

Meiji Japan and The Imperial Rule: A Symbiotic Encounter

Mohamad Firdaus Mansor Majdin^{1*}

¹ Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, Gombak, Malaysia

*Corresponding Author: firdausmansor@iium.edu.my

Accepted: 15 April 2022 | Published: 1 May 2022

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.55057/ajress.2022.4.1.26>

Abstract: *To speak of Meiji Ishin, one would normally come across many pieces of literature that mention the return of the Emperor to the centre of politics and administration in comparison to the previous Tokugawa administration (1603-1868). Yet one crucial question comes up from this is that as to why the Meiji insurgencies decided to bring the Emperor to the front and how this act would benefit their cause? In addressing such a crucial point, this paper attempts to revisit the essentiality of the Imperial factor in pushing forward the Meiji Ishin in the country during the 19th Century. It seeks to examine and investigate the motives that prompted the Meiji insurgencies to use the ‘imperial factor’ in their struggle in facing the Shogunate administration. In so doing, the study uses a method of content analysis to examine the significance of the ‘Imperial factor’ based on analysis of both Japanese and Western literature alike. The study suggests that Japanese Meiji insurgencies who later took up the charge of transforming Japan as a modern and strong nation-state economically and militarily must have realized that only with the support of the Japanese monarchy that this revolution could be strengthened and legitimized against the Shogunate forces and most importantly they could effectively push their reforms agenda in the country.*

Keywords: Meiji *ishin*, Meiji restoration, Meiji insurgencies, Imperial factor

1. Introduction

The late 19th century witnessed a steady Western presence in the East Asian region which alarmed the Japanese leaders that the position of Japan as an independent and sovereign state would soon be exposed to the Western expansionism in the region. Events that occurred in China in the first half of the 19th Century alarmed some conscious Japanese leaders of the future encroachments of the Western Powers into the Japanese waters which proved to be true in later years. The famous ‘gun-boat diplomacy’ used by the Western Powers in China proved to be extremely instrumental in cementing Western commercial interest in the region.

Likewise, the Western Powers used the same tactic to force the Bakufu administration to open the country for foreign trade. The acceptance of Bakufu upon such demands from the Western Powers led to growing political uncertainty in the country as other daimyos now began to question the administration’s inability to resist the latter. A series of criticisms made on the Bakufu later embroiled into what was known as the anti-West movement (*sonno-joi*) that culminated into killings of Westerners in some parts of Japan which angered the Western Powers.

At the domestic level, Western *hans* especially those of Choshu and Satsuma with a coalition of other *hans* had prepared for a coup in the late 1860s. This gave birth to what was known as *Meiji Ishin* in 1868 that overthrew the Bakufu administration and put the Meiji Government in place. This event witnessed the return of the Emperor into a 'real' governing power which was known as *Taisei Hokan* (the return of governing authority from Bakufu to Emperor) or *Ousei Fukko* (the restoration of the imperial's direct rule). Thus, the *Meiji Ishin* has proven to be a turning point in Japanese history that provided a springboard for much-awaited reforms in Meiji Japan.

Yet, there is none or very little discussion is ever made on the 'force and weight' that the Japanese monarchy had carried on the occurrence of *Meiji Ishin* as well as its influence on the reform agenda planned and implemented in Japan under the name of the Japanese Emperor. One may observe this through proclamations of reform planned by the Meiji Government that were read aloud by the Japanese Emperor himself such as the Charter of Oath and at times were proclaimed by the Government sanctioned by the Emperor. This scrutiny is important to fully grasp the occurrence of *Meiji Ishin* and its success in 19th century Japan despite the heavy criticisms and drawbacks that the Meiji insurgencies had to face from the opposition forces domestically and the indifferent attitude of Western Powers internationally.

