

GOEMON'S NEW WORLD VIEW

Popular Representations of the Opening of Japan

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The opening of Japan to Western nations in the mid-nineteenth century is a story that has been told many times and many ways. Conventional Western accounts have long focused on the arrival of Commodore Perry's "black ships," first four in June 1853 and later seven in March 1854, since their appearance in Edo Bay effectively forced the government to end its two centuries old policy of national seclusion. Japanese scholarship on this event, as well as most Western accounts, have tended to concentrate on the diplomatic incentives and implications of Japan's "rude awakening."¹ These and other studies have drawn attention to the complexities of late Tokugawa domestic politics and shown how Perry's "impact" led directly or indirectly to the Meiji Restoration.

But in all the mountain of research on the "black ships" there has remained a curious, but crucial, omission. We still understand surprisingly little about the reaction of the Japanese commoners, particularly those in the capital of Edo, to this series of dramatic events which so drastically changed their lives. Recent scholarship has admittedly been busy filling this gap, by uncovering many sorts of written documents which allow a glimpse into the emotions and thoughts of the men and women caught up in this crisis. Bakufu records, merchant record books, commoner diaries, popular songs and verses, and recorded snippets of gossip help us understand the experience and perceptions of these people confronted suddenly and rudely with a new and unknown world. But perhaps the most useful and instructive of these sources are crude woodblock prints or broadsheets known as *kawaraban*. Despite the relative abundance of these documents, the history of the Japanese commoners during the Restoration years has yet to be written.² This paper is part of a projected book-length effort to make that history comprehensible. Its aim, to borrow the

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1. See, for example, Katō Yūzō, *Kurofune zenya no sekai* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1987) and Somura Yasunobu, *Perii wa naze Nihon ni kitaka* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1987). In the field of diplomatic history, the works of Ishii Takeshi are still the best: *Meiji ishin no kokusaiteki kankyō*, 3 v. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966), and *Nihon kaikoku shi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1972).
 2. Notable exceptions are: Minami Kazuo, *Ishin zenya no Edo shomin* (Tokyo: Rekishi Shinsho, 1980); Yoshihara Kenichirō, *Edo no jōhōya: bakumatsu shominshi no sokumen* (Tokyo: NHK Books, 1978); and, Kitahara Itoko, *Ansei daijishin to minshū* (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1983).

words of Charles Tilly, is to show "how the little people lived the great events."

My approach, in keeping with the general theme of "art and power," will be to use contemporary popular art forms, particularly *kawaraban*, as texts which inform their "readers" of how commoners understood historical events. In the mid-Tokugawa period, these crude woodblock prints, illustrated in monochrome or perhaps with two or three colors, often gave details of fires or natural disasters, or described something unusual or grotesque. As such they were forerunners of later-day newspapers. As art, the drawings were simple and rarely the work of master craftsmen. The script often took the form of town gossip which was usually more interesting than accurate.

Around the beginning of the 19th century the prints began to comment on political events. The Bakufu naturally repeatedly issued ordinances against them. Nevertheless, the prints became increasingly bold and imaginative. By the time Perry and his "black ships" came, *kawaraban* were serving both as a source of curious and sometimes useful information as well as a sophisticated outlet for urban political criticism. As such, they are gold mines of information for the social historian seeking to clarify the commoner mentality.³

It might be argued that these prints, often the work of artist-newsmongers from the lower ranks of the samurai class, reflected the views more of their makers than their commoner readers. But these broadsheets were made to please, interest, and entertain, rather than educate and change, their readers. Printed for profit, they may well have played havoc with standards of veracity and quite likely do not tell us everything we want to know of their readers' thoughts. But the haste involved and their "Scherzade Syndrome" (If you bore me, you die) meant that *kawaraban* were reasonably accurate representations of important and active sectors of the mental world of the Edo commoner.

