

# 國立交通大學

經營管理研究所

碩 士 論 文



探索明治維新傳統改變與複雜系統之理論

The Application of Conventional and Complex

Change Theories to the Meiji Restoration Period

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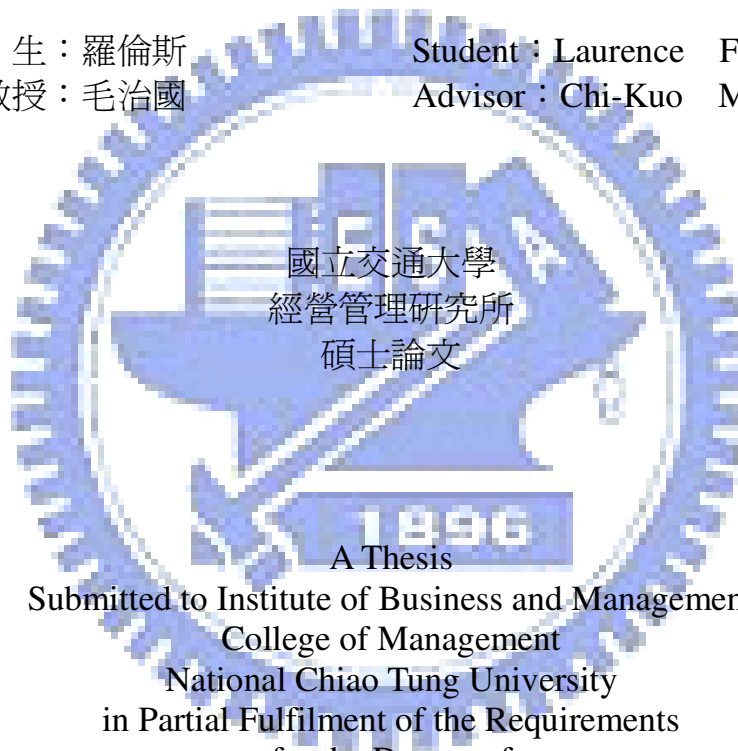
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Student : Laurence Farley  
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## ABSTRACT

The country of Japan implemented a nationwide process of modernization after the Tokugawa Shogun lost the ruling of government to the Emperor Meiji. During this seventy-year period of radical reform, Japan modernized into a strong industrial nation. This occurred while the sovereign state was exposed to new technologies and cultural influences from the dominant western powers of the day. This thesis presents a macro analysis framework for the organizational transformation during the Japanese Meiji Restoration period. The concepts used to model changes from the target period of Japan's opening to the world include conventional organization change theories, such as: Lewin's Unfreeze, Change and Refreeze, and Kotter's Eight Steps. Complex change system theories are also used for modelling this change progress, which include: Bifurcation and Cusp Catastrophe.

This thesis puts the point forward that complex change system theories can be used to gain some insight of possible outcomes of a specified event. This can be achieved by recognizing, analyzing and influencing the self-organizing process at certain stages of implementation.

**Keywords:** Meiji Restoration, complex change theories; cusp catastrophe

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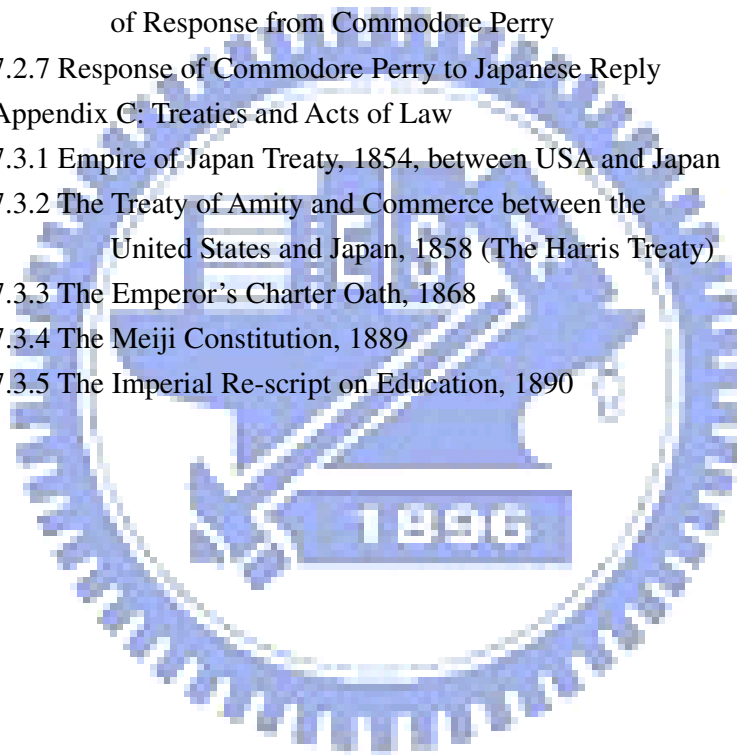


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## **CHAPTER 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Preface**

Change within a society cannot be measured in quantitative terms; only the effects of change can be observed and analyzed. This specialized relationship of cause and effect has been witnessed and recorded throughout human history. However, the ability to determine the rate and transitional flow of change has proved difficult when the effects do not occur immediately after the factors instigating them.

### **1.2 Background**

The county of Japan implemented a nation-wide process of modernization after the last Tokugawa Shogun lost the ruling of government to the Emperor Meiji. During this seventy-year period of radical reform, Japan modernized into a strong industrial nation. This occurred while the sovereign state was exposed to new technologies and cultural influences of the dominant western powers of the day. The area of reform psychology is a vast and highly subjective topic; there are simply no standard cross-cultural guidelines that can be applied to the change client in assessing whether the process of transformation is ethically correct or not. This moral grey-area becomes even harder to successfully navigate when generational issues and paradigm shifts are taken into account, such as when analyzing a pre-industrial Japan in a nascent industrialization period.

### **1.3 Motivation**

Many different articles and books have been written on this intriguing period of Japanese history. My research up until now suggests that the authors have only attempted to determine a linear, short term change, factor to effect relationship. At

present there is no published academic or popular literature examining complex system change effects observed during this period. This thesis presents a macro analysis framework for the organizational transformation during the end of the Tokugawa shogunate (government administration) and Meiji Restoration periods. The concepts used to model changes from the target period of Japan's opening to the world include conventional organization change theories and complex change system theories.

A simple change system that has been adapted from Kurt Lewin's work on dynamic stability is the 'Unfreezing, Changing and Refreezing' theory. However, this analytical tool is simply one example from the past decades of work in the relatively new discipline of change management. The Lewin model happens to have gained popularity with both scholars in the field and high-ranking executives. The unfreeze stage moves people or groups away from their comfortable stasis zone of stable conditions and emotions. This in turn opens the recipient up for change and possible beneficial (but still subjective) alternatives to thinking or performing a process; the recipient becomes 'change ready'. This stage can be readily observed as the tipping point of the arrival of America's infamous black ships on the shores of Japan in 1853. Other conventional organization change theories, such as Kotter's eight steps will be used to model and explain this period of history. Though the above organizational change theories are highly useful in analyzing change within a closed system after the event, they do little in way of calculating the probabilities of future outcomes occurring. Lewin's system, for example, requires the states of a system to be clearly defined before action is taken. Some processes are constantly in a state of flux (such as the weather cycle), so the freeze phase of the three steps cannot be applied. Therefore I predict that the simple change models will only be able to superficially detail the transformations apparent in the Meiji Restoration period.

The more complex systems analysis I will use to model change from the end of the Tokugawa period leading up to the Meiji Restoration includes cusp catastrophe and bifurcation theories. These complex systems are by their very nature, difficult to comprehend and correctly apply to measure a system in change. However, they do provide the distinct advantage of being grounded in mathematic principles, and therefore are able to offer some degree of measurable outcome predictability. The disadvantage is apparent when attempting to model even relatively simple processes within a closed system; convoluted mathematical structures soon obscure the reason of change process. However, as factors influencing change during the Meiji Restoration are well-recorded, I hope to demonstrate how complex systems can be applied to provide better models of change.

To my knowledge and after considerable research, this thesis topic is unique as I was unable to locate any other work on the application complex change theories to the Meiji Restoration period.

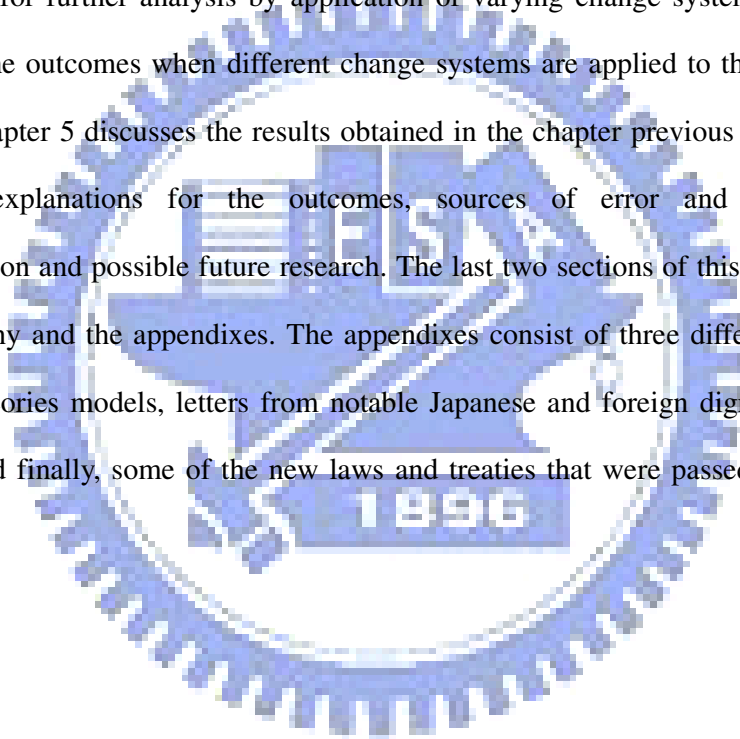
#### **1.4 Research Goals**

In summary, this thesis puts the case forward that complex change system theories can be used to gain some insight of possible outcomes of a specified event. This can be achieved by recognizing, analyzing and influencing the self-organizing process at certain stages of implementation.

The information resources that have been used throughout include books and articles on both simple and complex change systems, as well as the history of Japan during the end of the Tokugawa shogunate period and the Meiji Restoration period. The articles have been electronically downloaded from the Proquest, Oxford Journal and the Science Direct On-Site (SDOS) electronic online professional journal databases.

## 1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This paper on the application of change theories on the period before and during the Meiji Restoration has been broken down into several sections as follows. Chapter 1 introduces the topic and research goals. Chapter 2 reviews the work of books and academic journal articles relevant to both change systems and Japanese history. Chapter 3 discusses the research theories used to review the relevant literature and suitability for further analysis by application of varying change systems. Chapter 4 looks at the outcomes when different change systems are applied to the time period stated. Chapter 5 discusses the results obtained in the chapter previous and discusses possible explanations for the outcomes, sources of error and experimental interpretation and possible future research. The last two sections of this thesis are the bibliography and the appendixes. The appendixes consist of three different sections: change theories models, letters from notable Japanese and foreign dignitaries in the period, and finally, some of the new laws and treaties that were passed in the Meiji period.



## **CHAPTER 2 Document Research**

### **2.1 Review of the Tokugawa Period**

#### **2.1.1 Tokugawa History**

The Tokugawa (1700-1868) period lead directly into the widely acclaimed Meiji Restoration. However, the pre-Meiji shogunate society set up Japan for many of the factors that would later affect the rate of its modernization.

#### **2.1.2 Economic Progress in the Tokugawa Period**

The shogun implemented a law of alternate year attendance in the capital Edo (now Tokyo) for daimyo. This ensured a useful incentive for the lower echelons of the power base to remain loyal, as their families always remained in Edo. Therefore if a daimyo rebelled against the state, his wife and successors would be forfeit. Thus the daimyo and the government retainers (hired samurai) were well motivated and used their collective influence to develop extensive infrastructure which in turn helped the expansion of communications and populous dwellings, such as towns and smaller cities. Seeing as the daimyo needed to maintain two locations as households, one in Edo the other in their fiefdom, their income suffered and greater taxes needed to be levied on their fief's serfs. The daimyo's money was also spent on various social events to complete in fame with the other daimyos.

Tokugawa period urbanization gave a foundation for a national economy that was controlled from Edo under one fiscal system. Increased demand for agricultural and other goods stimulated production in rural areas, which in turn kick-started the commercial economy in Japan. The Tokugawa period saw a consistent move towards the urbanizing of towns and cities. By 1720, Japan's capital (Edo) grew into a great urbanized city with a population of over one million. Due to the wealth the daimyos

brought into the fiefdoms, each of the towns in which was located the daimyos' main castle (when not living in Edo) became cities, such as Osaka, Nagoya and Hiroshima. Overall strong city economy's make a stabile basis for Japan's modernization after the Tokugawa period.

The existence of the daimyo and the rest of the samurai class created an economy to contend with their demands. Financial markets developed from the ruling class's demand for certain high end service and goods. Peasants within the different fiefdoms also began the leap from subsistence farming to commercial farming during this period; crops went on sale in new the newly system of markets. During the Tokugawa period industries, such weaving and sake brewing, steadily increased in demand. These industries were well established in a number of towns by the time the Emperor Meiji took power from the shogun government. Banking systems also began during the shogun reign, and loans were given to both daimyo and samurai classes. These early banking systems would later become collaborated into financial institutions known in Japan as Zaibatsu. The influence of Zaibatsu during the Meiji Restoration underpinned the basis for much of Japan's ability to ascend to an industrialized world power status.

During the Tokugawa period fundamental skills developed that would later assist the fast economic growth in the Meiji period. This can be seen in the broadening roles of certain members of different class structures at the time. The bureaucratic class usually consisted of the samurai elite who governed the castle towns, while financial experience and management knowledge was gained by the merchants in their day-to-day dealing with the common peasants and the ruling samurai (or their representatives). All of theses skills concerning the ruling of financial systems and the populous would become essential knowledge in the expansion of Japan that was to follow.

The early Tokugawa shogunate was a time of great peace for the Japanese people that lasted for over two centuries. During this period of history Europe was being ravaged by a series of wars which culminated with the rise of Napoleon. Japan's nearest neighbour, China, was frequently attacked by the Manchus. The Tokugawa period saw the establishment of the country's first stable system of a ranking system for its many classes of lords. The daimyo were the highest class of samurai and were directly invested by the shogun. Three-quarters of Japan came under their control though the number of domains continually changed in this period, with a peak of five hundred and an average of two-hundred and fifty domains. These domains varied in size and social structure depending on the samurai percentage of the population. Samurai traditionally resided in the main city or castle town of the domain. Only if their number was so great were they permitted to live in the countryside by their lord (the daimyo).

Although the Tokugawa state effectively controlled three-quarters of Japan for over two hundred years, this control was limited. There was no national centralised treasury system, national schooling system or national judiciary system. In fact, matters of justice were often settled privately such as in the case of violent feuds that crossed domain borders.

The bakufu (government administration, similar to 'shogunate') system did manage to construct and maintain control over five national highways that crossed domain borders, but failed in attempts to establish either a national police force or communications system. The bakufu retrained trade between domains through slow economic change increased integration in central Japan. The lack of greater political cohesion despite increasing economic cohesion between the domains could be attributed in part to a lack of an external military threat to the country. The occasional insurrection from peasants (usually unarmed) in a domain could be handled by the

daimyo and his samurai in that domain. There was therefore little political pressure to join any competitive state system.

During the eighteenth century insurrection from peasants was becoming a more frequent event so the bakufu began ordering nearby domains to assist in quashing these mini-rebellions. During the middle of the eighteenth century the bakufu issued several regulations with the purpose of preventing large unauthorised gatherings.

Although during the Tokugawa years the Japanese people were forbidden to leave and then re-enter the country (the punishment was death), the country was not mentally closed. Chinese scholars, painters as well as religious men visited Nagasaki during the two-hundred year Tokugawa rule to ply their trades. Due to the trading export of copper the Dutch began to make inroads into Nagasaki and later Japanese culture. During the 1820's a Dutch language school was opened in Nagasaki by a Dr. Philipp Franz von Siebold. However there were strict rules placed on all Dutch scholars and traders about the proliferation of Christianity in any form: all religious teachings from the west were banned outright. This paranoid was so well enforced that new books (even from Chinese sources) entering the domain were checked for references to Christianity.

