

# Contents

List of Illustrations .....	ix
Acknowledgments .....	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	xiii
NOTES ON THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF TOKUGAWA JAPAN .....	xxiii

## CHAPTER ONE

### FOREIGN POLICY AT THE END OF THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

1

CHANGING PRINCIPLES OF FOREIGN POLICY.....	2
TENSIONS WITH RUSSIA IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY .....	12

## CHAPTER TWO

### PERCEPTIONS OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD

19

THE ENTRENCHMENT OF <i>SAKOKU</i> AND THE RISE OF <i>JŌI</i> .....	19
COLLECTING FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE .....	24
THE BUREAU OF ASTRONOMY AND THE SHOGUNAL ACADEMY .....	40

## CHAPTER THREE

**THE OPIUM WAR AND THE STRUGGLE OVER  
DOMESTIC REFORM**

41

THE DEFENSE ISSUE AND INTERNAL POLITICAL CONFLICT .....	42
THE FAILURE OF REFORM AND THE REJECTION OF <i>KAIKOKU</i> .....	49
NEWS OF THE WORLD AND ITS DISSEMINATION .....	56

## CHAPTER FOUR

**THE DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY: CONFLICT AND  
CONCILIATION**

61

ATTEMPTS TO REVIVE THE ORDER TO REPEL FOREIGN SHIPS .....	62
CONCILIATION BETWEEN SHOGUNATE AND DAIMYO .....	69
THREE TEMPLATES FOR THE DISCOURSE ON FOREIGN POLICY .....	77

## CHAPTER FIVE

**THE WEST LOOKS TOWARD JAPAN**

85

ABORTIVE MISSIONS TO JAPAN .....	85
THE AMERICAN VISION OF A TRANSPACIFIC STEAMSHIP ROUTE .....	89

## CHAPTER SIX

**JAPAN AT AN IMPASSE**

101

## CHAPTER SEVEN

**THE ARRIVAL OF PERRY**

117

## CHAPTER EIGHT

**POLICY DEBATES AND PLAYING FOR TIME**

143

THE DEATH OF IEYOSHI AND NARIAKI'S BID FOR POWER ..... 143

## CHAPTER NINE

**STALLING THE RUSSIANS**

157

## CHAPTER TEN

**PERRY RETURNS: ACCEPTANCE OF LIMITED  
*KAIKOKU***

179

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

**THE MULTIVALENCE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE  
AND AMITY**

203

## CHAPTER TWELVE

**OPENING PORTS AND DEFINING BORDERS:  
TREATIES WITH BRITAIN AND RUSSIA**

221

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE CONVENTION: OPENING PORTS BY ACCIDENT .....	221
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY .....	239

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

**ESCAPE FROM IMPASSE**

257

APPROVAL OF TRADE RELATIONS AND GRADUAL LIBERALIZATION .....	258
THE LEAP TO DIPLOMATIC AND COMMERCIAL TREATIES .....	271
AFTERWORD .....	287
Chronology .....	295
Related maps .....	308
Notes .....	311
Selected Bibliography .....	329