Kawaraban concerned with the "black ships" appeared in unprecedented variety and number. Goemon, our "typical Edo commoner" representing the more than 500,000 commoners who populated Edo, was deeply concerned and curious about the "red-haired barbarians." Laws forbade him and his fellow townsmen from going out to view the foreigners, thereby creating a ready market for the cheap prints. Over 500 different *kawaraban* appeared for sale in the streets of Edo in 1853 and 1854. Since quality or artistic value was of secondary importance, each woodblock could produce up to 2,000 prints. There is evidence of many extra editions

3. Basic information on *kawaraban* may be found in One Hideo, *Kawaraban monogatari* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1967); *Kawaraban—shinbun: Edo—Meiji sanbyaku-nen jiken*, v. 2, Taiyō Collection, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1978) reproduces several "black ships" *kawaraban* with helpful text and commentary. Nakayama Einosuke, ed., *Edo—Meiji kawaraban* (Tokyo: Jinbunsha, 1973) also reproduces several *kawaraban* from the 1850s, although text and commentary are inadequate. Other documentary collections on Bakumatsu social history include: *Kaei Meiji nenkanroku*, 2 v. (Tokyo: Gannandō, reprint, 1968); *Sokumenkan bakumatsu shi*, 2 v. (Tokyo: Tōkyōtō shuppan, reprint, 1975) and *Edo jidai rakusho ruiju*, 3 v. (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, reprint, 1984–85).

of prints in high demand. Thus, with an estimated minimum of about one million prints in circulation at affordable prices, we can reasonably assume that most, if not all, of the adult population of Edo and the nearby countryside had some contact with these prints and their message.⁴

Kawaraban are essential texts for analyzing how the Edo townsmen reacted to the opening of their country. *Kawaraban* served to open the popular mind to knowledge about the West which had once been held only by the intellectual and political elite. Although often filled with inaccurate information, the woodblock prints gave the commoners their first detailed view of the world outside Japan. They helped to create Goemon's new world view.

The "black ships" prints fall into several categories. The most numerous are depictions of the "black ships" themselves. The accuracy of some of the prints indicates direct observation; most of the prints, however, were highly imaginative, drawing on previous depictions of Dutch ships in Nagasaki. A second category deals with the attempts of the Shogun and daimyō to deal with the foreigners. Numerous prints depicted problems connected with coastal defense. They often took the form of maps of Edo Bay and showed fortifications, gun batteries, and placement of troops from the various domains. Other prints told of the negotiations between Perry and Bakufu high officials. These prints were by and large straightforward accounts of the proceedings, but hardly trustworthy. A third category of prints reveals a deep curiosity about the outside world. Crude world maps were in high demand, while other prints depicted foreign lands and peoples, their costumes, customs, and languages. The gifts presented by the Americans were especially highlighted. Prints of a miniature steam locomotive, the telegraph, and other aspects of barbarian material culture were particularly popular. A fourth category includes prints that were decidedly anti-foreign in nature, some of them humorous, but many betraying anger and violence. A final category of *kawaraban* involves anti-government satire. Here the rich resources of commoner wit were put to their most difficult test.

For the purposes of this paper, I will be concerned with all varieties, but especially with the third and fourth categories, as my aim is to show the creation of a new world view. Edo townsmen, I will contend, reacted to the opening of Japan with nationalistic sentiments similar to the ruling samurai class'. There is also evidence of a growing disenchantment with their superiors in light of their obvious helplessness in dealing with the foreign world. My conclusions will be tentative; they are based only upon a preliminary analysis of late Tokugawa broadsheets. The potential of these documents for social historians demands a more comprehensive treatment.

Fishermen were the first commoners, or for that matter Japanese, to see Commodore Perry's "black ships" sailing into Edo Bay. Astonished at this sudden appearance of aliens and their craft, they thought the steamships loomed "as large

4. Saitō Takao, "Nagasaki kara kita kurofune: kaikokuki kawaraban no kaigai jōhō," *Tamakusu*, v. 4, "Kurofune emaki to kawaraban" (1986).

as mountains” and traveled “as swift as birds.”⁵ Bakufu officials immediately issued orders to mobilize local police and warned the people of the possibility of war. The great city of Edo, with a population close to one million, was besieged with panic. Rumors quickly spread as warriors sought desperately to arm themselves for battle. People in general began buying food and supplies to stock up in the event of an emergency. The price of rice and other commodities went berserk.