### **2.1.3 Tokugawa Social Structure**

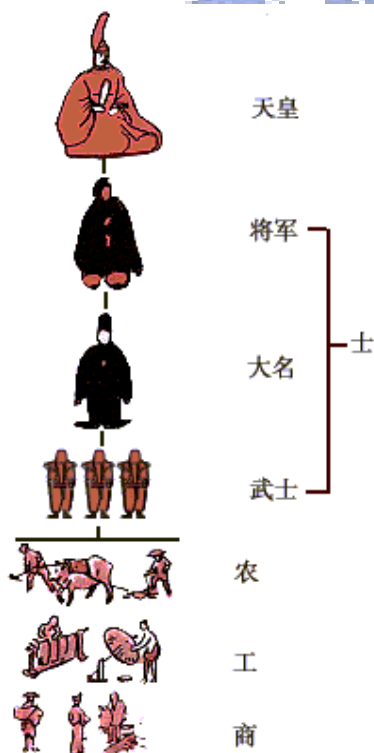
Ideally the samurai served the daimyo indifferent to personal gain or danger. In the Tokugawa period samurai enjoyed different legal privileges from the common Japanese peasants: such the right to wear two swords. Other than being constantly armed the samurai were distinct from commoners in clothes and the special top-knot method hairstyle. Though any social benefits afforded to the samurai caste is contrasted by the manner in which suicide by self-immolation (seppuku) could be ordered by the lord of the domain (the daimyo) for any trifling reason in the name of



honour. This code is known as Bushido.

From the numerous Chinese scholars and books that came to Nagasaki one Chinese concept that was taken up and remained with the Japanese was that of a particular type of social ordering. People could be ranked according to broad social classes under the emperor who at that time was a mere figurehead, the supreme power lay with the shogun. The daimyo and their samurai constituted the ruling samurai class: they held all political power within the domains they ruled. The samurai also performed in the function of administrators that carried out the will of the local lord and many scholars were also samurai. The next groups were the farmers that provided the domain with rice (and possibly a few other luxury crops) and taxes, followed by the artisans that made goods and supplied services for all of the other classes. Finally the lowest class in Tokugawa society was the merchant class that merely traded in goods produced by the higher classes.

**Figure 1. Hierarchy of the Japanese during the Tokugawa Period**



From the Japanese picture to the right we can see the class system of the Japanese.

From the top the translation for the seven different classes goes:

1. Emperor.
- Three Classes of samurai:
  2. Shogun
  3. Daimyo (lord of a domain)
  4. Warrior samurais and scholars

日本封建等级示意图

Followed by the lower, mostly uneducated classes:

5. Farmers
6. Artisans
7. Merchant

The samurai ruling class was constantly searching for excessive production within the agricultural system: this is no more evident than in village life. Farmers in a Tokugawa village were oppressed by the samurai to such an extent that displays of benefits afforded to them by the work were banned. Examples of sumptuary laws in village life included:

1. Farmers were prohibited from wearing cotton rain capes
2. Farmers were prohibited from using cotton umbrellas
3. Sandals with leather soles were banned
4. Farmers were prohibited from using tortoise-shell combs
5. Farmers need to leave their heads uncovered
6. Farmers needed to bow when samurai crossed their path
7. Tatami floor mats and sliding doors were restricted for the lower classes in some domains.

The concentration of samurai in castle towns led to the artisans and merchants service classes increasing their number in these areas alone. There was an entire industry set up around the ruling lords of a domain, and the samurai that carried out the lord's orders. To ensure continued loyalty from a domain the shogun instituted a system of dual residence. The family of a domain's lord, including the lord's heir, spent all their time as 'guests' of the shogun in the capital Edo (now called Tokyo). They effectively could then become hostages in the event of rebellion from the lord.

The lord of each domain needed to spend every other year residing with his family in Edo. This rotation schedule ensured continued loyalty from the lords to the shogun. It also meant that the shogun always maintained a certain amount of leverage over each domain under his control. Domains could be brought together as an army to do the shogun's bidding without much residence: there was an ever-present threat from the armies in neighbouring domains in the event of a lord's insurrection.

While in Edo, the lords spent sizable amounts of the taxes taken from the farmers, artisans and wealthier merchants from their domains on petty displays of wealth to compete in fame with the other lords. Spring and autumn were the peak seasons for the daimyo to travel. At these times peasant farmers from the villages (known as 'assisting villages') close to the travel routes were enlisted as helpers. This usually entailed becoming a porter of the daimyo's possessions: the porters were expected to work for no compensation. As the economy grew more and more villages lost their farm workers during peak seasons of the agricultural calendar, which became a growing source of unrest within the peasant class.

#### **2.1.4 Social Progress in the Tokugawa Period**

The hierarchical system during the Tokugawa Period is as follows: emperor, shogun, daimyo, samurai, peasants, artisans, and finally merchants (see Figure 1 in ref. 2.1.3). This system was known throughout Japan and its largest islands; the same social ideology was ubiquitous. This hierarchal system maintained a relatively peaceful stability for over 200 years. Therefore the Japanese were already used to serving an emperor well before the Emperor Meiji came to power. This is important as it proves how the Restoration period was in no way a political revolution, merely a rebellion as the only the people in positions in government changed. During the transition phase to the new government, most of the resistance came from small

entrenched pockets of the samurai class, geographically far away from Tokyo.

### **2.1.5 Education under the Tokugawa Government**

At the start of the Tokugawa period the level of education was low to such an extent that even the samurai generals were barely literate. Education reforms were not lead by a central body, and tended to only focus on the needs of educating the new ruling class, the young samurai. However, by 1715 only twenty domains had official schools to teach samurai, and the teachers were either private tutors that only the rich could afford or Buddhist monks. Towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a far greater onus on getting samurai to at least a literate level of education. Young samurai started with the Chinese calligraphy, followed by the Confucian Four Books (The Analects of Confucius, The Book of Mencius, Great Learning and Doctrine of the Mean) to teach loyalty and morals. The correct way to perform the tea ceremony was also taught at an early age. In the samurai's teenage years swordsmanship, archery, horse riding, wrestling and military strategy were taught to prepare him for a life of service as both a warrior and administer. An adult samurai should also have some knowledge of a Japanese gentleman's leisure pursuits, which included: Japanese and Chinese poetry, chess and backgammon.

By the end of the Tokugawa period schools were flourishing. The ruling samurai class saw a need to train not only their young samurai but also children from the lesser classes as well, although the syllabus ranged greatly depending on the factors of the social class of the students and the domain in which they were taught.

**Table 1. Number of Schools by Date of Establishment**

Year	Type of School			
	Private Academy	Commoner Parish	Commoner Village	Samurai Class
pre-1750	19	47	11	40
1751-1788	38	47	11	40
1789-1829	207	1286	42	78
1830-1867	796	8675	48	56
Totals	1076	10202	118	225

Source: Rubinger, R., Private academies of Tokugawa Japan.

The great respect for learning in Japanese society had already produced a progressive and widespread educational system in the Tokugawa period. Schools for samurai and children of the lower hierarchal classes had already been established by the start of the Meiji Restoration. National reading rates were already being tested and recorded before 1868.

The shogunate even displayed an interest in knowledge obtained from outside Japan. This can be observed in the 'Dutch study' program they set up. This program was used to obtain translations of many areas of western knowledge including: military tactics, medicine and the sciences. Therefore Japan had already become accustomed to idea of foreign knowledge well before the Meiji Restoration. The Ministry of Education in was established in 1871, and build upon many of the ideas encouraged by the Tokugawa. The following year, the bill to make education universal throughout Japan was well received due to the people's well engrained respect for the need of education.

## **2.2 Review of the Meiji period**

### **2.2.1 Meiji History**

The Meiji Restoration would mark the beginning of Japan's opening to the world as this period marks the start of the country's growth into an economic world leader.

### **2.2.2 Economic Progress in the Meiji Period**

The employment in Japan of over three thousand international experts from the US, Britain and Europe to lecture the Japanese in the areas of modern science, engineering and military matters was a master stroke of the Meiji government. It forced the local government officials to learn a foreign language and the latest developments in their chosen areas of expertise at the same time. The concept of seeking foreign knowledge is referred to in the Emperor's Charter Oath of 1868 (ref. 7.3.3, Appendix C of this thesis). This aided the process of modernisation and industrialisation as the Japanese officials learned of the necessary information directly from the source, not from outdated or poorly translated books. Many Japan officials and students also went to study in the west for the same reason.

The economy prospered as the old stigmas against the merchant class, the lowest caste under Tokugawa rule, were dropped. New roads and railroads were built around the country to facilitate trade. The new leaders were able to make informed and knowledgeable choices on how best to improve the country through industrialisation; Japan became the leading economic force in Asia and a benchmark of a developing country for the whole world.

### **2.2.3 Meiji Social Structure**

With the Tokugawa government out of the way the old lord and samurai social caste system was abolished. The Meiji Constitution of 1889 (ref. 7.3.4, Appendix C of

this thesis) meant that everyone had to operate and live under the same laws.

Though times were hard for the ex-daimyo and ex-samurai, everyone else enjoyed an unprecedented era of development and economic growth. Better farming methods and machinery brought over from the west also saw to the end of large famines.

#### **2.2.4 Social Progress in the Meiji Period**

The merchant class were oppressed and heavily taxed (along with the farmers and artisans) under Tokugawa rule. The new emphasis on trade and the importing of foreign ideas and machinery opened up new sources of revenue for the traders. Due to the lifting of heavy and arbitrarily imposed taxes, most were better off under the Meiji government rule.

Bans against leaving the county and certain types of religious worship were now lifted.

#### **2.2.5 Education under the Meiji government**

The re-script on education (ref. 7.3.5, Appendix C of this thesis) meant the every child in Japan, not just the sons of daimyo, samurai and rich merchants, was entitled to an education. In fact the imperial edict made it mandatory. Therefore, it was long before the general education level, including the reading rate, of the general public increased. This in turn aided Japan's economy by having a source of educated labour to rely on.

## 2.3 Review of Conventional Organization Change Theories

### 2.3.1 Lewin's Unfreeze, Change and Refreeze Model

"If you want truly to understand something, try to change it" is quoted from the German born psychologist, Kurt Lewin. He was one of the first scholars that studied the organizational change process in different social groups. His work lead him to identify a three stage change mechanism: unfreeze, change and refreeze. The unfreeze stage moves people away from their comfortable stasis zone of stable conditions and emotions. This in turn opens the recipient up for change and possible beneficial (but still subjective) alternatives to thinking or performing a process; the recipient becomes 'change ready'. According to Lewin's work, change is a journey that needs to be undertaken. As in all journey's one may get lost, but through trial and error and spending time on exploration, the correct route will be uncovered. This is the transition phase of Lewin's theory. Finally, once the destination is reached and the goal achieved, the traveller must re-establish a new comfortable stasis zone. In this way the change is engrained within the person or organization.

We can apply Lewin's Change theory to the Meiji Restoration when we analyse the social and political situation from a broader perspective. If we limit the model to a smaller timeframe: the unfreeze state occurring with the arrival of the black ships, and the refreeze state manifesting when the emperor Meiji took political power, then too many import factors are ignored. Though to simplify this paper's investigation into the change system effects observed during the restoration is tempting, it is perhaps over-generalising the social and political system present in Japan before the black ships appeared. The arrival of foreigners in the black battle ships was definitely an extremely important point of modern Japanese history as the ramifications of strong foreign power wielding influence on both foreign and internal political policy can be



observed in Japan to this very day. However, it would be hubris by the author of this thesis to view Japan's entire political system to be affected by foreign powers alone.

When using Lewin's unfreeze, change and refreeze theory to effectively analysis the political upheaval in Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century, we must adopt a larger perspective of Japanese history. We must also speculate that similar political and afterwards social change would have occurred without the arrival of the black ships to act as a catalyst. As the general populous of the country was becoming less and less content with the state of their treatment, as could be observed by the increasing number of riots and acts of civil unrest, eventually another catalyst for change would have emerged. The Tokugawa government's grip on power was becoming increasing weak as the nineteenth century progressed, and some kind of political change was looming on the horizon.

### **2.3.2 Kotter's Eight Steps Model**

Kotter's work on the processes that brings about successful change within an organization is summarized in both his 1995 book 'Leading Change', and his 2002 book 'The Heart of Change'. The eight steps are as follows: 1. change motivation and increasing the sense of urgency; 2. build the guiding team; 3. consensus on vision; 4. removal of barriers, by communicating the change vision; 5. resource commitment and empowering the people that can make the change happen; 6. focus on short-term victories; 7. performance assessment and consolidation of gains made; and finally step 8. institutionalization of change, by anchoring new systems in the culture of the organization.

Kotter's eight steps can be simplified into an easier and more concise system through integration with Lewin's Unfreeze, Change and Refreeze Model (Thesis reference 2.3.1). Lewin's unfreeze phase can include the first four steps of Kotter's

model. The change phase can include steps five to seven of Kotter's model. While finally Kotter's anchoring of new systems step is equivalent to Lewin's refreeze phase.

### **2.3.3 The Motivation, Ability and Opportunity Model**

The motivation, ability and opportunity model can be seen in Appendix A, Figure 14. This very simple model states that there are three necessary elements required for change. The motivation is the willingness of a person or people to undergo change within an organization. The ability is the aptitude of the person or people to make the change process happen. The opportunity can be viewed as the chance of favourable circumstances being present to facilitate the change process.

### **2.3.4 Peter Senge's Five Disciplines**

Peter Senge proposed his 'Five Disciplines' theory of change in his book 'The Fifth Discipline' in 1994. This systems theory consists of five different constituents necessary for organizational change. These elements are as follows: personal mastery, where the subject of the change process displays the willingness to change; mental model, a perspective change of the organization; shared vision, the perspective of the organization is disseminated throughout the organization; team learning, where the organization grows together and shares in the growth process; and finally systems thinking. The last discipline, systems thinking, can be seen as an integration of the other four previous elements to construct a more organic and evolving organization; it is more holistic way to perceive an organization that is always in a state of flux.

## 2.4 Review of Complex Change System Theories

### 2.4.3 Bifurcation Model

The bifurcation model displays a series of states along which change of a process of situation can occur (see Appendix A, Figure 10). Change of state can occur on the diagram at one of the distinct nodes. The first part of the diagram shows the existing state which enters the first change node. From here the situation enters a state of chaos in which it becomes 'change ready'. From hereon there are two routes the changing system can take: it can either carry on to a new state or return to the previous state, in the latter case the original system is conserved, and the change has failed. For the disorganized state stage the system can travel one of three possible routes to re-stabilisation. The first possible outcome is that the system changes according to a pre-determined plan or vision, 'system changed according to plan'. The second outcome is that the system is changed but the outcome was not the envisioned one, 'system changed, but not as expected'. The third and final possible outcome is that the 'system disintegrates', and possibly returns to a state similar to the initial system.

### 2.4.4 Cusp Catastrophe Model

#### History

The French Theorist René Thom coined the term 'Catastrophe theory' in the late 1960's to describe a series of mathematical models he was working on. Using today's mathematical classification, Catastrophe theory is technically an area of bifurcation theory. Rapid shifts in behaviour or output of a system in Bifurcation theory are linked to testable variations. These variations (or factors) can often occur at a slow rate, but the accumulated effects of two or more such factors can have massive (and

even unforeseen) consequences on the entire system.

### **Explanation**

This rather abstract idea of a ‘Catastrophe theory’ is often found to be difficult to expound. An effective well used analogy to simplify the concept of cusp catastrophe is the behaviour example of an antagonized dog. A dog may react to added stress, such as being beaten, by either becoming scared (more cowardly) or becoming angry (more vicious). In this example the dog should display a natural (or measured) response from scared to viscous as more stress is applied, so long as the stress starts at a restrained low level. However, when the scared dog is irritated in increasing amounts (or a faster rate), it eventually reaches the 'fold' point of the catastrophe cusp. At this point the dog will apparently (and without an increase of irritation from the provoker) suddenly snap into a vicious response. From hereon the dog will continue to be angry, even if the direct irritation cause (the action of the provoker) is significantly reduced. This is an example of hysteresis.

As highlighted in the above example the parameters that need to be measured can affect the analysis of the complete system. To put this in another way, the lack of dependability in weather predictions will always occur due to myriad of possible factors. This is also known as the ‘Chaos Effect’ as first documented by the meteorologist Edward Lorenz, or as the ‘Butterfly effect’, the example of which was given in the lecture from Ian Stewart’s book, ‘Does God Play Dice? The Mathematics of Chaos’. This concept of unpredictability within a closed (isolated) system is due to sensitive dependence on initial conditions. Small factor variation within a system may cause a domino relay effect to dramatic changes. Natural disasters such as earthquakes are of the culmination of tiny movements of tectonic plates, which in turn may cause landslides or even possibly tsunamis.

This Cusp Catastrophe diagram can be seen in Appendix A, Figure 11. The two possible routes for the system process, direct and indirect, are also shown in Appendix A, Figures 4 and 5 respectively.

The indirect approach (the green line) which is seen in Figures 3 and 5 is the more traditional way to view a change process. The old system (State I) moves to the target system (State III) in a predictable and smooth manner through a state of indirect change (State II). The red ball shown in Figure 13 indicated the state of the phase change, while the curved blue line indicates the pull of the attracting forces. The indirect approach shows a smooth transition from one state to the next; there is no hysteresis effect present. Hysteresis is 'the lagging of an effect behind its cause, as when the change in magnetism of a body lags behind changes in the magnetic field' as defined by the American Heritage dictionary.