2. Historical Analysis

Historically, according to Mori Koichi (1979) in his work entitled, '*The Emperor of Japan: A Historical Study in Religious Symbolism*' quoted Chinese sources, mentioned that in the first century B.C., Japan appeared in literature for the first time. In the Han shu '*History of the Han dynasty*', it was written that the land of the "*Wajin*" (the Japanese people) was divided into more than a hundred realms and had periodically sent gifts to China (Inoue 1973, p. 28). The Hou han shu '*History of the Later Han dynasty*' says that these various realms were consolidated into thirty, and about twenty years ago, a gold seal was found and discovered as a gift from the Han emperor to the king of Na, one of these thirty tribal kingdoms. The realms mentioned in the Chinese documents were the earliest known socio-political units in the Kyushu area. On the same note, Imatani Akira (2008) has also traced the beginning of the Japanese imperial dynasty to some 1500 or 1700 years ago by citing Chinese sources, Han shu '*History of the Han dynasty*' and Wei Chih '*History of the kingdom of Wei*' respectively.

Moreover, according to the Wei Chih '*History of the kingdom of Wei*' written during the first half of the third century A.D., These thirty principalities fought among themselves for many years but eventually were unified into a single kingdom called Yamatai (comprehending only a portion of what is now called Japan) and led by a female ruler, Himiko (or Pimiko). The Wei Chih record has it that Yamatai sent envoys to Wei. According to this document, Himiko was a shamanic medium. It was the shamanic authority of Himiko that later unified the kingdom, though it was her younger brother who controlled the state. After Himiko's death, the kingdom split up again, only to be reunified under the shamanic power of a young queen named Toyo.

Nevertheless, in all probability Yamatai, as a kingdom formed through the merger of previously independent tribal kingdoms, had rival counterparts elsewhere in Japan. The principal that eventually came to dominate the others, the realm of Yamato, greatly extended its power about the time of the turn from the fourth to the fifth century, and about the middle of the sixth century, it succeeded in unifying the whole country. Whether Yamatai and Yamato were the same is unclear. It is clear, however, that Yamato was the base for the ancestors of today's

emperor. The oldest examples of literature in Japan, the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters) and the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan) were written by government order at the beginning of the eighth century to seal the histories into proper writings.

These were political myths that tell of how Yamato, with the emperor at its center, conquered other political entities. In mythological terms, they tell of how the heavenly kami (amatsukami), with the sun goddess Amaterasu Omikami at their center, brought the earthly kami (kunitsukami) under control. These kunitsukami are thought to be the kami of the early tribal kingdoms, the deities of primitive Shinto. Early imperial rule, like that of Himiko and her brother, appears to have involved a male and a female, the woman being a shaman who bore the title *saigu*.

Thus, Empress Jingfi is described as entering a state of divine possession when Emperor Chiai played the koto (a Japanese harp) and in that state, she uttered words of political advice to him. A similar model is suggested by Empress Suiko and her nephew, the Prince Regent Shotoku. In the mid-fifth century, the emperor, who had ceased to depend on the religious authority of a woman, took charge of politics and religion. He strictly observed several taboos and came to be regarded as sacred. In the *Sui shu*, a seventh-century history of the Sui dynasty, the life of the emperor has been described based on information gathered from Japanese envoys. The king of Wa [Japan] sent envoys to Ch'ang-an.

According to this narrative, the emperor of China was said to have asked them about the Japanese customs. In reply, the envoys answered that the “king of Wa considers heaven his elder brother and the sun his younger brother. He gets up before sunrise and performs his matsuri-goto (politico-religious) obligations. After sunrise, he stops and entrusts his responsibilities to his brother, the sun”. This description, though incomplete, was the recollection of the ancient kings which Frazer (1955) describes as bound by numerous taboos and by the obligation to perform numerous rituals for the wellbeing of the people. The religious authority of the emperor was inherited in his being regarded as a descendant of *Amaterasu Omikami*, the sun goddess, and even as one who could control the sun.