A contemporary account gives a good description of the confusion brought on by this sudden encounter with the new and unknown:

The usually lively streets of Edo are now filled with panicky commotion. People are carrying to and fro all sorts of arms and furniture. The second-hand clothing stores all hang out coats of arms and clothing necessary for soldiers. Those who make their living as smiths all busy themselves with making armor, helmets, swords, and spears. Dealers in arms pile up old arms in their shops, and sell them for doubled prices. Men and women of the houses near the sea-coast, both samurai and commoners, have begun to evacuate with their old and young. The broad streets of the Shogun’s capital are closely packed with people wildly running about in panic carrying furniture and possessions. Such a state of things breeds wild rumors, and the people have no peace of mind.⁶

While it is possible to exaggerate the fear and confusion caused by Perry’s “black ships,” curiosity about the strangers and their strange lands knew no bounds. A newspaper correspondent aboard one of Perry’s ships saw the Japanese as “the most curious, inquiring person, next to a Yankee, in the world.”⁷ The Japanese naturally were curious about the outside world—after all, the Tokugawa Bakufu had pursued a policy of “national seclusion” for nearly 250 years. Perry and his men were hard put to answer the barrage of questions put to them. But the samurai elite were not the only curious Japanese. Foreigners throughout the Bakumatsu years universally commented on the incessant stares of the crowd. People were curious; they desperately wanted to see the strange foreigners. Dr. James Morrow, a scientist who accompanied Perry, complained of “the curiosity of the rabble.” When he walked through a village, for example, “hundreds of the common people came out and looked at us with great curiosity.”⁸

Most commoners were not fortunate enough to see the foreigners first hand. Goemon, our representative Edo townsman, and his friends were forced to satisfy their curiosity through the purchase of chapbooks and broadsheets crammed with “enlightening” information. A typical example can be seen in the print entitled

5. Quoted in Minami, *Ishin zenya*: 22.

6. *Sokumenkan bakumatsu shi*, v. 1: 14; quoted in Motoyama Yukihiko, “Bakumatsuki ni okeru minshū no ishiki to kōdō,” *Kyōtō daigaku kyōiku gakubu kiyō*, 30 (March, 1984): 53.

7. Quoted in Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1969): 23.

8. Allan B. Cole, ed., *A Scientist with Perry in Japan: The Journal of Dr. James Morrow* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1947): 155.



17. "A Picture of a Steamship," Kurofune-kan Collection.

America is one of the six continents. It lies about 5,000 *ri** to the east of Japan. Washington is a great capital city in the south of that country. From there great ships are sent out in all directions. These ships are known as steamships or fire-wheel ships. These ships were originally used in Europe and other countries, but now they are built in America. They sail like a great sea dragon at speeds of 30 *ri* in one [Japanese] hour,** covering 360 *ri* in one day and night. They think nothing of great winds, torrents of rain, or giant waves. America became an independent country 77 years before the 1,854 years since [countries in the West originated]. In the sixth month of *Kaei* 6 [1853] a letter was delivered by Special Envoy and Naval Commodore Marochiu Peruri [Matthew Perry] to authorities at Uraga in Sagami, having been so instructed by the King of the Republic of America, Purishitentoku Mirurarudo Furumowore [President Millard Fillmore]. He then sailed away but on the 17th day of the first month of *Kaei* 7 [1854] he returned to Uraga for an answer. On the night of the 27th, [his ships] sailed up as far as Haneda and stayed there for two or three days before returning to Kanazawa. The large ship is called *Siyusukehanna* [Susquehanna]. It is 65 *ken**** in length and is called a *furugatto* [frigate]. The small ship is called a *mattera* [unclear] and is 20 *ken* in length. On the 5th day of the first month of *Tenpō* 11 [1840] a fisherman from Nakahama village in Tosa, Mannosuke, and five others drifted out to sea. He was taken to America where he spent 12 years before returning in *Kaei* 5 [1852].****

* 1 *ri* is 3.93 kilometers.