The hysteresis effect can be seen the direct approach (the red line) of the cusp catastrophe model in Figures 3 and 4. Instead of a uniform rate of change the ball reached the threshold point (as indicated as the 'fold point' or red dotted line in Figure 11 and the yellow burst shape in Figure 12) as the change process is sped up and will not return to its previous state beyond this point. As the system moves through the change process from state A to state G, the pull of the two different attractors varies greatly. We observe the hysteresis effect between the states E and F (Figure 12): when in the chaos zone the pull from the new attractor is much greater than that of the old attractor but the state of the system, as indicated by the red ball, has not yet passed into the new state. From then on the final pulling force from the new attractor forces the state over the axis into a new organizational system; the red ball of the phase state rolls into the system.

## **Chapter 3 Theories Applied in the Research**

### **3.1 Conventional Change Theories**

#### **3.1.1 Lewin's Unfreeze, Change and Refreeze Model**

Due to this model's simplicity it will be one of the easiest theories to apply to the historical data in thesis. Three different points in time that conform with the unfreeze, change and refreeze stages need to be identified over the course of the change between the Tokugawa and Meiji organizational systems in Japan.

#### **3.1.2 Kotter's Eight Steps Model**

As Kotter's system model is more of an elaboration of Lewin's unfreeze, change and refreeze phase states model the same process of investigation can be applied. Special care will be taken to try and identify some of the causes behind the process of organizational reform at different stages. These will also be used in conjunction with the timeline in ref. 4.2.2.2 of this thesis.

#### **3.1.3 Motivation, Ability and Opportunity Model**

As this model calls for the application of completely abstract goals to be used to determine the mindsets of groups of people that have long since passed away, the results gained are completely open to interpretation. The motivation and ability of the groups within both the Tokugawa and Meiji organizations have been recorded and analyzed by a number of historians over the years, but all we really have to work on is second hand evidence at best.

#### **3.1.4 Senge's Five Disciplines**

The distinctive element of this thesis is that of 'systems thinking' (the fifth

discipline). Here synergy can be observed as the overall effect of the systems thinking approach to view the organizational change, is greater than the sum of the other four disciplines.

## **3.2 Complex Change Theories Application**

### **3.2.1 Bifurcation Theory**

The bifurcation process model works well in describing different possible outcomes of the Meiji Restoration other than the current historical interpretation. The weakness in the model lies in the interpretations of the stages being broken down into only four distinct phase changes: lose of stability, chaos zone, change and result (see Appendix A, Figure 10). As we already know the result of the change in governments between the Tokugawa and Meiji systems due to historical recording, the only remaining process is to envision any other possible outcomes from the interaction of these two organizations.

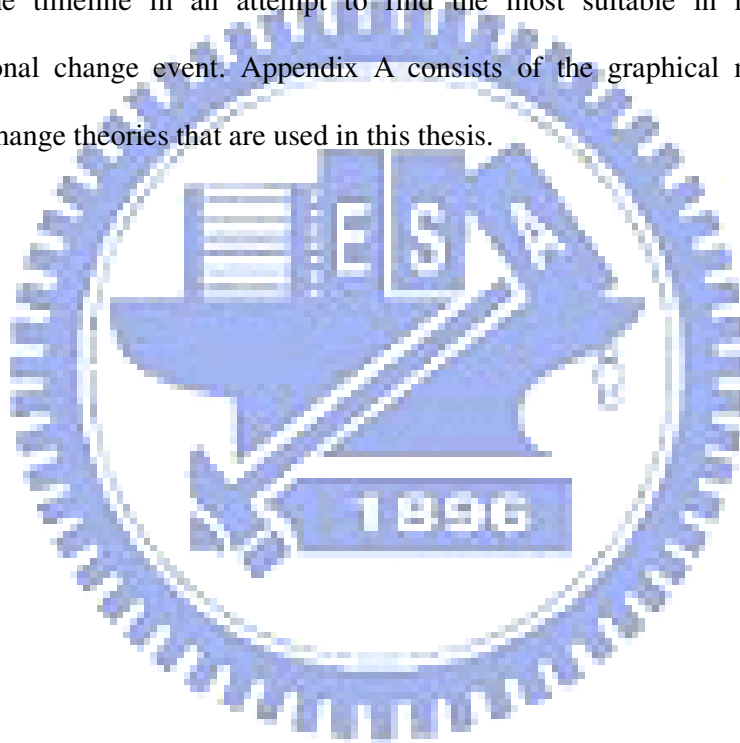
### **3.2.2 Cusp Catastrophe Theory**

Catastrophe theory shows us that smooth change history in a system does not necessarily lead to the continued rate of change in the future. People that invest in stock markets are well aware of this; the crash can always be around the next corner. The only precaution one can take is to be ready for change; to 'expect the unexpected' as the phrase goes. As well as being applied to every-day life scenarios, the seven Catastrophe systems (fold, cusp, swallowtail, butterfly, hyperbolic umbilic, elliptic umbilic and parabolic umbilic) are also evident in physics, ecology, biology and psychology. The Application of the various catastrophe models will present a useful reference point from which to interpret the Meiji Restoration period. Due to the nature of this experiment, the ability of each model to represent historical circumstances

during the Restoration period can only be judged subjectively.

### **3.3 Research Framework**

After consulting with numerous historical books and first and second hand historical sources (as in Appendixes B and C) a timeline was constructed to aid the analysis of this thesis. This timeline can be found in ref. 4.2.2.2 of this thesis. Both the conventional and complex change theories will be applied to the historical research data in the timeline in an attempt to find the most suitable in modelling the organisational change event. Appendix A consists of the graphical models of the complex change theories that are used in this thesis.





## CHAPTER 4 Case Analysis by Theories

### 4.1 Conventional Change Theories

#### 4.1.1 Lewin's Unfreeze, Change and Refreeze Model

When comparing the situation of both Japan's internal and external political struggles there are three major turning points that seem to conform well to the three stages of Lewin's theory. Though each of the three dates I have given is widely open to personal interpretation, I will attempt to justify my decision with appropriate supporting evidence.

##### **4.1.1.1 UNFREEZE STATE (starting from between 1807 and 1825, on ref. 4.2.2.2 timeline and ending around 1850)**

This was a period of massive civil unrest for Japan. Due to increasing occurrences of rice crop failures the public were revolting more frequently. Though an unusually bad spate of unpredictable weather cycles and flooding could not be blamed on the Tokugawa government, they did precious little to ease the people's suffering.

In my cases the pomp of the shogun and the travelling daimyo on their way to and from the capital Edo exacerbated this situation. Ordinary farmers were expected to work for free as luggage carriers for the daimyo lords and retainers. If did not anger the peasant farmers enough, the timed of travel from and to Edo often conflicted with the farming planting and reaping cycles, so less food could be produced for the already downtrodden and hungry masses.

The local peasant farmers were however exposed to increasing displays of wealth displayed by the daimyo lords and their samurai, which was designed to impress other visiting daimyo. As the farmer, artisan and merchants were heavily taxed in this period of Japanese history relative to their total income the undercurrent

of discontent must have been accumulating, and waiting for a chance to vent out against their masters.

Here we can observe the organization entering a state of 'change readiness' as tensions between the highly segregated classes are coming to ahead.

#### **4.1.1.2 LEWIN'S CHANGE STATE (starting around 1850 and on ref. 4.2.2.2 timeline and ending around 1876)**

This is the chaos state in which either of the two government organizations, Tokugawa or Meiji, could have come out on top. Although the arrival of Commodore Perry's black ships was a catalyst for change in troubled Japan the event it did occur when the country was already in a state of turmoil. Therefore, it would be arrogant to assume the political revolution came about solely due to foreign inference in state affairs, though the pressure the United States and other trading nations exerted at the time was a contributing factor in the change process.

Though the Tokugawa government tries to react to stabilise this new chaotic state most of there actions are looking towards the past, not the possible future. As under the Tokugawa Japan was never really a unified country, more of a series of vassal states (fiefdoms) that had to pay homage to the shogun. When outside and internal pressure was placed on this system there was simply not enough internal cohesion, (as governmental influence) so the system failed as was left wide open to possible change from a variety of different sources.

The Meiji government organization took advantage of this situation to install the young monarch and re-establish an imperial ruling system. To maintain power during this volatile time they promoted peace by both signing trade and amity treaties with a number of nations, as well as solidify their rule through numerous laws and edicts.

**4.1.1.3 LEWIN'S REFREEZE STATE** (starting around 1876 and on ref. 4.2.2.2 timeline)

Due to the Meiji government's short but highly impressive reign over Japan the chaotic change process has taken only around twenty to thirty years to complete. In this short time the foundations have been laid to maintain a new order for the next phase of Japan's history. As the political stability is returned to the country, a new social stability follows as well; for the first time Japan is truly a unified nation. Over the next fifty years to follow the 'refrozen' Japan will take its place as the leader of the Asian economies, due to its forward thinking and adaptability to meet the modern world, and its social challenges, head on.

**4.1.2 Kotter's Eight Steps Model**

The first step is to increase the sense of urgency; this was certainly true towards the end of the Tokugawa reign as the number of riots and cases of insurrection by the general public was rising sharply. Therefore the Meiji organization had no part in the first step; it was merely a by-product of the inadequate rule of the Tokugawa.

The second and third steps are building the guiding team and getting a consensus on vision. This was a very important part for the new Meiji government to master; they not only had to assemble enough politically sharp and powerful people, but also make sure that the common goal was shared amongst the members. Political change can be a dangerous time, especially if the new government doesn't merely replace the old one, but introduces a new political system at the same time. Many of the old Tokugawa government or the daimyo lords and samurai could and probably did hold large grudges against the new rulers. This is the type of situation where a coup from either the old rulers or a new political faction is the most likely. The new Meiji organization solved this problem by removal of unnecessary political barriers by

communicating the new Japan with new laws and edicts. As in step four of Kotter's model. This concludes the unfreeze state in relation to the first four steps.

From hereon the Meiji government instituted a new of positive long-term moves to solidify their powerbase. A good example of the fifth step for resource commitment empowerment is when the Meiji government sent around thirty of its officials to the US, Britain and Europe. Their varying tasks were basically to learn how these modern countries political and economic systems worked, as well as observing the benefits of advanced technologies. Short-term victories (the sixth step) were brought to Meiji Japan by way of imported expertise and equipment in the forms of modern weaponry, transportation and infrastructure. Imported foreign science and technology played a large part in the rapid advancement of the county. The Japanese people of that period living in the cities would have had no problem in understanding the gains (seventh step) and advancement to their lives after the emperor took power. The seventh step ends the relation to the change phase of Lewin's phase theory.

Finally, the step eighth step, Institutionalization of change by anchoring new systems in the culture of the organization, can be equated to Lewin's 'refreeze' phase state. Here we can observe a Japanese country, not a fiefdom, which is able to make edicts and pass laws that benefit and affect its entire people. Examples of this can be found in the Meiji constitution (1889) and the re-script on education (1890), both of which can be seen in Appendix C. It was at this time that Japan became a sovereign nation, and entered the world political stage.

#### **4.1.3 Motivation, Ability and Opportunity Model**

When using this model we need to assume the thoughts and goals of people that lived in a different era, it is the most imprecise. The opportunity arose from around the period of increased civil unrest in Japan. As rice crop failures grew the peasants

started revolting as they blamed the Tokugawa lords for making them work for free as luggage carriers for the daimyo and retainers during the crucial annual planting and harvesting times. There was high animosity towards the Tokugawa government already, which created an opportunity for change.

The ability of the people within the Meiji organization is apparent after the change of government event. In less than fifty years under the Meiji rule, the country of Japan had changed from a series of agricultural based fiefdoms into an international first-world nation. The Meiji emperor was surrounded by many notable and loyal people, both inside and outside the diet, which worked for the state towards a common goal.

The motivation of the people that worked in and for the Meiji government is difficult to ascertain. Although we can guess that the reasons behind the motivation lay in the incentive of building a stronger and more stable Japan, we can never really be certain of the theses people's aims. I would like to think that at this period of history the Meiji protagonists felt that they had a sense of pulling together and working towards a common goal, but it is risky to try and empathize with a people from a different era and culture.

#### **4.1.4 Senge's Five Disciplines**

This systems theory consists of five different elements of organizational change. The personal mastery exhibited in motivating the group has already been discussed in section 4.1.3 of this thesis. The mental model of establishing a new world view for Japan, and then allowing others to grow with this view was brought about through increased trade and contact with other nations. In permitting interaction with other nations, Japan and its people were permitted to flourish and compare themselves with their international peers.

Sharing this new vision of growth and country-wide prosperity was aided by the unification of the country under a singular ruler and a single rule of law. Previously the farmers, artisans and merchants needed to abide to the whims of their local lord, and these arbitrary laws changed from domain to domain.

Organizational or team learning was achieved through better country-wide infrastructure, newspapers, and later on, a new constitution (7.3.4 in Appendix C) and a re-script on education (7.3.5 in Appendix C).

Systems thinking can be understood as the holistic sum of the other four disciplines. As the Meiji government manages to create order from chaos in such a short space of time, and then put forward and anchored a vision of a new Japan we can assume the synergism of the different elements was positive; the Meiji government displayed a systems thinking approach to organizational change.

## **4.2 Complex Change Theories**

### **4.2.1 Bifurcation Theory**

Though it would seem that the Tokugawa government lost control and entered the chaos zone with the arrival of Commander Perry's black ships in 1853-4, in actual fact the government had been in turmoil for some time. The arrival of the black ships was a catalyst that forced the equilibrium of control further onto the Meiji government's side. From the loss of stability zone the Bifurcation process enters the chaos zone from between 1807 and 1825 on ref. 4.2.2.2 timeline, which ends around 1850, the same as Lewin's Unfreeze phase. The reasons given for this change are the same as in 4.1.1.1, earlier on in this thesis; basically the Tokugawa government did little to ease the people's suffering during times of crisis. Perhaps their mismanagement of the domains added to causes behind the crisis such as the famines

and riots. From this point the process (see Figure 10 in Appendix A) can either carry on into the disorganized state or restore to the original state (system conserved, change failed). Fortunately the bifurcation process carried on into the disorganized state.

Once Japan entered the chaos zone of the bifurcation process the system becomes disorganized and change could occur. The change zone occurs from around the early 1850's on ref. 4.2.2.2 timeline, the same as Lewin's change phase. The reasons given for this change are the same as in 4.1.1.2, earlier on in this thesis; the Meiji organization took control of the chaos to place the young monarch in a position of political power and re-establish an imperial ruling system. The Meiji government promoted peace by both signing trade and amity treaties with other nations to ensure no outside interference with their new state of sovereignty.

When we refer to the bifurcation model (Figure 10 in Appendix A) we can see that from the change zone there are only three more routes that this change process can take: system changed according to plan (white circle with a black dot in the middle); system changed, but not as planned (blue circle with a white dot in the middle); and system disintegrates (red circle with black cross). As the result of system disintegration is the re-establishment of the old system (the black dotted line in Figure 10), we know this did not happen as the Tokugawa did not regain power. As the Meiji took power and installed their reign relatively peacefully over a short time period, this demonstrates how the system was changed according to plan (as shown as a possible outcome in the result zone). This final result zone according to the bifurcation model occurs from around 1876 on ref. 4.2.2.2 timeline, the same as Lewin's refreeze phase. The reasons given for this change are the same as in 4.1.1.3, earlier on in this thesis; a nation is established, not a series of domains. Political stability is returned to the country and new order of law is formed as its basis for a legal framework. The unfair

class system is revolutionised to take power away from the daimyo lords and their samurai.

#### **4.2.2 Cusp Catastrophe Theory**

The complex cusp catastrophe theory can provide an insightful demonstration of the possible extremes of change within an isolated system such as Japan before it 'opened' to western powers. However, defining what an isolated system is with respect to external influence and the universal constant of entropy can prove difficult. For example, though a simple insect's reflexes to a certain situation could be mapped and analyzed, an individual's reactions to a similar situation would not be so apparent. Human reaction to conflict could be a precursor to war (when the group size is sufficiently large), which can not be so easily understood, given people's underlying needs for both safety and security. Human behaviour in both individuals and societies can often reach the phase 'fold' point, as laid out in the catastrophe theory, but the reasons for these changes can't be processed until after the event. This objectivity that must be employed to analyse the historically relevant Meiji Restoration will not affect the outcome of this paper's results as the major of the events occurred over one hundred and fifty years ago, therefore this time delay side effect of applying a complex change system becomes a moot point in this case

When we refer to Figure 12 in Appendix A, we see that the direct approach (the red line in Figures 3 and 4) has seven stages labelled A through G. The first stage A appears on the left-hand side of Figure 12 at the old state. The graph then flows from left to right to approach the new target state. On the time line in ref. 4.2.2.2, I have attempted to identify each of these seven stages. However, as with the other models in this thesis the stages of development are not distinct as there is no definite cut off stage. Therefore my interpretation of the events and my analysis of the historical data



are from a subjective stance. Below is a list of the seven cusp catastrophe dissipative phase states and some of the more notable historical instances that occurred in each state. For a more thorough list, refer to the timeline in ref. 4.2.2.2.

#### **4.2.2.1 List of Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase States**

##### Exiting State

State A: before 1784 - Tokugawa shogunate rules country for over 200 years.

