



Revisiting Japan's Restoration Interregional, Interdisciplinary, and Alternative Perspectives

September 26-28, 2018

**National University of
Singapore**





Convener's note

2018 marks the 150th anniversary of the Meiji Restoration in Japan. Various celebrations and memorial events have been held in Japan and around the world to mark this important event. *Revisiting Japan's Restoration: Interregional, Alternative, and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* aims to add greater depth, fresh perspectives, and richer context to the study of the Meiji Restoration and the period of Japan's long nineteenth century.

The conference/workshop from its earliest point of conception has aimed to bring together: (Day 1) scholars working on 19th century Asian history including Japan's "long nineteenth century" which encompasses the Meiji Restoration; (Day 2) scholars working on alternative histories of the early modern-modern transition in Japan including subaltern issues, scientific, technological, and medicinal developments, and questions of regional transformation; and (Day 3) scholars from history and various disciplines whose work is impacted and informed by the Restoration and its afterlives. Thanks to the creativity and hard work of conference participants, the scope of the conference has widened considerably, while still building upon the original conference thematics.

We, the organizers, would like to thank the following for their support that has made this conference possible:

- Professor Robbie Goh, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore
- Associate Professor Leng Leng Thang, Head, Department of Japanese Studies, National University of Singapore
- Professor Lionel Wee and the Faculty Research Committee
- The Japan Foundation
- Urban Culture Research Center (UCRC), Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences, Osaka City University
- Mitsui-NUS Endowment Fund
- All Workshop Paper Presenters and Participants; and
- The Workshop Staff

Timothy D. Amos
Akiko Ishii
September 2018



Revisiting Japan’s Restoration: Interregional, Interdisciplinary, and Alternative Perspectives (A conference by the Department of Japanese Studies, September 26-28 2018, AS7-0117, Faculty of Arts and Social Science, NUS

DAY 1 PROGRAMME (September 26)

8.30am to 9.00am: Registration (Coffee & Tea available at AS7/0117 Foyer)	
WELCOME AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	
9.00am to 9.15am	Prof Robbie Goh, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore
	A/P Timothy D. Amos, Conference Organizer and Acting Head, Department of Japanese Studies, National University of Singapore
	Dr Akiko Ishii, Conference Co-organizer and Adjunct Research Fellow, Department of Japanese Studies, National University of Singapore
SESSION 1: Locating the Meiji Restoration: Time, Space, Power	
Discussant: A/P Bruce Lockhart	
9:15am	Prof David Howell: The Meiji Restoration and Governmentality
9.35am	Prof Mark Ravina: Meiji Japan and the “Long-Nineteenth Century”
9.55am	Dr Lionel Babicz: February 11, 1889: The Birth of Modern Japan
10.15am	Discussant’s remarks, Q&A, General Discussion



11.00am to 11.15am: Morning Tea (AS7/0117 Foyer)

SESSION 2: 19th Century Modernities

Discussant: Dr Samson Lim

11.15am	Prof Hiroshi Kurushima: Background of Japan's Modernity: Why was the "Meiji Restoration" possible?
11.35am	Dr Olivier Ansart: An indigenous modernity?
11.55am	Dr Akiko Ishii: Rethinking the Meiji Enlightenment: A Historiographical Reflection from the Global Intellectual History Perspective
12.15pm	Discussant's remarks, Q&A, General Discussion

1.00pm to 1.45pm: Lunch (AS7/0117 Foyer)

SESSION 3: Interregional and Global Perspectives on the Meiji Restoration

Discussant: A/P Timothy P. Barnard

1.45pm	Dr Susy Ong: Image of Japan on the Eve of Meiji Restoration: An analysis of the Diary of Willem Kattendyke
2.05pm	Prof Ricardo Jose: Reformists and Revolutionaries: Filipinos View Meiji Japan, 1880s-1912
2:25pm	Dr Donna Brunero: 'A lad likely incapable of exercising real power': Reflections on the Meiji Emperor and Restoration from the China Coast press c.1868-78



2.45pm	Discussant's remarks, Q&A, General Discussion
3.30pm to 4.00pm: Coffee Break (AS7/0117 Foyer)	

Conference Roundtable: Modernity and the Subaltern in Asia	
(Co-organized and Sponsored by Osaka City University's <i>Marginal Social Groups' Experiences of Modernity: Building Bridges Between Historians of Asia in Japan and the West</i> Research Program)	
4.00pm – 6.00pm	<p>A/P Masayuki Ueno (Osaka City University) - Turkey Dr Annu Jalais (NUS) - South Asia A/P Maitrii Victoriano Aung Thwin (NUS) - Southeast Asia Prof Takashi Tsukada (Osaka City University) - Japan Dr John Solomon (NUS) – Singapore</p> <p>Chair: Prof David L. Howell (Harvard)</p>
6.00pm	End of Day 1



DAY 2 PROGRAMME (September 27)

8.30am to 9.00am: Registration (Coffee & Tea available at AS7/0117 Foyer)	
SESSION 1: Meiji Culture and Society Discussant: Dr Nozomi Naoi	
9.00am	Prof Laura Nenzi: Tokugawa v. Meiji: A Nocturnal Interpretation
9.20am	Dr Scot Hislop: Haikai Times in Meiji Japan: Meiji Saijiki Shiorigusa
9.40am	Prof John Breen: Inventing Ise in Meiji Japan: on priests, pilgrims and prostitutes
10.00am	Discussant's remarks, Q&A, General Discussion
10.45am to 11.00am: Coffee Break (AS7/0117 Foyer)	

SESSION 2 Transformations in Production and Consumption Discussant: A/P Medha Kudaisya	
11.00am	Dr Mio Shimazaki: Restorational Change and Merchant Guilds: On the Osaka Wholesale Oil Merchants
11.20am	A/P Robert Hellyer: Local Labor and the Trajectory of the Meiji Restoration



11.40am	A/P Rebecca Suter: From Ramune to Ryokucha: Continuities and Discontinuities in Japanese Soft Drinks Consumption
12.00pm	Discussant's remarks, Q&A, General Discussion
12.45pm to 1.30pm: Lunch (AS7/0117 Foyer)	
SESSION 3: Late Tokugawa/Meiji Customs and Their Regulation	
Discussant: A/P Christopher McMorran	
1.30pm	Prof Ashita Saga: The World of the Pleasure Quarters in the Transitional Period from Early Modern to Modern Japan: Research on the Yokohama Pleasure Quarters
1.50pm	Dr Kanami Yoshimoto: Changes in the Regulation of Unlicensed Prostitutes in the Ansei Period (1854–1860) and “Horie-Shinchi”
2.10pm	Dr Yoichi Takahashi: Traditional Culture and Modern Administration: The Meiji Government's Policy of Hot Springs and Local Community
2.30pm	Discussant's remarks, Q&A, General Discussion
3.15pm to 3.45pm: Coffee Break (AS7/0117 Foyer)	
SESSION 4 Order and Conflict in Late Tokugawa / Early Meiji Japan	
Discussant: Dr Loh Shi Lin	
3:45pm	A/P Yoshihiro Yamasaki: From Shogunal Benevolence to Monarchical Compassion: The Shifting Status of “Voices from the Bottom” in the Meiji Restoration



3:55pm	Dr Ellen Nakamura: Blood, Bandages, and Bickering: Doctors in the Boshin War
4:15pm	A/P John Porter: Cattle Plague, Livestock Disposal, and the Dismantling of the Early Modern Status Order
4:35pm	Discussant's remarks, Q&A, General Discussion
5.20pm	End of Day 2
6.30pm	Conference Dinner at Privé Grill at The University Club for Speakers, Discussants, and Invited Guests (Shaw Foundation Alumni House, #04-02)



DAY 3 PROGRAMME (September 28)

8.30am to 9.00am: Registration (Coffee & Tea available at AS7/0117 Foyer)	
SESSION 1: Region, State, and Empire Formation Discussant: A/P Gyanesh Kudaisya	
9.00am	Prof Takashi Tsukada: Considering the Meiji Restoration from Localities: Reflections based on the Izumi Region
9.20am	A/P Maren A. Ehlers: The End of the “Great Peace” —Perspectives on the Mito Rebellion
9.40am	Dr Tristan Grunow: Re-thinking State-Formation and Empire-Building in Meiji Japan
10.00am	A/P David Chapman: Meiji and the Bonin Islands: Ambiguous Bodies and Ambivalent Borders
10.20am	Discussant’s remarks, Q&A, General Discussion

11.00am to 11.15am: Coffee Break (AS7/0117 Foyer)	
SESSION 2: Political, Legal, and Ideological Currents in the Meiji and Taisho Periods Discussant: Prof Naoko Shimazu	
11.15am	A/P Timothy Amos: Rulings on Tokugawa Status Infringements and Local Governing Practices in Early Meiji Osaka Court Records



