

JCC Bakumatsu Japan,
1860: The Bakuhan
Government

SHOGUN



MUNUC 36

Model United Nations at the University of Chicago

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chair Letter.....	2
Crisis Director Letter.....	3
Coordinating Crisis Director Letter.....	4
Sensitivity Statement.....	5
Committee Structure And Mechanics Of The JCC.....	6
Elements Of A Joint Crisis Committee.....	6
The Flow Of Our Committee.....	7
History Of The Committee.....	9
History Of The Problem.....	10
Pre-Shogun Era.....	10
The Rise Of The Tokugawa Shogunate.....	13
The Shoguns.....	16
Current Situation.....	19
Statement Of The Problem.....	20
Economic Update.....	20
International Update.....	23
Sociopolitical Update.....	24
Character Biographies.....	26
Bibliography.....	35

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CHAIR LETTER

Hello everyone,

I am Sameer, and I am looking forward to serving as the chair for the Joint Crisis Committee for the Shogun side of the committee. Being a sophomore at the College, I am majoring in Economics with a specialization in Business Economics and hail from the great city of Lahore in the great country of Pakistan (as they say). I used to be an avid golfer in my time, but I rarely get time to play any here in Chicago (I hope to once bring my golf clubs all the way from Pakistan).

Seeing The Importance Of The Topic At Hand, I Expect All Delegates To Come Prepared And Embrace The Spirit Of Collaboration And Teamwork. This Joint Crisis Committee Is Nothing But A Collective Effort With Delegates That Stand In The Room Next To You. Thus, Success Lies In Your Ability To Create Comprehensive Jpds And Make Impactful Speeches About This Crucial Dilemma That Japan Faces: How Will It Establish A Presence On The Global Platform As Old Powers Are Confronted With Interference And Mounting Social Upheaval, As Well As A Disturbance In The Equilibrium Between Shoguns And Feudal Lords?

I believe this JCC to be a wonderful opportunity to learn not only about this pressing change in Japan but also about the art of effective communication. Being in this committee will force you to interact, write notes and establish an arc. Having grown up in Pakistan, discussing this regeneration and creation of a new centralized government in Japan was often compared to the dissolution of a feudal system back home. Just like many of you, I find this opportunity to explore Japan and being able to compare it with something more familiar to me very exciting.

As always, the CCD, CD and I are looking forward to constructive debate. Don't hesitate to email us if you have any burning questions or concerns about the committee (its structure, proceedings and content). I hope to see you guys very soon and wish you luck till then.

Sameer Nasir

Chair

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CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER

Hey everyone,

My name is Sarah Kress, and I will be the Crisis Director for the Shogun side of the JCC Bakumatsu Japan committee. I am a third-year chemistry major, and just like my study of chemical bonds, I hope to form some *bonds* with all of you over our shared love of history! This is my fourth year of MUNUC—I started out as a delegate, and I'm super excited to help run MUNUC's first joint crisis committee (in a while) for you all. Outside of MUN, I spend most of my time in the lab, but I also love ice skating, and do swing dancing here at the University!

I've always been interested in history, and I'm super excited to see how all of you work to maintain stability in such an unstable period of Japanese history. Not only will you be dealing with the introduction of Japan onto the global stage, you'll get to see the impact of your rival committee's directives first hand, and have the opportunity to enact change yourselves! With whispers of rebel forces growing louder, threats from Western powers, and economic upheaval in Japan, our committee will see a wide-range of social, economic, and political issues.

I'm looking forward to seeing how your arcs evolve during the committee—with these characters, I know that you'll establish a strong treaty to preserve the sovereignty of Japan, and that the committee will be able to withstand all of the chaos that I'll be throwing at it!

If you have any questions, don't hesitate to reach out!

Best of luck,

Sarah Kress

Crisis Director

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COORDINATING CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER

Hello, delegates!

My name is Akshay Joglekar, and I will be the CCD for the JCC: Bakumatsu Japan, 1860 committees. I am a fourth-year who is majoring in economics. I am looking forward to my eighth year doing MUN, having been active in the activity since the beginning of ninth grade. Outside of this activity and classwork, I spend my time learning about random parts of history, dabbling with linguistics, playing the piano and jazz guitar, and practicing Taekwondo. That first point, especially, is what drew me to this particular topic for the committee. Ever since first exploring the history of mid-19th century Japanese characters, conflicts, and controversies from the past few centuries, I have been thrilled about the prospect of running this committee. From there, I have only grown more invested in unravelling the diversity of the region's economic conditions and political movements.

I am excited to see whether you delegates can work together ideologically to build a new Japanese government and to protect it from both expansionist neighbors and internal crises—and to see which of your sides proves itself successful in the eternal march for the furtherment of Japan's national interests.

I am very much looking forward to what your arcs turn out to be. These characters represent many of the primary viewpoints and ideologies which dominated the formative years of what would become modern Japan. I hope to see you all consider what makes your character stand out and how that can determine the governmental structure and the foreign policy of your nation.

Let me know if you have any questions!

Sincerely,

Akshay

Coordinating Crisis Director

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SENSITIVITY STATEMENT

During the mid-19th century, as throughout much of the region's history, political figures similar to some of those whom you will be representing or who are from neighboring countries advocated for or committed atrocities against civilians of differing class or cultural backgrounds. The years soon following the start of this committee and throughout the Bakumatsu in particular saw questions of national self-determination be construed as excuses for political assassinations and the formation of terrorist organizations.

Know that we will absolutely not tolerate any similar behavior, whether in your private notes, in directives, or outside of official committee time. There is ample room to explore ideological differences between characters while still refraining from connecting your arc at all to your characters' or to civilians' ethnicities or religions. Even if your character is opposed to cooperation with foreign powers or otherwise antagonistic towards particular political groups, creating a modern Japanese identity and government does not necessitate violence against other identities.

While discrimination against minority groups was well-spread and accepted in many places during this time period, please keep in mind that we are running this committee in the 21st century. Using historical "accuracy" as an excuse to be discriminatory towards other demographic groups will not be tolerated in this committee.

Keep this in mind as you craft your arcs.

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COMMITTEE STRUCTURE AND MECHANICS OF THE JCC

Given that this committee is a Joint Crisis Committee (JCC) within the Hybrid USG group, we want you to be prepared to engage with both General Assembly (GA) and Crisis elements in committee, while also working with delegates in another committee room. We recognize that delegates may not have experience with JCCs or Hybrids, so we want to provide a little background on what this committee will look like and give you an idea of what to prepare for. MUNUC has excellent [training modules available on our website](#) for more information.

Genuinely, don't hesitate to reach out to your CDs and/or Chairs if you have any questions! We would love to hear from you if you have questions!

Elements Of A Joint Crisis Committee

JCCs are committees that have two rooms under one crisis, historical event, or within one universe. For this committee, one room will represent the *Bakuban* Government and one side will represent the Imperial Cabinet as we lead up to and enact the Meiji Restoration of Japan.

Some MUN basics that we want to highlight are that this committee will feature both frontroom and backroom elements. Frontroom is the committee room where moderated caucuses,

unmoderated caucuses, round robin speeches, public directives, and resolutions will take place. During this conference, we will have a few sessions where public directives, or short-form written solutions, will be passed before we culminate in a session where a resolution, or long-form written solution, will be passed. Public directives are one to two clause solutions to a recent topic of debate or crisis update and must go through formal voting procedures to pass.

Backroom is where you will engage with your backroom staff (CD and ACs), as well as the opposite room. Your goal here is to build your character arc, the path to accomplishing your final goal. Think of this arc as a story in which your character is the protagonist, and you have to gather adequate resources, develop relationships, and *use* both of those to gain power, money, or something else that will put your character in a better position than where they started. To achieve this goal, you will write [private directives or notes](#) detailing steps you intend to take. Joint private directives are notes to backroom written by two or more delegates where they combine their resources to accomplish a larger goal without needing the approval of the whole committee.

Our committee will set a note-run time in the beginning that will remain flexible throughout

the conference. Note-run times mean that after X minutes (often after about twenty minutes), the backroom staff will come back to committee, collect the private directives delegates have written, and will return the private directives they have responded to. Some of these note-runs will include crisis breaks/updates, and some of the updates will be independent.

To explain the special mechanics of a JCC, we will use a sample JCC to illustrate some of the things you may see. In this example JCC, let's make Room 1 "The General's Army" and Room 2 "The Invaders."

Actions taken in one committee room will have an effect on the other committee room. This means the committee will be much more delegate-driven than a normal committee. For example, if the Invaders start threatening nearby towns, the General's Army will hear about it and be tasked with reassuring the public. In a regular crisis committee, your backroom staff drive crisis updates a little more. This connectivity also applies to actions taken in backroom — if delegates are creative enough with their notes, they can get something to happen in the opposite room that may redirect their debate.

Importantly, the dual-room structure allows for many more opportunities for collaboration and communication. In addition to writing notes to your backroom staffers who will represent characters you make up and use to build

resources, delegates in each room will be able to communicate with each other. This means there are more chances for you to build relationships, create larger plans within the realm of the Meiji Restoration, and figure out how to accomplish your arcs using other people's resources. For example, there may be a delegate in the Invaders Room who actually sympathizes with the citizens of the land they are trying to invade. So, they reach out to a delegate in the General's Army and the two figure out a way to gather intelligence and bring down the Invaders from the inside; they combine their resources and knowledge to accomplish a huge task.

The Flow Of Our Committee

Given the pedagogical (teaching/learning) nature of MUNUC, we want to provide some insight into how our committee will flow. Your slate of executives (Chairs and Crisis Directors) place a high priority on developing your Model UN skills through this committee. As a result, we are going to ease certain elements of the JCC into our committee. Keep in mind that Model UN crisis, hybrid, and JCC committees are extremely flexible. While the following outline is given to you, it is at the discretion of the committee executives to make any changes they see fit.