##### Disorganization Zone

State B: around 1780's - Temmei famine kills as many as one and a half million.

Peasants protest heavy taxation

##### Chaos Zone

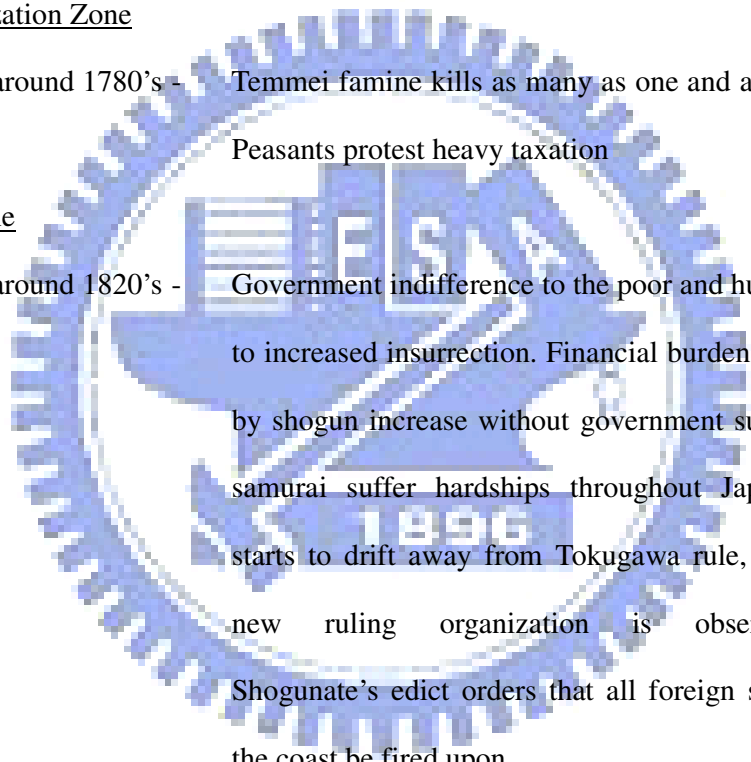
State C: around 1820's - Government indifference to the poor and hungry leads to increased insurrection. Financial burdens on daimyos by shogun increase without government support. Many samurai suffer hardships throughout Japan. Support starts to drift away from Tokugawa rule, but no clear new ruling organization is observable yet. Shogunate's edict orders that all foreign ships nearing the coast be fired upon.

State D: around 1840's - Cold weather and natural disasters severely damage the annual rice harvests. Tokugawa does little in response.

State E: around 1850's - Daimyos reinforce coastal defences. Black ships arrive. Ultimatum from US to open Japan to trade.

##### Reorganization Zone

State F: around 1860's - Choshu and Satsuma province clans attack shogunate



forces in Kyoto. This can be identified as fold point: the time in which the red ball falls into the new state (see Figure 7).

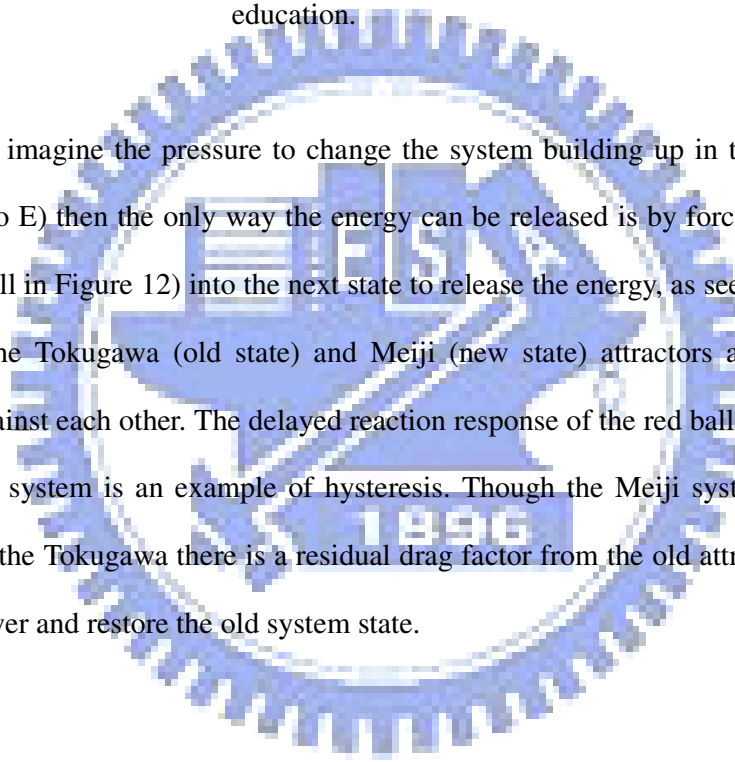
Restoration of imperial rule by Emperor's Charter Oath.

First Japanese diplomatic mission to the United States.

### Target Zone

State G: around late 1860's - The Meiji Constitution and Imperial re-script on education.

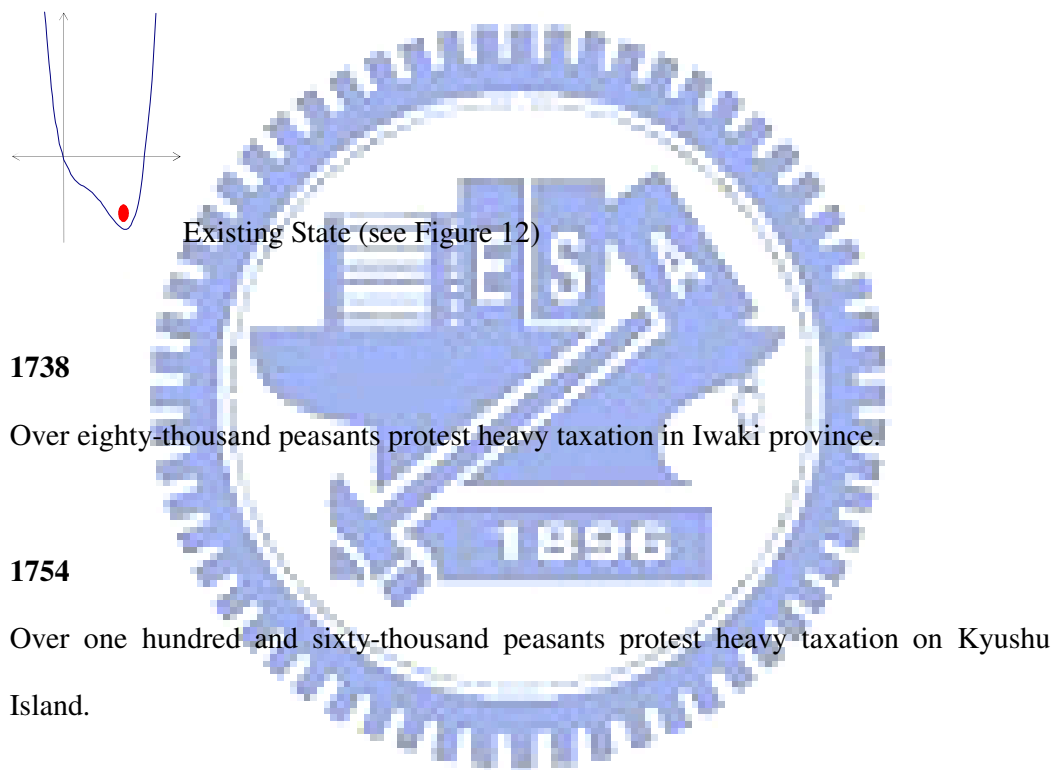
If we imagine the pressure to change the system building up in the chaos zone (states C to E) then the only way the energy can be released is by forcing the system (the red ball in Figure 12) into the next state to release the energy, as seen in Figure 12, state F. The Tokugawa (old state) and Meiji (new state) attractors are continually pulling against each other. The delayed reaction response of the red ball to fall into the new Meiji system is an example of hysteresis. Though the Meiji system eventually wins over the Tokugawa there is a residual drag factor from the old attractor trying to regain power and restore the old system state.



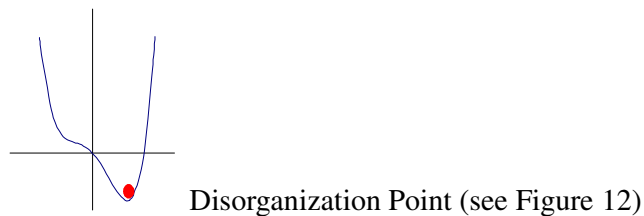
#### 4.2.2.2 Cusp Catastrophe Phase State Theory Applied to Historical Timeline

Twenty great famines resulting from drought and crop shortages led to mass starvation in Japan between 1675 and 1837. Peasants responded through protests concerning food shortages coupled with increasing taxes.

**Figure 2. Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State 'A'**



**Figure 3. Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State 'B'**



## **1781 - 1789**

Temmei famine kills as many as one and a half million.

At the same period of increased taxation and political extravagance in the form of gift giving to buy favours and power, a new agricultural drainage system meant to bring about increased crops failed. Large crop failures were then compounded by a series of droughts and floods which drastically diminished the harvest for a number of years. The whole of Japan suffered from peasant uprisings due to the continual state of famine. This period in Tokugawa history saw some of the worst famines during its reign.

## **1789**

Disturbances in Ezo region.

## **1790**

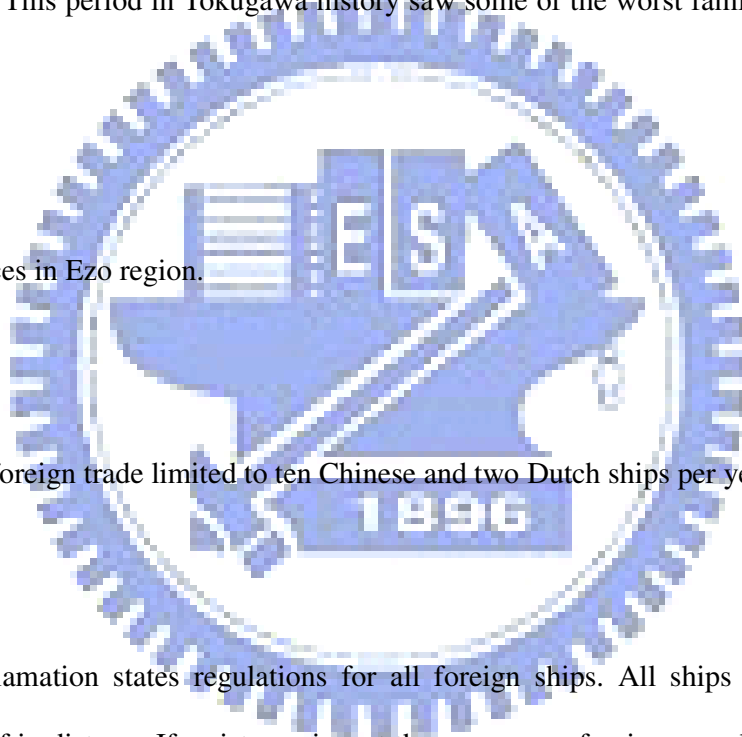
Nagasaki foreign trade limited to ten Chinese and two Dutch ships per year.

## **1791**

New proclamation states regulations for all foreign ships. All ships to be sent to Nagasaki if in distress. If resistance is met then aggressor foreign vessel is to be fired upon until destroyed.

## **1804**

The Russian envoy, Rezanov, demands opening of trade relations. His demands are refused and Rezanov leaves Nagasaki in 1805.

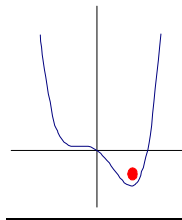


**1807**

After several raids by Russian ships on Japanese islands (Etorofu and Rishiri) and outposts, a proclamation is passed by the shogun to fire on all Russian ships.

BIFUCATION PROCESS ENTERS CHAOS ZONE

**Figure 4. Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State ‘C’**



Chaos Zone (see Figure 12)

**1825**

The shogunate's edict orders that all foreign ships nearing the coast be fired upon.

**1837**

Government indifference to the poor and hungry leads to insurrection in Osaka, led by Oshio Heihachiro.

Oshio Heihachiro was a samurai bureaucrat who had taken up Confucian philosophy and abandoned his position in government for ethical reasons. His banner carried the words 'save the people', which summed up his attitude towards the Tokugawa government. Some of his actions before the riot he incited included selling his sizable library to pay for more food to be distributed to the common people. During a time of famine this in no doubt won him many loyal followers.

To give the signal to revolt to his followers in Osaka he burned his own residence. This started a two-day spate of looting and civil unrest that only stopped

when bakufu government troops quelled the rebellion. In that time many homes of the rich and privileged were looted. This event is an excellent example in Japan history of large scale rioting and the government response to this situation during the late Tokugawa period. A piece of his manifesto that left to the people of Osaka that summed up his expectation is given below:

To the village officials, elders, farmers, peasants and tenant farmers in the domains of Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi and Harima:

From the time of the Ashikaga the emperor has been kept in seclusion and has lost the power to dispense rewards and punishments; the people therefore have nowhere to turn with their complaints...

If the four seas suffer destitution, the beneficence of heaven cannot long survive...

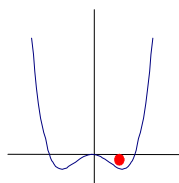
...We who are confined to our homes find it is no longer possible to tolerate the existing conditions. We lack the power of King T'ang and King Wu [of ancient China]. We do not have the virtue of Confucius or Mencius. For the sake of all under heaven, knowing that we have no one to depend on and that we may bring on punishments to our families, those of us who are of like mind are resolved to do the following: First we shall execute those officials who torment and harass those who are lowly. Next we shall execute those rich merchants in the city of Osaka who are accustomed to the life of luxury. Then we shall uncover gold and silver coins and other valuables they hoard as well as bags of rice kept hidden in their storage houses. They will be distributed to those who do not own fields or gardens in the domains of Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi and Harima, and to those who may own lands, but have a hard time supporting fathers, mothers, wives and other members of the family. The above money and rice will be distributed. Thereafter as soon as you hear there is a disturbance in the city of

Osaka, mind not the distance you must travel, but come immediately to Osaka.

What we do it to follow the command of heaven to render the punishments of heaven.

Source: Jansen, M.B. 2000. **The Making of Modern Japan**. Harvard University Press. pp 248-249

**Figure 5. Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State 'D'**



Chaos Zone (see Figure 12)

**1830-1844**

Tokugawa shogunate attempts to restore the feudal agricultural society that prevailed in Japan at the beginning of its rule. These 'Tempro' reforms fail.

Japan is yet again thrown into crisis after a series of natural disasters (starting from around 1833 with crop failures), and the centralised bureaucracy fails to meet the challenge and thereby showing its inefficient administration. In 1836 a spell of cold weather severely damaged the rice harvest for the year, leading again to widespread famine and a record high price for rice. Many areas saw violent protests by the common people and the yearly average disturbances were higher than that of the Tenmei famine years.

Common samurai in many domains are faced with hardship as the fixed stipend from their lord decreases or is entirely dropped. Discontent, and willingness for change brews within these lower samurai ranks, though at the moment there is no clearly defined figureheads to challenge the current system.

**1842**

The shogunate's edict of 1825 is relaxed.

**1844**

Gangs of different samurai castes fight in Shimosa, also known as the 'Battle of the Tonegawa'.

A French ship arrives in Ryukyu and demands the opening of diplomatic relations and trade. The right to perform missionary work is also requested.

King Willem II of Holland writes a letter to the emperor advising him to open Japan. (7.2.1. in Appendix B)

**1845**

A British ship arrives in Ryukyu and demands the opening of diplomatic relations and trade.

Letter of rejection of advice to open Japan sent to King Willem II of Holland. (7.2.2. in Appendix B)

President Fillmore's Letter to the Emperor of Japan (7.2.3 in Appendix B)

**1846**

A French envoy arrives in Ryukyu with the intention of opening trading relations.

The United States Commodore Biddle arrives in Uruga with the intention of opening



trading relations.

Tokugawa officials meet to discuss the re-enactment of the order of 1825 to repel all foreign ships in Japanese waters.

**1848**

Tokugawa officials meet for a second consultation to discuss the re-enactment of the order of 1825 concerning the repelling of all foreign vessels.

**1849**

Tokugawa officials meet for a third consultation to discuss the re-enactment of the order of 1825.