11.35am	Prof Ian Neary: <i>Kaihorei kara Suihei Sengen e</i> - from emancipation by the state to liberation by our own efforts, or what the Meiji Restoration did for Burakumin
11.55am	Dr Sookyeong Hong: Toward Creating New Mind, New Body: Yōjō as a Late Meiji Ideology
12.15pm	Prof Ben Middleton: Meiji Socialism, the Meiji Restoration and the Ideal of a “Second Restoration”
12.35pm	Discussant’s remarks, Q&A, General Discussion
1:15pm to 2.00pm: Lunch (AS7/0117 Foyer)	

CLOSING TALK	
2.00pm	Closing Talk: Prof Yuriko Yokoyama Chair: Dr Akiko Ishii
3.00pm	End of Conference



PAPER ABSTRACTS (BY DAY AND SESSION)

DAY 1 SESSION 1

Paper 1

The Meiji Restoration and Governmentality

Ordinary people's experience of the Meiji Restoration is one of the persistent puzzles of nineteenth-century Japanese history. What happened where "nothing happened," as Neil Waters once put it? That is, how did the transition from Tokugawa to Meiji rule occur in places that were not the centers of notable conflict or political activism? In this presentation, I will think about the Bakumatsu and very early Meiji periods through the lens of "governmentality," which I will use to mean both people's experience of being governed and the ways in which they actively participated in facilitating their subjecthood to ruling authority. I will connect this work on the Restoration period to a broader project (a chapter in a new edition the Cambridge History of Japan) on local governance in early modern Japan.

Presenter bio:

David L. Howell is Professor of Japanese History and Chair of the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University and Editor of the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. He received his B.A. from the University of Hawai'i at Hilo and Ph.D. in History from Princeton University. He taught at the University of Texas at Austin and Princeton before joining the Harvard faculty in 2010. Howell is the author of *Capitalism from Within: Economy, Society, and the State in a Japanese Fishery* (1995) and *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (2005) as well as numerous articles. Howell's research focuses on the social history of Japan in the Tokugawa (1603–1868) and Meiji (1868–1912) periods. He is particularly interested in the ways changing political and economic institutions affected the lives and livelihoods of ordinary people over the course of the nineteenth century. His current projects include a short survey of the Meiji Restoration period and a history of human waste in the cities of Tokugawa and Meiji Japan. He is also a co-editor of a new edition of the Cambridge History of Japan.

Paper 2

Meiji Japan and the "Long-Nineteenth Century"

The Meiji Restoration transformed Japan, abolishing not only the old regime, but also many of the supporting social and political structures, such as hereditary class distinctions and samurai privileges. Because many Meiji reforms were based on the emulation of Western "best-practice," the Restoration has commonly been discussed in terms of "modernization," "modernity," and "Westernization." But these metanarratives commonly rely on problematic dichotomies between "tradition" and "modernity" and between "Japanese" and "Western." Those contrasts are unhelpful because the Meiji Restoration celebrated both Japanese distinctiveness and Western norms. The Meiji era witnessed both a Japanese "invention of tradition" and the adoption of modern, Western institutions.

This duality is less surprising if we consider the Restoration in a global context, as a nationalist revolution. A common tenet of nineteenth-century nationalism was that governments were legitimized through their unique historical and cultural ties to their people. Monarchs could be above their people, but they



needed to be of their people. Nationalist movements were thus similar in their claims to uniqueness, and it was thus “modern” and “Western” to celebrate the Japanese emperor’s unique and ancient ties to his people. In that way, the Meiji Restoration was part the “long nineteenth century,” with the decline of great multi-ethnic empires—Ottoman, Qing, Romanov, and Hapsburg—and the rise of new nation-states (e.g., Germany and Italy) and newly centralized states (e.g., the United States). As a nationalist revolution, the Restoration was a local instance of that transnational phenomenon of nationalism.

Presenter bio:

I received A.B. from Columbia University in 1983 and my Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1991. My specialty is Japanese history, especially eighteenth and nineteenth-century politics, but my broader methodological interest is in the transnational and international dimension of state-building. My third book, *To Stand with the Nations of the World: Japan’s Meiji Restoration as World History* was published in 2017 by Oxford University Press. My early work on that topic, based on a paper I delivered at Princeton’s Institute for Advanced Study was published as “State-Making in Global Context: Japan in a World of Nation-States.” In *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State*, edited by Joshua Fogel, 87-104. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

My current research focuses on political language in nineteenth-century Japan, with a focus on text mining. In summer 2017 I ran, together with Hoyt Long and Molly Des Jardin, a text mining workshop focused on the unique challenges of Japanese texts. In public scholarship, I recently completed a 24-part course for The Great Courses, co-branded with the Smithsonian Institution, entitled *Understanding Japan*. In 2004 I published a biography of Saigo Takamori entitled *The Last Samurai* (John Wiley & Sons). Saigō was the inspiration for the character Katsumoto in the Tom Cruise film, also entitled *The Last Samurai*. I had begun working on the book without any knowledge of the movie, but the Warner Brothers film sparked a surge in general interest on Saigo. I appeared as a “guest expert” on CNN and on two History Channel programs: “History vs. Hollywood” and “The Samurai.” *The Last Samurai* been translated into Chinese, Russian, and Polish. My first book was *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan* (Stanford, 1999), also published in Japanese translation as *Meikun no satetsu* (NTT shuppan 2004).

Paper 3

February 11, 1889: The Birth of Modern Japan

Modern Japan was officially born on February 11, 1889, with the promulgation of the Meiji constitution, heralded as ‘the first constitution in Asia’. Since 1873, February 11 had been celebrated as the official anniversary of the enthronement of the first legendary emperor, Jimmu. By selecting this mythical day to establish the most prominent symbol of Westernisation, the Japanese leadership was stressing that Japanese modernity was linked to the remotest origins of the imperial dynasty.

February 11, 1889, would be altogether festive and tragic. The day was marked by glorious celebrations, but also by the assassination of the controversial minister of Education, Mori Arinori. While a gifted young journalist, Kuga Katsunan, was launching the *Nihon* newspaper, which was to shape a new generation of intellectuals. This presentation will relate the momentous events of the day, reflecting on their long-term significance.



Presenter Bio:

Lionel Babicz is teaching Japanese and Asian history at the University of Sydney. He was previously a lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and a researcher at the Maison franco-japonaise in Tokyo. He is also associate researcher at the Japan Research Center of L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, and an academic member of the Big History Institute of Macquarie University in Sydney. Dr Babicz carries out research on modern Japanese history, particularly the history of the Japanese-Korean relationship and the intellectual history of the Meiji period. He is also working on the Big History of Japan and Asia.

Discussant bio:

Bruce Lockhart is Vice Dean, Graduate Studies Division, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Associate Professor in the Department of History. Dr Lockhart has been teaching at the National University of Singapore since 1998, following six years of work in Vietnam and Laos. Ever since he was a teenager, his life has been centered around Southeast Asia, beginning with Vietnamese refugees resettled in the US and continuing with an academic career in linguistics and history. Dr Lockhart's teaching and research focus on the countries of mainland Southeast Asia, particularly Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos - being the three places he lived in before moving to Singapore. He has been especially interested in the topic of kings and monarchy, but is now spending more and more time thinking about how these countries perceive and write their own history as well. He has published a book on the last Vietnamese ruler: *The End of The Vietnamese Monarchy* (Yale Council on Southeast Asian Studies, 1993) and is working on a book on constitutional monarchy in Thailand. He has published several articles and book chapters on modern Vietnamese and Lao historiography.

DAY 1 SESSION 2

Paper 1

Background of Japan's Modernity: Why was the "Meiji Restoration" possible?

It is common to discuss the Meiji Restoration as an important turning point in the creation of Japan's modern nation-state. After all, the country carried out great political and social changes. In fact, though, the maturity of 19th century Japanese society's politics, economics, and culture lies behind the Meiji Restoration. In the 19th Century, Phillip von Siebold from Germany worked as a doctor in the Dutch trading enclave on the isle of Dejima in Nagasaki. He brought many Japanese things back to Europe and wrote a book called "Nippon" which introduced Japanese history, culture, and nature. His work had a great effect on the acquisition of images of Japan for other westerners, such as the American Mathew Perry. From Siebold's work and items, we can grasp the maturity of Japanese society. Here, we can debate the impressions of Japan in the text about the experiences of the Earl of Elgin. He had observed Japan in the 1850's while negotiating a Treaty of Amity and Commerce for the United Kingdom. Furthermore, Siebold used the materials that he collected during his two visits to introduce Japan in Europe. These materials were displayed as a "Museum of Japan" in Leiden, Amsterdam, Würzburg, Munich, and other places. In 2016, the museum where I work, the National Museum of Japanese History, recreated the displays of the materials in Siebold's "Museum of Japan" in an exhibition called "Reviving Siebold's Japanese Museum." Over the course of a year, this exhibition traveled to five other museums in Japan. While introducing this exhibition, I would like to discuss the state of Japanese culture in the



mid-19th century and the meaning of the “Meiji Restoration.”

