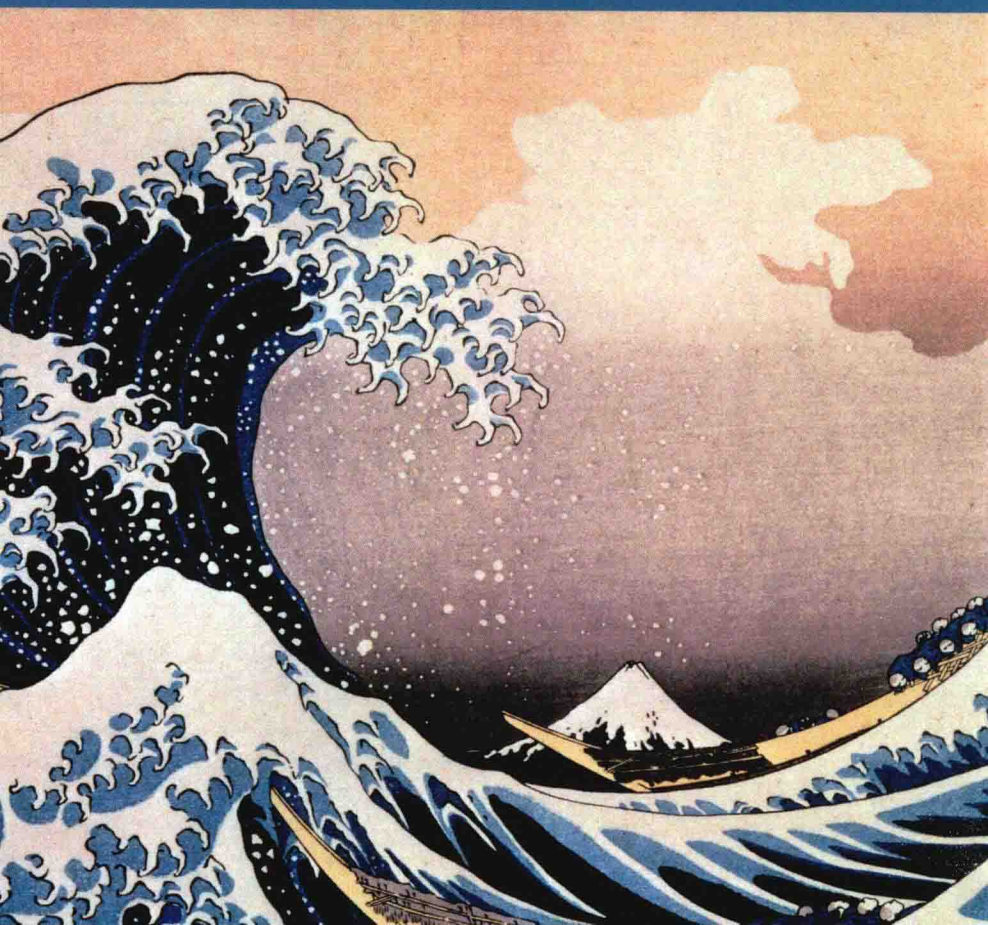


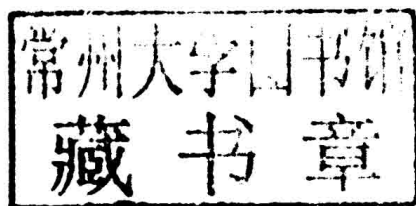
A Concise History of JAPAN

Brett L. Walker



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BRETT L. WALKER
Montana State University



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A CONCISE HISTORY OF JAPAN

To this day, Japan's modern ascendancy challenges many assumptions about world history, particularly theories regarding the rise of the West and why the modern world looks the way it does. In this engaging new history, Brett L. Walker tackles key themes regarding Japan's relationships with its minorities, state and economic development, and the uses of science and medicine. The book begins by tracing the country's early history through archaeological remains, before proceeding to explore life in the imperial court, the rise of the samurai, civil conflict, encounters with Europe, and the advent of modernity and empire. Integrating the pageantry of a unique nation's history with today's environmental concerns, Walker's vibrant and accessible new narrative then follows Japan's ascension from the ashes of the Second World War into the thriving nation of today. It is a history for our times, posing important questions regarding how we should situate a nation's history in an age of environmental and climatological uncertainties.