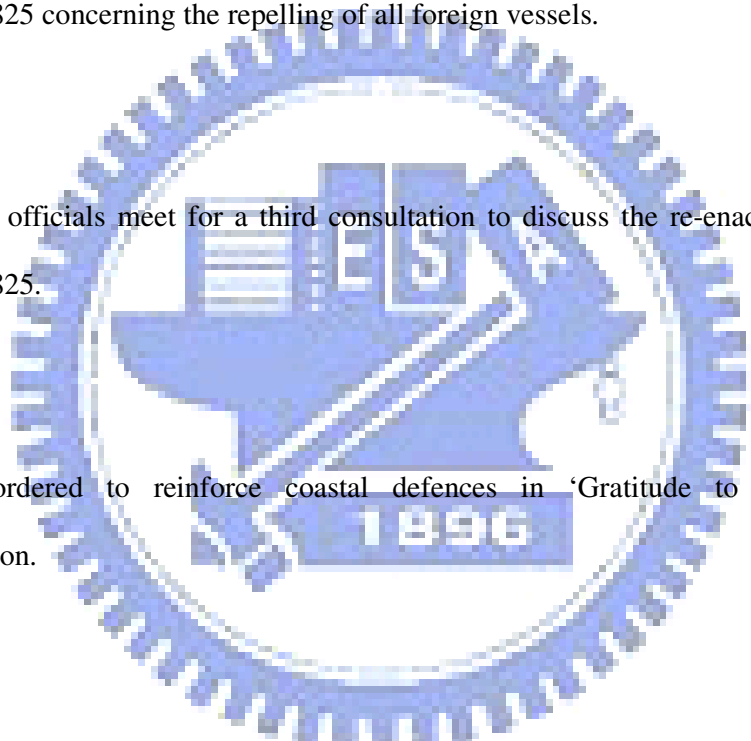
**1850**

Daimyo ordered to reinforce coastal defences in 'Gratitude to the Nation' proclamation.

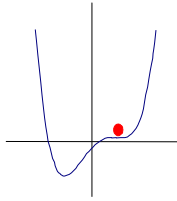
**1852**

A letter is sent from the governor of Jakarta to the Nagasaki commissioners concerning the Commodore Perry's American mission to Japan the following year. The letter also advises the opening of Japan.

**BIFUCATION PROCESS ENTERS CHAGE ZONE**



**Figure 6. Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State ‘E’**



Chaos Zone (see Figure 12)

**1853**

American Commodore Perry arrives in Uraga with four warships (infamous ‘black ships’ period). Perry gives ultimatum letter from President Fillmore for the opening of Japanese ports for supply of foreign ships. (7.2.3. in Appendix B)

Observations of Tokugawa Nariaki on Coastal Defence (7.2.4. in Appendix B)

Observations of Ii Naosuke, Lord (daimyo) of Hakone (7.2.5. in Appendix B)

**1854**

Japan signs Treaty of Amity when Commodore Perry returns with seven warships. Russia and England then demand their own trade treaties signed. Japan responds to force by opening the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate to foreign ships.

Japanese Reply to President Fillmore’s Letter of Response from Commodore Perry (7.2.6. in Appendix B)

Empire of Japan Treaty, 1854, between USA and Japan (7.3.1. in Appendix C)

Response of Commodore Perry to Japanese Reply (7.2.7. in Appendix B)

## 1856

American Consul General, Townsend Harris, takes up office in Shimoda.

Treaty with Holland signed.

## 1857

Consul General Harris extends trade treaty with shogunate. Details include the opening of more ports, rights of extraterritoriality and fixed tariffs on trade.

## 1858

Emperor Komei refuses to ratify the new treaty, and responds by demanding all foreigners expelled from Japan. Shogunate ratifies treaty without the emperor's consent. Similar treaties are also signed with Britain, Russia, France and Holland.

The Treaty of Amity and Commerce (the Harris Treaty) between the United States and Japan, 1858. (7.3.2. in Appendix C)

## 1859

Trade begins in Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate. Chief Minister of shogunate, Ii Naosuke, starts to silence critics to reduce civil unrest.

## 1860

Chief Minister of shogunate, Ii Naosuke, and American embassy interpreter Heusken are assassinated.

Price inflation on goods leads to rice riots.

First Japanese diplomatic mission to the United States.

**1861**

Union of court and shogunate is attempted when shogun Iemochi marries daughter of emperor.

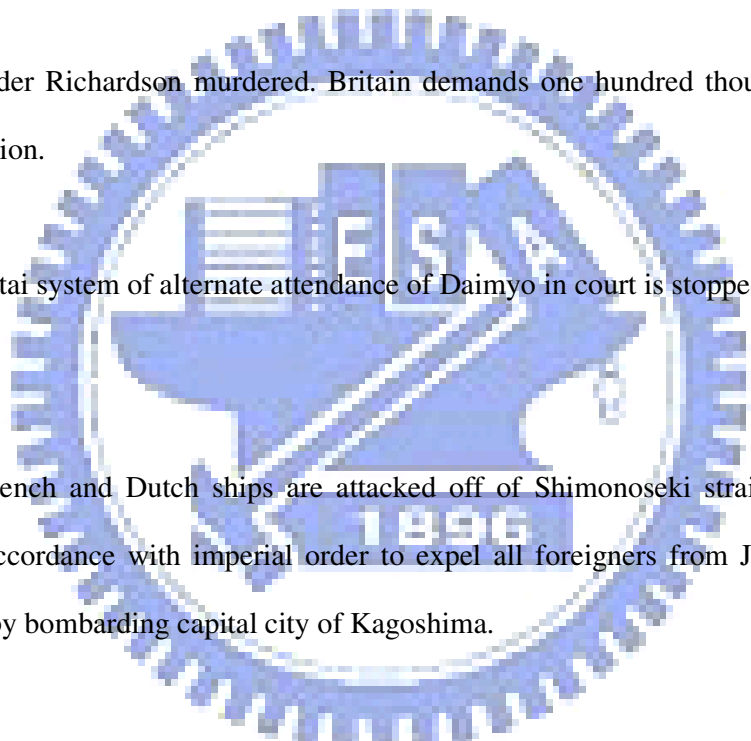
**1862**

British trader Richardson murdered. Britain demands one hundred thousand pounds compensation.

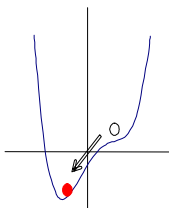
Sankin Kotai system of alternate attendance of Daimyo in court is stopped.

**1863**

British, French and Dutch ships are attacked off of Shimonoseki strait by Choshu army in accordance with imperial order to expel all foreigners from Japan. Britain retaliates by bombarding capital city of Kagoshima.



**Figure 7. Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State 'F'**



Reorganization Point (see Figure 12)

**1864**

Allied force (Britain, France, America and Holland) burns city of Shimonoseki in

reprisal for previous year's attack on allied fleet.

Choshu (also called Nagato) and Satsuma province clans attack shogunate forces in Kyoto. Shogun orders retaliation expedition against Choshu, whose leaders accept punishment.

**1865**

Shogunate orders second expedition against Choshu. Neither side is able to prevail, leading to military stalemate.

**1866**

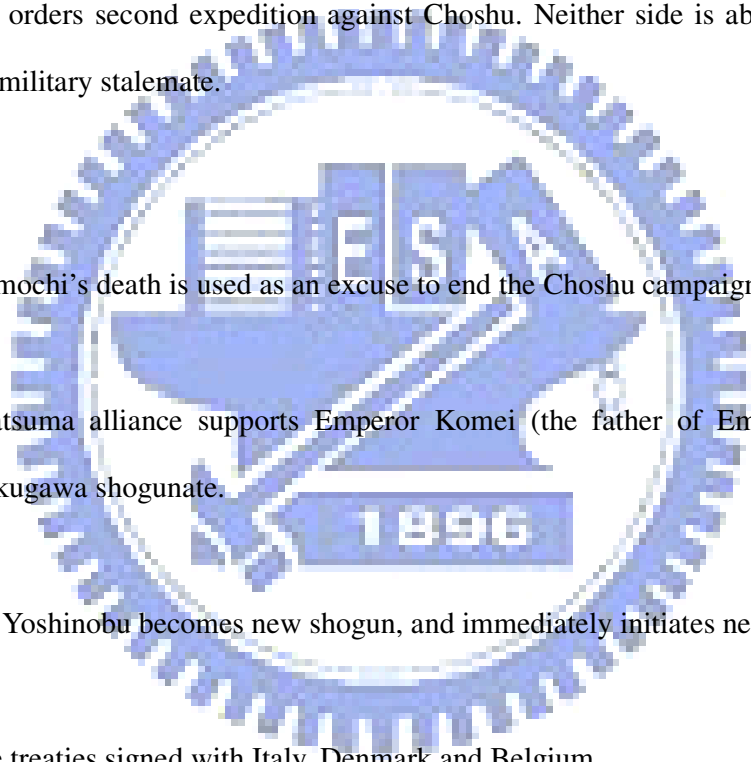
Shogun Iemochi's death is used as an excuse to end the Choshu campaign.

Choshu-Satsuma alliance supports Emperor Komei (the father of Emperor Meiji) against Tokugawa shogunate.

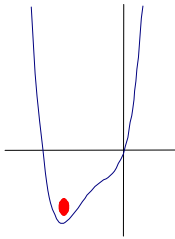
Tokugawa Yoshinobu becomes new shogun, and immediately initiates new reforms.

Commerce treaties signed with Italy, Denmark and Belgium.

Japanese nationals permitted to travel abroad legally.



**Figure 8. Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State ‘G’**



Target State (see Figure 12)

**1867**

Due to united opposition, Yoshinobu resigns as shogun and returns power to the imperial court.

Combined forces of Satsuma and Choshu attack shogunate army.

Emperor Komei dies. His son, Meiji, becomes new emperor aged 14.

**1868**

Tokugawa shogunate collapses. Emperor Meiji moves to Edo (renamed as Tokyo).

Charter Oath requests the seeking of foreign knowledge.

Restoration of imperial rule by proclamation, known as the Emperor’s Charter Oath.

(7.3.3. in Appendix C)

**1869**

Amity and commerce treaties signed with Germany and Austro-Hungary.

**1871**

Amity and commerce treaty signed with Qing China.

**1873**

National four-year military conscription for all males turning 21 years old enacted.

**1874**

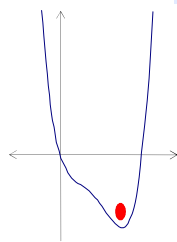
Military expedition to Taiwan by Meiji government.

**1876**

Amity treaty signed with Korea.

BIFUCATION PROCESS ENTERS RESULT ZONE

**Figure 9. Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State Process Restarts**



New Frozen State Reached. System reorganized.

**1894**

Japan goes to war with China. Japan's better equipped forces win victory in only nine months.

**1895**

China cedes Taiwan to Japan and allows Japan to trade in China.

**1889**

The Meiji Constitution (The Constitution of the Empire of Japan) (7.3.4. in Appendix C)

**1890**

Imperial re-script on education. (7.3.5. in Appendix C)

**1904**

Japan goes to war with Russia. Japan is victorious one year later.

**1910**

After three years of fighting, Japan annexes Korea.

**1914**

Japan joins World War I on the side of Britain and the allies, but only has limited participation.

**1919**

Treaty of Versailles gives Japan some Pacific territory gains.





## **Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations for further Research**

### **5.1 Research Conclusions**

After analysing the research data I conclude that the complex change theories are the most suitable in application to the macro organizational change process seen in the Tokugawa and Meiji periods. In particular, the cusp catastrophe complex change theory models the situation especially well over the given time span and available historical data.

#### **5.1.1 Research Conclusions of Conventional Organization Change Theories**

The four different conventional theories (Lewin's Unfreeze, Change and Refreeze Model; Kotter's Eight Steps Model; Motivation, Ability and Opportunity; and Senge's 'Five Disciplines') have tackled the interpretation of the Meiji Restoration from different angles. Due to the simplicity of these models, detailed comparative analysis was not possible past a subjective scale.

Of the four conventional theories applied in this thesis I conclude that the most suitable to the task was Lewin's Unfreeze, Change and Refreeze Model. The principles behind this theory are solidly based in physics (Lewin himself borrowed many of his ideas from Newtonian physics), and therefore the strength of this model is that it can be applied to fit many different situations. As there is no scale time of events in this theory, the three different phase changes can be shrunk or stretched to fit the system it is being applied to.

#### **5.1.2 Research Conclusions of Complex Change System Theories**

Though the bifurcation modelled the historical events before and during the Meiji Restoration well, I conclude that the cusp catastrophe model is the better

complex theory to use to apply to this particular system. As the cusp catastrophe model has seven distinct state phases (see Figure 12 in Appendix A) as opposed to the bifurcation model's four (see Figure 10 in Appendix A), there are more stages to display distinction changes within an organizational system during the change process.

The cusp catastrophe model's use of two opposite attractors (Tokugawa and Meiji) constantly pulling against each other in an uneven struggle causes a hysteresis effect. This slow reaction drag effect followed by a fast change (States E and F in Figure 12, Appendix A) accurately modelled the historically recorded change of governments from Tokugawa to Meiji. The Tokugawa were fighting to regain power until the last instance, and then within a few years the Meiji Government took complete control.

One unique point raised by the cusp catastrophe theory is that once the state has gone past a certain change point, known as the cusp or fold point, the new system cannot easily return to the old state. From here the whole process must begin again as displayed by Figure 9 in ref. 4.2.2.2; the change process is not linear, it required the right amount of energy to gain inertia escape the pull of the old system.

## **5.2 Limits of Thesis Research and Change Theory Application**

One of the most obvious limitations of this paper is a problem inherent when any analysis is performed on an historical event: there is simply no way to recreate the conditions similar to when the event took place. The analyst or historian is therefore forced to rely on second or third-hand data to try and piece together an accurate picture of the event in his mind and then apply some concept of reasoning to try and interpret these events. Although the author of this paper has tried to remain impartial and consult as many historical sources as possible, there are many possible sources of

unintentional bias that may have occurred through this work as follows: due to the author's lack of Japanese reading ability all of the historical reference materials were viewed in English, as either directly translated historical documents or from reputable historical journals. This will definitely be the source of some historical bias, as the majority of the writers of books on Japanese history written in English have been foreigners: there is a tendency to view the beginnings and the continuation of the Meiji period as under the influence of outside western powers, such as the arrival of the black ships in 1853 being a crucial catalyst for change of government. Though the author of this thesis has concluded that the intervention of Western foreign powers on Japanese soil was a large factor for the rate in which Japan modernised, it was not the underlining reason behind that change; the Tokugawa government was under extreme pressure to reform by the middle of the ninetieth century, the arrival of the Western powers was just the final push to incite radical change within the 'closed' system of Japan.

As the political and social views of the authors of the journals and history books (as given in the bibliography) would have carried their perspectives into their work, their options will not doubt have tainted my conclusions to some extent.

When applying both simple and complex change systems to the time period in question one must remember that unlike the linear method of cause and effect, events in time do not occur in a linear framework so one must try to maintain an objective position. According to the diagrams of the different change systems as given in appendix A, there should be distinct and important events in Japanese history that conform directly with the change of states, such as a historical events that sent the entire country from a stable state into a chaotic state. However, as there were many documented and undocumented factors that occurred on varying timeframes, we cannot simplify changing of states into a narrow time period of a few years or specific

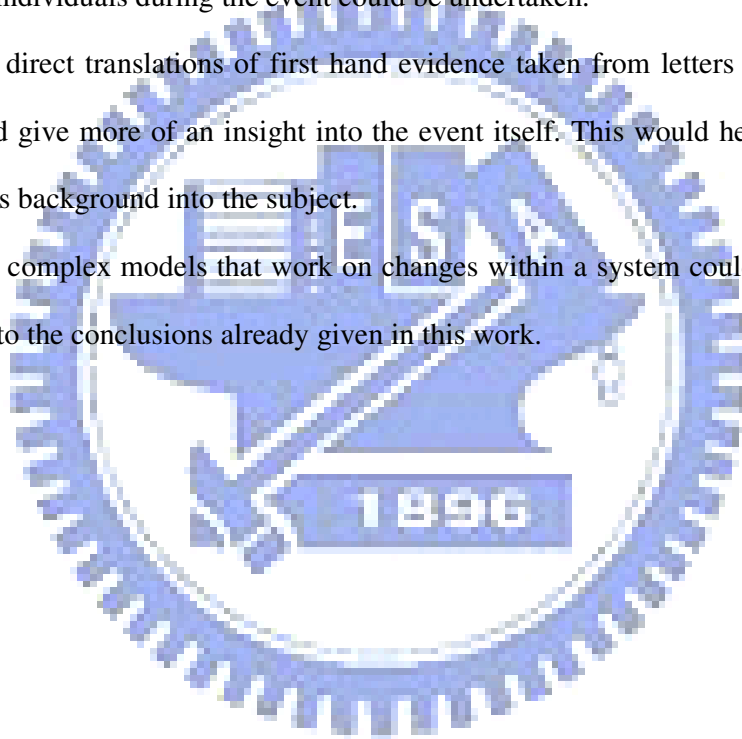
events. Therefore the actual time periods that have been focused on in this thesis are less specific; they are meant to give a general guide to when change was occurred from one clearly defined state of affairs to another clearly defined state of affairs.

### **5.3 Suggestions for Further Research**

As this thesis only provides a framework for the macro analysis change process during the Meiji Restoration, a more detailed micro analysis of the event focusing on important individuals during the event could be undertaken.

More direct translations of first hand evidence taken from letters written at the time would give more of an insight into the event itself. This would help to broaden the reader's background into the subject.

Other complex models that work on changes within a system could be used and compared to the conclusions already given in this work.