Presenter Bio:

Professor Hiroshi Kurushima is Director of the National Museum of Japanese History, Chiba Prefecture, Japan. He is an expert on the Late Edo Period (Early Modern Japanese History). He graduated from the University of Tokyo and his publications include work on the Administration of Bakufu Land (2002), military service among peasants (2004), the conceptualization of the nation-state in Modern Asia (2008), and the politics of exhibiting Japanese culture both in Japan and overseas(2008).

Paper 2

An indigenous modernity?

The historical turning point that the Meiji restoration represents was marked by systematic and massive import of European and American knowledge. This knowledge was not merely the scientific and technical skills and know how necessary for industrial development, but also the discourse of modernity – the notions used by those western powers to represent to themselves and the world what they were, what they did, and why they did it. My presentation will argue that the import of this discourse obscured the fact that already existed in Japan a discourse that might have performed a similar function, and that this is one of the reasons why the Western version could be readily accepted and embraced by many. I will present this indigenous modernity and look into the reasons why it was displaced.

Presenter Bio:

Dr Olivier Ansart (BA, PhD, University of Paris) is Senior Lecturer in the School of Languages and Cultures at the University of Sydney. He carries out research on Japanese and East Asian intellectual history, focusing particularly on the political theories of Japanese Confucian thinkers of 18th century. He lectures on early modern Japanese history, the Tokugawa period, as well as social and political issues of contemporary Japan. His most recent book publication is *L'etrange voyage de Confucius au Japon* (Animaviva Multilingüe, 2015).

Paper 3

Rethinking the Meiji Enlightenment: A Historiographical Reflection from the Global Intellectual History Perspective

Since the early 20th century, Japanese intellectuals have been drawing a comparison between the European Enlightenment and drastic intellectual changes in Meiji Japan, calling the latter the “Meiji Enlightenment.” While this association itself has a long tradition, what intellectuals and historians meant by the “Meiji Enlightenment” is far from unanimous because of their different agendas in narrating intellectual modernity in Japan. Despite such diverse interpretations, however, the “Meiji Enlightenment” has been discussed almost exclusively in the context of Japan’s national modernity in a way that privileges Western Europe as the universal measure against which Japan’s unique experience is to be understood. Considering such fragmentation and homogenization, it is not surprising to find a tendency to dismiss the term “Meiji Enlightenment” as entirely useless. Nevertheless, recent developments in global intellectual history seem to enable us to see it in a different light. This paper re-examines the historiography of the “Meiji Enlightenment” particularly in view of recent discussions of



the Enlightenment as a global phenomenon, and contemplates whether or not and how the term is still useful for understanding the meanings of intellectual changes in the early Meiji period.

Presenter Bio:

Dr Akiko Ishii is adjunct research fellow at the Department of Japanese Studies at National University of Singapore. Her current research investigates the rise of statistical thinking in the late-19th and early-20th centuries Japan, with particular attention to its relationships with the evolution of political and economic liberalism.

Discussant Bio:

Samson Lim is an Assistant Professor in Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences Program at the Singapore University of Technology and Design. He received his Ph.D. in History at Cornell University. His research examines the connections between technology, capitalism, and culture. His first book, *Siam's New Detectives: Visualizing Crime and Conspiracy in Modern Thailand* (University of Hawaii Press, 2016), is a history of the visual culture of policing in Thailand between during the early 20th century. He is currently working on a new project, which will be a cultural history of capitalism seen through the lens of financial crimes in early twentieth century Bangkok. Samson is also a co-lead with the Opportunity Lab at SUTD, a centre that encourages social change through design projects throughout Asia.

DAY 1 SESSION 3

Paper 1

Image of Japan on the Eve of Meiji Restoration: An analysis of the Diary of Willem Kattendyke

In 1855, just soon after the Tokugawa government concluded the Kanagawa Treaty with America, King Willem III of Dutch offered Japan a steamship as well as the dispatch of instructors to train Japan's future navy in Nagasaki. The instructors were dispatch from Dutch detachment in Dutch Royal Navy in Dutch East India (established in 1830, after the suppression of an insurrection in Java).

In 1857, Willem Johan Cornelis Huijssen van Kattendijke (1816 – 1866; Dutch Naval Minister from 1861 to 1866, and interim Dutch Foreign Minister in 1864) was appointed commandant of Nagasaki Naval Training Center. During his stay in Japan, 1857-1859, Kattendijke kept diary based on his meticulous observations on Japanese people and social systems, their habits, beliefs, values, and attitudes toward modernsciences.

His diary, published in the Netherlands in 1860, provides us with an abundance of first hand informations about Japan on the eve of political and social upheaval in the late 1860s. Though containing a number of biased views, his diary provides us with valuable information on Japan before Westernization and helps us to understand the fundamental changes that Westernization in decades later had brought to Japan and the Japanese people (and thus, make us get rid of cultural essentialism in studying aboutJapan).



Presenter Bio:

Susy Ong, born in Indonesia in 1966, graduated from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies & Graduate School for Social Sciences, Hitotsubashi University (both are in Tokyo, Japan) majoring in Japanese modern history, with a dissertation on social reform and fascism in prewar Showa Japan. A summary of her dissertation (in Japanese) is available at:

<http://www.soc.hitu.ac.jp/research/archives/doctor/?choice=summary&thesisID=43>

Dr Ong's present affiliation is with the School for Strategic and Global Studies, University of Indonesia. Her most recent publication is *Seikatsu Kaizen: Reformasi Pola Hidup Jepang* (Elex Media Komputindo, 2017) and she has an ongoing research project on social education in prewar Japan.

Paper 2

Reformists and Revolutionaries: Filipinos View Meiji Japan, 1880s-1912

The Meiji Restoration coincided with the development of nationalist movements and consciousness in the Spanish-colonized Philippines in the late nineteenth century. Filipino reformists - who sought peaceful change within the Spanish colonial system - and revolutionists - who sought a violent overthrow of the Spanish yoke - both eyed Meiji Japan as a source of inspiration and moral and physical aid. The Philippine Revolution that broke out in 1896 did actively solicit Japanese aid. Even as the United States' war against Spain thwarted Philippine independence and resulted in a new colonial order, Filipinos continued to look at Meiji Japan as an ally and a source of inspiration in building the Philippines. This paper will examine Filipino views of Japan at that time, and segue over to impressions of the Meiji Restoration as a model for Philippine development.

Presenter Bio:

Ricardo Jose is Professor of History in the Department of History, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines (Diliman). He had specializations in World War 2 in the Philippines, Military History, Diplomatic History, and Japanese History.

Paper 3

'A lad likely incapable of exercising real power': Reflections on the Meiji Emperor and Restoration from the China Coast press c.1868-78

The Meiji Restoration generated numerous articles in China coast papers focusing on foreign observer's concerns with political stability in Japan. For instance, in chronicling the events of 1868 The North-China Herald and Supreme Court Consular Gazette regularly relied on accounts from the Japan Daily Mail but also reported observations from the residents of the Japanese treaty ports for their insights. This paper teases out a number of themes that emerge from such newspaper accounts, one of which was the sustainability of the Meiji project, particularly in its first decade. By providing a close study of newspaper reports, this presentation provides insights into China coast views of the Meiji restoration and into the mentality of the foreign (Anglophone) Old China Hands who made their careers and lives in East Asia. The Old China Hands arguably formed a distinct group in treaty port society, they not only had a long connection to the treaty port worlds of China and Japan but regarded themselves as attuned to the



political and economic vagaries of East Asia; they were the self-proclaimed 'experts' when it came to understanding the region. This presentation explores the ways this expertise was demonstrated through the flow of newspaper commentaries and press observations of Meiji Japan. A view from the China coast is valuable as it is full of contradictions, it is at once foreign, and yet inflected with the 'local or settler perspective' as treaty port residents tried to predict and then, make sense of Japan's transformation in the Meiji era; these views were both optimistic and skeptical and reflected a constant preoccupation with ensuring the stability of the treaty port system.