** 1 Japanese hour is roughly 2 Western hours.

*** 1 *ken* is 1.82 meters.

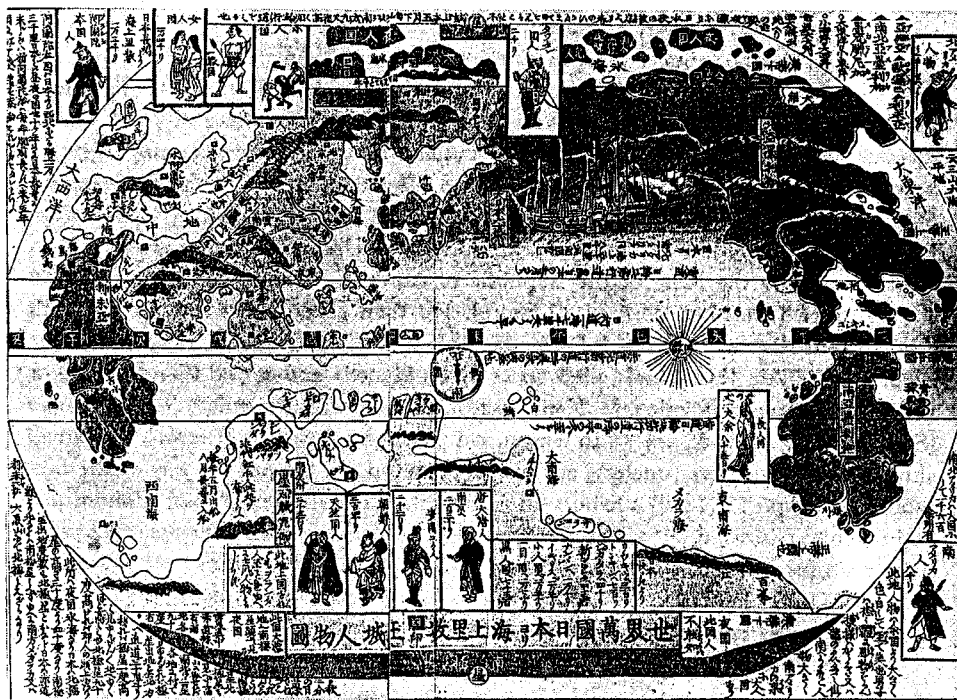
**** Refers to Nakahama Manjirō who was rescued in 1841 and returned to Okinawa by an American ship in 1851.

“A Picture of a Steamship.”⁹

“Black ships” prints, like fig. 17, were numerous and appeared in many formats, usually with supplementary information about the size and crew of the ships and a short history of the countries they came from. This 1854 print shows the black ships of America and several other countries. Its description of Perry’s mission is, for the most part, accurate, although the portrait of the American “king” (top left-most insert) is hardly flattering. The information given about the Mongols, South Americans, Europeans, English, and Russians, however, is largely imaginary and perhaps intended more for entertainment than for enlightenment. The section of Russia in the lower right-hand corner, for example, reads:

Picture of a Russian large ship. This country is to the west of Japan. The country is . . . a very evil country. To the north there is an island which is called the Isle of Dwarfs. About 1,000 *ri* to the south is the Black Man’s Country and further south is the Night People’s Country.

The drawing of the foreign ships obviously did not derive from first-hand obser-



18. “Countries of the World,” Kurofune-kan Collection.

9. My research is based on the extensive collection of “black ship” *Kawaraban* housed in the Kurofune-kan Collection in Kashiwazaki, Niigata prefecture. I wish to thank the proprietor of Kurofune-kan, Mr. Yoshida Naota, for his generous cooperation and permission to duplicate the prints included in this paper.

vation. Even the American “steamship” is probably based on earlier Nagasaki prints of Dutch sailing ships, touched up with a sidewheel and smokestack. In many cases, as in the print above, the Dutch national flag flies from the American ships. The short description of America probably derived from Chinese sources, such as the *Haiguo tuzhi* [Japa. *Kaikoku zushi*] which appeared in a popular Japanese edition in 1854.

During the Tokugawa period accurate knowledge of world geography was by and large limited to the intellectual and political elite.¹⁰ The arrival of Perry’s “black ships” would seem to have changed all of this. Many *kawaraban* took the form of world maps, such as the one shown in fig. 18 above, also issued in 1854. Although primitive in comparison with Western maps of the same date, this is one of the first world maps readily available to the Japanese commoners. It includes basic information on the five continents and on the various countries of the world, but contains much misinformation as well. Note, for instance, the existence of the Country of Giants in South America and the Country of Dwarfs and the Country of Women in



19. “Peoples of the World,” Kurofune-kan Collection.