BRETT L. WALKER is Regents Professor and Michael P. Malone Professor of History at Montana State University, Bozeman.

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For

LaTrelle

うたた寝に
恋しき人を
見てしより
夢てふものは
たのみそめてき
小野小町『古今集』より

PREFACE

While I was writing the final chapters of this book in the autumn of 2013, Super Typhoon Haiyan smashed into the Philippines with all its fury. With sustained winds at 315 kilometres per hour (195 miles per hour) and highs hitting 380 kph, many observers called it the most powerful storm ever recorded. As people in the Philippines fended for their lives, I was writing a chapter on Japan's 'bubble economy' and 'lost decade', covering the stagnant years between 1990 and 2010. But the Pacific 'monster storm' changed my plans. I had seen enough. I had already decided to cover the tragic events of 11 March 2011, when Japan suffered the 'triple disaster' of a catastrophic mega-thrust earthquake and tsunami, and then a dangerous nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi plant. Watching Super Typhoon Haiyan throttle the Philippines made me realize that the symptoms of climate change, not tepid economic growth and disgruntled youth, or even international disputes over the Senkaku (Diaoyu) Islands, represented the most serious challenge facing East Asia. In the end, I scrapped the last chapter and drafted a new one that included a history of climate change, sea level rise, Pacific super storms, and natural disasters in the context of what many geologists have come to call the Anthropocene Epoch. It represents an important departure from the conventional manner of telling Japanese history – that is, it required fully embracing the idea that the physical islands called 'Japan' are geologically and historically unstable.

Of the Anthropocene Epoch, the Geological Society of London has stated, 'A case can be made for its consideration as a formal

epoch in that, since the start of the Industrial Revolution, Earth has endured changes sufficient to leave a global stratigraphic signature distinct from that of the Holocene or of previous Pleistocene interglacial phases, encompassing novel biotic, sedimentary, and geochemical change.' Earth has indeed undergone 'novel' changes, ones whose occurrences coincide with the advent of the Industrial Revolution. The important difference between the changes driving the Anthropocene and the previous Holocene Epoch, however, is that the principal causes of those changes are no longer wind, erosion, volcanism, or other naturally occurring forces. Rather, human beings are causing these changes. Though the naturally occurring forces that etched Earth's surface were morally inert during the Holocene, moreover, basically valueless changes that just happened, there is an intent and design behind the forces of the Anthropocene. The Industrial Revolution, and all its assembled values, has served as the engine behind the bio-stratigraphic and litho-stratigraphic changes being carved onto our planet. If climate, elevation, and geographic location determined plant distribution during the Holocene, for example, as the famed Prussian scientist Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) famously observed, then our agricultural needs have determined it in the Anthropocene.

Therefore, rather than write a conventional national history, one that concludes with the economic, political, and foreign policy challenges facing Japan, I decided to conclude this book with the global threat of climate change. I came to believe that with the spectre of climate change looming so large on our collective planetary horizon, it would be equivalent to being in a state of denial to write a national history of a major industrial power, one that has contributed significantly to greenhouse gas emissions, without sustained attention to the short- and long-term environmental consequences of that country's industrial decision-making. Think of it this way: Japan industrialized at the end of the nineteenth century, meaning that it has enjoyed the fruits of an industrial society for about a century and a half. If we look ahead a century and a half, that same duration of time, Earth is projected by some to warm by as much as ten degrees or more, making much of it uninhabitable by contemporary standards. Suddenly, in the Anthropocene, geologic time has accelerated. Japan has significant coastal

development, with millions of people and trillions in investments scattered along its low-lying areas. In a century and a half, Japan will be a very different place than it is today, with much of those low-lying areas submerged or routinely flooded by storm surges and tsunamis. Because of its roots in Fernand Braudel's (1902–85) context of the historical *longue durée*, one lesson of environmental history is that the physical stage on which our past unfolds is unstable and dynamic, just like the human societies it supports and sustains. But climate change threatens to amplify that transformative process several fold.