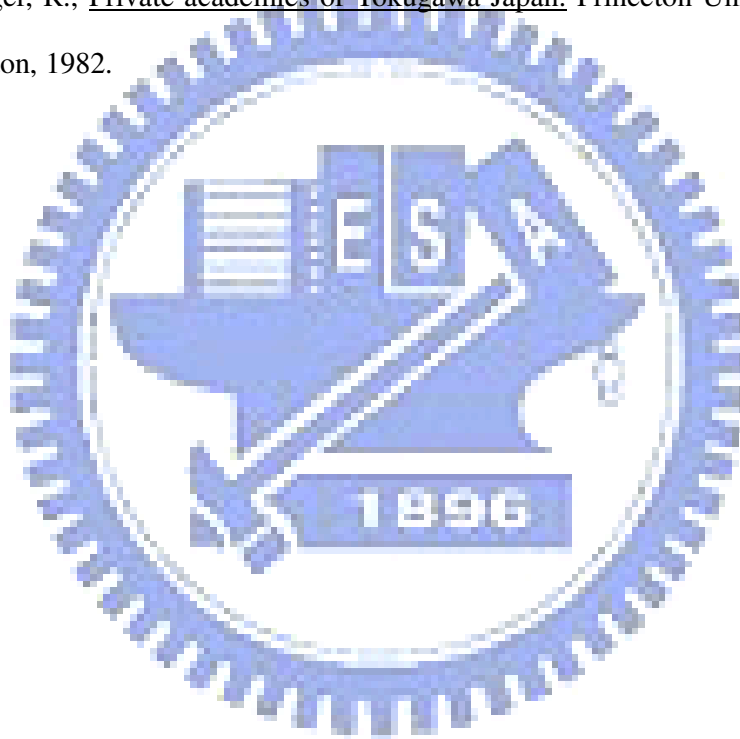


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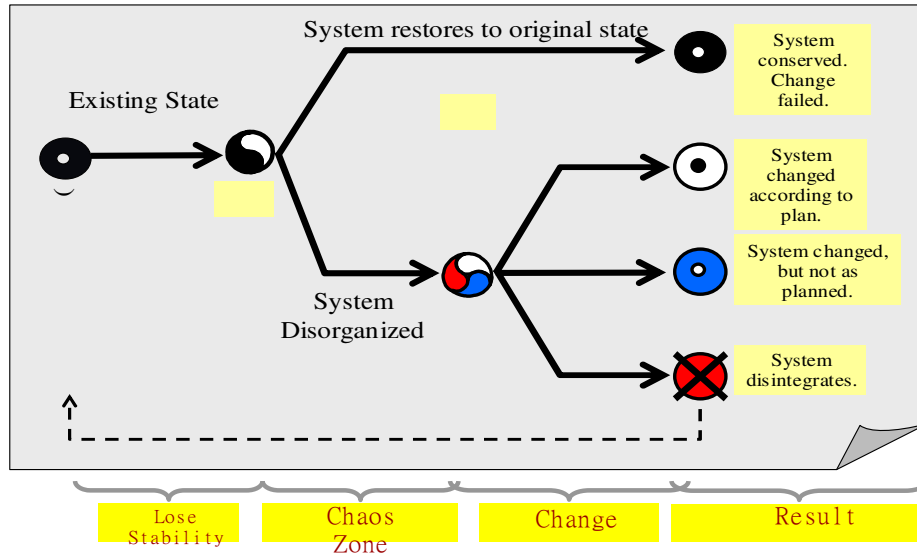
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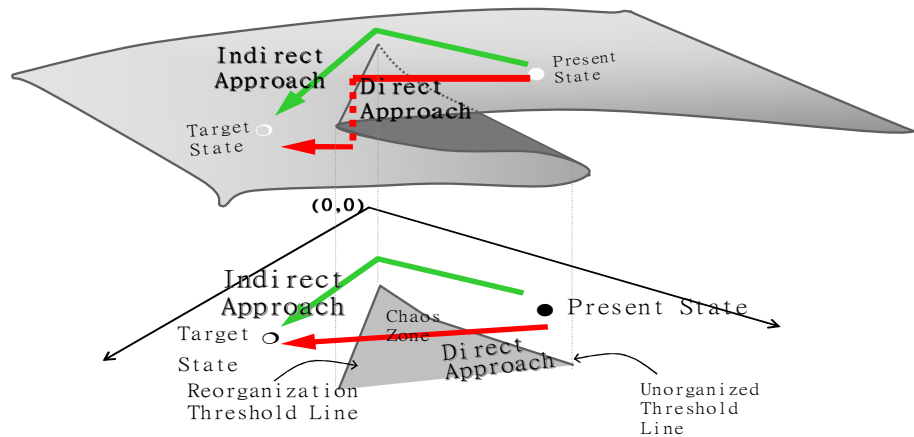
## 7.1 APPENDIX A: Change Process Theory Models

**Figure 10. Bifurcation Change Process of an Organized Structure Model**



Source: Mao, C. K., Principles of Organization Change - A Complex Adaptive System Perspective

**Figure 11. The Cusp Catastrophe Change Process Model**

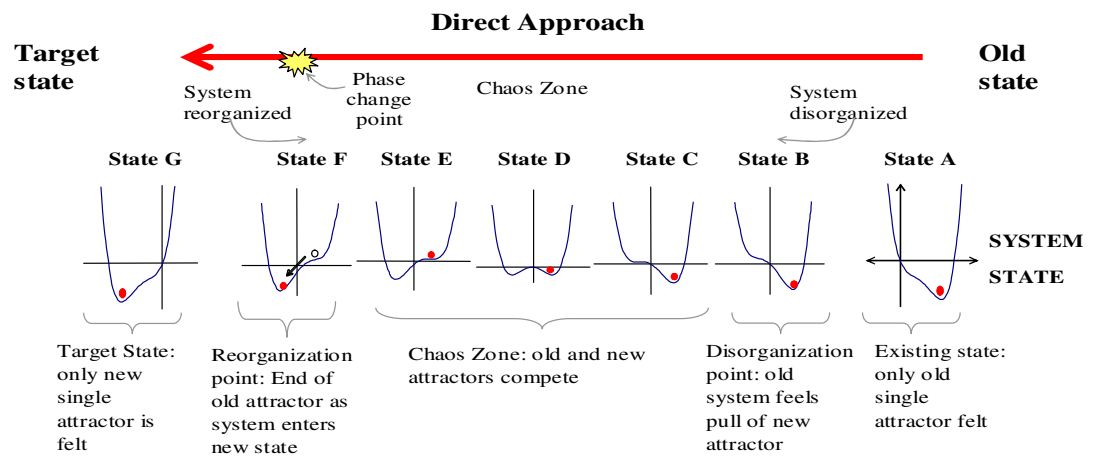




Source: Mao, C. K., Principles of Organization Change - A Complex Adaptive System Perspective

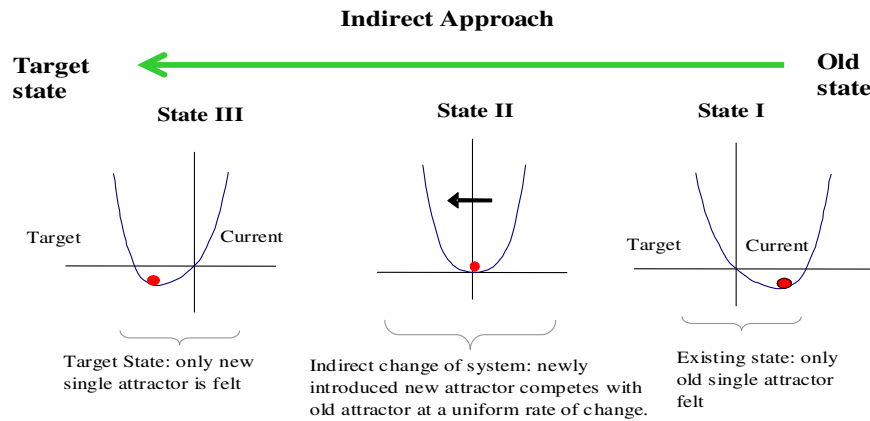
Direct Approach (red line) and indirect approach (green line) are both marked on the model above. The following two models are the two individual approach routes of phase change derived from the above model.

**Figure 12. The Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State Process: Direct Approach**



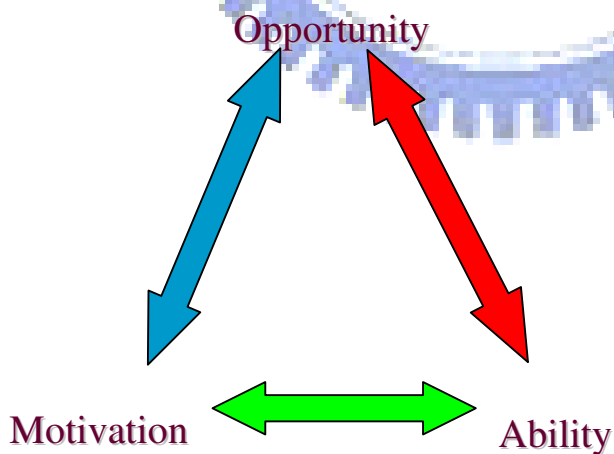
Source: Mao, C. K., Principles of Organization Change - A Complex Adaptive System Perspective

**Figure 13. The Cusp Catastrophe Dissipative Phase State Process: Indirect Approach**



Source: Mao, C. K., Principles of Organization Change - A Complex Adaptive System Perspective

**Figure 14. The Motivation, Ability and Opportunity (M-A-O) Model**



Source: Mao, C. K., Principles of Organization Change - A Complex Adaptive System Perspective

## 7.2 APPENDIX B: Letters

### 7.2.1 Correspondence between William II of Holland and Tokugawa Ieyoshi, the Shogun of Japan, 1844

We, William the Second by the Grace of God, King of the Netherlands, (etc.) . . . write this our Royal letter with a faithful heart to our Friend, the very noble, most serene, and all powerful sovereign of the great Empire of Japan, who his seat in the Imperial Palace of Yedo, the abode of peace.

May this epistle be duly delivered into the hands of our Imperial Friend and find him in good health and peace. . . .

This unfaltering goodwill exhibited towards our subjects fills us with kindly feelings towards Japan and the desire to do all that is possible for the furtherance of peace within Your Imperial Domain and for the prosperity of Your subjects.

There never has been any correspondence between the sovereigns of the Netherlands and Japan . . . . But now we feel drawn to terminate this silence. There are important matters worthy of communication. They do not concern the trade of our subjects with Japan, but the political interests of the Empire. They relate to matters worthy to be treated of between King and King.

The future of Japan causes us much anxiety. May we succeed in averting imminent disaster by our good counsel.

From the communications that our vessels bring from year to year to Nagasaki, Your Majesty will have learnt that the King of England has lately been waging a violent war against the Chinese Empire. . . . The mighty Emperor of China after a long but fruitless resistance, was finally compelled to succumb to the superior power of European military tactics, and in the consequent treaty of peace, agreed to conditions by which the ancient Chinese policy has undergone great alteration, and whereby five Chinese ports have been opened to European trade. . . . quarrels occurred between the English merchants and the Chinese officials at Canton. From that quarrel war arose. That war was fatal to China, for many thousand Chinese were killed, many cities were taken and devastated, many millions in treasure were yielded as indemnity to the conquerors.

Such disasters now threaten the Japanese Empire. A mere mischance might precipitate a conflict. The number of all sorts of vessels sailing the Japanese seas will be greater than ever before, and how easily might a quarrel occur between the crews of those vessels and the inhabitants of Your Majesty's Dominion!

The thought that such quarrels may end in war fills us with solicitude. The wisdom that characterizes Your Majesty's Government will, we hope, know how to avert these dangers. This wisdom was already evident in the mandate (of 1842) ordering the kindly treatment of all foreign vessels. But is that mandate sufficient ?

Only such vessels are mentioned, as are driven on to the Japanese coast by hurricane or lack of provisions. What will be done with vessels that come for other and friendly reasons to visit the Japanese coast? Are these to be repulsed by force or unfriendly treatment? Will quarrels arise? Quarrels lead to war, and war leads to destruction. Those are the disasters which we wish to avert from Japan. It is our desire as a token of gratefulness for the hospitality enjoyed by our subjects for more than two hundred years. The philosopher says: "In security, we must guard against danger ; in peace, against confusion."

We have watched the course of events with serious attention. The intercourse between the different nations of the earth is increasing with great rapidity. An irresistible power is drawing them together. Through the invention of steamships distances have become shorter. A nation preferring to remain in isolation at this time of increasing relationships could not avoid hostility with many others.

We know that the laws of Your Majesty's serene Ancestors were issued with a view rigorously to restrict intercourse with foreign nations. . . . (But) when in the strict observance of old laws, peace might be disturbed, wisdom will succeed in smoothing difficulties.

This, Allpowerful Emperor, is our friendly advice; ameliorate the laws against the foreigners, lest happy Japan be destroyed by war. We give Your Majesty this advice with honest intentions, free from political self-interest. We hope that wisdom will make the Japanese Government realize that peace can only be maintained through friendly relations, and that these are only created by commercial relations.

Should Your Majesty be desirous of receiving further information in this matter so

important for Japan, then we shall be pleased, after receiving a letter from Your Majesty's own hand, to send an Envoy to Japan; one who possesses our entire confidence, and who might be able to explain to Your Majesty all particulars which we have roughly outlined in this letter.

. . . For the courtesy continually shown to our subjects, we offer You our thanks. We further commend them to the protection of the Japanese Government.

We wish Your Majesty, that the Almighty, who blessed Your serene father with so long a reign, will permit Your Majesty to enjoy the same prosperity. May blessing, rest, and peace be granted to the great Empire of Japan for all time.

Given at our Royal Palace at the Hague the 15th day of February 1844 . . .

(Signed) William

### **7.2.2 The Tokugawa Reply, via the Bakufu, to the Dutch Government**

In the seventh month of the last year a letter from Your Excellencies' Sovereign dispatched by a Dutch vessel arrived at the port of Nagasaki in our province of Hizen. The chief magistrate of that port . . . on receipt thereof forwarded it to Yedo and it has been attentively read by our Lord.

That Your Excellencies' Sovereign in view of the trade relations which have subsisted for the past two hundred years should from so great a distance take into consideration the interests of our country and offer suggestions was most certainly evidence of hearty good will. Moreover, our Lord gratefully appreciates and returns thanks for the various precious gifts which have been presented.

Although the suggestions offered are worthy of adoption, there are reasons why this can not be. When the founder [Tokugawa Ieyasu] of our dynasty entered upon his career, intercourse and trade with countries beyond the sea were in an unsettled condition. Later when the time came for determining with what countries intercourse should be permitted, intercourse was limited to Korea and Loochoo [i.e., the off-shore Ryukus Is.), and trade to Your Excellencies' country and China. Aside from these countries all intercourse was entirely disallowed. If now it were desired to extend these limits, it would be in contravention of the ancestral law.

Hence we communicate this decision to Your Excellencies and thus inform Your Excellencies' Sovereign. Although this may appear discourteous, such is the strictness of the ancestral law, that no other course is open to us.

. . . . Now since the ancestral law has been once fixed, posterity must obey. Henceforth, pray cease correspondence. If not, although it should be attempted a second or a third time, communications can not be received. Pray do not be surprised at this. Letters from Your Excellencies also will have the same treatment and will receive no response.

Nevertheless, the trade of Your Excellencies' country will remain unchanged. In this also the ancestral law will be carefully observed. Pray communicate this to Your Excellencies' Sovereign.

Notwithstanding what we have stated, our Lord in no wise fails in respect toward Your Excellencies' Sovereign, but on the contrary deeply appreciates his sincere loyalty. . . We may have inadequately expressed Our Lord's real purpose, but we trust Your Excellencies will understand it.

(Signed) Abe Masahiro (et al.)

[Ref.: Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXIV, 1907]

### **7.2.3 President Fillmore's Letter to the Emperor of Japan**

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting Your imperial majesty's dominions.

I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings toward your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other.

The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the

tranquillity of your imperial majesty's dominions.

The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your imperial majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days.

Our great State of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your imperial majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States.

We know that the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government do not allow of foreign trade, except with the Chinese and the Dutch; but as the state of the world changes and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise, from time to time, to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government were first made.

About the same time America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but a few people, and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your imperial majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries it would be extremely beneficial to both.

If your imperial majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe altogether to abrogate the ancient laws which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years, so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove as beneficial as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign States to a few years, and then renew them or not, as they please.

I have directed Commodore Perry to mention another thing to your imperial majesty. Many of our ships pass every year from California to China; and great numbers of our people pursue the whale fishery near the shores of Japan. It sometimes happens, in stormy weather, that one of our ships is wrecked on your imperial majesty's shores. In all such cases we ask, and expect, that our unfortunate people should be treated with kindness, and that their property should be protected, till we can send a vessel and

bring them away. We are very much in earnest in this.

Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your imperial majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the Empire of Japan. Our steamships, in crossing the great ocean, burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steamships and other vessels should be allowed to stop in Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions, and water. They will pay for them in money, or anything else your imperial majesty's subjects may prefer; and we request your imperial majesty to appoint a convenient port, in the southern part of the Empire, where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this.

These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry, with a powerful squadron, to pay a visit to your imperial majesty's renowned city of Yedo: friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people.

We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your imperial majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great value in themselves; but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship.

May the Almighty have your imperial majesty in His great and holy keeping!

In witness whereof, I have caused the great seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have subscribed the same with my name, at the city of Washington, in America, the seat of my government, on the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

(Seal attached.)

Your good friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE  
EDWARD EVERETT,  
Secretary of State.

[Ref.: U.S. Sen., 33rd, 2nd, Exec. Docs. #34 (1854-5), Vol. 6, pp. 9-11]



#### 7.2.4 Observations of Tokugawa Nariaki on Coastal Defense, August 1853:

It is my belief that the first and most urgent task is for the bakufu to make its choice between peace and war . . . When we consider the respective advantages and disadvantages of war and peace, we find that if we put our trust in war, the whole country's morale will be increased and even if we sustain an initial defeat we will in the end expel the foreigner. . . . However, I propose to give here in outline the . . . reasons why we must never choose the policy of peace.

[a]. . . the Americans who arrived recently, though fully aware of [the policy of exclusion], entered Uraga [in Edo Bay] displaying a white flag as a symbol of peace and insisted on presenting their written requests. Moreover, they . . . fired heavy guns in salute and even went so far as to conduct surveys without permission. They were arrogant and discourteous, their actions an outrage. Indeed, this was the greatest disgrace we have suffered since the dawn of history. . . . The foreigners, having thus ignored our prohibition and penetrated our waters, . . . threatening us and making demands upon us, should it happen not only that the bakufu fails to expel them but also that it concludes an agreement in accordance with their requests, then I fear it would be impossible to maintain our national [integrity as a state]. . . .

[b] The prohibition of Christianity is the first rule of the Tokugawa [the ruling shogunate] house. Public notices concerning it are posted everywhere, even to the remotest corner of every province. . . . The bakufu can never ignore or overlook the evils of Christianity. Yet if the Americans are allowed to come again this religion will inevitably raise its head once more, however strict the prohibition; and this, I fear, is something we could never justify to the spirits of our ancestors. . . .

[c] To exchange our valuable articles like gold, silver, copper, and iron for useless foreign goods like woolens and satin is to incur great loss while acquiring not the smallest benefit. The best course of all would be for the bakufu to put a stop to the trade with Holland. . . .

[d] For some years Russia, England, and others have sought trade with us, but the bakufu has not permitted it. Should permission be granted to the Americans, on what ground would it be possible [then] to refuse if Russia and the others . . . request it . . .

[e] It is widely stated that the foreigners have no other [i.e., apart from trade] evil designs and that if only the bakufu will permit trade there will be no further difficulty.

However, it is their practice first to seek a foothold by means of trade and then to go on to propagate Christianity and make other unreasonable demands . . .

[f] . . . If the people of Japan stand firmly united, if we complete our military preparations and return to the state of society that existed [in earlier times], then we will even be able to go out against foreign countries and spread abroad our fame and prestige. But if we open trade at the demand of the foreigners, for no better reason than that . . . men have shown fear merely at the coming of a handful of foreign warships, then it would truly be a vain illusion to think of evolving and long-range plan for going out against foreign countries. . . .

[g] I hear that all, even though they be commoners, who have witnessed the recent actions of the foreigners, think them abominable; and if the bakufu does not expel these insolent foreigners root and branch there may be some who will complain in secret, asking to what purpose have been all the preparations of gun-emplacements. . . . Since even ignorant commoners are talking in this way, I fear that if the bakufu does not decide to carry out expulsion, if its handling of the matter shows nothing but excess of leniency and appeasement of the foreigners, then the lower orders may fail to understand its ideas and hence opposition might arise from evil men who have lost their respect for bakufu authority. It might even be that bakufu control of the great lords would itself be endangered. . . .

[h] There are those who say that . . . one must recognize that peace has now lasted so long that our armaments are inadequate . . . [and that] the bakufu would be forced to conclude a peace settlement and so its prestige would suffer still further damage. Hence [it is argued], the bakufu should . . . placate the foreigners, meanwhile exerting all its efforts in military preparations, so that when these preparations have been completed it can more strictly enforce the ancient [exclusionary] laws. . . . However, to my mind the people here [in Edo] are temporizing and half-hearted. . . there is not the slightest chance that the feudal lords will complete military preparations, however many years may pass, unless they are set an example in military matters by the bakufu. . . . Again, relaxation of the expulsion laws was ordered in 1842 [after China's defeat by Britain in the Opium War], with the apparent object of first placating the foreigners and then using the respite to complete military preparations, but here, too, I do not think the various lords have made any particular progress in rearming in the twelve years that have since elapsed. On the arrival of [the U.S. ships under Commodore Perry], all fell into a panic . . . it shows a shameful spirit. I therefore believe that if there be any sign of the bakufu pursuing the policy of peace, morale

will never rise . . . and the gun-batteries and other preparations made will accordingly be so much ornament, never put to effective use. But if the bakufu, now and henceforward, shows itself resolute for expulsion, the immediate effect will be to increase ten-fold the morale of the country and to bring about the completion of military preparations . . . Hesitant as I am to say so, only by so doing will the shogun be able to fulfill his 'barbarian-expelling' duty and unite the men of every province in carrying out their military functions. . . .

I have tried to explain in general terms the relative advantages and disadvantages of the war and peace policies. . . . In these feeble days men tend to cling to peace; they are not fond of defending their country by war. They slander those of us who are determined to fight, calling us lovers of war, men who enjoy conflict. . . . In view of our country's tradition of military courage, however, it is probable that once the bakufu has taken a firm decision we shall find no cowards among us . . . It is therefore my belief that in this question of coastal defense it is of the first importance that the bakufu pay due heed [through purchase of modern ships and guns and constructing coastal batteries]. . . and that having once reached a decision it should never waver from it thereafter. . . .

#### **7.2.5 Observations of Ii Naosuke, Lord (daimyo) of Hakone, Oct. 1853:**

. . . Careful consideration of conditions as they are today . . . leads me to believe that despite the constant differences and debates into which men of patriotism and foresight have been led in recent years by their perception of the danger of foreign aggression, it is impossible in the crisis we now face to ensure the safety and tranquillity of our country merely by an insistence on the seclusion laws as we did in former times. Moreover, time is essential if we are to complete our coast defenses. Since 1609, when (large) warships . . . were forbidden, we have had no warships capable of opposing foreign attack on our coasts with heavy guns. . . . There is a saying that when one is besieged in a castle, to raise the drawbridge is to imprison oneself and make it impossible to hold out indefinitely . . . Even though the shogun's ancestors set up seclusion laws, they left the Dutch and the Chinese to act as a bridge [to the outside world]. Might not this bridge now be of advantage to us in handling foreign affairs, providing us with the means whereby we may for a time avert the outbreak of hostilities and then, after some time has elapsed, gain a complete victory?

I understand that the coal for which the Americans have expressed a desire is to be found in quantity in Kyushu. We should . . . tell them . . . that should their need of it

arise urgently and unexpectedly during a voyage, they may ask for coal at Nagasaki and if we have any to spare we will provide it. Nor will we grudge them wood and water. As for foodstuffs, the supply varies from province to province, but we can agree to provide food for the shipwrecked and unfortunate. Again, we can tell them, of recent years we have treated kindly those wrecked on our coasts and have sent them all home. There is no need for further discussion of this subject, and all requests concerning it should be made through the Dutch.

Then, too, there is the question of trade. Although there is a national prohibition of it, conditions are not the same as they were. The exchange of goods is a universal practice. This we should explain to the spirits of our ancestors. And we should then tell the foreigners that we mean in the future to send trading vessels to the Dutch company's factory at Batavia [the Dutch East Indies colony of Java; now Indonesia] to engage in trade; that we will allocate some of our trading goods to America, some to Russia, and so on, using the Dutch to trade for us as our agents; but that there will be a delay of one or two years because we must [first] construct new ships for these voyages. By replying in this way we will take the Americans by surprise in offering to treat them generally in the same way as the Dutch.

We must construct new steamships, especially powerful warships, and these we will load with goods not needed in Japan. For a time we will have to employ Dutchmen as masters and mariners, but we will put on board with them Japanese of ability and integrity who must study the use of large guns, the handling of ships, and the rules of navigation. Openly these will be called merchant vessels, but they will in fact have the secret purpose of training a navy. As we increase the number of ships and our mastery of technique, Japanese will be able to sail the oceans freely and gain direct knowledge of conditions abroad without relying on the secret reports of the Dutch. Thus we will eventually complete the organization of a navy.

Moreover, we must shake off the panic and apprehensions that have beset us and abandon our habits of luxury and wasteful spending. Our defenses thus strengthened, and all being arranged at home, we can act so as to make our courage and prestige resound beyond the seas. By so doing, we will not in the future be imprisoning ourselves; indeed, we will be able, I believe, so to accomplish matters at home and abroad as to achieve national security. Forestalling the foreigners in this way, I believe, is the best method of ensuring that the bakufu will at some future time find opportunity to reimpose its ban and forbid foreigners to come to Japan, as was done in [the early 17th c. and before]. Moreover, it would make possible the strictest

prohibition of Christianity. And since I understand that the Americans and Russians themselves have only recently become skilled in navigation, I do not see how the people of our country, who are clever and quick-witted, should prove inferior to Westerners if we begin training at once. . . .

It is now no easy matter, by means of orders concerning the defense of Edo [the shogun's capital city] and the nearby coast, to ensure that all will be fully prepared for any sudden emergency, so not a moment must be wasted. However many firm walls we construct, they will certainly not be as effective as unity of mind if the unforeseen happens. The urgent task of the moment, therefore, is for the bakufu to resolve on relieving the nation's anxieties and issue the appropriate orders.

I am conscious of my temerity in putting forward views that conflict with the existing [seclusion] laws, but I have so reported in accordance with your orders that I was to do so fully and without reserve.

#### **7.2.6 Japanese Reply (1854) to President Fillmore's Letter of Response from Commodore Perry**

The return of your excellency [i.e., Commodore Perry] as Ambassador of the United States to this Empire, has been expected according to the letter of his majesty the President, which letter your excellency delivered last year to his majesty the Emperor of this empire.

It is quite impossible to give satisfactory answers at once to all the proposals of your government, as it is most positively forbidden by the laws of our imperial ancestors; but for us to continue attached to ancient laws, seems to misunderstand the spirit of the age: However, we are governed now by imperative necessity.

At the visit of your excellency last year to this Empire, his majesty the former Emperor was sick, and is now dead. Subsequently, his majesty the present Emperor ascended the throne; the many occupations in consequence thereof are not yet finished, and there is no time to settle other business thoroughly. Moreover his majesty the new Emperor at the succession to the throne promised to the princes and high officers of the empire to observe the laws. It is therefore evident that he cannot now bring about any alterations in the ancient laws.

Last autumn, at the departure of the Dutch ship, the superintendent of the Dutch trade in Japan was requested to inform your government of this event, and a reply in writing

has been received.

At [Nagasaki] arrived recently the Russian ambassador to communicate a wish of his government. He has since left the said place, because no answer would be given to whatever nation that might communicate similar wishes. However, we admit the urgency, and shall entirely comply with the proposals of your government concerning coal, wood, water, provisions, and the saving of ships and their crews in distress. After being informed which harbor your excellency selects, that harbor shall be prepared, which preparation it is estimated will take about five years. Meanwhile commencement can be made with the coal at [Nagasaki], by . . . (16th of February 1855).

Having no precedent with respect to coal, we request your excellency to furnish us with an estimate, and upon due consideration this will be complied with, if not in opposition to our laws. What do you mean by provisions, and how much coal?

Finally, anything ships may be in want of that can be furnished from the production of this Empire shall be supplied; the prices of merchandise and articles of barter to be fixed by Kurokawa Kahei and Moriyama Yenosuke. After settling the points before mentioned, the treaty can be concluded and signed at the next interview.

Seals attached by order of the high Gentleman  
Moriyama Yenosuke [interpreter]

### **7.2.7 Response of Commodore Perry to Japanese Reply**

United States Flag Ship Powhatan

At anchor off the Town of Yokohama.  
Edo Bay, 10 March 1854

Your Highness,

In reply to the communication of your highness, which was brought to me yesterday by Kurokawa Kahei, and the chief interpreter, Moriyama Yenosuke, I hasten to remark that it has given me the greatest satisfaction to learn from its contents, that the imperial government of Japan has at last awakened to a conviction of the necessity of

so altering its policy with respect to foreign nations, as to consent to an interchange of friendly intercourse with the United States.

Though the propositions set forth in the communication of your highness furnish strong evidence of the enlightened spirit with which the imperial commissioners are disposed to meet the suggestions which I have had the honor to submit, they fall far short of my anticipations, and I do not hesitate to say that they would not satisfy the views of the President.

I cheerfully accede to those of the propositions of your highness which offer to guarantee kind treatment to such vessels of the United States as may hereafter visit the parts of Japan, or be wrecked upon its coasts with protection, and suitable hospitality to the people who may belong to them.

Also, that provisions and other supplies shall be furnished to them and payment received for the same.

Also, that American steamers shall be supplied with reasonable quantities of coal, and at fair and equitable prices.

These are all very well so far as they go, and can be incorporated in the treaty which I shall expect to make; but my instructions require me to look for an intercourse of a more enlarged and liberal character, and I feel assured that the Imperial government, in consideration of the spirit of the age, and with the full knowledge of my strong desire to conduct my mission in peace and friendship, will no longer hesitate to enter with cordiality into a treaty that will be mutually honorable and advantageous to both nations.

The convenience of the immense and growing commerce of the United States in these seas will require, certainly, as many ports of resort in Japan as are specified in the treaty with China, and these must be free from any restrictions not recognized, by the usages of free and independent nations.

In a word, I again earnestly urge upon your highness the policy of fixing upon some written compact that will be binding as well upon the citizens of the United States as the subjects of Japan.

It would be needless in me again to express the sincerest desire of my heart to bring

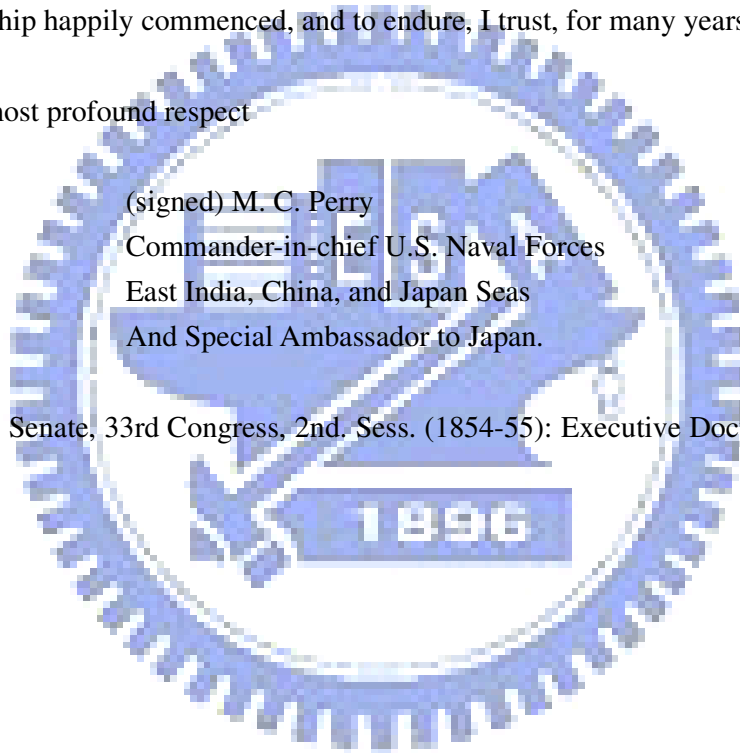
these negotiations to an amicable and satisfactory termination; nor will I again allude to the importance of such an issue-- important as well to save time as to prevent the necessity of sending from America more ships and men, and possibly with instructions of more stringent import.

I have the power and the wish to meet the Imperial commissioners in all good faith, believing that there can be no more favorable time than the present to settle all the questions under consideration in such manner as will bring about a good understanding between two nations, whose geographical positions, lying in comparative proximity, would seem to enjoin, as a measure of wise foresight, a mutual interchange of those acts of kindness and good will which will serve to cement the friendship happily commenced, and to endure, I trust, for many years.

With the most profound respect

(signed) M. C. Perry  
Commander-in-chief U.S. Naval Forces  
East India, China, and Japan Seas  
And Special Ambassador to Japan.

[Ref.: U.S. Senate, 33rd Congress, 2nd. Sess. (1854-55): Executive Documents, vol. 6, pp. 137-9]





### 7.3 APPENDIX C: Treaties and Acts of Law

#### 7.3.1 Empire of Japan Treaty

**Kanagawa, March 31, 1854**

#### **Treaty between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan.**

THE UNITED STATES of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his Commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, Special Ambassador of the United States to Japan, and the August Sovereign of Japan has given similar full powers to his Commissioners . . . . . And the said Commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers, and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles:

#### ARTICLE I.

There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.

