bakufu, and its consolidation of forces inward toward Edo; He believes the Bakufu should be focused equally on protecting Kyoto and the Emperor. That said, the Matsudaira clan shares lineage with the Tokugawa, so he is prepared to help the Bakufu in any of its efforts, despite his reservations.

Tokugawa Yoshitsugu

Tokugawa Yoshitsugu is the 11th son of the previous shogun and brother to the current shogun. Yoshitsugu controls the Owari Han. Owari Han is located close to Edo on the Western shore of Japan and was thus placed into the trusted hands of the descendants of Tokugawa Ieyasu's youngest sons. The Owari form one branch of the Gosanke, which is comprised of three Tokugawa family branches descended from the three youngest sons of Tokugawa Ieyasu. All three branches can provide an heir if it is needed. As the Shogun has sickened and the heir too is weak, other members of the clan have had to take on additional responsibilities. While, he does not have a senior position on the council Yoshitsugu clearly holds a strong position as an evident representative of the family. While for ensuring the continuance of his family's prominence, Yoshitsugu is prepared to temper that with logic. Additionally, a student of Japanese classics and history Yoshitsugu is aware of the implications of the current relative strengths of the Japanese and Western armed forces. He is for an increase in centralization, especially if it would facilitate the growth of a stronger military force to control domestic disturbances and to increase their stature when dealing with the Americans or the Europeans.

Tokugawa Narivuki

Tokugawa Nariyuki controls the Kii Han in South-Central Japan. The Kii Tokugawa House is one of three Tokugawa family branches that comprise the Gosanke. The Gosanke is able to provide an heir to the shogunate if it is needed. However, this has seldom been necessary in the Tokugawa family's history. Being relatively distant from Edo, Nariyuki is well aware of the rumblings of dissent and frustration from the outer daimyo and sympathizes with their position, but would never brook with a significant decrease in his family's power. In the mind of Nariyuki the Sonno Joi movement is dangerous and the imperial court has been weak for so many generations it is hard to conceive of it ever having power separate from its mystical position. Nariyuki, unlike many, is fascinated by the arrival of the Europeans in the East. While wary of their influence, especially on the culture of Japan, Nariyuki, due to his interest and a pragmatic examining of China's policies, is fully prepared to engage with the West.



Hotta Masayoshi

Hotta Masayoshi is the daimyō of the Sakura domain, located near Edo in Eastern Honshu. Masayoshi is close to the Shogun, and understands, but is wary of the policies of drawing forces inward; he has seen the results of European invasion on China, and believes the Bakufu has no choice but to accept whatever terms are presented in the event of a European power turning its attention, or indeed its gunbarrels to Japan. He is concerned by all of the warmongering that he sees among Japan's daimyō, the Bakufu, and even the Emperor himself towards Europeans. He believes that Japan stands no chance in the event of invasion by the West, and is desperate to convince his peers of this.

Hachisuka Narihiro

Hachisuka Narihiro is the daimyō of the Tokushima domain, located on Shikoku island. Much like Satsuma and Chōshu, Tokushima is one of the outer domains, further segregated by its location on Shikoku island. Narihiro is highly concerned by the perceived indifference of the Bakufu regarding the security of the outer domains. Moreover, Narihiro is a newly ascended daimyo, and has just taken over rule from his late father. He is additionally concerned with problems within his domain; peasant revolts are a serious issue, and he is working hard to turn back issues caused by the mismanagement of his predecessors. Narihira has extensive connections within the Shogunate, as he is the biological brother of Shogun Ieyoshi, but was adopted by the Hachisuka clan at birth.

Abe Masahiro

Abe Masahiro is the daimyō of the Fukuyama domain, located on the southern coast of Honshu. Despite being a lord of one of the outer domains, Masahiro has spent nearly his entire life in Edo, and is currently a high-ranking Bakufu advisor. He believes that Japan has no choice but to open up to the West, and is willing to go to any end to achieve this -- including subversion of the Shogun himself. He is currently in charge of building up Japan's defenses and maintaining its isolation, but he is highly critical of these policies, or at least sees that Japan cannot remain isolated in the event of Western aggression.