Sessions I and II will have a block on communication across rooms. This means delegates will not be able to send notes to the

opposite room (just yet). Our goal here is to make sure delegates have enough time to build up their resource arsenal, begin creating relationships with backroom, and figure out how to balance frontroom and backroom. Committee will move on the slower side during these sessions, as we expect delegates to be completing smaller goals and tasks. We will not allow massive crisis goals to go through, like assassinations.

Depending on how Sessions I and II go, Session III will release that block on communication between rooms. Once this block is released, delegates will be able to send notes back and forth with the other room. Backroom will approve each note, but otherwise plays no role in how this relationship develops. We expect the committee pace to pick up a bit when this block is released, as delegates will be accomplishing bigger and bolder goals. As this session progresses, more of your arcs should be nearing the peak.

Session IV is anticipated to be the fastest-paced session since it will be our final crisis session.

During this session, the biggest crisis updates will be revealed, and everyone's arcs should be coming together. Consider this session the climax of your character's story, and the more bold and relevant your actions are, the more they will be featured in updates.

Session V will be a nice cool-down as the crisis sessions of our hybrid come to an end and we move into a more GA-style treaty-writing session.

Taking into consideration all that has happened over four sessions, delegates will spend Session V writing out a final constitution that sets up a new governance structure. We will put a stop to note-sending, as all the crisis arcs would have been completed in the previous session.



HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE

The Tokugawa shogunate solidified its power in the aftermath of the Battle of the Sekigahara, which was the culmination of decades of instability within the Japanese feudal system known as the Sengoku period. Following this period, characterized by largely divided provinces ruled by noblemen, or *daimyōs*, civil unrest, and unstable trade and food supplies, Tokugawa Ieyasu was named *shōgun*—a position that had been left vacant for nearly thirty years. The Tokugawa regime redistributed the disputed lands from the Sengoku period, establishing a central power in Japan after years of instability.

Within this committee is Tokugawa Ieyasu's executive government, the *bakuban* government, containing executives tasked with controlling the administrative, legislative, monetary, spiritual, and judicial functions of the government across the majority of Japan. Backed by the Tokugawa shogunate, they are tasked with preserving the stability of the Tokugawa regime and protecting the balance between the shogunate and the *daimyōs*.

The government is a body made up of approximately forty executives who rule alongside the Tokugawa shogunate. Within this body sit several councils: (1) the senior councilors (*rōjū*); (2) the junior councilors (*wakadoshiyori*); and (3) three commissioners for the temples and shrines

of the country, capital, and treasury (*bugyō*). Members of this committee will represent a combination of various members of the *rōjū*, the *wakadoshiyori*, and the *bugyō*, advising the Japanese *shogun* on all economic and political matters.

Opposing this committee are the revolutionary forces and individuals who seek to bring down the Tokugawa shogunate, convinced that they have been swindled out of land, money, and power—that they now conspire to recapture. This committee's enemies are a combination of the *daimyōs* (noblemen tasked with ruling various plots of land), *samurai* (noble warriors who serve the land they fight on), foreign entities who have a vested interest in expanding trade routes, police, statesmen, and imperial loyalists. Together, they represent the rebellious forces, plotting to overthrow the Tokugawa shogunate.

This committee's goal is to preserve the stability established by the Tokugawa shogunate following the Sengoku period, protecting it against rebellious feudal lords that threaten the balance of Japan's governing system. In bringing Japan onto the world stage, they must find a way to preserve Japan's culture and values while dealing with threats from foreign powers as well as domestic unrest.

History Of The Problem

Pre-Shogun Era

The Heian period (794-1185) of classical Japan is remembered as the turbulent era in which the emperor gradually lost power in favor of military government. By the early 11th century, four large clans, generally in balance with one another, had conquered almost all of the landmass of modern Japan. These four clans—the Taira, Minamoto, Fujiwara, and Tachibana—were not composed of nobility.¹ Instead, Kyōto empowered them because these four clans would maintain their armies that could be summoned by the emperor. Subordinate clans within these four comprised the smaller *shoen*, who were governors focused on tax collection from and protection of peasants living within their individual domains.² While these *shoen* would, in later centuries, evolve into the much more autonomous *daimyō*, their authority was restricted to that which was conferred upon them by the emperor and was therefore hardly significant militarily.

Then, everything changed when the Taira attacked. It was an 1156 dispute over the succession to the emperor's throne which greatly disturbed this order. A succession dispute between two claimants, Go-Shirakawa and Sutoku, led the former to hire the Taira and the latter the Minamoto to support their efforts to

¹ Kitagawa, "Monarchy and Government: Traditions and Ideologies in Pre-Modern Japan," 218-219.

² *Ibid.*

take the throne by force. Though the Taira quickly emerged victorious, their influence—and that of their newfound rivals—was hardly innocuous. The military leaders of each clan began to impose themselves more strongly on either the government in Kyōto or on smaller local *hans* led by the *shoen*, seeking to increase their own military potential in anticipation of further instability. This anticipation was not unfounded. As the *samurai* class grew in prominence not just on the battlefield but also in politics, several inter-clan rebellions such as the Hogen and Heiji erupted across Japan, culminating in a clash between the Taira and Minamoto.³

Over several decades in the late 1100s, Japan saw intense bloodshed as the Genpei War raged on further. The clans themselves saw several *shoguns*, or head generals, come and go, and the war did not conclude for generations.⁴



The painted screen above depicts the Battle of Yashima, one of the last major battles of the Genpei War.⁵

³ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Battle of Yashima Folding Screens Kano School*, painting, retrieved from <https://picryl.com/media/battle-of-yashima-folding-screens-kano-school-8b672d>.

In 1184, the Minamoto emerged victorious. With the emperor's affirmation, Minamoto no Yoritomo, chief commander of the Minamoto army, was granted the title of "*Shogun*" over all of Japan and began rule from Kamakura.⁶ Though the emperor's court remained fairly powerful in administrative and religious matters, military power was generally concentrated in the *de facto* ruling shogunate, or military government. The Kamakura shogunate came to be called a *bakufu* in Japanese, which comes from *baku*, meaning tent. The "tent government" term immortalized the distinction between the authoritarian, but civil, rule of the emperor and the decentralized military rule of the *shogun*.⁷

After the death of Minamoto no Yoritomo, his wife Hōjō Masako aimed to solidify the decentralized system of government already put in place by her husband. She worked to entrench an organizational structure whereby the *shogun* would select *shugos* as provincial governors to supervise the *shoen*, who otherwise retained their sizable economic and military independence.⁸ This revamped system contrasted heavily with the prior centuries' rule by the emperor and marked a sharp turn to a strict feudal structure; vassals were loyal to immediate superiors but focused on maximizing agricultural production within their jurisdictions. During this time, technological and managerial innovations such as double cropping

heralded a period of spectacular economic growth and newfound stability for Japan.⁹

The stability would prove ephemeral, however.

After several decades of rule by the Kamakura shogunate, Emperor Go-Daigo, dissatisfied with the growing disparity in the civil and military governments' shares of power, sought to return the country to the older, more centralized system. By enlisting the help of a defecting Kamakura general, Ashikaga Takauji, he managed to overpower the Kamakura shogunate which, despite its military power, was not able to maintain consistent support from its vassals, the *shoen*. This conflict, now known as the Genko War, saw a brief three-year period brought about during which Emperor Go-Daigo refused to appoint a new *shogun* and instead aimed to enact decrees to revoke the decentralizing policies of the prior regime. His Kenmu Restoration, however, proved unsuccessful by 1336.¹⁰ Trying to move too quickly and being too ignorant of the desires of the *samurai*, he failed to reinstate full subordinate civilian governments before the discontent of the warrior class could unite them against Kyōto more assuredly than ever before. Ashikaga Takauji would launch a rebellion against the emperor, overpowering him and exiling him to the Oki Islands.

⁶ Kitagawa, 221.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*



*Ashikaga Takauji's armor.*¹¹

Ruling from Muromachi, the Ashikaga shogunate oversaw a turbulent time in Japan. While Ashikaga Takauji proved capable of balancing the wishes of his clan, his vassals, and his direct peasant subjects, his method for doing so often led to greater freedom for the vassals in both military and political matters. The *shoen* increasingly began to style themselves as *daimyōs* over their land, suggesting not that they were granted the right to rule from either the emperor or the *shogun* but instead that they were inherent local lords.¹²

The story of the Muromachi period following the death of the childless Ashikaga Takauji is that of the most violent civil conflict in Japanese history. The Ōnin War over the succession to the shogunate ensued and entrenched the country in

¹¹ *Armor (Yoroi) of Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358)*, photograph, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, retrieved from <https://picryl.com/media/armor-andltiandgttyoroian dltiandgt-of-ashikaga-takauji-13051358-fe440c>.

¹² Kitagawa, 222.

the fog of war. This period is generally known as the *Sengoku Jidai*, or the “Warring States Period,” named after the similarly violent period in ancient Chinese history.¹³ Even following the conclusion of the Ōnin War, the now highly independent *daimyōs* exerted heavy influence over the *shogun* in Muromachi, who was frequently a puppet of their own vassals.¹⁴ Political, economic, and military power all truly rested in the individual *daimyōs*, who independently dealt with foreign powers. As a result, Japan very rarely had a unified policy toward merchants from abroad, and the *daimyōs*, busy conquering one another, frequently changed their attitudes toward the foreigners. Infrequently, one *daimyō* would successfully assert power over a majority of Japan, such as in the case of Daimyō Oda Nobunaga, and a more uniform policy would be—at least nominally—enacted. During various times, the Buddhist and Shinto elites would ban Catholicism—introduced by Dutch and Portuguese traders—and ban interaction with foreign powers altogether.¹⁵ Individual *samurai* were, from the 1600s onwards, given the right to enforce the law through whatever means necessary and however they felt it best interpreted, nullifying any sense of centralized justice.¹⁶ Farmers’ uprisings, known as *ikko-ikki*,

¹³ Osamu, “The Emergence of the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan: From Oda to Tokugawa,” 343.