Presenter Bio:

Dr Donna Brunero is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of History at NUS. While not an East Asia specialist, she has interests in maritime and imperial history which have led her to work on the British in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service and more broadly on the port cities of Asia. She recently co-edited (with Stephanie Villalta Puig) *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan* (Palgrave 2018) which has a strong emphasis on material culture in the treaty ports. She is also the Co-editor (with Brian P. Farrell) of *Empire in Asia: A New Global History. Vol 2, The Long Nineteenth Century* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

Discussant Bio:

Dr Timothy P. Barnard is Associate Professor of History in the Department of History, National University of Singapore. His research interests include the environmental and cultural history of Southeast Asia, and particularly the Straits of Melaka. His first book, *Raja Kecil dan Mitos Pengabsahannya* (1994), was a Malay language book focusing on Malay historiography. Some of his other publications include *Multiple Centres of Authority* (2003) and the edited works *Contesting Malayness* (2004) and *Nature Contained* (2014). In 2016 Dr Barnard published a history of the Singapore Botanic Gardens, *Nature's Colony* (2016).

ROUNDTABLE Participant Bios

A/P Masayuki Ueno (Osaka City University)

Dr Masayuki Ueno is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at Osaka City University. His main research area is the non-Muslim community under the Ottoman rule, with a focus on the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul. Ueno received his B.A. in 2002 from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, his M.A. in 2004 and Ph.D. in 2010 from Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo. He served as a research fellow (DC2) of JSPS from 2008 to 2012. His current project is entitled "Negotiating Religion: Ottoman Armenians in the Age of Modern State Building."

Dr Annu Jalais (NUS)

Dr Annu Jalais is Assistant Professor in the Department of South Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore. After receiving her PhD in Anthropology at the London School of Economics (LSE) in 2004, she taught and lectured at the departments of Anthropology, London School of Economics, Goldsmiths College and the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London) for a short period of time before embarking (between 2007 and 2009), with Professors Joya Chatterji and Claire Alexander, on a post-doctoral research on the 'Bengal Muslim Diaspora' funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), UK. She has also been the recipient of numerous prestigious research fellowships: the Agrarian Studies Program, Yale University, New Haven; the International Institute for Social History



(IISH), Amsterdam; the International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden; Jawaharlal Nehru Institute for Advanced Studies (JNIAS) at the JNU, New Delhi; and, more recently, the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH), Cambridge, UK. Her publications include the single author monograph *Forest of Tigers: People, Politics and Environment in the Sundarbans* (Routledge, 2010) and the co-authored work (with Joya Chatterji and Claire Alexander) *The Bengal Diaspora: Muslim migrants in India, Britain and Bangladesh*. (Routledge, 2015).

A/P Mairii Victoriano Aung Thwin (NUS)

Mairii Aung-Thwin is Associate Professor of Myanmar/Southeast Asian history at the National University of Singapore. His research is concerned with nation-building, heritage, identity-politics, and resistance in Myanmar. His publications include: *A History of Myanmar since Ancient Times: Traditions and Transformations* (2013), *The Return of the Galon King: History, Law, and Rebellion in Colonial Burma* (2011) and *A New History of Southeast Asia* (2010). Dr. Aung-Thwin served on the Association of Asian Studies (AAS) Board of Directors and chaired the AAS's Southeast Asia Council. He is currently a trustee of the Burma Studies Foundation (USA), member of the AAS's Conference Program Committee (2017-2019), Convener of the Comparative Asian Studies PhD Program, and editor of the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*.

Prof Takashi Tsukada (Osaka City University)

Professor Tsukada is a graduate of the History Department at Tokyo University. After working at the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo, he moved to the History Department at Osaka City University where he teaches early modern Japanese history. Professor Tsukada has authored and co-edited over forty research monographs in Japanese on topics that include early modern social history, outcaste history, early modern systems of status, and comparative urban studies.

Dr John Solomon (NUS)

Dr John Solomon is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the National University of Singapore. He joined NUS in 2016, after spending ten years in Australia studying and working. His research interests include the exploration of how national and ethnic identities are shaped by social and political processes, particularly how identities shape the ways that people interact with other communities, nation-states and the wider world. His current research trajectories have developed out of my initial interests in race and missionary ethnography in colonial South India, and untouchable Indian labour migrants in colonial Singapore. His most recent book publication is *A Subaltern History of the Indian Diaspora in Singapore: Gradual Disappearance of Untouchability 1872-1965* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

Chair: Prof David L. Howell (Harvard University)



DAY 2 SESSION 1

Paper 1

Tokugawa v. Meiji: A Nocturnal Interpretation

On the 150th anniversary of the Restoration much is being said about the interplay of change and continuity on the two sides of the 1868 divide. Most scholars—from military historians to gender specialists, from art historians to literature experts and more—acknowledge that, while 1868 is an important watershed, we should not overlook significant continuities. However, when the Tokugawa-Meiji transition is examined through the lens of the nighttime, the narrative is different: most assessments of the nighttime in the early modern and modern periods focus on rupture and speak of sharp fissures between a city of darkness (Edo) and one of artificial lights (Tokyo). Was there indeed such a neat divide between Tokugawa and Meiji from a nocturnal standpoint? This paper argues that the persistence of a technological bias—namely, a fixation with modern illumination—blinds us to the nuances of the nocturnal past. If we set the technical means aside and consider the motivations and efforts to micromanage darkness, we can make a case for important parallels between Tokugawa and Meiji, bringing the idea of continuity back into the conversation.

Presenter Bio:

Laura Nenzi is Professor of Japanese History at the University of Tennessee. She is the author of *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2008) and *The Chaos and Cosmos of Kurosawa Tokiko: One Woman's Transit from Tokugawa to Meiji Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2015). She is currently working on a history of the nighttime in Tokugawa Japan.

Paper 2

Haikai Times in Meiji Japan: Meiji Saijiki Shiorigusa

Cultural histories often ignore the haikai poetry composed between the 1840's and the late 1880's, dismissing it as pedestrian. From the present looking backwards, this is understandable since much of this poetry fails as "literature." But from textual history lived forward, the lack of familiarity with poets such as Mimori Mikio (三森幹雄 1830-1910) and Seki Izan (関為山 1804-1878) is lamentable. They composed good hokku and linked verse. At the same time, they worked through the problems posed for poetry by the changes that occurred after 1868. In this paper I shall examine the responses of Mimori Mikio in Meiji Saijiki Shiorigusa to the implementation of the solar calendar of 1873 and other changes in society, suggesting that Masaoka Shiki's conception of "haiku" was not inevitable.

Presenter Bio:

Scot Hislop is a lecturer with the Department of Japanese Studies at the National University of Singapore. His research focuses on 19th century haikai poetry and comparative East Asian literature.

Paper 3

Inventing Ise in Meiji Japan: on priests, pilgrims and prostitutes

This presentation uses a spatial approach to explore the dramatic transformation of the Ise shrine-



complex from the most popular pilgrimage site in the land into the modern state's most sacred space, the mausoleum of the sun goddess. The presentation deploys visual and textual sources to articulate and animate the spatial features of Ise's early modern shrine-scape: its two sacred sites, the Outer Shrine in Yamada and the Inner Shrine in Uji, whose priests were in a state of permanent conflict; its pleasure quarters, Furuichi, which straddled the pilgrims' path and which, at its height, accommodated some seventy brothels and a thousand prostitutes (making it one of the three great pleasure quarters in the land); and the meisho, Ise's abundance of tourist sights. The paper then explores the dynamic re-imagining of this early modern shrine-scape in the wake of the Meiji Restoration. It finds that the re-imagining was driven by impulses both from above, so to speak, and from below. State bureaucrats and Inner Shrine priests formulated, and then enacted, a radical blue-print to transform Ise overnight into a mausoleum for the emperor's great ancestress. At the same time, local entrepreneurs began to explore spatial techniques – including garden design, museum construction, and road building – that would open the Ise shrine complex up to the modern pilgrim, and regenerate the economies of Uji and Yamada.

Presenter Bio:

John Breen is professor at Nichibunken (The International Research Center for Japanese Studies) in Kyoto. He has published widely in English and Japanese on aspects of the imperial institution and Shinto in modern Japan. At Nichibunken, he edits the journal *Japan Review*.

Discussant bio:

Nozomi Naoi is Assistant Professor at Yale-NUS College specializing in modern Japanese Art History. Her research considers the larger socio-historical context of the early twentieth century as it pertains to Taisho period prints and the media environment. She received the first Takehisa Yumeji Research Society Award in March 2017 for contributing to the Nihon no Hanga Museum exhibition, *Takehisa Yumeji: Artist of Romance and Nostalgia* (2015; the first solo exhibition on Yumeji outside of Japan) and the accompanying exhibition catalogue. She is currently working on her book manuscript: *Beyond the modern beauty: Takehisa Yumeji and the new media environment in early twentieth-century Japan*.