Thus, when wet-rice agriculture was introduced to Japan from the Asian mainland around the third century BC, the Japanese communities were formed to organize the leveling of fields, construction and maintenance of irrigation works, planting and harvesting of crops, and defense from hostile neighbours. These clans, organized along kinship lines, became the basis of ancient Japanese society. Each clan had a chief who was said to have descended from a deity. With this special relationship to the god, the clan chief performed an important priestly role that has extended into modern times. Around the fifth century C.E., the Yamato clan emerged as the most powerful agricultural community in central Japan. Through negotiation, marriage, diplomacy, and warfare, the Yamato unified the rival clans into a confederation and ruled as Japan's first emperors. The Yamato claimed the Sun Goddess their ancestor, and the emperor was her high priest. The performance of religious rituals to secure peace and prosperity for the people gave the Yamato a measure of sacred legitimacy.

On another note, the myths assembled in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were written down to strengthen the religious foundation of the emperor system. By the Taiho Code of 701, the rituals of the imperial household were then institutionalized as affairs of state, and the main shrines throughout the country were placed under the direct control of the imperial court. More specifically, these shrines were organized hierarchically under the Grand Shrine of Ise, the shrine dedicated to Amaterasu Omikami as the ancestral forebear of the imperial line.

Furthermore, in the latter half of the seventh century and the early part of the eighth century, the emperor system was brought to completion through institutionalizing the religious authority of the emperor in every major shrine throughout Japan. This system was accepted by the people across the country (Yamaori, 1975). From this time on, the emperor no longer needed to rely on his authority with the power of shamans. He became a complete authority in his own right.

In this respect, Mori Koichi (1979) mentioned that by linking their regime to ancient tradition, rulers try to demonstrate that they are conforming to well-established and accepted practices in the seventh and eighth centuries through two ways. First, they codified a set of hereditary aristocratic ranks that solidified each powerful family's position in the ruling hierarchy. Second, they commissioned dynastic histories, the *Record of Ancient Matters* of 712 and *Chronicles of Japan* of 720, which established the Yamato's genealogy from the gods in the written record. As the samurai warrior class became powerful in medieval Japan, warlords began to use the emperor's historical legitimacy to secure their right to rule. Over time, the emperors and their aristocratic supporters left the local government in the hands of managers and constables. As a result, these samurai local administrators then developed their power based upon direct control of the land and its resources through armed force.

On the same note, Imatani Akira (2008) has also traced the beginning of the 'symbol emperor' system of Japan in the 9th Century to the enthronement of eight-year-old Emperor Seiwa in 858 and the appointment of his maternal grandfather Fujiwara no Yoshifusa as his regent. In 1185, after a civil war between two rival warrior bands, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–99) established a new type of government in Japanese history, known as the military regime (*bakufu*). This development commemorated the beginning of feudalism in Japan. The warriors who controlled the land and the taxes that it generated vowed allegiance to the shogun. In one sense, the shogun ruled by his military power grew through feudal ties with other warriors. Nonetheless, Yoritomo and future *shoguns* took great care to rule with proper authorization from the court (emperor). In return for Yoritomo's promise to keep tax revenue pouring to the aristocratic landlords in Kyoto, the emperor granted Yoritomo the title of *shogun* (de facto ruler) and allowed him to rule on behalf of the emperor. This event, therefore, established a precedent that was followed by several other military regimes by forging a link with the emperor's historical legitimacy (Mori Koichi (1979); (Imatani Akira (2008).

In later years, interestingly, even for some powerful shoguns like Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), who had rigorously united Japan after a century of civil war among competing warlords (1467–1568), carefully observed this tradition by patronizing the imperial court. Although he had overwhelming personal power, he found it worthwhile to work through established practice. Hideyoshi was later granted a distinguished surname and the title of imperial regent which ultimately enhanced his prestige and reinforced his right to rule in addition to the power to enforce compliance. His successor, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) completed Hideyoshi's pacification of competing warlords and established a long-term peace in 1600. Following tradition, Ieyasu took the imperial title of *shogun* and established the Tokugawa military regime (*bakufu*) that ruled Japan until 1868. He seemed to be fully aware of the sanctity of the emperor as a source of historical legitimacy as he kept in check of possible threats from within. Mori Koichi (1979); (Imatani Akira (2008).