¹⁴ Kitagawa, 222.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Osamu, 344.

became increasingly common in response to this asserted superiority of the *samurai*, which brought about bans on the ownership of weaponry by non-*samurai*.¹⁷ As Japan found itself becoming more decentralized than ever before, it also saw the feudal structure become wholly entrenched. The segregation of the classes was never stronger or more violently enforced than earlier in the history of the islands.

While the end date of the Sengoku Jidai is contested, it is generally accepted that the reforms enacted by the Tokugawa shogunate, whose rule—beginning after the Battle of Sekigahara—now wears the moniker of the *Edo Period* and returned Japan to a more stable point.¹⁸ Although the *daimyōs* had too long experienced power for any sort of centralization to be viable, it was evident that the military government in Edo had earned sufficient respect from its vassals as to produce more uniform policies toward foreign powers.

The Rise Of The Tokugawa Shogunate

Since the 17th century, the nation of Japan has been ruled by the Tokugawa shogunate. After the Battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu emerged as the victorious *daimyō* in the Warring States Period. As a child in this period, Ieyasu had been captured by the Imagawa family and the Oda family as a method of controlling Ieyasu's

family.¹⁹ After the death of his father and the defeat of the Imagawa family by Oda Nobunaga, Ieyasu was returned to his province, Okazaki, and brought it under control.²⁰ By 1582, Ieyasu's impressive military campaigns had added the four provinces of Suruga, Tōtōmi, Kai, and southern Shinano under his control.²¹ The battle for supremacy followed the demise of the Hideyoshi regime, where Ieyasu was one of the highest officers.²² After a decisive victory against the other officers, Tokugawa Ieyasu was granted the title of *shogun* by Emperor Go-Yozei in 1603 and united the Eastern and Western provinces. Previously, the imperial family had little to no power in the nation, so Tokugawa Ieyasu created complex military, social, and political systems to concentrate power and rule over Japan.

One of Tokugawa Ieyasu's first policies was to institute the *bakufu*, or military government, where the Tokugawa was the strongest warrior family, or clan, in the country. However, rather than destroy the other noble families, Tokugawa Ieyasu chose to keep Japan in a quasi-feudal state where noble families recognized the Tokugawa's power in exchange for control of their land. Under this system, roughly thirty percent of Japanese land was owned by the Tokugawa shogunate, and the rest of the land was split between 270 *daimyōs*. The land owned by the

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 346.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 364.

¹⁹ “Japan - Bakuhan, Feudalism, Shogunate.”

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ *Ibid*.

²² *Ibid*.

daimyōs was called a *han* and was delineated not by physical borders, but by output of rice. The closer the *han* to the center of Japan, the more trusted the *daimyōs* were, even if the *han* was physically smaller. The *daimyōs* owned and legislated for their own *han*, though the Tokugawa did institute various policies to try and control them. Under the guise of rewarding loyalists, Tokugawa Ieyasu confiscated large amounts of land from *daimyōs* who opposed him and gave it to his family and friends.²³ The “friends and family” of the Tokugawa were known as the *fudai daimyōs*, who were hereditary vassals of the *shogun* and pledged loyalty prior to the Battle of Sekigahara. The non-*fudai daimyōs* were known as *tozama daimyōs*, who pledged fealty after the title of *shogun* was given to Tokugawa Ieyasu. This latter group often felt marginalized and bore the brunt of the restrictive policies the Tokugawa shogunate enacted; the Tokugawa shogunate limited the size of *daimyōs’* armies, prohibited more than one castle per *han*, and required *daimyōs* to get express permission to rebuild or fortify their territories. Additionally, the Tokugawa shogunate built a castle in Edo and required *daimyōs* to spend alternate years living in Edo and in their own territories while their families were effectively held hostage in Edo. This system was called *sankin kōtai*. Along with draining the *daimyōs’* coffers by forcing them to make these expensive trips, the Tokugawa

²³ *Ibid.*

shogunate also forced the *daimyōs* to spend large sums of money to support public works. This drainage often had trickle-down effects within a *han*, and farmers ended up bearing the brunt of financing the *daimyōs*.²⁴ In 1615, Tokugawa Ieyasu destroyed the Hideyori and Toyotomi families, who he had been targeting from the start of his campaign. By the second and third *shoguns*, the *bakufu* control policy had reached its peak as a government system known as the *bakufuhan* system. It contained 42 executives making up several bodies: the senior councilors (*rōjū*), the junior councilors (*wakadoshiyori*), and three commissioners for the temples and shrines of the country, capital, and treasury (*bugyō*).²⁵ These executives continued Tokugawa Ieyasu’s policies of favoritism—strategic pieces of land, like Kantō, Kinki, Tōkaidō, Kyōto, Ōsaka, Nagasaki, and the mines of Sado were under the direct control of the *bakufuhan* government and used to control commerce, industry, and trade.²⁶ As the 1860s approached, this internal government began to hear whispers of the wealthy *daimyōs* wanting independence if they were further mistreated by the *shogun*.²⁷

The Tokugawa shogunate also instituted rigid social hierarchies in an attempt to regulate society. This caste system was made up of rulers, warriors (both *samurai* and *ronin*, who were

²⁴ Horie, “Revolution and Reform in Meiji Restoration,” 25.

²⁵ “Japan - Bakuhan, Feudalism, Shogunate.”

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Horie, 25.

warriors stripped of their *samurai* rank), farmers, and artisans and merchants, in descending order.

The Tokugawa shogunate claimed the purpose of this caste system was to prevent unnecessary violence by restricting the number of people who had access to weapons; the ways in which the warrior class, only seven percent of the population, could engage in violence were also restricted. Additionally, the Tokugawa shogunate placed heavy restrictions on trade and the spread of Christianity, which meant limiting contact with Europeans. The shogunate feared that Europeans would provide support for rebellious *daimyōs*, so they banned all Europeans except the Dutch, who were only allowed to trade in the port of Nagasaki.

Despite the political and social rigidity, the Tokugawa shogunate enjoyed a period of economic growth and prosperity coming out of the Warring States Period. The population of Japan doubled from 15 million to 30 million, and because the shogunate imposed financial burdens, the *daimyōs* were incentivized to increase economic productivity on their lands. From this productivity came new farming lands, irrigation, new farming methods, cash crops, diverse trading methods, and a more commercial economy. Additionally, the *daimyōs* were able to monopolize the goods of their *han* and sold them cheaply in Osaka and Tokyo.²⁸ However, the Tokugawa shogunate experienced a series of

agrarian revolts between 1603 and 1860. This was likely due to the fact that wealthy farmers—who acted as village officials—were heavily opposed to the guilds that poor farmers tried to create in order to advocate for lower prices.²⁹ The shogunate saw an increase in the average number of farmer revolts between 1713 and 1842, increasing from 4.2 revolts per year on average to 11.7 revolts per year on average.³⁰ As the scale of these revolts grew, the farmers found themselves allying with lower class fighting men within a feudal army.³¹ This was because these lower class soldiers also wanted to benefit from the social change they saw as an outcome of these revolts. In 1837, the Oshio revolts saw participation from these lower class soldiers; almost 30% of the participants came from this group.³²

The newfound prosperity led to a rise in urbanization and the development of new cultures. The *daimyōs* would demonstrate their wealth by building larger and more complex castles which would then have towns develop around them. In large cities like Edo, Osaka, and Kyōto, urban culture became more progressive. *Bunraku* and *kabuki* theater became popular forms of entertainment and intellectual innovation began to occur. Neo-Confucianism became a widely spread ideology, its central idea being that human nature is essentially good, but

²⁸ *Ibid*, 26.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 24.

³¹ *Ibid*, 27.

³² *Ibid*.

that goodness could be clouded by engaging with the world. In order to restore original human goodness or purity, people had to engage in self-cultivation. Originally, neo-Confucianism was treated suspiciously, as many officials believed its scholars were advocating some form of Christianity, which was banned in the 1620s. Later, however, neo-Confucianism was accepted as a form of moral teaching. Yamaga Soko, a scholar, argued that since the warrior class now governed society, they had to be role models as well as rulers. Thus, they should engage in self-cultivation in the fields of both military training and the literary arts. Neo-Confucianism also helped unite Japan through *kokugaku*, or national learning, which represented a form of early nationalism.

Leading up to the 1860s, Japan dealt with an ever-changing international landscape. In the late 1850s, the British imperial forces were making aggressive moves in the Asian region. India was dealing with the aftermath of failed anti-British rebellions and a civil war, which led to the consolidation of British governance.³³ Additionally, the British-French war in China raged on as the two fought for free trade.³⁴ The shogunate was very wary of foreign powers—the *shogun* was nervous about the potential effect of foreign influence on the hierarchies which had been created within the country. As a result, all

ports (with the exception of Nagasaki), were closed to international trade. Only the Dutch were able to trade at Nagasaki. However, in 1853, U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in Japan and forced the shogunate to sign trade treaties that opened Nagasaki and Yokohama up to all international trade in 1859.³⁵ In 1860, Japan sent its first delegates to the West, marking a significant turning point in its isolationist policies and initiating a period of rapid modernization and engagement with the global community.