DAY 2 SESSION 2

Paper 1

Restorational Change and Merchant Guilds: On the Osaka Wholesale Oil Merchants

In this paper, I will focus on the reorganizational process of wholesale merchants during the early modern / modern period who held the important role of distributors in Osaka, the place where various merchandise was collected and which became a focal point for supplying commodities to Edo and various other provinces. I will examine the case of Osaka Wholesale Oil Merchants who take possession of rapeseed and cottonseed supplied to Osaka by various provinces as the raw materials for oil production. First, I will show the restrictions and special features of transactions that arose for wholesale oil merchants, who dealt with the raw materials of old production that received special attention in terms of price controls from the Edo Shogunate as an indispensable item, due to their assumption of responsibilities for handling these raw materials, as well as identify the distinctive characteristics of the shared interests of merchant guilds. This paper further reexamines the ideational structures of procedures and regulations devised from official legal codes, this in light of scholarship that indicates



that the economic policies of the Osaka Saibansho and Osaka-fu were being shaken at both points of supervisory policy utilizing the guarantee of managerial freedom and the supply of licenses. With the above, the paper aims to address the question of how the Osaka wholesale oil merchants were transformed in light of the motivations of these political policies.

Presenter Bio:

Dr Mio Shimazaki is a JSPS Postdoctoral Fellow and Researcher in Osaka City University's Urban-Culture Research Center.

Paper 2

Local Labor and the Trajectory of the Meiji Restoration

Historians have long used sugar and tea as lenses to consider economic, imperial, and socio-economic trajectories in East Asian and Western national histories. This presentation will first examine how Japan presents a story of sugar akin to that of Western European states—proto-industrial production on islands to feed a distant “metropole.” Yet unlike European island colonies in the Caribbean that used slave labor brought from Africa, Japan’s island sugar production zones, for example Amami Ōshima, relied on local populations. The “success” of such exploitive schemes helped to engender a policy of limited interaction with the outside world in the decades preceding the Meiji Restoration and strengthen the financial status of the Satsuma domain, a key player in the toppling of the Tokugawa regime.

In the years surrounding the political change of 1868, Japan became the first state to challenge China’s long-held monopoly of the world tea market, exporting green tea to the United States. This presentation will also show how, as it ramped up tea production, Japan again relied on local labor, notably in the form of former samurai and commoners displaced by early Meiji era reforms. Although some moved short distances to new producing regions like Shizuoka, in most cases locals became the producers of the new tea industry. Post-Restoration Japan’s trajectory was thus unlike that of India, which in the 1860s and 1870s witnessed large, internal movements of people to work new tea plantations in Assam.

Presenter Bio:

Robert Hellyer is Associate Professor of History at Wake Forest University. His research focuses on early modern and modern Japan, especially socio-economic perspectives related to trade. His publications include *Defining Engagement: Japan and Global Contexts, 1640-1868* (2009) and numerous articles emerging from his current project exploring Japan’s export of green tea to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Paper 3

From Ramune to Ryokucha: Continuities and Discontinuities in Japanese Soft Drinks Consumption

The history of soft drinks in Japan seems at first glance a linear narrative of Westernization of local taste. Introduced in the Meiji period, when beverages such as Ramune, a fizzy sugared drink produced in Kobe by Scottish pharmacist Alexander Cameron Sim, became popular as they were considered more hygienic than water, soft drinks in Japan were part and parcel of the “civilisation and Enlightenment” discourse



promoted by the government and by intellectuals. And yet today, the Japanese soft drinks industry presents a unique case in the world, offering its customers a wide variety of non-sweet, non-carbonated beverages such as cold green teas and herbal teas. Even a company like Coca-Cola, famous for the aggressive promotion of its signature sweet drinks on the global market, in Japan has adapted to local taste to create its own range of non-sweet teas.

Where did this taste for bottled green tea, strong enough to persuade Coca-Cola to localise its products, originate? What are the elements of continuity and discontinuity in Japanese taste from the early modern period to the contemporary age? What role did the Meiji discourse of modernization in the area of food consumption and nutrition health play in this history? Through an interdisciplinary approach combining historiography, cultural studies, and nutrition science, this paper will trace the evolution of Japanese soft drinks consumption as a way to reassess the impact of the Meiji Restoration on Japanese cultural history.

Presenter Bio:

Rebecca Suter's main research interest is in modern Japanese literature and comparative literature. Her first book, *The Japanization of Modernity*, focused on contemporary Japanese writer Murakami Haruki, particularly on his role as a cultural mediator between Japan and the United States, as well as on his use of meta-fictional techniques. Her 2010-2013 ARC project looked at representations of the so-called Christian century of Japan (1549-1638) in modern Japanese fiction, including literature, film, manga, anime, and videogames. Before coming to Sydney, she has taught Japanese modern literature at Harvard University and at Brown University. She also works as a translator of manga, and has translated works by Shinohara Chie, Anno Moyoko, Miuchi Suzue, Asano Inio, Kitoh Mohiro, Katayama Kyoichi, and Unita Yumi, among others.

Discussant Bio:

Dr Medha Kudaisya is Associate Professor of History in the Department of History at the National University of Singapore. Her research expertise includes economic and business history, biography, and South Asian diaspora. Her books include *The Oxford India Anthology of Business History*, (edited), (Oxford University Press, 2012), *The Life and Times of G. D. Birla* (Oxford University Press, 2003) and *Chinese and Indian Business: Historical Antecedents* (co-edited with Ng Chin Keong), (Brill, 2009).

DAY 2 SESSION 3

Paper 1

The World of the Pleasure Quarters in the Transitional Period from Early Modern to Modern Japan:
Research on the Yokohama Pleasure Quarters

In this paper I will investigate pleasure quarters built within treaty ports targeting foreigners in various Japanese cities at the end of the Tokugawa period. Focusing on Yokohama between the years 1859 to 1869, I will examine the development process, special characteristics, society (=spatial structure) and transformations within the pleasure quarter and clarify what is unique about it. I will clearly illustrate the process by which Yokohama emerged as a "success story" in relation to pleasure quarter construction and treaty port development and thereafter came to be a model for later developing treaty ports, and offer a comparison with the New Matsubara pleasure quarters in Tokyo and Osaka's Matsushima.



Through the above analysis, I will rethink the historical position of treaty port pleasure quarters in the transitional period from early modern to modern Japan, and by addressing the role this played in the proliferation and expansion of “The World of the Pleasure Quarters” in modernity, I would also like to expand our vision of the special character of the Meiji Restoration as seen from the perspective of the social history of the sex trade.

Presenter Bio:

Dr Ashita Saga is Professor of Modern Japanese History in the Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences at Osaka City University, as well as Director of OCU’s Urban-Culture Research Center.

Paper 2

Changes in the Regulation of Unlicensed Prostitutes in the Ansei Period (1854–1860) and “Horie Shinchi”

During the early Meiji period, pleasure quarters were dispersed across six locations. Although this was in part due to the Western presence after Japan opened its doors to foreign trade, the influence of the makeup of premodern society cannot be ignored. Hence, I aim to describe the situation of these pleasure districts during the Bakumatsu period, based on my existing research of Horie Shinchi’s pleasure district.

Previously, I have outlined premodern Osaka’s regulation of pleasure quarters until the period of Tempo Reforms. In this talk, by considering changes in policy during the Bakumatsu period and their effects on pleasure quarters, I hope to expand upon existing knowledge regarding the regulation and conditions of these pleasure districts.

While teahouses offering sexual services were tolerated in premodern Osaka, these were abolished by the tightening of moral regulation of prostitution during the Tempo Reforms. However, the Osaka City Magistrate gave authorization for the operation of teahouse-inns (previously known as *meshimori-onnazuki hatagoya* – inns with meal-serving women) in three previous locations of teahouses. Teahouse-inns differed from teahouses in that the provision of sexual services within were considered acceptable. Yet a revision of regulations related to prostitution in Ansei 4 (1857) led to the reauthorization of teahouses.

Horie Shinchi was not included in the abovementioned excepted locations, but the subsequent events of 1857 enabled teahouses to operate there once more. As a place greatly affected by these changes in policy, I shall focus on Horie Shinchi in this paper. Specifically, I will discuss the 1857 directive re-legitimizing teahouses, pre-Tempo Reform teahouses and the position of teahouses within the regulatory framework of the Ansei period. Following that, I will examine actual teahouses situated in Horie Shinchi and draw comparisons between the period preceding the Tempo Reforms and the Ansei period. Finally, I will detail the events leading to the establishment of brothels in Horie during the early modern period.

From the above, I conclude that an understanding of the political changes of the Meiji Restoration must come from a close study conducted at the societal level.



Presenter Bio:

Kanami Yoshimoto is a JSPS Postdoctoral Fellow and Researcher in Osaka City University's Urban-Culture Research Center.