Date Munenari

Date Munenari is the 8th daimyō of the Uwajima domain, located on the western coast of Shikoku. Uwajima is one of the smallest domains, yet Munenari has risen to national prominence through his skill as a statesman. He is highly revered by his contemporaries, and is owed personal debt by the heads of the Shimazu and Yamauchi clans (two large, powerful clans, presiding over Satsuma and Tosa domains respectively) for assisting them in rising to the position of daimyō. Munenari is an advocate for the Kobu-gattai system, which suggests a cooperative government between the Emperor and the Bakufu. Munenari is additionally concerned with how the Bakufu intends to simultaneously draw military power in toward Edo, and maintain security in outer domains such as his own.



Aoyama Tadanaga

The Aoyama family has ruled the Sasayama Han since 1748, when the province, previously inconsistently held, was given to Aoyama Tadatomo. Sasayama is located within Tanba Province in Central-Southern Japan. It lies on the edges of what would be considered the inner han. His province is not on the water, and thus he does not share quite the feeling of urgency regarding the Western security threat that coastal daimyos have. However, his lands are in a strategically important location in Japan; close enough to the center to pose a risk, and far enough away to be harder to regulate, making Tadanaga an important player. The family is built on tradition and would not want to see that tradition compromised by an upset in social classes nor by any Western influence on the country at large. In addition to their traditional beliefs is the fact that before the Tokugawa their family had not played a significant role in the country. His region is plagued by peasant revolts placing a strain on his ability keep the peace. However, his key strategic position is what gives him influence and thus far the Aoyama clan has been reluctant to minimize that by requesting the Shogun's assistance with the revolts.

Makino Tadamasa

Makino Tadamasa is the daimyō of the Nagaoka domain. This domain is one of the lands close to Edo, on the western coast of Honshu. and the Makino clan is historically allies with the Tokugawa. Tadamasa is currently a roju, or senior advisor to the Shogun. He is in charge of organizing coastal defenses, so he is slightly concerned by the insecurity of the outer domains, despite being lord of a central one. Perhaps most importantly, he holds the Bakufu position of Kyoto Shoshidai, which entails being the Shogun's representative in the capital, maintaining relations and communication between the Shogun and the Emperor, administering the security of the imperial court, and controlling access to audiences with the Emperor. Despite his loyalty to the Shogun, he is a supporter of Abe Masahiro, and wishes to assist him with his ambitions.

Yamauchi Toyoatsu

Yamauchi Toyoatsu is the reigning daimyō of the Tosa domain in Shikoku. This is one of the outer domains, and as such, Toyoatsu is interested in advocating for greater Bakufu concern of its security. Within the Tosa domain, as is true of many of the outer domains, there is a significant amount of anti-Shogun sentiment. To make matters worse, many citizens of Tosa resent the Yamauchi clan's rule (owing to its semi-hostile takeover over 200 years ago), making Toyoatsu's position even more difficult. The region of Tosa at this point has a small amount of what was once a much larger economic debt remaining to the Bakufu, but Toyoatsu is growing weary of putting national matters before domain-level ones.*

Sō Yoshiyori

Sō Yoshiyori is the reigning daimyō of the Tsushima domain, one of the farthest domains from Edo, located on the western coast of Kyushu. Tsushima is notable in that it handles all trade and relations with the kingdom of Korea, and is home to several of the most important port cities in Japan, such as Yokohama and Nagasaki. Yoshiyori is concerned with increasing Bakufu military presence in his domain, as well as concern for



how to deal with any visits from Western emissaries. He is staunchly in support of the Bakufu, and while he is theoretically in support of Japan remaining isolated, he would like to see details of how such a feat could be accomplished in the face of Western aggression.

Sakai Tadaaki

Sakai Tadaaki is the daimyō of the Obama Domain, which serves as an crucial domain north of Kyoto, and contains the important port city of Obama. Tadaaki is a high ranking Bakufu official, and while he is in support of the Shogun as such, he has a vested interest in the security of Kyoto due to his domain's close proximity to the Capital. He is also keenly interested in quelling the civil unrest occurring in many domains which is currently undermining all efforts to keep Japan secure, regardless of whether or not a Western threat materializes, or whether the balance of political power is addressed or not.