The Shoguns

During the Tokugawa shogunate, a total of thirteen *shoguns* ruled before the events of this committee: Tokugawa Ieyasu (R: 1603 - 1616), Tokugawa Hidetada (R: 1605 - 1623), Tokugawa Iemitsu (R: 1623 - 1651), Tokugawa Ietsuna (R: 1651 - 1680), Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (R: 1680 - 1709), Tokugawa Ienobu (R: 1709 - 1712), Tokugawa Ietsugu (R: 1713 - 1716), Tokugawa Yoshimune (R: 1716 - 1745), Tokugawa Ieshige (R: 1745 - 1760), Tokugawa Ieharu (R: 1760 - 1786), Tokugawa Ienari (R: 1787 - 1837), Tokugawa Ieyoshi (R: 1837 - 1853), Tokugawa Iesada (R: 1853 - 1858), and Tokugawa Iemochi (R: 1858 - Present).

Of the thirteen, four in particular stand out for the role they played in this nation's history.³⁶

³³ Metzler, "Japan and the World Conjunction of 1866," 16.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ P.S. If you've read through the background guide, you get a sweet surprise! Tell an Exec @ the end of Session I.

Tokugawa Ieyasu (R: 1603 - 1616)

Tokugawa Ieyasu (depicted in the illustration below)³⁷ is known as the “Unifier” of Japan. During the Conquest of the Hōjō, Ieyasu solidified his control over the nation. In the period of turmoil before the death of Hideyoshi, Ieyasu arranged his domain into the most organized domain with the largest reliable army.



He did this by placing his strongest vassals (the *fudai daimyō*) strategically along main access routes.³⁸ After the Battle of Sekigahara,

where Ieyasu’s mastery over Japan became permanent, Ieyasu scaled this policy to a national level. One of his first actions as *shogun* was to reorganize *daimyōs*. In doing so, he was able to strip his former enemies of their land, place allies in strategic locations, and give himself and his friends control of central Japan.³⁹ In the following years, Ieyasu continued to restrict the movements and actions that *daimyōs*, imperial court nobles, clerics, and even his allies could take as he issued more regulations and created more supervisory bodies. Ieyasu had an interest in foreign affairs; with the demise of the Ming

dynasty next door, Ieyasu initially welcomed the Portuguese, Dutch, and English trade requests, seeing these trade relationships as a chance to acquire firearms, commercial profits, and information.⁴⁰ However, when Ieyasu became convinced that missionaries were a threat to Japan’s political order, he stopped all missionary activity, discouraged the practice of Christianity, and took steps to close trade relationships. Tokugawa Ieyasu was responsible for the construction of the largest castle in the world, the development of Edo — which became a lively town and port filled with artisans, traders, laborers, and clerks — and the *sankin kōtai* policy, among other achievements.

Tokugawa Yoshimune (R: 1716 - 1745)

Tokugawa Yoshimune (depicted in the painting below)⁴¹ was the eighth *shogun* and is known as one of Japan’s greatest rulers. Interestingly, Yoshimune was not a direct descendant of Tokugawa Ieyasu, rather he became *shogun* due to a lack of sons in the original line. Before becoming the *shogun* of Japan, Yoshimune was head



³⁷ *Tokugawa Ieyasu2 full*, illustration, retrieved from <https://picryl.com/media/tokugawa-ieyasu2-full-fe295c>.

³⁸ “Tokugawa Ieyasu.”

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Kawamura Kiyoo, *Tokugawa Yoshimune*, painting, Tokugawa Memorial Foundation, retrieved from

<https://garystockbridge617.getarchive.net/amp/media/tokugawa-yoshimune-by-kawamura-kiyoo-tokugawa-memorial-foundation-1bd572>.

of the *Kii* and instituted several policies to alleviate his *daimyōs'* fiscal troubles. Once the *shogun*, Yoshimune tried to do the same on a national level. He cut the number of hereditary government retainers and stopped most inheritances from passing the first generation.⁴² Yoshimune was also determined to return the shogunate to the simple ways of the beginning and eliminate court luxuries. His goal was to make Japan more frugal, introducing greater governmental control over the economy, as well as increased taxation. His Kyōhō Reforms aimed to achieve these goals by making more land available for rice cultivation and instating new taxes in order to combat the rapidly falling price of rice. He lifted book bans on Western novels in order to allow for more modernization of the economy, and returns on taxation were higher for Yoshimune than for any other *shogun*. However, when disease struck valuable rice crops and sparked a famine, many citizens took to attacking merchants from Edo due to their monopoly on the rice market and refusal to control the skyrocketing rice prices. The famine, as well as some of the stricter economic reforms, helped to contribute to growing animosity towards the shogunate, despite increased economic activity during Yoshimune's rule.

Tokugawa Ieyoshi (R: 1837 - 1853)

Tokugawa Ieyoshi wasn't originally intended to be the twelfth *shogun*, but when his elder brother

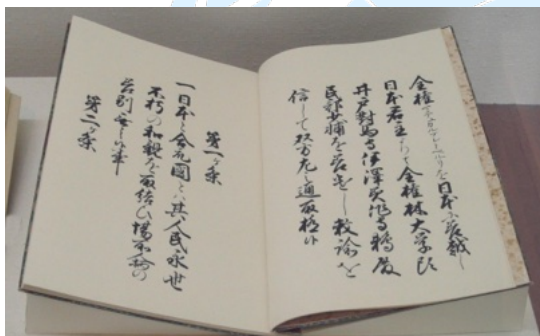
passed away, he was trained to take over from his father and took power at the age of 45. At the beginning of his reign, Japan remained in isolation despite multiple attempts from Western powers to initiate trade. Ieyoshi is credited with putting in place the Tēnpō Reforms—strict economic policies that restricted public access to entertainment and other luxuries, in order to encourage frugality and prevent more events like the Great Tēnpō Famine. These highly restrictive policies were largely unpopular and caused a mild depression due to their dampening of economic activity throughout Japan. The Tēnpō Reforms were revoked almost immediately after Tokugawa Ieyoshi passed away, leaving the throne to his son.

Another controversial policy from Tokugawa Ieyoshi were the Agechi-rei Reforms, which redistributed the land of several *daimyōs* around Edo and Osaka, putting it back directly in the *shogun's* hands. This move strengthened the power of the shogunate, helping to centralize Japan's government, but was unpopular with several of the *daimyōs*. In return for their taken land, the *daimyōs* were reimbursed either with land of equal size elsewhere or rice and grains, but these policies stirred unrest among several powerful noble families, as well as members of the general public who lived on their land. Towards the end of Ieyoshi's reign, there were a series of threats made by an American tradesman, Commodore Matthew Perry, who docked his ship in one of Japan's restricted ports and warned

⁴² "Tokugawa Yoshimune."

that he would attack Edo if the shogunate refused to negotiate with him and open trade. Ieyoshi began negotiations on the Treaty of Kanagawa (in lieu of a depiction of Tokugawa Ieyoshi, please see the photo of the treaty to the right⁴³), which was designed to allow for some restricted trade between the West and Japan without allowing for any cultural influence from Western powers. Before the treaty could be finalized, Ieyoshi died from a heart attack, leaving his son, Tokugawa Iesada to sign the agreement.

The signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa



represented the official opening of Japan's ports (albeit in a highly restricted manner) to Western trade. This development sparked unrest among many of Japan's citizens who did not want to see an intrusion of Western powers. Ieyoshi's reign and its end represent a decreasing popularity of the Tokugawa shogunate and set the stage for the beginning of the *Bakumatsu*.

Tokugawa Yoshinobu (R:1858 - 1866)

⁴³ *Ratification of the Japan USA Treaty of Peace and Amity 21 February 1855*, 2009, photograph, Foreign Ministry Archives, Tokyo, retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ratification_of_the_Japan_USA_Treaty_of_Peace_and_Amity_21_February_1855.jpg.

Following the untimely death of his predecessor, Tokugawa Iemochi, Tokugawa Yoshinobu (shown in the picture below)⁴⁴ took power in 1858. Originally, Yoshinobu was supposed to rule instead of Iemochi, but a small coup within the shogunate resulted in Yoshinobu's more radical family being forced into domiciliary confinement.⁴⁵ Later, Yoshinobu forced the government to accept him as guardian to the *shogun*; thus, when Iemochi died, Yoshinobu took power. He is currently in power, ruling over this committee as *shogun*.



Current Situation

This is where we find ourselves today. The current situation of our committee is one of impending chaos, struggles for dominance in the political sphere of Japan, and one where we must balance domestic, international, and other

⁴⁴ *Tokugawa Yoshinobu as Jakō no ma Shikō*, March 26, 2023, photograph, National Diet Library Digital Collections, retrieved from <https://boudewijnhuijgens.getarchive.net/media/tokugawa-yoshinobu-as-jak-no-ma-shik-e063fd>.

⁴⁵ "Tokugawa Yoshinobu."

interests. Regular and elite Japanese citizens must decide how to preserve their nation in the face of looming foreign influence and domestic upheaval—should the shogunate be entirely overthrown, or should the two governments collaborate and share power? Should the country remain partially closed, open itself to free trade, or return to the policy of *sabaku*? These conflicting economic and foreign policy issues should guide delegates’ decisions on the best possible form of government for the nation moving forward.

endeavor to determine the future of the Japanese nation.



Photo of a guard's tower at the ruins of Edo Castle.⁴⁶

Statement Of The Problem

The year is 1860, and the shogunate has gathered today to debate how to navigate the sociopolitical, economic, international, and domestic threats that they see impacting the preservation of Japanese culture and the well-being of Japanese citizens.