3. Discussion

As the oldest reigning dynasty in the world, the Japanese monarchy has evolved over nearly two millennia to support governments in a variety of historical contexts, from primitive society to a modern nation-state (John Sagers (2001); Imatani Akira, 2008) which in this case the researcher attempts to put it within the context of the newly created Meiji Government following the occurrence of *Meiji Ishin* in 1868. In this regard, John Sagers (2001) has rightly pointed out that the Japanese Emperor has provided that necessary sacred-historical and popular support to the ruling forces in Japan.

Concerning this, the researcher argues that the Meiji insurgencies had established their right to overthrow the Shogunate administration by brilliantly rallying behind the Japanese Emperor which therefore paved the way for the creation of a reform-oriented administration in 1868. It is safe to note here that the Meiji insurgencies must have therefore realized, explicitly or implicitly, that the emperor institution would be able not only to reinforce their cause in overthrowing the Shogunate administration but also to carry reforms in the country. On the same note, Ben-Ami Shillony (2008) argued that “the combination of sanctity and weakness, which characterized the Japanese emperors, enabled others, namely those of aristocrats, warlords, or former emperors to manipulate them for their benefit”. He further remarked that “the imperial aura which preserved the dynasty, also sustained the power of the actual rulers”. In hindsight, this was exactly experimented with by the Meiji insurgencies who later took up important government posts.

In the context of the imperial rule, what is generally described as sacred legitimacy, in this case, was therefore exhibited through the very existence of the Japanese monarchy, which was then theoretically and ideologically based upon the ruler’s special relationship with the supernatural forces (gods; deities). Ancient agricultural societies where Japanese past society was also one of them were completely dependent upon the benevolence of nature for their survival. Drought, floods, insects, and diseases could all destroy a people’s livelihood. Consequently, most ancient societies believed in a spiritual realm where deities controlled the forces of nature as briefly mentioned above. Therefore, quite unsurprisingly, this had brought about the existence of elaborate systems of beliefs and rituals in order to maintain the goodwill of the gods. The priests, who were the men of experts, performed these rituals then considered to have wielded important spiritual authority among their people. This ritual later became part and parcel of the ruling apparatus in the country.

With such an aura attached to the emperor, it is understandable why the Japanese people gave overwhelming respect to the emperor since the old days. To put this into context, when the Tokugawa administration was criticized for agreeing to sign the commercial treaties with the Western Powers in the 1850s without imperial consent, it aroused the anger of those who pro-monarchy. This event led to growing political uncertainties as some powerful *hans* (domains) began to challenge Tokugawa’s right to rule. Such a slogan like *revere the emperor, expel the barbarians*’ becoming an outcry in the country. Thus, in brief, under the coalition of Choshu, Satsuma, Tosa, Saga along with their sympathizers overthrow the Tokugawa administration by restoring Emperor Meiji to his rightful place as sovereign in 1868. In this respect, the Meiji government had established itself the right to rule under the pretext of the emperor’s historical legitimacy. It is, therefore, safe to note that this historical-sacred aura held by the emperor was rightfully ‘utilized’ by the Meiji Government in critical points of the Government’s efforts in carrying out reforms in the country.

The first vivid example was when the Charter of Oath was proclaimed on 6 April 1868. It was read aloud by Sanje Sanetomi (Grand Minister) witnessed by the Emperor himself at the Kyoto Imperial Palace. It consisted of five main articles, namely (1) “We shall determine all matters of state by public discussion after assemblies have been convoked far and wide”, (2) “We shall unite the hearts and minds of people high and low, the better to pursue with vigour the rule of the realm”, (3) “We are duty-bound to ensure that all people, nobility, military, and commoners too, may fulfill their aspirations and not yield to despair”, (4) “We shall break through the shackles of former evil practice and base our actions on the principles of international law”, and (5) “ We shall seek knowledge throughout the world and thus invigorate the foundations of this imperial nation’.