That being said, this book is not an environmental history *per se*. Rather, this book is what I imagine history should look like in the twenty-first century, as ice sheets and glaciers melt and sea levels and storm intensities rise. It is a history written in the Anthropocene. I offer serious consideration of Japanese political, social, and cultural changes because they represent the values that drive Japan's interaction with the world, including the rapid industrialization in the late nineteenth century. This book blends many different approaches to history – social, gender, cultural, environmental, political, and biographical – in an attempt to tell a more complete story that enables a better understanding of Japan's development. Even though Japan, and a handful of other industrialized nations, must claim the lion's share of greenhouse gas emissions and hence anthropogenic climate change, the burden of Earth's change will be shared globally, and by every species, even those traditionally viewed as without histories. Think of it this way: the moose of the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, where I call home, have played virtually no role in Earth's climate change, but as their ecosystem warms and becomes uninhabitable by them – as declining moose numbers around Yellowstone suggest it already is – they will share in the dire consequences. The moral weight of assuming responsibility for these changes to Earth, maybe not for regional moose extinction but perhaps for relentless flooding in Indonesia, and coming to understand the challenges they pose to our children, should be included in our historical narratives, at least at the meta-level of national and global histories. Hence my decision to make environmental change a key part in Japan's story.

To do so, I have built this book from the outstanding scholarship of many of my colleagues in Japanese and environmental history. One of the great thrills of writing this book was reviewing and reacquainting myself with much of this scholarship, which was largely collecting dust on my bookshelves. Thanking all of these gifted scholars would consume pages in an already less-concise history than the Cambridge's Concise Histories series editors probably imaged, but many will see their contributions and ideas rehearsed in these pages. As always, I appreciate the generous support of the Department of History, Philosophy, and Religious Studies at Montana State University, Bozeman; Nicol Rae, Dean of the College of Letters and Science at Montana State University, Bozeman; and Renee A. Reijo-Pera, Vice President for Research and Economic Development at Montana State University, Bozeman. Their commitment to creating new knowledge makes projects such as this one possible. Three people read this manuscript closely: my graduate student, Reed Knappe; my colleague in the Department of English, Kirk Branch; and my partner LaTrelle Scherffius. I am grateful for their many corrections and suggestions, which undoubtedly made this book stronger. Despite their combined efforts, however, mistakes no doubt remain, and I claim those for myself alone.

BRETT L. WALKER
BOZEMAN, MONTANA

CHRONOLOGY

Chapter 1: The Birth of the Yamato State, 14,500 BCE – 710 CE

2.6 million–	Pleistocene Epoch
11,700 YBP	
11,700–100	Holocene Epoch
YBP	
14,500–300	Jōmon archaeological phase
BCE	
12,700 YBP	Advent of pottery on Japanese islands
9,500 YBP	Dogs on Japanese islands
3,000–2,400	Advent of agriculture on Japanese islands
BCE	
300 BCE–300	Yayoi archaeological phase
CE	
57 CE	Eastern Han dynasty dispatched envoys to Wa kingdom
107 CE	Eastern Han dynasty dispatched envoys to Wa kingdom
238 CE	Wa envoys visited Wei emperor Cao Rui
247 CE	Wa envoys visited Korean commanderies
297 CE	<i>Wei zhi</i> described Wa kingdom
300–700 CE	Tomb archaeological phase
250–710 CE	Yamato confederacy
604 CE	‘Seventeen-article Constitution’
645 CE	Taika Reforms
669 CE	Wa kingdom becomes ‘Nihon’
689 CE	Kiyomihara Codes
702–718 CE	Taihō-Yōrō Codes