This group of delegates is primarily made up of members of the Tokugawa shogunate who seek to preserve the Japanese way of life. Murmurs of rebellions threaten to topple the order that the Tokugawa shogunate has worked hard to establish, and the members of this committee must find a way to help Japan exist in a modern world while preserving its culture and the well-being of its citizens. A series of economic, political, and social events have occurred in recent years, setting the stage for this committee to

Economic Update

Early transformations in social life have begun—cities are springing up around the nation and urbanization of the country is increasing. New education policies have led to increased literacy rates among the population. Though the quality of life seems generally improved on the surface, farmer populations in some *bans* have begun a series of intense and violent protests. Between 1833 and 1860, there have already been more than two hundred entirely agrarian revolts—a rare sight in a country where weapons are meant to be restricted to the *samurai* class. Life under the shogunate is highly stratified, even within the social classes.⁴⁷ For example, the two classes of *daimyōs* are separated into those who were loyal to the Tokugawa family before the

⁴⁶ Bernard Spragg, *Edo Castle.Tokyo.*, May 19, 2018, photograph, retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/volvob12b/51334303085>.

⁴⁷ Osamu, 358.

Battle of Sekigahara—the *fudai daimyō*—and those who had to pledge allegiance after—the *tozama daimyō*. The two classes of warriors are similarly separated into *samurai*, who are noble warriors commanded by a *daimyō*, and *ronin*, who are warriors without masters or titles.

Leading up to and during 1860, there has been a declining focus on agricultural production as the primary driver of economic growth. A wealthy middle class is emerging, which consists of those shifting their focus towards large-scale agriculture. These affluent landowners are adopting modern farming techniques and investing in agricultural infrastructure, effectively transforming agriculture into a commercial venture rather than subsistence farming. Administration has also begun to evolve; the traditional *gonin gumi* system of law enforcement whereby five families within a farming community are held collectively responsible for meeting production quotas has been abandoned in some domains in favor of external oversight from the government itself. This shift has not only contributed to the modernization of agricultural practices but also altered the economic landscape of Japan, as industrialization and other sectors are beginning to take center stage. The standard of living has skyrocketed in the Edo period compared to before; an economic analysis found that even “the poor [in Japan] were eating soybean paste (*miso*) soup and usually one or more side dishes of seasonal vegetable,

bean curd, dried fish and pickles,” along with a mixture of rice and grains during this period.⁴⁸

A new type of economic group, the *zaibatsu*, has also begun to emerge, and though there are few examples of it in 1860, they are deemed to be of great importance in furthering Japan’s economic development. *Zaibatsu* are loosely affiliated conglomerates of companies—often headed by one of those member companies themselves—designed to enable planning of raw material purchases and of total output levels to be performed in concert.⁴⁹ Generally created through government sanction, the few examples which exist of these groups in 1860 are localized to specific domains. The intention in these areas is that these groups will act as the industrializing wing of that specific domain, requiring only oversight from the *daimyō*, not total control.⁵⁰ This has contributed slightly to the growth of manufacturing industries in some areas, though the long-term nationwide impact of these groups is yet to be unveiled.

As the economic landscape of Japan begins to change, this committee must answer questions about how to preserve order in a constantly evolving system. Agricultural systems are built so

⁴⁸ Susan B. Hanley, "A High Standard of Living in Nineteenth-Century Japan: Fact or Fantasy?" 183. See also Mutsuhito, "Constitution of the Empire of Japan," <https://doi.org/10.12356, 1889>.

⁴⁹ Okazaki, "The Role of Holding Companies in Pre-War Japanese Economic Development: Rethinking Zaibatsu in Perspectives of Corporate Governance," 245.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

that each *daimyō* has the exclusive right to sell and trade goods under its domain. However, as new agricultural technologies develop and new economic groups emerge, the question of how the landscape of economic competition might look in a system of trade that involves participation from groups underneath *daimyōs*, as well as the *daimyōs* themselves, remains to be discussed. The *daimyōs* worry that new economic development will undermine their established systems of trade and seek to preserve their power as central players in the Japanese economy. Will this committee attempt to introduce economic ideas reflective of a more Westernized economy, and if they do, how will they preserve Japanese cultural ideas and order in the process?

The urbanization and modernization of Japan's economy have been accompanied by ongoing natural disasters, including drought-induced famines. These disasters have had severe consequences, leading to civil unrest and increasingly frequent peasant uprisings. The vulnerability of the agricultural sector to natural disasters, combined with socio-economic disparities, is creating a breeding ground for discontent among the peasantry. Peasants and nobles alike suffer from famine and economic hardships, but the working classes are disproportionately affected and are increasingly voicing their grievances through uprisings and protests. These upheavals highlight the challenges and social tensions associated with the rapid

changes taking place in Japan during this time, as urbanization and modernization are clashing with the hardships faced by the rural population.

The government in Edo and the people of Japan have been struggling with how to cope with these events. The natural disasters, growing middle class, and stratified society have caused them to begin thinking about a potential switch in payment procedures. The feudal Japanese society primarily trades or deals with disunited clan notes, but there have been rumblings about switching to a more modern and nationalized currency system. However, Japan has no Western institutions like a central bank or bank culture like the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Controlling, monitoring, and saving a hypothetical national currency are problems which key players are already thinking about.



Examples of currency used in Japan during the Bakumatsu period.⁵¹

⁵¹ *Bakumatsu local coins*, 2008, photograph, retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bakumatsu_local_coins.jpg.

International Update

The international community, largely dominated by Western powers like the United States and the United Kingdom, has become increasingly interested in the resources (like an abundance of coal) that Japan holds and its strategic location relative to China. In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry arrived on the shores of Japan from the United States and forced an Open Door Policy. The United States demonstrated that the Western world knew nothing about Japanese culture and society, having addressed the treaty to the Emperor of Japan.⁵² As this committee knows, the Emperor is a mere figurehead, and Tokugawa Yoshinobu rules over the country. Upon the arrival of the armored Americans, many Japanese called them “black ships of evil *mien* (appearance).”⁵³

Commodore Perry’s Treaty of Kanagawa was begrudgingly signed into law by the *shogun*, but this act still angered many members of society, including those in the shogunate. Many Japanese citizens wanted the foreigners expelled, worried that the incorporation of Western ideas into the Japanese economy and social structure would come at the cost of Japanese culture. While this specific treaty did not contain a commercial trade clause, it provided an opening for future American contact and trade. The treaty

⁵² “Letters from U.S. President Millard Fillmore and U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew C. Perry to the Emperor of Japan (1852 - 1853).”

⁵³ *Ibid.*

stipulated that Japan would have to protect stranded seamen, open two ports for refueling and provisioning American ships in Shimoda and Hakodate, and allow the United States the right to appoint consuls to live in these port cities.⁵⁴ This last privilege was completely unique to the United States, as it was a privilege not previously granted to foreign nations. Additionally, the United States threw in a “most favored nation” clause that dictated that all future concessions granted by Japan to other countries would automatically apply to the United States, as well.⁵⁵ In 1858, the Americans forced another treaty, called the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, or the Harris Treaty, on Japan that officially opened more ports and designated cities in which foreigners could live. This trade brought foreign currency into Japan, further upsetting the already disunited monetary system.⁵⁶ The Harris Treaty also brought the first delegation of Japan to the United States; the trip was entirely sponsored by the American government, and, at the time of this committee, the delegation is already in the United States.⁵⁷ The Japanese government has received, and is receiving, a few updates about the delegation—most surprising thus far has been a publication by an African American abolitionist

⁵⁴ “Milestones: 1830–1860 - Office of the Historian.”

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ “Letters from U.S. President Millard Fillmore and U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew C. Perry to the Emperor of Japan (1852 - 1853).”

⁵⁷ Isobe, “Japanese envoy’s first visit to U.S. Mint in 1860.”

paper that articulated similarities between the Japanese and African American communities based on a shared experience of racial prejudice and the right of all men to participate in the affairs of the world.⁵⁸

Japanese *samurai* had the strongest and most public response to these treaties. Their leaders argued that the *shogun* was too weak to deal with the problems caused by foreigners and called for a change in leadership. Supporters of this claim continue to argue that the *shogun* has made too much room for foreign control of Japan and fear a threat to Japanese sovereignty and culture. However, the *shogun* was motivated to allow treaties with foreign nations because the modernization of Japan's economy, as well as its involvement in foreign trade, will lead to an economic boost, improving the quality of life for all Japanese citizens. Interestingly, supporters and opponents do not find themselves split along lines of "pro-shogunate" and "pro-imperial family"—it seems that the question of modernization and foreign influence afflicts both sides differently.

Sociopolitical Update

The sociopolitical atmosphere in Japan is extremely tense leading up to the 1860s. Aside from agrarian revolts, tension between *daimyōs*, and the obvious contention over the state of the government, the country is grappling with

large-scale issues like the question of democracy, how to modernize while maintaining Japanese culture, and much more.

For centuries, the *shogun* has ruled as a military leader, but many within this committee and Japan at large have seen the industrial might and power of democratic countries in the West. When Commodore Perry arrived on the shores of Japan, his ships carried advanced firepower, a telegraph, a working model of a steam locomotive, a telescope, and many Western wines and liquors.⁵⁹ These goods impressed and inspired fear in the hearts of onlookers in Japan. These recent developments in commerce have resulted in the people of not just this committee, but your domains at large, beginning to float ideas about how to restructure the government so that it is better, stronger, and more Japanese. The Tokugawa shogunate has had a very disjointed approach to dealing with the influence of foreign powers in the Japanese economy. The relative autonomy of some of the *daimyōs* has left specific parts of the country with extensive contact with foreign powers while others have been prevented from engaging entirely. The policy of *sakoku*, or "closing off the country," has proven ineffective since the Perry Expedition in 1853, and though *rangaku* education and other scientific developments from foreign powers are of interest to many Japanese intellectuals, the *shogun's*

⁵⁸ Doan, "African America and Japan."