Concerning this, John Breen mentioned in his article, *The Imperial Oath of April 1868: Ritual, Politics, and Power in the Restoration* that Kido Takayoshi, the real man behind the formulation of the charter, insisted that the emperor himself led the assembled nobles in taking an oath to the enshrined deities of heaven and earth. He quoted to mention that, on behalf of the emperor, Sanjo concluded,

My intention is to implement reforms the likes of which have never before been seen. I have, therefore, seized the initiative; I have sworn an oath before the gods of heaven and earth; I have set forth our national goals, and I hope, thus, to establish a path of safety for all my subjects. May you be inspired by this initiative. Unite your hearts and be unsparing in your efforts. ...14

Another example that was considered important towards realizing reforms in the country was through the issuance of the Imperial Rescript of Education in 1890 which was signed and therefore sanctioned by the emperor himself. The Imperial Rescript invited the Japanese to become “united in loyalty and filial piety” to the Emperor and the State and to “pursue learning... and thereby develop intellectual faculties and moral powers”. It further commanded, “subjects” to “offer [themselves] courageously to the state” in state emergencies. By appealing to the Confucian value of loyalty to the state, the Rescript encouraged the Japanese to pursue education for the service of the state.

Other no less important change made in the country was the proclamation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889 which was read aloud by the Meiji Emperor. The draft was largely based on the brainchild of Ito Hirobumi and his associates who drew heavily on Western models and a special reference to Prussia’s style of the constitution. The nature of the Prussian model reserves a considerable amount of power to the emperor while at the same time allowing the creation of democratic institutions. Ito and his inner circles favoured this type of model which was subsequently adopted and refined. This then gave birth to a Japanese constitutional monarchy system with a parliament (Diet) that came into existence with bicameral systems, namely Lower House (House of Representatives) and Upper House in 1890. Historically, Meiji Japan’s path towards a constitutional monarchy started first with the creation of one specific office, called the Genroin 1876, to undertake this important task. It was placed under the chairmanship of Prince Arisugawa under the instruction of the Meiji Emperor. The emperor handed over a copy of Britain’s Parliamentary Government model to Prince Arisugawa whom the former received from Alpheus Todd.

Nonetheless, thorough studies and care must be exercised in drafting, designing, and promulgating the constitution for Japan, and most importantly it must be introduced gradually in the country. From the years between 1876-1878, the office studied different constitutions

and came up with different drafts and views too. There wasn't any single agreement on the best model to adopt though they all agreed on the need to promulgate a constitution for Japan. Nonetheless, it seems to the members that British and Prussian models seemed viable. Therefore, to try to speed up the process, Ito Hirobumi was dispatched to Europe to undertake a closer examination of British and Prussian types of constitutions. He later found his way in Berlin and Vienna instead of Britain since he had been in Britain for some time. In Berlin and Vienna, he met with German leading scholars (such as Rudolf Von Gneist and Lorenz Von Stein) that shaped his mind about a viable model for the Japanese constitution.

He agreed with the ideas of these German scholars that imperial power must be reinforced under the constitution with considerable authority over foreign policy, armed forces, and legislature. Additionally, upon his return from a mission abroad, he set up a constitution commission consisting of few members. The main counsellor of the commission was Roesler besides Inoue Kowashi, Ito Miyoji, and Kaneko Kentaro. According to Roesler, the Emperor should be entrusted with executive and legislative powers. The ministers were also made to be answerable to the emperor, not to the Diet. At last, The Meiji Constitution was finally promulgated on the 11th of February 1889 by the emperor and entered into force in 1890.

In short, all this evidence indicates the significance of the institution of the Emperor in Japan and its aura carried for the Meiji Government in reinforcing the latter's efforts towards modernizing Japan. In its implicit expression, Christopher Goto-Jones (2008) has rightly pointed out that "the figure of Emperor (even if not the Emperor Mutsuhito himself) appeared to be the key to harmonizing they dynamically shifting and frequently conflicting interests of Japanese society". The central position of the emperor in the time of Meiji Japan revealed a remarkable shift of its previous position during the time of Tokugawa era. This was so simply because the Meiji Government must have realized the degree of weight that the institution of Emperor 'imposed' on the minds of the Japanese community at that time albeit some Japanese politicians and individuals are seeming inclined towards the principles of the Western world that tended to marginalize imperial rule.