10. Little work has been done in English or in Japan concerning the Tokugawa period view of the outside world. In English the best works are Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of the West* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959); Richard T. Chang, *From Prejudice to Tolerance; A Study in the Japanese Image of the West, 1826–1864* (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1970); and, Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early Modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1986). A study of commoner views of the outside world has yet to be written.

Northern Europe. The map probably derived from the map of the world compiled by Nagakubo Sekisui, a Mito scholar, in 1788; in turn he based his knowledge of world geography upon the world map Matteo Ricci produced for the Chinese court in 1602.¹¹ It would be wrong to underestimate the quantity and quality of information about the West available to the Japanese political and intellectual elite. It was not until the "black ships" of the 1850s, however, that somewhat accurate knowledge of world geography became widespread among the commoners in Edo and other towns closely linked to it.

Besides maps, other pictorial representations, such as fig. 19 above, attempted to place Japan within a world context. In this print, which shows the various peoples of the world, "Great Japan" is placed in the center, dressed as the kabuki hero, Kamakura Gongorō, who kills the wicked to save the innocent. The rest of the countries of the world are placed around Japan, some close, some distant, according to their degree of "civilization." The print is comical in other ways as well, with countries such as "Black Man's Country," "Hole People," "Dwarf Island," and "One-Eyed People." While the broadsheet shows that Goemon possessed little accurate knowledge about the outside world, it does give evidence of the commoner's world view in the late Tokugawa period.

Goemon knew that the world was inhabited by many different peoples in many different lands. His imagination had been fired by the illustrated descriptions of over 180 countries included in the *Wakan sansai zue*. This encyclopedia of knowledge, first published in 1712 in 105 volumes, divided the known (and unknown) world up into two broad divisions: those who used Chinese characters and ate with chopsticks, and those who did not. The editor, Terajima Yoshiyasu, derived his information of world geography largely from Ming sources, although supplemented with information concerning "countries" such as Cambodia, Jakarta, Taiwan, Ezo, and Luzon which were well-known in Japan in the 17th century. The encyclopedia proved immensely popular and was reprinted throughout the Tokugawa period, including several abridged easy-to-read editions.¹² The *Wakan sansai zue*, moreover, was only one of many published and accessible works which dealt extensively with the social and political geography of countries outside of Japan.¹³

11. For collections of Tokugawa period maps, see Unno, K., et al., *Nihon kochizu taisei*, 4 v. (Nihonzu-hen and Sekaizu-hen) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1972, 1985). The catalogue for the Kobe City Museum's 1983 special exhibition on old maps is particularly well done: *Kochizu ni miru sekai to Nihon*, Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan (Kobe: 1983). In English, see Hugh Cortazzi, *Isles of Gold: Antique Maps of Japan* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1983).
12. Shimada Isao, Takeshima Atsuo, and Higuchi Motomi, ed., *Wakan sansai zue*, 18 v. (Tokyo: Heibonsha: Tōyō Bunko, 1986), v. 3: 220-409 contains the section on foreign peoples.
13. For a complete listing of published books dealing with the world outside Japan, see *Sakoku jidai Nihonjin no kaigai chishiki*, ed. Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyōkai (Tokyo: Hara shobō, reprint 1978). This unique book is filled with fascinating information; it is the major reference work on the Japanese view of the world during the Tokugawa period.



21. "A Comparison of Strengths," Kurofune-kan Collection.