Chapter 2: The Courtly Age, 710–1185

- 552 Buddhism introduced to Japan from Korea
- 562 Yamato and Baekje forces evacuated Mimana
- 663 Tang navy defeated Yamato forces at Geum River
- 710–94 Nara period
- 710 Imperial capital moved to Nara (Heijō-kyō)
- 712 *Kojiki* written
- 720 *Nihon shoki* written
- 737 Smallpox outbreak in Kyoto
- 773–811 ‘Thirty-eight Years War’ between Yamato and Emishi
- 794–1185 Heian period
- 794 Imperial capital moved to Kyoto (Heian-kyō)
- 800 Sakanoue no Tamuramaro dispatched to fight Emishi
- 802 Emishi general Aterui beheaded
- 805 Tendai Buddhism introduced to Japan
- 806 Shingon Buddhism introduced to Japan
- 905 Compilation of *Kokinshū* imperial *waka* anthology

Chapter 3: The Rise of Samurai Rule, 1185–1336

- 702 Military Ministry created in *ritsuryō* system
- 792 Imperial conscript military abolished
- 939–40 Taira no Masakado’s rebellion
- 941 Pirate Fujiwara no Sumitomo killed
- 993–95 Smallpox outbreak
- 998 Measles outbreak
- 1016 Intestinal disease outbreak
- 1020 Smallpox outbreak
- 1025–26 Measles and intestinal disease outbreak
- 1027 Intestinal disease outbreak
- 1028–31 Taira no Tadatsune’s rebellion
- 1036 Smallpox outbreak
- 1051–63 Former Nine Years War
- 1081 Enryakuji monks attacked Kyoto
- 1083–87 Later Three Years War
- 1108–10 Mount Asama and Mount Fuji eruptions
- 1113 Kōfukuji and Enryakuji quarrelled over Kiyomizu temple
- 1134–35 Influenza outbreak
- 1156–60 Hōgen-Heiji disturbance in Kyoto
- 1180–85 Genpei War
- 1181 Famine around Kyoto
- 1184 Large earthquake and tsunami

- 1192 Minamoto no Yoritomo became shogun
- 1192-1333 Kamakura *bakufu*
- 1221 Jôkyû War transfers Kamakura *bakufu* to Hôjô family
- 1223 Pirates plunder coast near Kumajo
- 1227 Pirates beheaded in front of Korean envoy
- 1232 Jôei Codes drafted
- 1274 First Mongol invasion
- 1281 Second Mongol invasion
- 1333-36 Emperor Go-Daigo's Kenmu Restoration
- 1336-92 Period of North and South courts

Chapter 4: Medieval Japan and the Warring States Period,

- 1336-1573
- 1336-1573 Ashikaga *bakufu*
- 1337-1573 Muromachi culture
- 1338 Ashikaga Takauji became shogun
- 1368 Ashikaga Yoshimitsu became shogun
- 1401 Ashikaga *bakufu* enters tributary relationship with Ming China
- 1467-77 Ônin War
- 1467-1573 Warring States period
- 1532 Ikkôshû launched 'Uprising of the Realm under Heaven'

Chapter 5: Japan's Encounter with Europe, 1543-1640

- 1542 Portuguese landed at Tanegashima
- 1570 Padre Francisco Cabral headed Society of Jesus
- 1579 Padre Alexandro Valignano headed Society of Jesus
- 1580 Portuguese given administrative authority over Nagasaki
- 1587 Toyotomi Hideyoshi's first expulsion edict
- 1596 *San Felipe* Incident
- 1597 'Twenty-six Saints' of Nagasaki executed
- 1607 *Santa Buenaventura* travelled from Japan to Mexico
- 1623 Fifty Christians burned at the stake in Edo
- 1637-38 Shimabara Uprising

Chapter 6: Unifying the Realm, 1560-1603

- 1551 Oda Nobuhide died
- 1555 Oda Nobutomo killed
- 1557 Oda Nobuyuki killed
- 1560 Battle of Okehazama
- 1571 Oda Nobunaga defeated Tendai monks of Mount Hiei
- 1573 Ashikaga Yoshiaki exiled