4. Method

The article aims to revisit the essentiality of the 'Imperial factor' and its impact on the efforts of modernization undertaken by the Meiji Government in Japan. Sources for this analysis will be taken from studies on a wide range of scholarly works which are written by Western and Japanese scholars which are later selected for their relevance to the study. Furthermore, using mainly library research methods and archival documents, this paper used existing published works and documents on events relating to the Japanese civil war in order to find out specifically as to why those Meiji insurgencies used the Emperor as their trump card in defeating the Bakufu administration and convincing the people that they acted in a manner which was sanctioned by the Japanese monarchy.

Additionally, archival documents obtained touched on a wide range of political and social-economic commentaries (both in Japanese and English languages) relating to the Meiji era that is accessible via digitalized copies contributed by the National Archives of Japan, National Archives of the United Kingdom, the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, and the National Institute for Defense Studies of the Ministry of Defense of Japan. Lastly, this study uses a method of content analysis which can be defined as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use". That said, the researcher uses analytical constructs or inferences,

making sense of texts found into contexts where the current study is conducted (White & Marsh, 2006).

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, With the return of the emperor to his rightful position in the time of Meiji Japan, though some quarters might question the extent of his powers in governing the country vis-à-vis the Cabinet, still demonstrating a unique position that the emperor had in the minds and hearts of the Japanese people. Given such a position, the Meiji Government had successfully managed to implement many far-reaching changes in the country by brilliantly manoeuvring the proposed reforms agenda in the country in the name of the emperor. Additionally, it appears that the emperor was now ready to be participative in the government's reform policies. To this, the British resident minister in Japan, Harry Parkes for instance, used to observe that the previously secluded, rare appearance of the emperor was now becoming more visible under the leadership of the Meiji Government. All in all, this indicates the Government's efforts towards modernization and centralisation in the country received blessings and approvals from the emperor which then, in turn, enticed support from the ground.

References

- Adams, F. O. (1875). *The history of Japan*. London: Henry S. King & Co. Vol. II
- Adams, T. F. M. (1964). *A financial history of modern Japan*. Tokyo: Research Ltd.
- Akagi, Roy Hidemichi. (1936). *Japan's foreign relations 1542-1936: A short history*. Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press.
- Akita, G. (1967). *Foundations of constitutional government in modern Japan 1868-1900*. Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Akita, George. (2020). Ito Hirobumi: Prime minister of Japan. Retrieved from [https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ito-Hirobumi Earl](https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ito-Hirobumi-Earl).
- Alcock, R. (1863). *The capital of the tycoon: A narrative of a three years' residence in Japan*. London: Longman.
- Aston, W. G. (1997). *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to Ad 697*. Ganesha Pub.
- Beasley, W. G. (1973). *The Meiji restoration*. London: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Beasley, W. G. (1963). *The modern history of Japan*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle.
- Beasley, W. G. (1987). *Japanese imperialism 1894-1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Beasley, W. G. (1995). *Japan encounters the barbarian: Japanese travellers in America and Europe*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Breen, J. (1996). The Imperial Oath of April 1868: Ritual, Politics, and Power in the Restoration. *Monumenta Nipponica*, 51(4), 407–429. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2385417>
- British Library. (2021). Chronicles of Japan of 720. Retrieved from <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-chronicles-of-japan>
- Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2021, September 22). *Ōkubo Toshimichi*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Okubo-Toshimichi>
- Brown, Alexander D. (2005). Meiji Japan: A unique technological experience. *Student Economic Review*, 19, 71-83.
- Burks, A. W. (1985). *The modernizers: Overseas students, foreign employees, and Meiji Japan*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Chang, Richard T. (1970). *From prejudice to tolerance: A study of the Japanese image of the west 1826-1864*. Tokyo: Sophia University.