Paper 3

Traditional Culture and Modern Administration: The Meiji Government's Policy of Hot Springs and Local Community

Hot-spring bathing has been a part of Japanese traditional culture; we find its description even in a historical document from the ancient period. In the early modern period, such a custom spread among commoners; a hot-spring ranking was published in the 19th century. Hot springs in this period were considered to be medical sites, and people sometimes stayed at a hot spring for a long period of time to cure their diseases.

In the Meiji period, however, while the government initially treated hot springs as medical facilities, such a perception gradually changed as it was pressed to take actions on infectious diseases, and gained knowledge about the western style of hot spring treatment. Meanwhile, large-scale improvement projects were carried out on local hot spring places particularly after 1887 (the 20th year of Meiji). Such improvements implied that by accepting or rejecting the government's policy, local residents in the hot spring communities made their own decisions in favor of their benefit. Through this process, a new image of hot spring as a place of tourist attraction emerged on a full-scale.

Under the theme of the connection between Japanese traditional culture and the development of modern society, this paper seeks to analyze the relationship between the Meiji government's policy on hot spring and the local society. More specifically, it will explain an actual process in which people's perception and custom of hot spring changed from the early modern to modern period.

Presenter Bio:

Yoichi Takahashi is Assistant Professor of Japanese History in the Department of the Uehiro Tohoku Historical Materials Research at the Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Tohoku University. His speciality is early modern Japanese history, and he currently researches both the history of travel and the regional social history of Sendai domain. His Department (<http://uehiro-tohoku.net/>) also works for the preservation of historical materials facing destruction due to factors such as natural disasters and it is involved in various endeavours to enable the transmission of these materials to future generations.

Discussant Bio:

Chris McMorran is a cultural geographer specialising in the geographies of home, as well as the geographies of teaching and learning. He teaches courses on contemporary Japanese society in the Department of Japanese Studies at the National University of Singapore. He also hosts "Home on the Dot," a podcast that explores the meaning of home through the lives of NUS students.



DAY 2 SESSION 4

Paper 1

From Shogunal Benevolence to Monarchical Compassion: The Shifting Status of “Voices from the Bottom” in the Meiji Restoration

Unlike illegal, village-level peasant protests that were directed against domain authorities, large-scale petitionary protests (*kokuso*) were legal movements that occurred predominantly in the Kinai region in the late Tokugawa period, petitioning the bakufu for the removal of the monopolies exercised by bakufu-chartered merchants primarily in the cotton and oil markets. In their protests, participants did not question the bakufu’s existence itself; instead, they pleaded for its protection. In many cases, the bakufu responded favorably to petitioners by underlining shogun’s benevolence as the core ideal of his polity. The Meiji government initially did not uphold this attitude, and riots ensued in many regions, directed against the newly established government (*shinsei hantai ikki*). Eventually, the government gradually changed its attitudes, representing Emperor Meiji’s “monarchical compassion” for the people.

This presentation seeks to gain a new understanding of the Meiji modern polity by examining the transition from shogunal benevolence to such Meiji compassionate response. In so doing, I ask why people did not revolt against the Tokugawa Shogunate and how the Meiji government, though it was established through the revolution from above, sought to represent the influence of people. To achieve this, I specifically look at the case of *kokuso* and *shinsei hantai ikki*. While the bakufu accepted commoners’ petition for the shogun’s benevolent rule, the Meiji government, initially in confrontation with *shinsei hantai ikki*, began making concessions to demands presented by them. For this purpose, the government constructed the emperor’s image as the embodiment of compassion by assuming him people’s “father.”

Presenter bio:

Yoshihiro Yamasaki was born in Hyōgo Prefecture in Japan in 1968. He received his Ph.D. from Kansai University in 2003. After working at Kōbe University as a researcher, he joined the Department of History at Nara University of Education as an Associate Professor in 2011. From 2017 he is an Associate Professor in the Department of Motivational and Behavioral Sciences at Tokyo Future University. Dr. Yamasaki's research primarily focuses on questions of peasant movements, local community, and the shogunate government in the Tokugawa period. His most recent book publication *Tokugawa Shakai No Sokojikara* (Kashiwa Shobō, 2017) clarified the structure of the long-term peace and stability of Tokugawa society. In recent years, A/P Yamasaki has also been researching shrines in Tokugawa period. He has been a Visiting Researcher at Nishinomiya Shrine Culture Research Institute since 2011.

Paper 2

Blood, Bandages, and Bickering: Doctors in the Boshin War

The Meiji Restoration is sometimes described as a relatively “bloodless” revolution, compared to other political upheavals around the world. For the doctors working in the field in the Boshin War, however, such a notion could hardly be further from the truth. The violence of the civil war confronted doctors not only with new forms of gunshot wounds requiring specialised equipment and unfamiliar surgical techniques, but also raised huge questions over how to establish, supply, and run a field hospital, how to



recruit and pay medical staff, and when and if a doctor's own political affiliations and ambitions should come into play. This paper examines the role of doctors in the Boshin War, through the lens of diaries and other sources. Of central interest is the detailed account of treatments related to the fighting in Aizu left by Seki Kansai (1830-1912). Seki had been serving as a domain doctor in Awa domain in Shikoku, but the events of the Restoration took him to Kyoto, Edo, and then Hirakata in northern Ibaraki, where he was appointed director of the Ōu Field Hospital for the Imperial army forces from the sixth until the twelfth month of Keio 4 (1868-69). The paper will consider the wide assortment of medical, practical, and ethical problems he faced in this demanding new role.

Presenter Bio:

Ellen Nakamura is Senior Lecturer in Japanese and History at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. She is currently working on a monograph on the experiences and life trajectories of doctors during the transition to modern medicine in the Meiji era, with an emphasis on those who failed rather than those who succeeded.

Paper 3

Cattle Plague, Livestock Disposal, and the Dismantling of the Early Modern Status Order

In the third month of Meiji 4 (1871), Japan's Grand Council of State issued the Deceased Livestock Self-Disposal Edict, a legal declaration permitting the owners of cows, horses, and other domestic animals to dispose of the carcasses after death. Until then, the duty of livestock disposal (*heigyuba shori*) was under the collective control of the *eta* status group. In exchange for disposing of dead livestock, persons of *eta* status were given the right to collect and utilize the resulting hide. Commonly, hides were tanned and used to produce a wide array of leather products. The revenue generated from the production and sale of those products, in turn, enabled the survival and social reproduction of the *eta* status group. The Deceased Livestock Self-Disposal Edict, however, abolished this arrangement, in the process stripping the *eta* status group of their most important status right. Focusing on the case of early-Meiji megacity Tokyo, this presentation examines the Edict's social significance. It begins by analyzing the impact of the 1871 Siberian Cattle Plague, which occurred in the summer of 1871, just three months after the Edict's promulgation. Although no large-scale epidemic occurred within Japan in 1871, the threat of infection prompted the Meiji state to issue an unprecedented order mandating the incineration of animal carcasses, including the skin. In the case of Tokyo, members of the Kanto Outcast Association (*Kanhasshu senmin soshiki*) were mobilized to gather the carcasses and transport them to the incineration site. In that sense, the groups traditionally charged with the duty of disposing of animal carcasses were once again enlisted to dispose of dead livestock. Unlike the early modern era, however, they did so not as the monopoly owners of an officially-protected status right but as wage laborers who were compensated in cash. Notably, however, wages were not paid directly to laborers themselves. Rather, they were paid to the Outcast Association and redistributed in accordance with the Association's internal order. In that sense, the principle of status continued to exert a powerful influence over how the wages paid to Association members were partitioned. By examining the network of social relations that supported the execution of the 1871 livestock incineration order, this presentation attempts to clarify the transitory character of the early Meiji period, an era in which remnants of the early modern status order coexisted and intermingled with features of the nation's emerging capitalist system.



Presenter Bio:

Dr John Porter is Associate Professor of Japanese History at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Discussant Bio:

Shi Lin Loh (Lin) is an assistant professor in the Department of History at NUS who specializes in modern Japanese history and the social studies of science, technology and medicine. She is currently preparing a book manuscript on the social and cultural history of X-rays in Japan and a new project on the environmental history of palm oil.