So Midori

Midori is the nephew of the curent daimyo of the Tsushima domain, and heir apparent. His father had been a much younger brother who acted as castellan for the prominent family region. Tsushima, the domain exclusively involved with Korean trade, sees some of the most interaction with external nations in Japan. The So clan is highly loyal to the Tokugawa, but Midori sees no way that Japan can stay closed, and further believes that there is an expanse of possibilities for Tsushima, and Japan as a whole if trade were to one day be opened with European powers. This of course takes into account the profits which would surely come his family's way if trade were extended to the West in lieu of war.

Shimazu Keito

Shimazu Keito is a young, rising member of the Shimazu clan under Nariakira's tutelage. He holds many of the same beliefs as him, such as Imperial restoration, a more moderate approach to diplomacy with the West than outright aggression, a desire for greater political standing for the outer domains, and also has a strong sense of pride in his domain, being from Satsuma. As a child, he interacted with one of the few dutch people who can be found in Satsuma (which used to be the only place Westerners could land in Japan, before all outside contact was banned), and has become secretly enamored with Western culture. He would love to be able to interact with the West, and this is his strongest aspiration at this council as a result.

Sakai Ichiro

Sakai Ichiro is an aging member of the ruling Sakai clan from the Obama domain, located north of Kyoto. He wishes to see, above all, peace. He recognizes the faulty decision-making of the Tokugawa, but also knows that it has been the Tokugawa who have ensured peace for the last two and a half centuries. He believes in the Boku Gattai system: a combination of Imperial and Bakufu rule. He wants open diplomacy, and wishes to see as little bloodshed as possible in the event of forced interaction with West. He is very loyal to the traditions of Japan and believes that by beginning open relations with the West, Japan can more efficiently control the potential influence of the West on



the country. Ichiro is a people pleaser, and often assumes the role of a mediator when conflict arises among his peers. His age and experience naturally give him the stature to stand amongst the daimyo on the council.

Yamauchi Chiyo

Yamauchi Chiyo is a younger member of the ruling clan of the Tosa domain, the Yamauchi. Tosa is an outer domain far from the direct influence of the shogun. Yamauchi resents the taxes and efforts by the Shogun to take power from him through taxes and other policies. Yamauchi wishes to see the emperor restored and the western threat dealt with in a way which guarantees as little unnecessary death as possible. While he is not particularly happy with the idea of opening Japan, he understands that the outer domains would be the first to go in any Western invasion, and is realistic about Japan's chances in the event of such an invasion.

Tokugawa Kokoro

Tokugawa Kokoro is the nephew of Tokugawa Nariaki. He is from the mito domain, home of the Sonno Joi movement, and he is a fanatic follower of this school of thought. "Revere the Emperor, Expel the barbarians!" may as well be this man's way of life. He views those who believe anything else as either sniveling cowards unwilling to die in a potential battle in the west, or power crazed bureaucrats (shogunate loyalists). His fiery temperament has been known to earn him no friends in the past, so he is trying to remain more "diplomatic" while at this council, in order to actually achieve his end goals. While part of the Tokugawa family, and thus given a higher stature, his statements and attitudes towards the shogunate have distanced him from the other Tokugawa family members on the council, many of whom wish to preserve the system which has placed them so high.

Matsudaira Ryouta

Matsudaira Ryouta is a member of the ruling clan of the Fukui domain, a strategically important domain located next to Kyoto, the seat of imperial influence. Ryouta is highly religious, and would love to see a return to power for the emperor above all else. Like many young people at this time, his dissatisfaction with the status-quo system and inefficient Tokugawa policies have steered him towards the Sonno-Joi movement, where his religious background established him as if not a member of the movement, then a strong sympathizer. His world view is staunchly rooted in tradition, so maintaining Japanese isolation in any way possible is also an important ideal to him. He dislikes the idea of the West bringing any of their culture to Japan and disrupting the current social state

Yamauchi Tarou

Yamauchi Tarou is a lower-ranking member of the Yamauchi, the ruling clan of the Tosa domain located in Shikoku. Unlike the other members of his clan, Tarou has adopted the Sonno Joi ideology, and while the distaste for the Shogun is shared among his family members, his desire for Japan yo remain isolated is viewed as unrealistic by his fellow clan members. By them he is seen as a zealot; however he is seen as a key



potential ally by other Sonno Joi members from domains where the ideology is more prominent.