- 1574 Oda Nobunaga defeated Ikkôshû monks of the Honganji sect
- 1575 Takeda Katsuyori defeated at Nagashino castle
- 1579 Azuchi castle built
- 1582 Oda Nobunaga rebuffed court envoys
- 1582 Akechi Mitsuhide assassinated Oda Nobunaga
- 1582 Toyotomi Hideyoshi concluded Takamatsu castle siege
- 1582 Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Oda allies defeated Akechi Mitsuhide
- 1582 Kiyosu conference convened
- 1583–97 Osaka castle built
- 1583 Battle of Shizugatake
- 1585 Toyotomi Hideyoshi defeated Chôsokabe Motochika
- 1585 Emperor gives Toyotomi Hideyoshi *kanpaku* title
- 1585 Emperor gives Toyotomi Hideyoshi surname ‘Toyotomi’
- 1587 Toyotomi Hideyoshi defeated Shimazu Yoshihisa
- 1587 Korean envoys rebuffed Japanese invitations
- 1588 Jurakudai palace completed
- 1588 Toyotomi Hideyoshi promulgated ‘Sword Hunt’ orders
- 1590 Korean envoys visited Japan
- 1591 Toyotomi Hideyoshi froze status order through edicts
- 1592 Toyotomi Hideyoshi became *taikô*
- 1592 Toyotomi Hideyoshi conducted census
- 1592 Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s first invasion of Korea
- 1593 Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s birth
- 1595 Toyotomi Hidetsugu’s execution
- 1595 Toyotomi Hideyoshi promulgated ‘Wall Writings of Osaka Castle’
- 1597 Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s second invasion of Korea
- 1598 Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s death
- 1600 Battle of Sekigahara
- 1603–36 Edo constructed
- 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu founded Edo *bakufu*
- 1615 ‘Laws for Military Households’ promulgated
- 1617 Nikkô mausoleum built
- 1635 *sankin kôtai* established

Chapter 7: Early Modern Japan, 1600–1800

- 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu became shogun
- 1616 Tokugawa Ieyasu’s death
- 1642–43 Kan’ei famine

- 1644 Edo *bakufu*'s first *kuniezu* orders
- 1669 Shakushain's War
- 1683 Tokugawa Tsunayoshi's sumptuary regulations
- 1689 Matsuo Bashô travelled to the northeast
- 1696-1702 Edo *bakufu*'s second *kuniezu* orders
- 1701 Akô vendetta
- 1732 Kyôhō famine
- 1749 Hachinohe's 'wild boar famine'
- 1782-88 Tenmei famine
- 1808-10 Mamiya Rinzô maps Sakhalin and Amur Estuary
- 1821 Inô Tadataka scientific map of Japan completed
- 1833-37 Tenpō famine
- 1835-38 Edo *bakufu*'s third *kuniezu* orders

Chapter 8: The Rise of Imperial Nationalism, 1770-1854

- 1652 Sakura Sôgorô directly petitioned shogun
- 1751 Yamawaki Tôyô conducted dissection in Kyoto
- 1771 Sugita Genpaku oversees Kozukapara dissection
- 1837 Ôshio Heihachirô's rebellion
- 1853-54 Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrived in 'black ships'
- 1858-60 Ansei purge
- 1858 Harris Treaty signed
- 1860 Ii Naosuke killed by imperial zealots in Sakuradamon Incident
- 1860 Edo *bakufu* launched *kôbugattai* policy
- 1861 Hendrick Heusken killed by imperial zealots
- 1862 Charles Richardson killed by Satsuma samurai
- 1863 Shogun Tokugawa Iemochi held hostage in Kyoto
- 1866 'Smash and break' uprisings in Shindatsu
- 1868 'World renewal' uprisings in Aizu
- 1868 Matsuo Taseko travelled to Kyoto with other imperial supporters
- 1868 Edo *bakufu* collapsed after Boshin War