DAY 3 SESSION 1

Paper 1

Considering the Meiji Restoration from Localities: Reflections based on the Izumi Region

It goes without saying that the Meiji Restoration, in the sense that it was an exchange of political powers, was a change of great magnitude in Japanese history. However, when reflecting on its historical significance, it is insufficient to only focus on the political surface. To understand the event's real meaning, it is necessary to consider the subsumption of the social level from the perspective of locality. From this perspective, I want to present two arguments based on the case of the Izumi Region from which I have spent many years reflecting on the problem of regional history. First, I argue that even with the institutional change of the Land Tax Reform which utterly rejected the early modern system of land ownership / system of land holdings (kokudaka system), the social structure of particular regions constructed up to that point in time determined how that was to be realized. Matsuoji temple was officially recognized as having about 17 bushels worth of temple land and about 50 chō worth of non-taxed land. In the 4th year of Meiji (1871), these lands were handed over to the Meiji state and became government land. Ordinarily non-taxed land were spaces that could not be bought or sold, but Matsuoji temple had over the course of the latter years of the Tokugawa period sold this land to subsidiary temples and peasants (in effect these were sales permitting the right to permanent use of these lands). These lands were first handed over to the Meiji state, but as a result of three consecutive petitions by the residents of Matsuoji, were issued with private land deeds that were handed over to them. It is possible to interpret this as the social structure built within regions in the early modern period determining the form of political and institutional change.

Second, the lived world of regional residents, continued with adhesive power despite political upheaval. Miyaza (shrine associations) were managed widely among the villages of the Izumi region. In the records of the Miyaza, both before and after the Meiji Restoration, the names of new members were continuously written into their records. Thrift was advocated and the codes were repeatedly rewritten, but the overarching framework did not change. This problem needs to be understood from the perspective of the "theory of traditional society" advocated by the presenter in recent years. Put another way, this is the perspective that "the historical development of regional society on the Japanese archipelago, can be understood as the grand perspective of a "traditional society" that starts with the households during the period of high economic growth," and it is the perspective that it "continued to exist during Japan's undulating "long nineteenth century" from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century and despite the political upheavals of the Meiji Restoration."



Presenter Bio:

Takashi Tsukada is Professor of Early Modern Japanese History at Osaka City University.

Paper 2

The End of the “Great Peace”—Perspectives on the Mito Rebellion

In the 1860s, imperial loyalists and the shogunate engaged each other in a number of military campaigns, beginning with the Mito Rebellion of 1864 and culminating in the Boshin War of 1868. Although the country had long been under warrior rule, the fighting disrupted people’s lives in unprecedented ways. This paper examines the perception and experience of civil war in a region touched only briefly by Meiji Restoration warfare: the Ōno plain in a mountainous part of Echizen province. It focuses on the Mito Rebellion of 1864, which began as an insurrection of radical anti-foreign samurai and peasant elites against the leadership of Mito domain. An army of about one thousand rebels embarked on a march to Kyoto to appeal to Mito-born Hitotsubashi Yoshinobu, imperial guard commander and future shogun. Ōno was one of many domains they passed along the way, shortly before they surrendered in Tsuruga in early 1865.

Although Ōno’s leadership was an early proponent of Western learning and gunnery, the domain’s military found itself outnumbered and unprepared for this domestic enemy. Suddenly the people of Ōno had to come to terms with the possibility of deadly warfare, and local commoner elites discussed a variety of topics related to this incident in their writings: fear of using weapons and losing loved ones; romantic ideas about war and warrior spirit influenced by classical literary works; the logistic challenges of military mobilization; and the sacrifice of mountain villagers whose homes were burnt down to protect the rest of the domain. The passage of the rebels raised a number of questions for contemporaries: What would war mean for the common people and for the domain? Who would make sacrifices for whom and to what end? What exactly should one expect from the samurai and from the lord? Were the Mito rebels reckless bandits or glorious examples of samurai spirit? This paper emphasizes the open-endedness of thinking about war in Japan only a few years before the introduction of modern military conscription.

Presenter bio:

Maren Ehlers is Associate Professor of Japanese History at University of North Carolina Charlotte.

Paper 3

Re-thinking State-Formation and Empire-Building in Meiji Japan

The 150th anniversary of the Meiji Restoration of 1868 is a timely moment for scholars to reflect on long term developments in the history of modern Japan, to reconsider received historical narratives, and to draw new lessons from the Meiji experience. In this spirit, this paper calls for scholars to revisit the history of modern Japanese state-formation in the Meiji period and to re-think its relationship to Japan’s imperialist expansion in the late-19th and early 20th centuries. Only in recent years have historians begun to connect the dots between Japanese state-formation and empire-building, delineating webs of common motivations, strategies, and networks linking the metropole and the colonies. Whether in



Honshū, Hokkaidō, Taiwan, or Korea, Japanese rulers enacted shared programs of development (*kaitaku*) designed to legitimize territorial acquisition and rule. From Tokyo, to Taipei, Seoul, and elsewhere around the empire, Japanese civil engineers deployed public works projects to reshape natural and built environments, laying railways, improving roads and rivers, introducing new agricultural and forestry techniques, and redeveloping urban areas. By tracing these pan-imperial linkages and circulations, this paper will argue that Japanese state-formation and empire-building were more linked and integrated than earlier historical treatments have recognized. In doing so, it poses to reopen -- with 150 years of hindsight -- the question of whether or not the Meiji Restoration jumpstarted a program of modernization that was later diverted off its proper course, or if Meiji efforts of state-formation propelled Japan down a track of development that led inexorably to imperialist expansion.

Presenter bio:

Tristan R. Grunow is assistant professor (without review) in the Department of History at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada. Before arriving at UBC, he was a postdoctoral fellow at the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies at Harvard University. His book manuscript, *Empire by Design: Tokyo and the Building of Japanese Modernity*, charts the respacing of the built environment of Tokyo under the process of Japanese state-formation and empire-building. Recent publications include "Paving Power: Western Urban Planning and Imperial Space from the Streets of Meiji Tokyo to Colonial Seoul," "Trains, Modernity, and State-Formation in Meiji Japan," and "Mapping the Elephant: Toward a Spatial History of the Japanese Empire."

Paper 4

Meiji and the Bonin Islands: Ambiguous Bodies and Ambivalent Borders

The history of the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands provides an opportunity to examine Japan's diplomatic interaction with foreign powers early in its modernization from a novel perspective. Testing Japan's foray into the international arena as well as the diplomatic skills of both Britain and America in dealing with a developing Asian nation, these interactions involved negotiating sovereign claims, the legal status and position of inhabitants of the islands, and what legal processes constituted Japanese nationality and citizenship. The notions of nation, nationality and sovereign jurisdiction were duly debated during the dialogues between Japan and, in particular Britain, over the Bonin Islands. In many ways the trajectory of Japan's earliest emergence as a modern and internationally connected nation was also tested. These events are of significance in understanding this important period in Japanese relations with the west and of how Japan saw itself as a nation in an increasingly international and connected setting. In this paper, I introduce key events occurring on the islands during pre-Meiji, Meiji and post-Meiji periods to provide insight into a little-known corner of Japanese history.

Presenter Bio:

David Chapman is Associate Professor and Reader in Japanese Studies at the University of Queensland. He has published extensively on identity politics, minorities and the nexus between identification, surveillance and family law in Japan. Recent publications include *Zainichi Koreans Identity and Ethnicity* (Routledge 2007), *Japan's Household Registration System and Citizenship: Koseki, Identification and*



Documentation (Routledge 2014) and *The Bonin Islanders, 1830 to the Present: Narrating Japanese Nationality* (Lexington Books Roman and Littlefield 2016).

Discussant Bio:

Gyanesh Kudaisya is Associate Professor of Indian History in the Department of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. He has held visiting research appointments at the Asia Research Institute in NUS and the Research School of Pacific & Asian Studies of the Australian National University. His publications include *A Republic in the Making, India in the 1950s* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

DAY 3 SESSION 2

Paper 1

Rulings on Tokugawa Status Infringements and Local Governing Practices in Early Meiji Osaka Court Records

The codification of law according to principles believed to have universal applicability was a critically important feature of the formation process of the modern Japanese state. This paper aims to shed some light on this process in the Japanese context by studying transformations of two closely related phenomena – vestigial status law and localized law – during the period 1868-1871. Legal codes in Meiji Japan came to be established according to the logic that state authority extended to all regions and classes. These ideas, however, ran directly counter to some of the fundamental logics of Tokugawa law grounded in notions of localized rule and status group governance. Tokugawa punishments could be and were metered out differently depending upon one's status designation, while status groups themselves also had their own internal system of rules. The adoption of the idea of the universal applicability of law to all subjects, regardless of where they were born, raised, and currently resided, was certainly not immediate and was subjected to considerable debate during the juridical process. Moreover, the stripping away of legislative power of status groups and the removal of status differentials in relation to punishments was an uneven process: regions certainly did not march in step in the early years of the Meiji period.