Miyazaki Makoto

Miyazaki Makoto is a lower-ranking Bakufu official who has been selected to take part in this council due to his reputation as a highly level headed individual. He is primarily interested in solving matters pertaining to the actual structure and function of government, rather than trying to deal with external crises: after all, how can any of that be solved while the current system is viewed as broken by many? He is greatly concerned with the instability within the country. Makato has spent most of his adult life in Edo or administering various areas around the country for short periods of time. This has allowed him to see the decay that exists within the system. While at the moment none have seen a way to remove the rot from the structure that has held Japan together and in peace for over 250 years, Makato is eager to do so and considers it the top priority. Stability at whatever cost is Makato's belief, if that entails a change of administration or an increase in centralization, then so be it. This Bakufu official has little ties to land and no background of family landed independence and thus, while sympathetic, is willing to do what he believes must be done.

Date Yamato

Date Yamato is a member of the Date clan of lords who rule over the Uwajima domain in western Shikoku. This is an outer domain, yet Yamato has ended up, by a series of coincidences, personal friends with the shogun. He is very concerned about the illness of his good friend, and anxious over the continuance of the Shogun's legacy. While he does not like the heir, he feels duty bound (despite his family) to ensure the Tokugawa's future. He wishes to see no change occur, and is in staunch support of Shogun policy. He is staunchly isolationist, and views advocates of imperial restoration (of any degree) as guilty of treason. His family believes that his time in Edo has corrupted him as he has been too influenced by the Tokugawa. This, they of course blame not only him for, but the Tokugawa family hostage system.

Mizuno Takashi

Mizuno Takashi is the nephew of Mizuno Tadakuni, the current Senior Roju, or advisor to the shogun. Takashi is very much in support of the Shogun and current isolationist policies, but he is more interested in making a name for himself independent of his father than anything else: while it is important to him to become a higher ranking Bakufu official, he is willing to bend his "beliefs" to achieve success as a diplomat.

Makino Havate

Makino Hayate is a member of the Makino clan of lords who preside over the Nagaoka domain, located near Edo. Hayate is very ambitious, and wishes to rise in the ranks of the Bakufu. He, at this point, is more interested in building his own influence, than in any of the issues at hand. That said, becoming a successful statesman is important in his quest for fame and power. He is loyal to the Shogun for now, but will side with



anybody who will give him a better shot at more power. He believes in maintaining isolation, and is seen by some as a hotheaded war hawk.

Miyamoto Haruki

Miyamoto Haruki is a lower-ranking bakufu official who wishes to see civil matters addressed before more general problems like the structure of government, and what to do in case of Western encroachment. He views these issues as amorphous and too theoretical to deal with while peasant revolts are popping up sooner than existing ones can be quelled. The massive amounts of peasant revolts and the strife between the inner and outer domains are his main concerns, and peace is his end goal.

Naito Nobuchika

Naito Nobuchika titled Kii-no-kami, is the daimyo of Murakami Domain. Murakami is in the North on the western coast of Japan. It is fairly far away from Edo and is part of the outer domain group. Nobuchika has long been concerned with the growing presence of the West in the seas around Japan. Being on the western coast, close to China, Nobuchika clearly recognizes the danger that the West poses. Being far from Edo has raised his concerns about securing the safety of his land and along with many of the other outer-han daimyos, Nobuchika is resentful of the high taxes and expenses imposed by the Shogun. The safety of his coasts is his primary concern but for Nobuchika that growth in security should not entail a commensurate decrease in independence. The failings of the Shogunate are all too evident to this outlying daimyo; change is needed.

Kuze Sadanobu

Sadanobu is the son of Kuze Hirochiko. He is to inherit the family's lands in the highly strategic Sekiyado Han. Due to the laws regarding the distribution of family members, Sadanobu spent much of his childhood in Edo, where unlike many indolent sons and nephews of other Daimyos he has held increasingly important positions within Edo. As a friend to the Tokugawa heir, Sadanobu's personal prestige has been raised so that he can sit with the other, older members of the council. Despite his childhood friendship with the air, Sadanobu's recent years among the younger members of his family and the nobles in Sekiyado has given him strong sympathies for many of the proposals of the Sonno Joi Movement.

