

*Naiyū gaikan* 内憂外患

“Troubles at Home, Dangers from Abroad”

# Gordon: “A Tale of Two Economies”

- 1560-1710: dramatic change and growth
  - Key dynamic: role of politics in growth
- 1710-1850s: stagnation and adjustments
  - Key dynamic: role of economy in politics

# Lots of Growth

- Demographic growth: over 30 million by 1700
- Basic literacy: 50% men, 20% women by early 1800s
- Infrastructure for transportation and communication
- Agricultural output
- Remarkable urbanization and *chōnin* (“townspeople,” i.e. commoner) culture
  - Edo (political), Osaka (econ.), Kyoto (still capital!)

# Tokugawa Prosperity

- Commercialization > production and consumption of specialized goods
- Daimyo and samurai as consumers
- Rise of Osaka rice merchants
  - Emergence of rice futures market



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# House of Mitsui

- Mitsui Takayasu, “Lord of Echigo” (Ōmi)
- son, Sokubei (?-1633): opens “Lord of Echigo’s Brewery”
- Shuhō, Sokubei’s wife: the real brains
- Rise of Mitsui in Ise



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# Mitsui Takatoshi (1622-94)

- From pawn shop to rice brokerage
- 1673: opens Echigoya (kimono shop)

“Cash Only,  
Fixed Prices”



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# Echigoya=Mitsukoshi



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# Tokugawa Paradox

- Efficient use of resources
- Financial institutions > commercialization
- Networks
- Improvement of living standards (including villages)
- Emerging money economy

BUT

- Ruling class paid in rice
- Growing merchant power beyond status



# Discontents

- Bakufu ideals vs. realities
  - Erosion of status system
- Growing wealth gap
  - In the villages
  - In the cities



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# Not So Rosy for the Peasants

- “Sesame seeds and peasants are very much alike: the more you squeeze them, the more you can extract.”

- From 1721 letter to domain officials:

“You relentless thieves! Monstrous exploiters! From now on we shall do as we please. If your punishments are severe, we won’t pay taxes.... We shall choose under whom we shall serve according to the severity of his punishments.”

# Rural Uprisings (*ikki*)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Annual rate</i>
<b>1601-1650</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>4.2</b>
<b>1651-1700</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>4.2</b>
<b>1701-1750</b>	<b>422</b>	<b>8.4</b>
<b>1751-1800</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>13.4</b>
<b>1801-1850</b>	<b>814</b>	<b>16.3</b>
<b>1851-1867</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>22</b>

# Environment

- Agricultural revolution: massive ecological pressure
- Even marginal land > vulnerability to climate, etc.
- Famines and *uchikowashi* (riots)
  - Tenmei Famine (1783~87)
  - Tempō Famine (1833-37)

# Tempō Crisis (1830s)

- “*Naiyū gaikan*”: “Troubles at home, dangers from abroad.”
- Famine: 1833-37
  - Millions die
  - Rice price increases 500%
  - Massive disorder
- Oshio Heihachirō’s rebellion (1837)
  - Osaka official
  - Birth of an alternate political vision



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# Bakufu Response

- Piecemeal reforms
  - Tax reduction
  - Secure food for cities, esp. Edo
  - Rations to needy
  - Debase currency
  - Price control on staples
- Favorite: moral regulation > back to the golden age

# Endemic Problems

- Samurai consumption on credit
- Heavy exploitation of resources
- Lack of financial policies/understanding
- Each *han* expected to fend for itself AND support the bakufu

# Aizawa Seishisai

- 1782-1863
- Confucian scholar serving Mito, a *shinpan* domain
- Collaborate with Tokugawa Nariaki in reforming domain
- *New Thesis*: based on interview with British sailors



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# Dangers from Abroad

- Russians in the late 1700s
- 1824, British whalers attack
  - Mito and Satsuma
- 1825, Aizawa writes *New Theses*
- Bakufu enforces seclusion, 1825-1842



# Tokugawa Nariaki

- 1800-1860
- Daimyo #9 of the *shinpan* domain (r. 1829-1844)
- Establish *Kōdōkan* domainal academy
- Other reforms
- Advocate of *sonnō-jōi* : "Revere the Emperor! Expel the Barbarians!"
- Vocal in national politics > complaints



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