Chapter 9: Meiji Enlightenment, 1868-1912

- 1858 Keiô University established
- 1868-1912 Meiji period
- 1868 Imperial Charter Oath
- 1869 *Daimyô* relinquished domains
- 1871-73 Iwakura Mission
- 1871 Household Registration Law established
- 1871 Abolishment of early modern status system

1871	Liberation of outcastes
1872	Tokyo–Yokohama railway line opened
1872	Ginza brick quarter built
1872	<i>María Luz</i> Incident
1872	Liberation of prostitutes
1872	Women forbidden to bob hair
1873–74	Meiji Six Society founded
1873	Universal conscription
1875	School for Commercial Law established
1875	Kajibashi prison built
1877	Tokyo University established
1881	Matsukata Masayoshi's deflationary policies undertaken
1882	Bank of Japan established
1883	Rokumeikan pavilion completed
1889	Meiji Constitution promulgated
1890	Imperial Restrict on Education promulgated
1890	Law on Associations and Meetings passed
1900	Security Police Law passed

Chapter 10: Meiji's Discontents, 1868–1920

1868	'Separation of Buddhist and Shinto deities' ordered
1868	Meiji switch to fossil fuel energy
1872	Miike coalmine nationalized
1873	Land Tax Reform
1873	Mimasaka Blood-Tax Rebellion
1873	Fukuoka riots
1874	208,000 tons of coal yielded
1876	Mie prefecture protests
1877	Satsuma Rebellion
1877	Furukawa Ichibei bought Ashio copper mine
1881–85	Deflationary policies caused massive rural bankruptcies
1881	Jiyûtô formed
1884	Chichibu Uprising
1884	Ashio Japan's leading copper producer
1889	Hokkaido wolf extinct
1890–91	Watarase River flooded spreading Ashio's toxins
1890	Mitsui takes over Miike coalmine
1890	3 million tons of coal yielded
1890	Tanaka Shōzō elected to Diet
1896	Watarase River flooded spreading Ashio's toxins
1897	Hōjō coal vein discovered

- 1899 Gas explosion killed 210 at Hôkoku coalmine
- 1902 Tanaka Shôzô moved to Yanaka Village
- 1905 Japanese wolf extinct
- 1907 Gas explosion killed 365 at Hôkoku coalmine
- 1909 Explosion killed 256 at Ônomura coalmine
- 1914 Hôjô coalmine explosion killed 687
- 1917 Explosion killed 365 at Ônomura coalmine

Chapter 11: The Birth of Japan's Imperial State, 1800–1910

- 1770–71 Russians and Ainu killed in Iturup Incident
- 1778 Russians attempted to trade with Japanese in eastern Ezo
- 1802 Edo *bakufu* established Hakodate magistracy in Ezo
- 1857 Edo *bakufu* sponsored smallpox vaccinations among Ainu
- 1869–82 Kaitakushi oversaw colonization of Hokkaido
- 1872 Model silk factory opened in Tomioka
- 1872 Central Sanitation Bureau created
- 1875 Japanese ship fired on in Un'yô Incident
- 1875 Korea 'opened' by Japanese diplomats
- 1876 'Japan–Korea Treaty of Amity' signed
- 1876 Sapporo beer founded
- 1878 Ainu categorized as 'former aboriginals'
- 1885 Tientsin Convention signed with Qing China
- 1885 Kitasato Shibasaburô entered Robert Koch's German lab
- 1890 Kitasato Shibasaburô involved with Koch's tuberculosis cure
- 1895 Sino-Japanese War
- 1895 Japan suffered 'Triple Intervention'
- 1898 School hygiene system created
- 1899 Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act passed
- 1902 Japan signed international agreement with England
- 1903 Government studied tuberculosis in textile industry
- 1905 Russo-Japanese War
- 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth
- 1910–11 Great Treason Incident
- 1913 800,000 workers involved in silk industry

Chapter 12: Empire and Imperial Democracy, 1905–1931

- 1875 Treaty of St Petersburg
- 1896 Shinpotô established
- 1898 Kenseitô established
- 1899 US affirmed 'open door policy'