#### ARTICLE II.

The port of Simoda [in Yedo harbor], in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodate, in the principality of Matsmai [Hokkaido], are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions, and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first-named port is immediately on signing this treaty; the last-named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year.

NOTE. A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

#### ARTICLE III.

Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coast of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them, and carry their crews to Simoda, or Hakodate, and

hand them over to their countrymen, appointed to receive them; whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored, and the expenses incurred in the rescue and support of Americans and Japanese who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation are not to be refunded.

ARTICLE IV.

Those shipwrecked persons and other citizens of the United States shall be free as in other countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

ARTICLE V.

Shipwrecked men and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Simoda and Hakodade, shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki, but shall be free at Simoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles . . . from a small island in the harbor of Simoda marked on the accompanying chart hereto appended; and in shall like manner be free to go where they please at Hakodade, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

ARTICLE VI.

If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

ARTICLE VII.

It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin and articles of goods for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese Government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange.

ARTICLE VIII.

Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required, shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

ARTICLE IX.

It is agreed that if at any future day the Government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United

States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof, without any consultation or delay.

ARTICLE X.

Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Simoda and Hakodade, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather.

ARTICLE XI.

There shall be appointed, by the Government of the United States, Consuls or Agents to reside in Simoda, at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this treaty, provided that either of the two Governments deem such arrangement necessary.

ARTICLE XII.

The present convention having been concluded and duly signed, shall be obligatory and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective Power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the August Sovereign of Japan, and the ratification shall be exchanged within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if practicable. In faith whereof we, the respective Plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and the Empire of Japan aforesaid, have signed and sealed these presents.

Done at Kanagawa, this thirty-first day of March, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four . . . . .

M. C. PERRY.

(HERE FOLLOW THE SIGNATURES  
OF THE JAPANESE  
PLENIPOTENTIARIES)

[Ref.: U.S. Sen., Exec. Docs., 33rd, 2nd (1854-5), Vol. 6, #34, pp. 153-5]

### **7.3.2 The Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between the United States and Japan, 1858 (The Harris Treaty)**

ARTICLE I. There shall henceforth be perpetual peace and friendship between the United States of America and His Majesty the [shogun] of Japan and his successors.

ARTICLE 111. In addition to the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate, the following ports and towns shall be opened on the dates respectively appended to them, that is to say: Kanagawa, on the 4th of July, 1859, Nagasaki, on the 4th of July, 1859; Niigata, on the 1st of January, 1860; Hyogo, on the 1st of January, 1863.

... Six months after the opening of Kanagawa, the port of Shimoda shall be closed as a place of residence and trade for American citizens. In all the foregoing ports and towns American citizens may permanently reside; they shall have the right to lease ground, and purchase the buildings thereon, and may erect dwellings and warehouses....

No wall, fence, or gate shall be erected by the Japanese around the place of residence of the Americans, or anything done which may prevent a free egress and ingress to the same.

From the 1st of January, 1862, Americans shall be allowed to reside in the City of Edo; and from the 1st of January, 1863, in the City of Osaka, for the purposes of trade only. In each of these two cities a suitable place within which they may hire houses, and the distance they may go, shall be arranged by the American Diplomatic Agent and the Government of Japan....

The Japanese Government will cause this clause to be made public in every part of the Empire as soon as the ratifications of this Treaty shall be exchanged. Munitions of war shall only be sold to the Japanese Government and foreigners....

ARTICLE IV. Duties shall be paid to the Government of Japan on all goods landed in the country, and on all articles of Japanese production that are exported as cargo, according to the tariff hereunto appended. . . .

The importation of opium is prohibited; and, any American vessel coming to Japan for the purposes of trade having more than four pounds weight of opium on board, such surplus quantity shall be seized and destroyed by the Japanese authorities. All goods

imported into Japan and which have paid the duty fixed by this Treaty, may be transported by the Japanese into any part of the empire without the payment of any tax, excise, or transit duty whatever.

No higher duties shall be paid by Americans on goods imported into Japan than are fixed by this Treaty, nor shall any higher duties be paid by Americans than are levied on the same description of goods if imported in Japanese vessels, or the vessels of any other nation.

ARTICLE VI. Americans committing offenses against Japanese shall be tried in American Consular courts, and, when guilty, shall be punished according to American law. Japanese committing offenses against Americans shall be tried by the Japanese authorities and punished according to Japanese law. The Consular courts shall be open to Japanese creditors, to enable them to recover their just claims against American citizens; and the Japanese courts shall in like manner be open to American citizens for the recovery of their just claims against Japanese....

ARTICLE VIII. Americans in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and for this purpose shall have the right to erect suitable places of worship. No injury shall be done to such buildings, nor any insult be offered to the religious worship of the Americans. American citizens shall not injure any Japanese temple or shrine, or offer any insult or injury to Japanese religious ceremonies, or to the objects of their worship.

The Americans and Japanese shall not do anything that may be calculated to excite religious animosity. The Government of Japan has already abolished the practice of trampling on religious emblems.

ARTICLE X. The Japanese Government may purchase or construct in the United States ships- of-war, steamers, merchant ships, whale ships, cannon, munitions of war, and arms of all kinds, and any other things it may require. It shall have the right to engage in the United States scientific, naval and military men, artisans of all kind, and mariners to enter into its service. . . .

ARTICLE XIII. After the 4th of July, 1872, upon the desire of either the American or Japanese Governments, and on one year's notice given by either party, this Treaty, and such portions of the Treaty of Kanagawa as remain unrevoked by this Treaty, together with the regulations of trade hereunto annexed, or those that may be hereafter

introduced, shall be subject to revision by Commissioners appointed on both sides for this purpose, who will be empowered to decide and insert therein, such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

ARTICLE XIV. This Treaty shall go into effect on the 4th of July, 1859 . . . This Treaty is executed in quadruplicate, each copy being written in English, Japanese, and Dutch languages, all the versions having the same meaning and intention, but the Dutch version shall be considered as being the original....

### **7.3.3 The Emperor's Charter Oath, 1868**

II. All power and authority in the empire shall be vested in a Council of State, and thus the grievances of divided government shall be done away with. The power and authority of the Council of State shall be threefold, legislative, executive and judicial. Thus the imbalance of authority among the different branches of the government shall be avoided.

III. The legislative organ shall not be permitted to perform executive functions, nor shall the executive organ be permitted to perform legislative functions. However, on extraordinary occasions the legislative organ may still perform such functions as tours of inspection of cities and the conduct of foreign affairs.

IV. Attainment to offices of the first rank shall be limited to princes of the blood, court nobles and territorial lords, and shall be by virtue of [the sovereign's] intimate trust in the great ministers of state. . . .

V. Each great city, clan, and imperial prefecture shall furnish qualified men to be members of the Assembly. A deliberative body shall be instituted so that the views of the people may be discussed openly.

VI. A system of official ranks shall be instituted so that each [official] may know the importance of his office and dare not hold it in contempt.

VII. Princes of the blood [i.e., members of the imperial family], court nobles, and territorial lords shall be accompanied by [no more than] six two-sworded men [i.e., samurai retainers] and three commoners, and persons of lower rank by [no more than] two two-sworded men and one commoner., so that the appearance of pomp and grandeur [not to mention personal expense!] may be done away with and the evils of

class barriers may be avoided.

VIII. Officers shall not discuss the affairs of the government in their own houses with unofficial persons. If any persons desire interviews with them for the purpose of giving expression to their own opinions, they shall be sent to the office of the appropriate department and the matter shall be discussed openly.

IX. All officials [i.e., members of the Assembly] shall be changed after four years' service. They shall be selected by means of public balloting. However, at the first expiration of terms hereafter, half of the officials shall retain office for two additional years, after which their terms shall expire, so that [the government] may be caused to continue without interruption. Those whose relief is undesirable because they enjoy the approval of the people may be retained for an additional period of years.

X. A system shall be established for levying taxes on territorial lords, farmers, artisans, and merchants, so that the government revenue may be supplemented, military installations strengthened, and public security maintained. For this purpose, even persons of rank or office shall have taxes levied upon them . . .

XI. Each large city, clan, and imperial prefecture shall promulgate regulations, and these shall comply with the Charter Oath. The laws peculiar to one locality shall not be generalized to apply to other localities. There shall be no private conferral of titles or rank, no private coinage, no private employment of foreigners, and no conclusion of alliances with neighboring clans or with foreign countries, lest inferior authorities be confounded with superior and government be thrown into confusion.

### **7.3.4 The Meiji Constitution, 1889**

#### CHAPTER I.

#### THE EMPEROR

Article 1. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

Article 3. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article 4. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

Article 5. The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

Article 6. The Emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

Article 7. The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes, and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

Article 8. The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial ordinances in the place of law.

(2) Such Imperial Ordinances are to be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next session, and when the Diet does not approve the said Ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be invalid for the future.

Article 9. The Emperor issues or causes to be issued, the Ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of the public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of the subjects. But no Ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

Article 10. The Emperor determines the organization of the different branches of the administration, and salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions especially provided for in the present Constitution or in other laws, shall be in accordance with the respective provisions (bearing thereon).

Article 11. The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.

Article 12. The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the Army and Navy.

Article 13. The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.



Article 14. The Emperor declares a state of siege.

(2) The conditions and effects of a state of siege shall be determined by law.

Article 15. The Emperor confers titles of nobility, rank, orders and other marks of honor.

Article 16. The Emperor orders amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishments and rehabilitation.

Article 17. A Regency shall be instituted in conformity with the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

(2) The Regent shall exercise the powers appertaining to the Emperor in His name.

## CHAPTER II.

### RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SUBJECTS

Article 18. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject shall be determined by law.

Article 19. Japanese subjects may, according to qualifications determined in laws or ordinances, be appointed to civil or military or any other public offices equally.

Article 20. Japanese subjects are amenable to service in the Army or Navy, according to the provisions of law.

Article 21. Japanese subjects are amenable to the duty of paying taxes, according to the provisions of law.

Article 22. Japanese subjects shall have the liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits of the law.

Article 23. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished, unless according to law.

Article 24. No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by the judges determined by law.

Article 25. Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent.

Article 26. Except in the cases mentioned in the law, the secrecy of the letters of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

Article 27. The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.  
(2) Measures necessary to be taken for the public benefit shall be any provided for by law.

Article 28. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

Article 29. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations.

Article 30. Japanese subjects may present petitions, by observing the proper forms of respect, and by complying with the rules specially provided for the same.

Article 31. The provisions contained in the present Chapter shall not affect the exercises of the powers appertaining to the Emperor, in times of war or in cases of a national emergency.

Article 32. Each and every one of the provisions contained in the preceding Articles of the present Chapter, that are not in conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the Army and Navy, shall apply to the officers and men of the Army and of the Navy...

There are 67 articles and seven chapters in total. The remaining chapters are in order: the imperial diet; the ministers of state and the privy council; the judicature; finance; and supplementary rules.

Figure 15. The Meiji Constitution, 1889

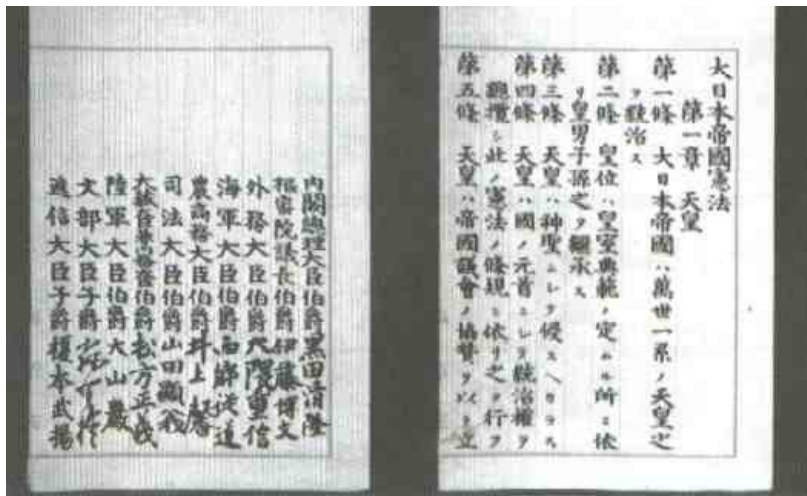
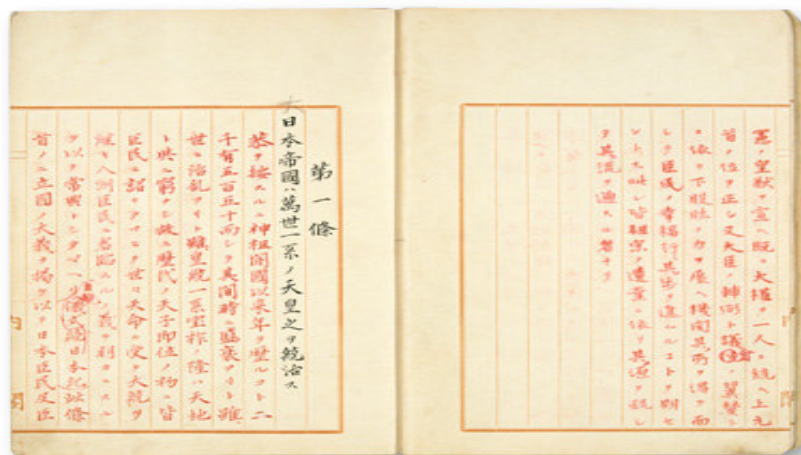


Figure 16. The Meiji Constitution, 1889



### 7.3.5 The Imperial Re-script on Education, 1890

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education.

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.

So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.  
(October 30, 1890)

**Figure 17. The Imperial Re-script on Education, 1890**

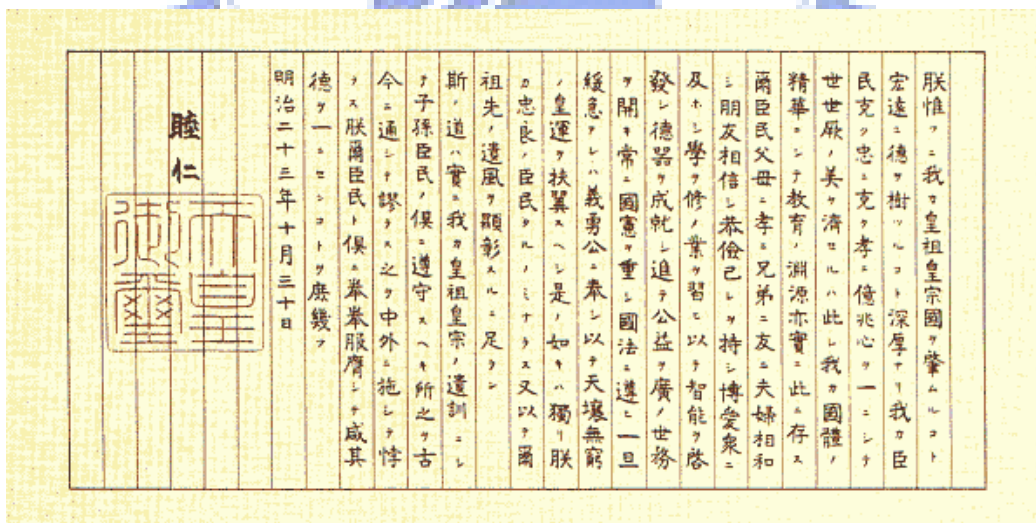


Figure 18. The Imperial Re-script on Education, 1890

朕惟ア我カ皇祖皇宗正國ヲ肇ムルコト宏遠ニ徳ヲ樹ツルコト深厚ナリ  
 我カ臣民克ク志ニ克ク孝ニ徳兆心ヲ一ニシテ世々厥ノ美ヲ濟セルハ此  
 レ我カ國體ノ精華ニシテ教育ノ淵源亦實ニ此ニ存ス爾臣民父母ニ孝ニ  
 兄弟ニ友ニ夫婦相和シ朋友相信シ善徳已レヲ持シ博愛衆ニ及ホシ學ヲ  
 修メ業ヲ習ヒ以テ智能ヲ啓發シ徳器ヲ成就シ進テ公益ヲ廣ク世務ヲ開  
 キ常ニ國體ヲ重シ國法ニ遵ヒ一旦緩急アレハ義勇公ニ奉シ以テ天壤無  
 窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ是ノ如キハ獨リ朕カ忠臣ノ臣民タルノミナラス  
 又以テ爾祖先ノ遺風ヲ頌彰スルニ足ラン  
 斯ノ道公實ニ我カ皇祖皇宗ノ遺訓ニシテ子孫臣民俱ニ遵行スヘキ所  
 之ヲ古今ニ通シテ諷ラス之ヲ中外ニ施シテ恃ラス朕爾臣民ト傳シ奉々  
 服膺シテ戒其徳ヲ一ニセンコトヲ庶幾ク

明治二十三年十月三十日

御名 御璽