This paper examines a series of court records from the earliest years of the Meiji period in Osaka. The "Investigative Records" (Oginmigaki) contain testimonies of defendants, sentencing documents, and information about verdict and imprisonment, while the "Compilation of Inquiries Concerning Criminal Punishments" (Keiji oshioki ukagaigaki tsuduri) contains documentation pertaining to clarifications about punishments both from within the various branches of the Osaka municipal government as well as between Osaka and the Ministry of Criminal Law. Both sets of records date from the second to the fifth years of Meiji and offer important glimpses into the legal transformations of the time. During this period, people continued to commit a range of crimes, some of which were clearly designated as offenses that infringed against both localized and status-based authority. Local Osaka authorities, as they arrested, tried, and convicted such people, expressed concern with both the procedural and punitive aspects of law in their judgements. In what was an extremely fluid social environment, and where concerns for social and political stability lead to an invocation of uncommon measures such as a "General Amnesty," Meiji Osaka court and municipal government officials wrestled with the issue of how to exact justice in the cases that came before them. Some decisions clearly aided the nationalization / universalization of law while others can perhaps be seen as giving older practices of localization a new lease of life.



Presenter Bio:

Timothy D. Amos is an Associate Professor in Japanese Studies at the National University of Singapore. His research primarily focuses on questions of human rights, marginality, and social stratification in Japan from the early modern period through to the present. His most recent writings explore various aspects of Japanese outcaste history including population registration (2014), urban transformation (2015), activism in relation to online forms of discrimination (2015), and a comparative analysis of early modern practices pertaining to the racialization of Japanese outcastes in Japan and the West (2017). His current book project examines the history of Danzaemon and the Edo Outcaste Order in early modern Japan.

Paper 2

Kaihorei kara Suihei Sengen e - from emancipation by the state to liberation by our own efforts, or what the Meiji restoration did for Burakumin

The dismantling of the Tokugawa status order did not follow any conscious blueprint and the Meiji government supported policies and ideas that in retrospect were not well thought through and which had contradictory consequences. This brief paper considers four themes from the first fifty years of Meiji history which for Buraku communities is bookended by the promulgation of the Kaihorei in August 1871 and formation of the Suiheisha in 1922. Firstly, the impact of national policies that were directly focused on Buraku communities from the the passage of the Kaihorei to the funding of Yuwa policy in 1920. Secondly, the indirect impact of political and economic changes on Buraku communities such as the reforms to local government structures and development of new industries. Thirdly, intellectual approaches to the 'Buraku problem' from Bakumatsu to early Taisho. Finally, ideas of resistance and identity within those communities from the 1880s until the early 1920s. The result of this was, on the one hand, to re-create notions of discrimination and prejudice in the majority population while at the same time to stimulate members of these communities to devise strategies that might enable them to escape from the situation in which they found themselves.

Presenter bio:

Ian Neary studied Japanese and Politics as an undergraduate student at Sheffield University, was a research student at Kyushu University and then wrote a doctorate on the Suiheisha at Sussex University. He taught at the universities of Huddersfield, Newcastle and Essex before arriving at Oxford University in 2004 and has been a visiting professor at the universities of Kyushu, Saitama and Keio. He has produced books about the Suiheisha (1989), industrial policy and the pharmaceutical industry of the UK and Japan (1995), Human Rights in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan (2002) and a text book on Japanese politics, *The State and Politics in Modern Japan* (2002). *The Buraku Issue and Modern Japan - the career of Matsumoto Jiichiro* was published in English in 2010 and Japanese in 2016. His translation into English of an *Introduction to Buraku History* by Teraki Nobuaki and Kurokawa Midori (入門被差別部落の歴史 寺木信明 黒川みどり) will be published in 2019 (by Renaissance Books) as will the second edition of his textbook (by Polity). He is currently working on an analysis of the formation and implementation of Dowa policy 1969-2002.



Paper 3

Toward Creating New Mind, New Body: Yōjō as a Late Meiji Ideology

This presentation is an attempt to locate the concept of *yōjō* (養生) within the context of the rise of modern public hygiene during the Meiji period. The rise of modern public hygiene based on the successful introduction of Western biomedicine has been one of the major themes in the history of health and medicine in Japan. The existing historical accounts generally agree on the fact that the new concept of public hygiene was introduced and put into practice as an essential part of the Meiji government's modernization initiatives. This post-1968 transformation in medical concepts and institutions has often been epitomized in a new term *eisei* (衛生). A physician bureaucrat, Nagayo Sensai (長与専斎), picked this old term from the Daoist text Zhuangzi in order to inject the meaning of modern hygienic initiatives, aiming to be on a par with its Western counterparts. In the meantime, the concept of *yōjō*, with its more traditional connotations of various techniques for nurturing life, seems to have given way to that of *eisei*. My paper seeks to complicate this transition from “*yōjō* to *eisei*” by discussing a new role assigned to the notion of *yōjō*. I will argue that “old” *yōjō* not only functioned as a vehicle to propagate “new” modern practices of *eisei*, but was also appropriated as a self-regulatory principle for the body and mind of modern national subjects.

Presenter bio:

Sookyong Hong received her PhD in Modern Japanese History from Cornell University in 2017. Her research interests include food, health, and environment in modern East Asia; medicine and colonialism; transnational history of total war. As a postdoctoral fellow at the Asia Research Institute (National University of Singapore), she is currently working on her book manuscript titled “Food as Life: Science, Occultism and Politics of Eating Right in Japan, 1930-1970.”

Paper 4

Meiji Socialism, the Meiji Restoration and the Ideal of a “Second Restoration”

This talk will focus on: (i) how socialist intellectuals of the immediate post-Restoration generation remembered the Meiji Restoration-Revolution (*ishin-kakumei*), and (ii) the emergence of the trope of a “second Restoration.” Meiji socialism is often portrayed as a movement of *déclassé* samurai and malcontent Christians opposed to the new regime. However, early socialists came from a wide variety of backgrounds, their experience of the political and social reverberations of 1868 was far from uniform, and many of them were sanguine about the political potential of the Restoration. While exigencies of the day led them to focus on the present and the future, they were not afraid of modern history. Some, such as Abe Isoo and Yamakawa Hitoshi, wrote in their autobiographies about the impact the Restoration on their families. Others, such as Kōtoku Shūsui, turned to the past when formulating critiques of the contemporary democratic deficit, economic exploitation, political corruption and the suppression of human rights. Kōtoku only left fragmentary observations about what he saw as the incomplete project of the Restoration, but his powerful vision inspired his epigones. After Kōtoku's execution in 1911, his benefactor Dr. Katō Tojikirō developed these ideas in calling for “a second Restoration.” When Kita Ikki, another former member of the *Heiminsha* (Commoners' Association), called for a “Shōwa Restoration,” it inspired the young officers' movement and fascist insurgency. Kōtoku's old friend and comrade Abe Isoo also raised the banner of a “second Restoration” during the 1920s from a rightwing socialist



perspective. By analyzing how Meiji socialists remembered the Restoration, and by tracing an outline of the genealogy of the ideal of a “second Restoration,” this talk aims to shed new light on the intellectual history of the “Meiji ishin.”

Presenter bio:

Ben Middleton is professor of sociology in the Faculty of Global & Intercultural Studies at Ferris University in Yokohama. His publications include *Japan and the High Treason Incident* (co-edited with Masako Gavin; Routledge, 2013) and “Scandals of Imperialism: The Discourse on Boxer War Loot in the Japanese Public Sphere” in Robert Bickers & Gary Tiedemann (eds.) *The Boxers, China, and the World*. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007). He is now writing a monograph on Kōtoku Shūsui in Meiji political history.

Discussant Bio:

Professor Naoko Shimazu joined Yale-NUS College after 20 years of teaching at the Department of History, Classics and Archaeology, Birkbeck University of London. She obtained her BA (Hons) in Political Studies at the University of Manitoba, followed by MPhil and DPhil degrees in International Relations at the University of Oxford. For three years, she worked as a merchant banker in the City of London. She is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Professorial Research Associate at the Japan Research Centre at SOAS, London, Research Associate of the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore (NUS), and an Honorary Professor in the Department of History, NUS, among others. She has held research fellowships at the Institute of Social Science at the University of Tokyo, Japan Foundation Fellow at Waseda University, Visiting Senior Research Fellow at Asia Research Institute, NUS, and most recently as Fernand Braudel Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence. She has been the recipient of research grants, such as from the Arts and Humanities Research Council of UK, British Academy, and Leverhulme Trust, and USPC-NUS Fund.

DAY 3 CLOSING TALK

Professor Yuriko Yokoyama is a researcher in the History Division of the National Museum of Japanese History. Her research expertise is in the study of Japanese urban society and gender from the end of the Edo period to the Meiji period. Her books include *Meiji Ishin to Kinsei Mibunsei no Kaitai* [Meiji Restoration and the Collapse of Early Modern Status System] (Tokyo: Yamagawa shuppansha, 2005) and *Edo Tokyo no Meiji Ishin* [The Meiji Restoration of Edo / Tokyo] (2018).

Acknowledgements

Image: Hasegawa Sadanobu, 1867, triptych, full-color woodblock print, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