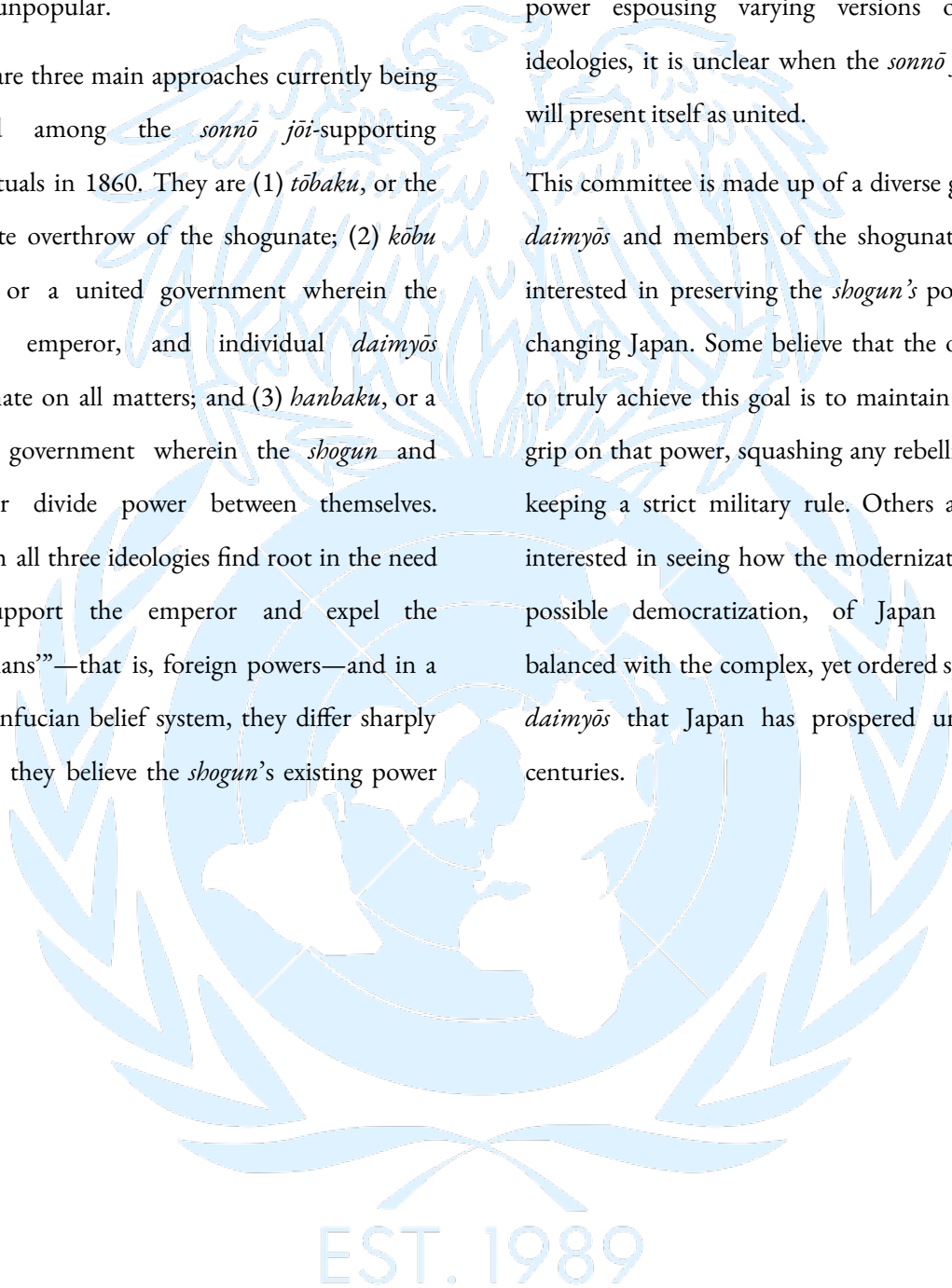
⁵⁹ "Milestones: 1830–1860 - Office of the Historian."

current attempted policy of forbidding exit from the country and access to these ideas has become deeply unpopular.

There are three main approaches currently being debated among the *sonnō jōi*-supporting intellectuals in 1860. They are (1) *tōbaku*, or the complete overthrow of the shogunate; (2) *kōbu gattai*, or a united government wherein the *shogun*, emperor, and individual *daimyōs* coordinate on all matters; and (3) *hanbaku*, or a united government wherein the *shogun* and emperor divide power between themselves. Though all three ideologies find root in the need to “support the emperor and expel the ‘barbarians’”—that is, foreign powers—and in a neo-Confucian belief system, they differ sharply in how they believe the *shogun*’s existing power

best be addressed. With various members of the committee supporting the Meiji reclamation of power espousing varying versions of these ideologies, it is unclear when the *sonnō jōi* front will present itself as united.

This committee is made up of a diverse group of *daimyōs* and members of the shogunate family interested in preserving the *shogun*’s power in a changing Japan. Some believe that the only way to truly achieve this goal is to maintain a strong grip on that power, squashing any rebellions and keeping a strict military rule. Others are more interested in seeing how the modernization, and possible democratization, of Japan can be balanced with the complex, yet ordered system of *daimyōs* that Japan has prospered under for centuries.



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CHARACTER BIOGRAPHIES

Takenaka Shigekata, *Samurai from Mino*

Born in 1828 to a family of legendary *samurai*, Takenaka Shigekata was trained from an early age in military matters, and he steadfastly believes in the military state. After his father's death during a highway robbery on the road to the shogunate's court, he was adopted by the Takenaka house, a prominent family of *batamoto*, or *samurai* in the service of the *shogun* himself. He vowed to ensure the eternity of the military state and to firmly eliminate unlawful or disorderly behavior. With his fierce loyalty to the *shogun* giving him favor in the eyes of the Tokugawa house and his connections to the *daimyō* of Mino providing outreach in two cities of Japan, Shigekata need only question how he can best further the shogunate's interests.

Andō Nobumasa, *Daimyō of Iwakitaira*

Andō Nobumasa served as the chief councilor (*rōjū*) under Tokugawa Yoshinobu. Starting in early 1860, he was a trusted adviser and played a crucial role in handling political affairs and decision-making within the shogunate. He became *daimyō* of the Iwakitaira domain in 1847, succeeding his father. He married a courtier of his who was masterful in swordsmanship, and she came to be known as Andō Hideko thereafter. He quickly rose through the ranks of the Tokugawa advisory system, becoming a *sōshaban*, then a *jisha-bugyō*, then a *wakadishiyori*, and finally his current position in the *rōjū* in subsequent years—a testament to his reputation. Andō is a big believer in *kōbu gattai* and the integration of the civil imperial government into the military hierarchy. With his many connections both in Iwakitaira and Edo, he will stop at nothing in order to achieve this end.

Sakai Tadaaki, *Kyōto Sōshidai & Daimyō of Obama*

Despite coming from a relatively small *daimyō*, Sakai Tadaaki has consistently been very well reputed among the officers of the shogunate. He has held numerous illustrious advisory or administrative positions in Edo, including simultaneously being a *sōshaban* and a *jisha-bugyō*. From 1843 onwards, however, he held perhaps his most important title to date: that of the *Kyōto sōshidai*. He is the chief representative of the shogunate in the imperial palace in Kyōto, and by consequence, he boasts connections to many advisors, administrators, and staffers in both cities. He has come to love many of his *kuge* peers in Kyōto despite the clear growing resentment for the shogunate there, and as such, he has come to promote not the total rule of the shogunate as much but instead the joint rule of the two under the *kōbu gattai* system. He must now decide how to best effect this result in 1860.

Matsudaira Sadaaki, Daimyō of Kuwana

Brother to two other powerful *daimyōs*—Matsudaira Katamori from Aizu domain and Tokugawa Mochinaga from Owari domain—Matsudaira Sadaaki has frequently felt as though he is playing catch-up. At the age of only thirteen in 1860 and having been *daimyō* of Kuwana domain for but a year, he has little to his name as of yet. He knows, however, that he has the love of many. His brothers and courtiers, all of whom have watched him grow, have always been fond of him, and they are eager to support him until they see him become the great personage which they had always anticipated.

Hori Naotake, Daimyō of Suzaka

Hori Naotake is the *daimyō* of Suzaka who believes strongly in the value of modernization, particularly in the context of Westernization. Immediately after coming into power, Naotake instated aggressive military reforms and was later given orders to suppress agricultural rebellions using his forces, although he was eventually redirected to focus on Edo's public security. Although he believes that Japan needs to embrace the modern changes associated with an end to Japan's isolation, he is a strong supporter of the *shogun* and believes in the preservation of its power.

Matsudaira Katamori, Daimyō of Aizu

Matsudaira Katamori is the *daimyō* of the Aizu domain and a prominent supporter of the shogunate. He believes that the Chrysanthemum Throne is a relic of the past, a folly for having lasted for thousands of years continuously without even having any real power in the last few hundred. The older brother of Matsudaira Sadaaki from Kuwana and Tokugawa Mochinaga from Owari, he feels as though he has a responsibility to protect what he views as the incorruptible *daimyōs* from the disrepute brought to them by their less popular peers. Matsudaira Katamori is viewed surprisingly favorably within his domain by members of all classes due to his easing taxation during the recent natural disasters—though this has led to friction with the *shogun* in Edo, who nevertheless demands as much as ever. Matsudaira Katamori must consider the best method by which he might maintain the shogunate without allowing its poorest members to prove a weak link.