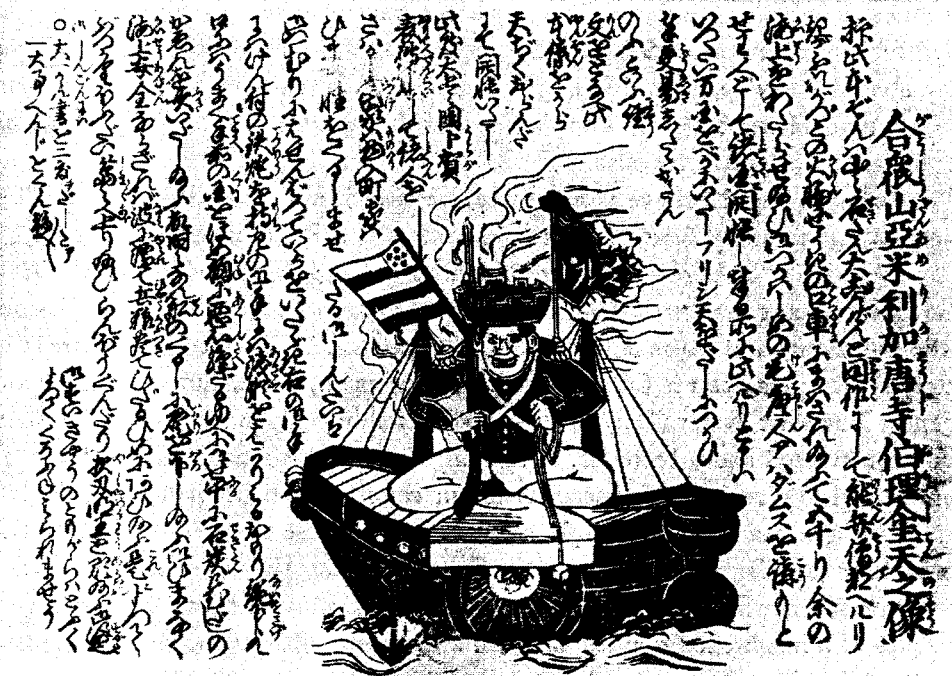
sented by the Americans to the government of "Great Japan." One American observer of this official presentation noted, "All the spectators seemed delighted with the engine. The whistle pleased them greatly while it . . . caused us to . . . reflect on the results that might be produced by the steam engine in this hitherto secluded country."¹⁴ The commoners may not have grasped the technological implications of steam power, but their curiosity was strong and positive. The excitement generated by the locomotive and the telegraph can be seen as a forerunner of the "Civilization and Enlightenment" movement which was to dominate the early Meiji period.

In general, however, Goemon and other commoners were quick to point out areas of Japanese superiority. A humorous example can be seen in fig. 21 depicting the sumo match arranged by the Bakufu for the entertainment of the Americans. Sumo wrestlers, heroes in the eyes of the commoners, provided Goemon with the opportunity to poke fun at the weak Americans who stood amazed at the strength of the Japanese wrestlers helping load bales of rice and other of the official gifts onto the American ships. Predictably, the Americans privately had a different view. They were more amused with the comparison between the "stout and well-formed" wrestlers and the higher classes who "are extremely effeminate and complain of fatigue in walking a few hundred yards."¹⁵

Kawaraban helped to confirm an image of Japanese national superiority. These prints naturally exaggerated the facts; the more comical and witty, the larger the

14. Cole: 142.

15. Cole: 146-47.



22. "Perry as a Buddhist Devil," Kurofune-kan Collection.

Translation:

Image of President from the Foreign Temple of the Republic of America

This image is the same as the Coal Avatar of the Mountains. The slippery-tongued monk Perry in his berserk state has come in a steamship from 5,000 *ri* away bringing with him the barbarian Adams as his acolyte in helping him to reveal the image of President to the countries of the world. In fact, Perry is making a fool of the countries of the world by using the image of President for his own ends and chanting a sutra which repeatedly begs for trade. He has taken and revealed this image to China, India, and Holland. Now he has come begging to our exalted country. The image that he brings with him will startle everyone. It will cost the warriors a great deal of money; it will ruin the businesses of the merchants; it will cause the peasants great suffering. On its head it wears an arrogant crown; in its right hand is a gun and bayonet; from its left hand hangs a depth-sounding rope; from its mouth pours great praise of its own country, but its chest is so full of evil spirits that it has a smoke-stack coming out of its back to expel fire and smoke. Because of this, its ships are often in distress with no time to let down anchor. Since it knows no safety at sea, it drifts with the waves and its food supplies become exhausted. The image lands here and there on islands where it reveals its true nature as the wild and fearsome sword-wielding Vidyaraja (Myōō). Its esoteric words are: "I have given you the letter twice; hurry up and reply." Its gang of wild men are far off, so you can come and see the black ships.

sales. Nonetheless, as social documents they reveal a great deal about the political concern and national awareness of commoners in late Tokugawa Japan. To be sure, they were not the "stupid people" (*gumin*) that orthodox Confucian moralists would have us believe. Perry's "black ships" picqued their curiosity and their outrage.