- Chamberlain, Basil Hall. (2012.). *Kojiki: Records of ancient matters*. Tuttle Publishing.
- Checkland, O. (1989). *Britain's encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*. London: Macmillan Press
- Cobbing, Andrew. (1998). *The Japanese discovery of victorian Britain: Early travel encounters in the far west*. Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library.
- Cobbing, A., Ohta, A., Checkland, O, and Breen, J. (1998). *The Iwakura mission in Britain, 1872*. London: STICERD, London School of Economics.
- Conroy, H. (1960). *The Japanese seizure of Korea: 1868-1910. A study of realism and idealism in international relations*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cortazzi, H. (Ed.). (1982). *A diplomat's wife in Japan, sketches at the turn of the century*. Tokyo: Weatherhill.
- Crowley, James B. (1966). From closed door to empire: The formation of the Meiji military establishment. In Bernard S. Silberman & Harry Harootunian (Eds.), *Modern Japanese leadership: Transition and change* (pp. 276-277). Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Daniels, G. (1996). *Sir Harry Parkes: British representative in Japan 1865-83*. Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library.
- Devere B. Sidney. (1962). Ōkubo Toshimichi: His political and economic policies in early Meiji Japan. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 21 (2), 183-197.
- Dickins, F. V. & Lane-Poole, S. (1984). *The life of sir Harry Parkes* (Vol. 11). London: Macmillan and Co.
- Fait, O. K. (1990). *The clash of interests: The transformation of Japan in 1861-1881 in the eyes of the local anglo-saxon press*. Oulu: The Historical Assoc, of Northern Finland.
- Flottman, Augustus. (2012). *The Meiji education system: Developing the emperor's ideal subject* [Undergraduate honours thesis]. The University of Colorado.
- Fujitani, Takashi. (1996). *Splendid monarchy: Power and pageantry in modern Japan*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Frazer, James G. (1955). *The golden bough*. (Vol. 3). London: Macmillan and Co.
- Gluck, C. (1985). *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Goto-Jones, Christopher. (2008). The way of revering the emperor: Imperial philosophy and bushido in modern Japan. In Ben-Ami Shillony (Ed.), *The emperors of modern Japan* (pp. 23-54). Netherlands: Brill.
- Gubbins, J. H. (1911). *The Progress of Japan 1853-1871*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gubbins, J. H. (1922). *The making of modern Japan*. London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd.
- Hayashi, Fusao. (1973). *Tenno no kigen* (The origin of the emperor). Tokyo: Roman.
- Heldt, Gustav. (2014). *The Kojiki: An account of ancient matters*. Columbia University Press.
- Hoare, J. E. (1994). *Japan's treaty ports and foreign settlements: The uninvited guests 1858-1899*. Folkestone, Kent: Japan Library.
- Howe, C. (1996). *The origins of Japanese trade supremacy: Development and technology in Asia from 1540 to the pacific war*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Humphreys, Leonard A. (1995). *The way of the heavenly sword. The Japanese army in the 1920s*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Irokawa, D. (1985). *The culture of the Meiji period*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Japan Reference. (2020). Record of Ancient Matters of 712. Retrieved from <https://jref.com/articles/kojiki-records-of-ancient-matters.507/>
- Jansen, M. B. (1980). *Japan and its world: Two Centuries of Change*. Princeton University Press.