Makino Yasutoshi, Daimyō of Komoro

Makino Yasutoshi has lived through terrible times. The Tenpō Famine of 1833 to 1837, the smallpox epidemic in Komoro during the latter days of the famine, and continually depleted levels of grain for several years in the following decade have left him world-weary and constantly fearful of the return of such troubled times. He has since made contact with doctors who have introduced parts of Komoro to the smallpox vaccine and made connections with agricultural consultants who have advised him on stockpiling to prevent

future disasters. Having taken a closer look at the accounting books in the last few decades, however, Makino has come to realize that another flaw led to these struggles for his domain: the burdensome economic policies of the shogunate. When the Dutch had offered financial aid, he had not even been told about it. When the famine struck, taxes to be sent to Edo had hardly been lowered. While it is entirely against his interests as a *fudai daimyō* to support the renaissance of the emperor, Makino knows that reforms must be made to the shogunate's administration if Japan is to develop in the future.

Makino Tadayuki, Daimyō of Nagaoka

Born into the Makino family of Nagaoka, Makino Tadayuki was part of a military tradition that had produced many of the most successful *samurai* of the northern domains. Although not in line for any great title, he still received a nobleman's education, with a particular emphasis on cavalry. But the military was not his passion, and he persuaded his father to let him travel broadly. He became well-acquainted with several leading intellectual figures and got to know many of the nobles of the region and beyond. As he traveled and dabbled in any pursuit that caught his eye, his family recalled him following the death of his father, who had been second in line to the throne. With the simultaneous death of the *daimyō* of Nagaoka in 1853, he was suddenly thrust into politics. With his connections to the other domains of the north, however, he is not quite the political unknown some think him to be.

Kondō Isami, Philosopher and Chief of the Shinsengumi

Kondō Isami was a bookworm as a child. He was fond of tales of bravery in the *samurai* class and philosophical works from Confucius which seemed to settle in his mind that the class divisions in Japan—if the bigotry and notions of superiority could be removed—were foundational in bringing as much progress as had been wrought up until that point. He was made the leader of the *Shinsengumi*, a special police force formed to maintain order in Kyōto during the turbulence of the 1850s and '60s, when it was founded. Initially established to protect the shogunate's interests, the group played a role in suppressing anti-shogunate activities and supporting the *bakufu's* general efforts at maintaining the military order. Kondō must now consider how he can best maintain this order without allowing inter-class violence to eliminate any sense of cohesion in Japan.

Enomoto Takeaki, Admiral in the Tokugawa Navy

Coming from a small district of Edo on the coast, Enomoto Takeaki has always been fond of the sea. He is once quoted as making the pun, "Water we going to do?!" Prior to his father's demise several decades ago, he had spent much of his life focusing primarily on studying at the Tokugawa Naval Academy in Nagasaki. Since then, he has become a lead admiral of the navy of the shogunate, seeing it through shifting political

tides. Located near the *shogun's* direct possessions but also having friends who border Dutch and American trading posts, he recognizes that Japanese success against the Western powers and other enemies is dependent on individual *daimyōs'* leading the way for change. His passion for political change may be the headwind needed to change the country's course.

Abe Masahisa, Daimyō of Shirakawa

Abe Masahisa was the youngest of his brothers, but never the least in matters of the mind—Abe's age never restrained him. His cousins in Nagaoka and Fukuyama often refer to him by the nickname “Computer” due to his fondness for mathematics and chemistry as well as “Nerd” when desiring to insult him. He nevertheless loves his family—he was especially close to his father, the great Abe Masasada, who was slain during an agrarian uprising. Abe Masahisa does not know whom to blame—the peasants? The merchants? The imperial officers who encouraged them to enter into this conflict? In any case, Abe knows that, once he determines who led his family—and his *daimyō*—to ruin, he will be as calculating as ever in brewing their demise.

Tokugawa Shōma, Overseer of Kōfu

Tokugawa Shōma occupies a challenging role in Japanese society. Despite being a member of the *shogun's* family, raised with an expensive education, it is his very education which introduced him to the political and economic ideas which had been brewing in the Netherlands at the time. An avid consumer of literature on Dutch-style constitutional monarchy, he became convinced of the need for moderate structural reform in Japanese society—particularly if the country were to become self-sustaining and capable of resisting foreign influence. At the same time, his military education and family upbringing compelled him to see a place for some aspects of the present structure in the Japan of the future. To Tokugawa Shōma, the shogunate is capable of serving the people in the most crucial way possible—ensuring regional representation. It is unclear whether he will sway more towards the entirely anti-imperial side or towards the *kōbu gattai* side as the fate of Japan is rewritten.

Maeda Toshika, Daimyō of Daishōji

Maeda Toshika is a formidable figure. Having trained since childhood in the rigorous traditional martial art of *tachi dori*, he is well-recognized by his large appearance, strength, and agility. Despite the lack of native horses in his domain, he became a cavalryman in the *shogun's* private army and later a successful general, eventually being adopted by the then-*daimyō* of Daishōji to be the next in line by the suggestion of his good friend Tokugawa Yoshinobu. The Maedas remain very close to the Tokugawa family in general, and Maeda Toshika is no exception. Having lost a brother-in-law in recent agrarian uprisings, his main goal for Japan is

to have it reach a position where it no longer needs to enter into such devastating internal conflict. What this means for the future of the nation's political structure is yet uncertain.

Chikako, Princess Kazu, Seishitsu of the Shogun

Despite the rocky start to their marriage, Chikako has now been the *seishitsu*, or official wife, of Tokugawa Iemochi for several years. She is recognized for her calligraphic and poetic abilities, and she is popular throughout Edo for these skills. She was always known for being a connector of communities. Particularly, despite living far from them, she had maintained regular correspondence with her father and mother, who were the former Emperor Ninkō and Hashimoto Tsuneko respectively, until their deaths, and is still in touch with other relatives in the imperial family. However, her connections may be on the verge of collapsing. With northern Japan in shambles after a series of agrarian revolts and the rifts between the Chrysanthemum Throne and the seat of the shogunate in Edo, it is unclear how Chikako will be able to shape the country in the future.

Matsudaira Tadanari, Daimyō of Ueda

Descended from the Matsudaira clan and yet ruling just west of Edo, Matsudaira Tadanari is perhaps one of the stranger anomalies resulting from political marriages. Yet it is through his and his family's kinship with the Tokugawa, the house of the shogunate, that they were able to retain possession of their kingdom even through historically turbulent times. Governing a small farming community where rice and soy are both dietary and agricultural staples, he is eternally busy with internal affairs and ensuring that economic relations remain strong enough across the country so that his subjects can trade with other domains' farmers to receive all needed food—without the risk of descending into the agrarian revolts of decades past. As his friendship with the new *shogun* continues, perhaps this goal of his will remain a possibility.

Matsudaira Mochiaki, Daimyō of Fukui

Matsudaira Mochiaki has an unshaking penchant for justice. As a child, his nicknames included “Tattletale” and “Pre-Law Mochiaki” due to his strict adherence to rules when playing games with his friends. As a long-serving advisor to the *shogun* on judicial matters, he has not let this reputation be quelled. Though his good friends, the *shogun* himself and the rest of the Tokugawa house, have occasionally attempted to bribe him or his wife with royal gifts, he has consistently turned them all down. However, Matsudaira's stubborn adherence to justice has met its limit as the country becomes more fragmented. With few systems in place to take legal action against foreign powers even prior to 1853, the increasingly autonomous *daimyōs* have strained what remains of the justice system. All Matsudaira knows is that he wishes to put an end to war of any kind.

Naitō Nobuchika, Daimyō of Murakami

As one of the northernmost *fudai* domains in Japan, Naitō Nobuchika is fiercely loyal to the *shogun*. He has a special responsibility within the shogunate government. Despite not being one of the biggest *han* in the empire, Murakami is close to as powerful and just as renowned as the others in the north. This largely derives from the Naitō dynasty's close relationship with the *shogun* and the rest of the Tokugawa dynasty. Naitō's own sister is married to a cousin of the current *shogun*. These close connections and Naitō's penchant for efficient administration mean that Murakami has remained largely unaffected by the recent agrarian revolts in northern Japan. However, as food stocks creep ever lower across the country due to recent natural disasters, it has become apparent that the rice-farming villages under his care may need to question their part in rebuilding the shogunate's system.

Doi Toshitada, Daimyō of Ōno

When Doi Toshitada first traveled to his newly-appointed *han*, his first words were "oh, no!" The domain was fracturing due to poor financial policies, natural disasters affecting crop yields, and increasing prices from merchants from abroad causing food shortages to spiral out of control. Between 1829, when he first arrived, and the early 1840s, he entirely revamped the administrative system, launching an anti-corruption campaign and boosting favor in the eyes of both the peasant population and the Tokugawa shogunate for his abilities as an economic administrator. He was also an early advocate for *rangaku* learning, even prior to the *shogun's* attempts to limit the Dutch and other western cultures' influence over the scientific and mathematical education in the country. Doi Toshitada is old and wise, and he recognizes the value in some of the foreign powers' developments in medicine and the sciences. He must now consider how to balance this interest with the conservatism of the shogunate if he wishes to maintain his good standing.

Sakai Tadamasu, Daimyō of Tsuruga

Sakai Tadamasu has fought every foreign power which has beheld Japan's shores in recent times. He helped to lead units to repel Russian Imperial forces which wished to assert their rule over Sakhalin; he was part of the armies which attempted to meet Commodore Perry; and he encouraged an attack on a Dutch settlement several years ago. He is a bold believer in the need to totally close off the country, that the old policy of *sabaku* must be returned and rejuvenated. With his iron grip over the Tsuruga domain being almost legendary at this point in time, Sakai Tadamasu will stop at nothing to see that the shogunate reigns supreme.