Commoners submitted several plans detailing how to drive the ships away. One called for concealing a cannon on a large wooden raft; another involved a drinking party aboard Perry's ship and killing the Americans when their guard was down.¹⁶ Edo commoners responded to Perry's threat with the same sort of national concern that invigorated the warrior elite.

For example, fig. 22 above is one of several which are decidedly anti-foreign in character. Commodore Perry is here represented as a Buddhist devil who comes to Japan aboard his "black ship" with gun in one hand and depth-sounding rope in the other. He will cost the warrior class a great deal of money; he will ruin the business of the merchants and cause sufferings to the peasants. He is not to be trusted; his flattery is false; his heart is full of hatred. Another print, not included here, shows a Japanese Buddhist avatar (Daijōbu Dōmyōō) defending Japan as one on one of the newly-constructed shore batteries. A section of the script reads: "This avatar has been erected to give peace and security to our country; in battle it will kill the barbarians using a beam of bright light as a weapon." These two prints use Buddhist terminology familiar to the commoners to explain who the foreigners are, where they come from, why they have come, and how to deal with them. They are good examples of a heightened popular national awareness, cultivated exclusively outside official expectations.

Whereas Bakufu officials, well aware of the strength of foreign guns, treated the



23. "Japan's Farting Power," Kurofune-kan Collection.



24. "Expelling Foreign Devils," Kurofune-kan Collection.

16. Minami: 33-36.

foreign visitors with some measure of respect, commoners were quick to show their contempt. *Kawaraban* show the existence of a sort of commoner nationalism. Many of the prints used the basest of language to describe the foreign intruders. One print, for example, compared the Americans and the Russians to worms and threatened to chop them up into tiny pieces. In fig. 23 Goemon laughs at the “hairy barbarians” who are easily overwhelmed by Japanese farting power. Fig. 24 shows a righteous Japanese warrior driving away foreign devils. The script proclaims; “Happiness within; devils without” (*fuku wa uchi; oni wa soto*). Other prints described Japan as a divine country (*shinkoku*), and prayers were offered up to the “divine winds of Ise” to drive the barbarians away. Comic verse (*kyōka*) popular at the time of Perry’s arrival also intoned nationalistic sentiments:

Driven away by the spring wind
The men of Japan
Feel only contempt for America¹⁷

The commoners’ wit and humor were directed towards their own government as well.¹⁸ For instance, fig. 25 above was issued immediately after the signing of the Kanagawa Treaty in the third month, 1854. It is in the conventional form of a “letter of guarantee” (*ukejō*) and serves as a parody on the newly signed treaty. Although the print shows the Tokugawa authorities (Bukeya Tsuyoemon) employing the services of the American barbarians (Berori Namesuke), it involves piercing criticism of Tokugawa helplessness in dealing with Perry. The barbarian is hired; hired, that is, to stay away from work. Some 5,000 *ri* away! He is required to respect Japanese coastal fortifications and regulations. The people knew, of course, that the Bakufu was powerless. Bakufu laws prohibited Christians from coming to Japan, but Perry is a believer in the Rifle Sect, and therefore is allowed to work in Japan, even though his religion, which consists of military force, is much more dangerous. The “letter of guarantee” motif was particularly popular, and several versions, some with different texts, some with different illustrations, were sold on the streets of Edo.

Prints like these provide good evidence of a considerable disenchantment with the ruling class. Edo commoners knew well that the warriors lacked the means to drive the foreigners away and poked fun at their helplessness. As a contemporary comic verse put it: “In ancient times it was the Gods of Ise who frightened away the Mongols; now it is the Lord of Ise (Abe Masahiro) who is frightened.”¹⁹

The opening of Japan was a national event; it affected high and low alike. It was an upsetting experience; the verse “Only four cups of tea and a peaceful night’s sleep is impossible,” could also be read “Only four steamships and the peace of the world

17. Taken from a *kawaraban* entitled “Jisei fūshi kyōka” (no date, probably 1854), Kurofunekkan Collection.

18. Konishi Shirō, “Kawaraban ni miru seiji fūshi, in *Kawaraban-shinbun: Edo-Meiji sanbyakunen jiken*, v. 2: 51–54.

19. *Sokumenkan*, v. 1: 65. Abe was senior chief councillor of the Bakufu from 1845 to 1855 and so was responsible for its policy toward the West.