- Jansen, M. B. (1989). *The Cambridge History of Japan. vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century* (Vol. 5). Cambridge University Press.
- Jansen, M. B., & Rozman, G. (2014). *Japan in transition, from Tokugawa to Meiji*. Princeton University Press.
- Jones, H. J. (1980). *Live machines: Hired foreigners and Meiji Japan*. Paul Norbury Publications.
- Keene, D. (2005). *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and his world, 1852-1912*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Lehmann, Jean-Pierre. (1982). *The roots of modern Japan*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Magarey, D. (2020). Saigo Takamori: Japanese samurai. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saigo-Takamori>
- Masamoto, Kitajima & Hurst, G. Cameron. (2020). Japan from 1850 to 1945: The Meiji restoration. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/The-opening-of-Japan>
- Michio Nagai. M. (2005). Westernization and japanization: The early Meiji transformation of education. In Donald H. Shively (Ed.), *Tradition and modernization in Japanese culture* (pp. 53-94). New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Mori, K. (1979). The Emperor of Japan: A Historical Study in Religious Symbolism. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 6(4), 522–565. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30233221>
- Nakamura, T., & Feldman, R. A. (1983). *Economic growth in prewar Japan*. Yale University Press.
- Norman, E. H. (1940). *Japan's emergence as a modern state: Political and economic problems of the Meiji period*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Obispo, Joanna Luisa. (2017). Japan's fukoku Kyohei: A continuous pursuit of economic and military powers. *Ugong*, 9, 56-80.
- Ohno, K. (2019). Meiji Japan: Progressive learning of western technology. In Arkebe Oqubay and Kenichi Ohno (Eds.), *How nations learn: Technological learning, industrial policy, and catch-up* (pp. 85-106). Oxford University Press
- Ohno, Kenichi. (2018). *The history of Japanese economic development: Origins of private dynamism and policy competence*. Routledge.
- Preseisen, Ernst. (1965). *Before aggression: Europeans train the Japanese Army*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Princeton University Press. (1969). *Kojiki: Translated with an intro. and notes by Donald L. Philippi*.
- Ramseyer, J. Mark, and Rosenbluth, Frances M. (1995). *The politics of oligarchy: institutional choice in imperial Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sagers, J. (2001). Power, legitimacy, and the Japanese emperor (2001). Retrieved from <https://www.asianstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/power-legitimacy-and-the-japanese-emperor.pdf>
- Shillony, Ben-Ami. (Ed.). (2008). *The Emperors of modern Japan*. Netherlands: Brill.
- Shively, Donald, H. (1971). The Japanization of the middle Meiji. In Donald H. Shively (Ed.), *Tradition and modernization in Japanese Culture* (pp. 92-138). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Silbermann, B. S., and Harootunian, H. D. (Eds.). (1966). *Modern Japanese leadership: Transition and change*. Tucson, Arizona: Univ. of Arizona Press.
- Sims, R. L. (1991). *A political history of modern Japan 1868-1952*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Ltd.
- Smith, T. C. (1955). *Political change and industrial development in Japan: Government enterprise, 1868-1880*. California: Stanford Univ. Press.

- Soviak, Eugene. (1971). On the nature of western progress: The journal of the Iwakura embassy.” In Donald H. Shively (Ed.), *Tradition and modernization in Japanese Culture* (pp. 25-52). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Sugiyama, Shinya. (1988). *Japan's industrialization in the world economy 1859-1899: Export trade and overseas competition*. London: The Athlone Press.
- Sumikawa, S. 1999. The Meiji Restoration: Roots of Modern Japan. Retrieved from <https://www.lehigh.edu/~rflw1/courses/1999/spring/ir163/Papers/pdf/shs3.pdf>
- Takii, K., Manabu, T., Murray, P., & Fister, P. (2014). *Itō Hirobumi Japan's first prime minister and father of the Meiji Constitution*. Routledge.
- Tames, Richard. (1991). *Encounters with Japan*. New York: St. Martin's Press.\
- Theodore De Bary, W., Ryusaku Tsunoda, R., Keene, D. (1964). *Sources of Japanese tradition*. (Vol. 2). Columbia University Press: New York
- Tsuzuki, Chushichi. (2000). *The pursuit of power in modern Japan 1825-1995*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Umegaki, Michio. (1998). *After the restoration: The beginning of Japan's modern state*. New York: New York Univ. Press
- Uyehara, G. E. (1910). *The political development of Japan 1867-1909*. London: Constable & Co. Ltd.
- Wahyuni, Dina. (2012). The research design maze: Understanding paradigms, cases, methods, and methodologies. *Journal of Applied Management Accounting Research*, 10(1), 69- 78.
- Wakamori, Taro. (1973). *Tennosei no rekishi shinri* (The historical psychology of the emperor-system). Tokyo: Kabunda.
- Webb, H. (1968). *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period* (New York: Columbia University Press.
- White, Marilyn Domas & Marsh, Emily E. (2006). Content analysis: A flexible methodology. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2142/3670>