Sakamoto Tomomi, Musician in the Shogun's Court

When Sakamoto Tomomi was around a year old, his first three spoken words were, in order: “la,” “la,” and “la.” He has been a proud musician since then, excelling in all sorts of instruments. His schooling was primarily in traditional Japanese instruments, such as the *sekkin* and *ikko*; he is considered a master of these arts and of the Japanese styles of music. He is a favorite musician of the Tokugawa court in Edo. However, of late, he has also taken a deep interest in Western musical styles, particularly those of Joseph Ascher, and wishes to demonstrate how, by combining concepts from each style, a new third beauty might emerge. However, when he was chastised for this by both the *shogun*'s court and by a Dutch Western classical music teacher, he was disappointed—but not discouraged.

Arisugawa-no-miya Yoshiko, *Mother of the Next Shogun*

Arisugawa-no-miya Yoshiko was born to a family close to the Tokugawa court. Her mother was an educated woman and tutor to the children of some of the then-*shogun*'s nephews, allowing Arisugawa-no-miya Yoshiko to receive an excellent education by the standards of the time. At the age of twenty-two, she married Tokugawa Nariaki, with whom she had several children, including Tokugawa Yoshinobu, who was recognized as the next in line to the position of *shogun*. Her greatest passion in life, however, was advancing the cause of women's rights in Japan through her writing. She anonymously wrote satirical works illustrating the struggles faced by Japanese women in response to pamphlets calling on men to support the emperor. Her greatest hope is that women will someday be able to receive a formal education in Japan such that they might learn to support the military regime. If she plays her cards correctly, her dream may finally come to fruition.

Yoshida Kotaro, Chief Economic Analyst of the Shogun

Born into a subordinate branch of a family close to the Tokugawa house in 1830, Yoshida Kotaro has lived through many of the dynasty's most trying moments. Yet never did he expect it to fall to this nadir, for the whole country to be so divided. As the Chief Economic Analyst of the shogun, he had for years been hinting at the possibility of more violent protest against the military order if particular measures were not taken. In this time of vehement opposition to the *bakufu*'s reign, it may well be possible at last that his ideas about economic reform and drastic populist changes to the government budget be implemented without the simultaneous ratification of overly radical political reforms; if not, his family may never even set foot in Japan again.

Nakamura Noboru, Chief Poet of the Shogun

Nakamura Noboru was born in the city of Edo and has lived there his whole life. Due to the wishes of his strict father, he initially received a *samurai* education, but in 1852, he eventually rebelled and traveled to a

different district of Edo to pursue his dreams of becoming a poet and songwriter. There, his traditional education ironically proved helpful due to its focus on recitation and traditional grammar, though he was more interested in writing about politics than military strategy. Despite the notoriety this brings him around town, his claim to fame remains his poetry, which he uses to celebrate the successes of the shogunate and advocate for the *sabaku* cause. The popularity of his work and his importance in shaping the cause cannot be understated.

Kurosawa Akira, Chief Painter of the Shogun

Color. Shape. Brushstroke. Erase. Repeat. Kurosawa Akira will never be satisfied with a piece of art—he is the Chief Painter of the *shogun*, and he has painted Tokugawa Iemochi twenty-three times in his life. Each time, he has tried to capture in the background the characteristic scenery, floral arrangements, and culture of a specific domain in the Japanese islands. Hailing originally from the Ryūkyū Islands, he believes that art transcends all borders, and he hopes that this can bring peace to Japan and reinstate love for the *shogun*.

Miyazaki Hayao, Chief Architect of the Shogun

Miyazaki Hayao once described his embarrassment in his son when his son attempted to replicate his work. “Personality and individuality,” he is quoted as saying, “is what makes a building not just a building but a work of art.” In every piece of his, Miyasaki Hayao attempts to capture some aspect of not only traditional Japanese architecture but also the country’s culture, often borrowing from themes of stories about *kami* spirits and other mystical elements. He believes that through telling these stories and inspiring beauty for anyone who is simply walking in the street, peace might reach Japan at last.

Masatoshi Osawa, Court Jester of the Shogun

“Hahaha!” is the phrase which Masatoshi Osawa is most used to hearing when having a conversation with the *shogun*. He is a popular member of the court in Edo. A famous trick of his, which he is able to manage due to his knowledge of secret tunnels under and in the walls of the *shogun*’s fort, is having a conversation with somebody, watching them walk elsewhere, and suddenly appearing there to continue the conversation. His magic and humor are a source of joy to many, and he believes that through spreading this sort of joy to anybody—whether part of the shogunate, the imperial family, or even to potential future foreign audiences—he can bring peace to Japan.

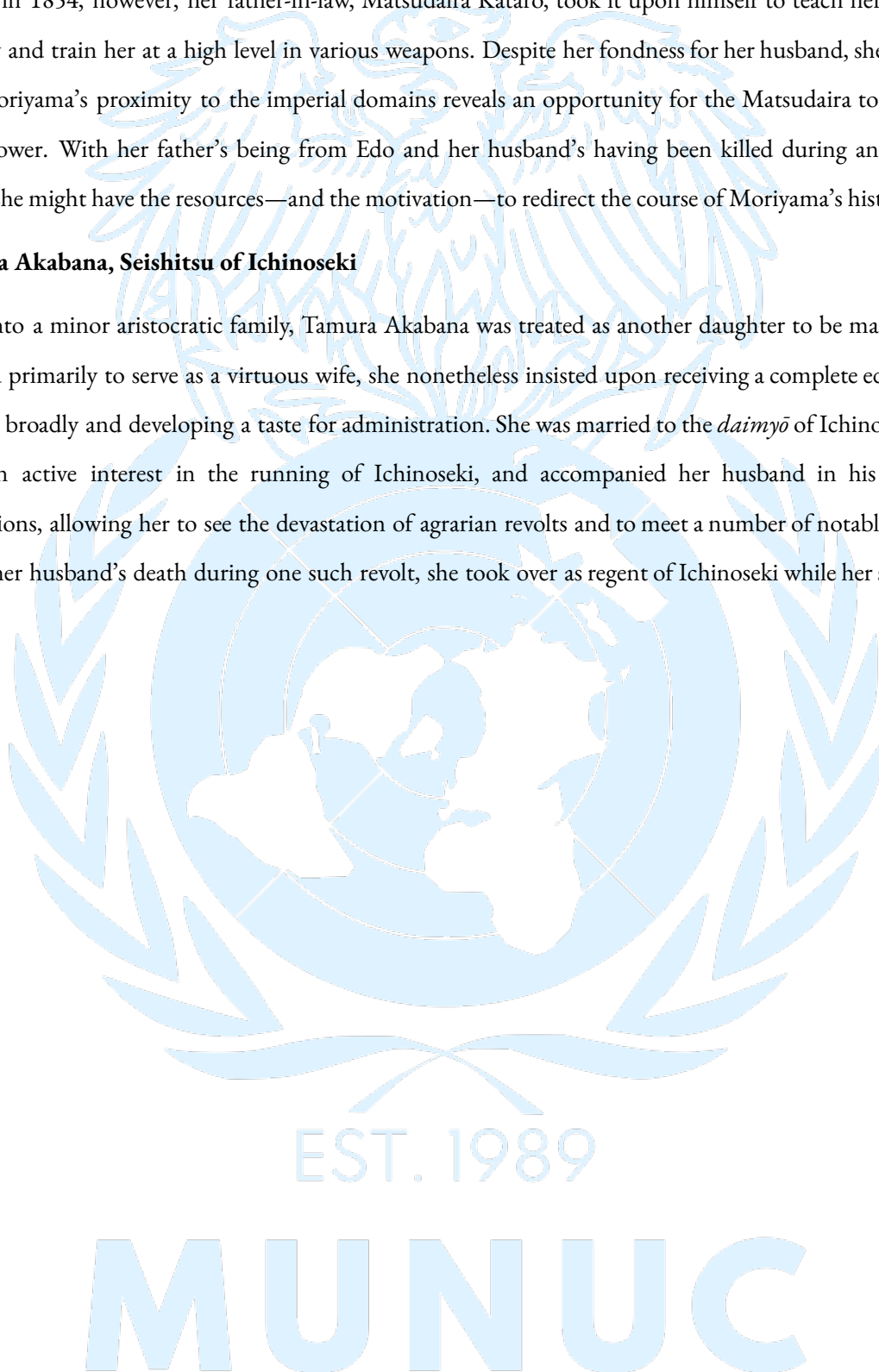
Matsudaira Akane, Seishitsu of Moriyama

Matsudaira Akane made a quick name for herself when she married into the Matsudaira dynasty as a patron of the arts and religion and as a just financial advisor to the *daimyō*. Giving many grants to construct shrines

and public shelters, and instilling a practice of not employing public funds for the ruling family's personal uses, she became a popular member of the Matsudaira house within her kingdom. After her husband's demise in 1854, however, her father-in-law, Matsudaira Kataro, took it upon himself to teach her military strategy and train her at a high level in various weapons. Despite her fondness for her husband, she believes that Moriyama's proximity to the imperial domains reveals an opportunity for the Matsudaira to enhance their power. With her father's being from Edo and her husband's having been killed during an agrarian revolt, she might have the resources—and the motivation—to redirect the course of Moriyama's history.

Tamura Akabana, Seishitsu of Ichinoseki

Born into a minor aristocratic family, Tamura Akabana was treated as another daughter to be married off. Trained primarily to serve as a virtuous wife, she nonetheless insisted upon receiving a complete education, reading broadly and developing a taste for administration. She was married to the *daimyō* of Ichinoseki. She took an active interest in the running of Ichinoseki, and accompanied her husband in his military expeditions, allowing her to see the devastation of agrarian revolts and to meet a number of notable figures. Upon her husband's death during one such revolt, she took over as regent of Ichinoseki while her son grew up.



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