Matsudaira Sadaaki

A member of the powerful Matsudaira family, Sadaaki is far more distant than most of his family from Edo. His branch of the family's lands lies to the South of Edo. His network of family ties makes Sadaaki fairly important and increases the security of his lands. The web-like nature of his family's holdings increase their importance especially with a more autonomous system. Sadaaki is open to the idea of the West. Not much information from the West has been able to circulate in Japan as per the Tokugawa's censorship policies but Sadaaki has been able to get his hands on several Dutch writings and what he has read, fascinates him. Of course this isn't something that



is discussed in public, but it has strongly influenced his beliefs about the Japan's security and trade policy.

Hijikata Katsunaga

Hijikata Katsunaga is the daimyo of the Komono Han. This Han is south of Edo in Ise Province and while it is technically part of the inner group of daimyos, they tend to sympathize with their "outer" neighbors. The Hijikata family has been in control of these lands, since the creation of the Han. The name of the han and the family are synonymous and their histories are inextricably linked. Katsunaga has been the daimyo since the age of seven. Now, while still a young man, Katsunaga has a great deal of experience and cannot help but wonder at the policies and disprove of the actions of the Shogunate. His family has long been loyal to the Shogun, but Katsunaga also supports the idea of the emperor coming to power. Similar to Katsunaga, the people in his lands are split between loyalty to the shogun and to the emperor.

Toda Ujinori

Toda Ujinori is an aging bureaucrat who was sent to the North-Western island of Sado. Sado has long been directly controlled by the Tokugawa. The island is home to famous gold mines that have provided much of the Tokugawa's wealth. However, perhaps as a metaphor for the weakening of the Tokugawa, the gold mine in recent years has yielded far less gold than it once had. Ujinori is dissatisfied with the current state of affairs, is displeased with being sent to that far away, if beautiful, island of exiles to administer a failing mine, and believes that significant change is needed. There was little on the island for a bakufu official to do, but local religious temples provided an avenue of distraction, which over time became a passion. Ujinori passionately believes in the elevation of a man he has never met, the emperor, in order to replace the Shogun. He believes that this is his best avenue to success and his developed religious feeling pushes him down this course. However, his religious beliefs are tempered by his economic and political background, and if the reformers adopt too chaotic a path Ujinori might just return back to the Tokugawa and look for further opportunity there. Ambition and stability are by and far the most important motivators in Ujinori's life.

Akimoto Sumitomo

Sumitomo is a bakufu official sent to Hokkaido to directly administer the region in the the Shogun's name. Far to the north, Hokkaido is very distant from Edo. This region has long had uprisings, not necessarily on a class level but on an ethnic level. The local Ainu people the native people of the region had for a long time been dissatisfied with their oppression under the Tokugawa. Recently, Sumitomo has been able to successfully quell any potential disturbances. However, he is concerned lest the civil uprisings further south should grow and create a chaotic environment in which the Ainu might rise up once more. Sumitomo is from a more humble background than most on the council, a fact he tries to hide, and is highly ambitious for a rise in power. He is willing to do what must be done for this to be achieved and recognizes that as a bakufu official he has much to gain from opening relations with the West. He knows that Shoguns and politicians come and go, but that bureaucrat last. Thus, the current political state of affairs



is not the most important policy change that is needed in Sumitomo's mind. However, he does see the inherent weaknesses of the Tokugawa and would be willing to consider a system which splits power between the Tokugawa and the emperor.

Uemura Ienaga

Uemura Ienaga is the castellan of Chiyoda Castle. Chiyoda Castle is the fortress of the Tokugawa in Edo. It has a long history one that Ienaga is charged with continuing. From a long family line of castellans of the Chiyoda, Ienaga is a fixture of the Tokugawa reign as all Uemura have been. He is highly trusted and is fervently loyal to the Tokugawa; he is willing do whatever is needed to ensure their survival. As castellan he has military experience and recognizes the weaknesses in the castle and in the military system of the Tokugawa and knows that a great military change would be required to be able to defend sufficiently agains the West. He is highly concerned about the military danger posed by the West. While many say they would never come straight to Edo, Ienaga is concerned by Chiyoda's and Edo's proximity to the ocean and thus the West.



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