

The Anomie Logic of Japanese Shogunate Reform From the Perspective of Historical Institutionalism

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Abstract: *During the 14 years of 1854-1867, the Tokugawa Shogunate launched three reforms in succession. In response to the many difficulties faced by the founding of Japan, the Tokugawa Shogunate launched an overall reform response. However, the more the reform was, the more passive it was, and finally the reform failed and the regime changed. From the perspective of historical institutionalism, it is found that there are anomie logics in the end of the curtain reform, such as institutional arrangement and expansion, reform ideas and models, and synchronous evolution of the state and society.*

Keywords: *Historical Institutionalism; The Reform at the End of the Curtain; Anomie Logic*

1. Introduction

In the middle of the 19th century, the European and American powers who completed the industrial revolution started the command and conquest of global colonization by violence. In the whirlpool of westward invasion, "either to start a country or to go to war" has become a life and death choice for the Japanese shogunate. From 1854 to 1867, the shogunate successively launched the "security reform" (1854-1860), "Wen Jiu reform" (1861-1864) and "Keio reform" (1865-1867), the so-called "end of shogunate reform".

According to historical institutionalism, the construction and change of institution are attributed to the grasp of key nodes and path dependence, and institution dominates the relationship between politics and economy. The key to grasp the key node lies in whether the political subject can actively open the important historical node and lead the cause and effect order of the subsequent events, while the key to grasp the path dependence lies in whether the political subject can harvest positive feedback and realize self strengthening.

For the Tokugawa shogunate, which has ruled Japan for more than 250 years, there are rules to follow in carrying out reform in response to the changing situation. However, what is fundamentally different from the previous reform is that the premise of "lockdown system" has disappeared. What the shogunate is facing is no longer a single objective reform of internal policy adjustment and optimization, but a dual objective reform of "innovation rule" and "resisting external humiliation".

2. Innovating the patriarchal system

the shogunate's political system of "Innovating the patriarchal system" missed the "key node", the regime encountered a crisis of legitimacy, and its absolute authority was seriously shaken.

Since Tokugawa Iyemasa served as the general of Zhengyi in 1603, the shogunate has gradually constructed the dual political structure of "emperor supreme and general supreme" with "Banzhong and Gongjia laws" as the core, and established the dual governance system of "shogunate and powerful vassal" with "Wujia laws" as the core. Economically, based on the Shigao system, the land ownership system of feudal lords was established through the implementation of "separation of army and agriculture", "separation of Commerce and agriculture", "relationship between emperor and benefactor" and "conversion of feudal lords". In terms of ideology and culture, "Zhu Zixue" was regarded as "official school", and the ideology and ethics of "general, great name, warrior and common people" were organized. In terms of social relations, the four levels of "scholars, peasants, industry and commerce" should be clearly defined, and the identity order should be consistently strengthened. In terms of foreign relations, the system of "locking the country" was implemented, which strictly prohibited any exchanges between vassal states and overseas countries, set up the shogunate's sovereign diplomacy, and directly controlled Nagasaki port to monopolize overseas trade.

The shogunate ruled Japan steadily for two and a half centuries with its careful system design and arrangement in politics, economy, society, culture and diplomacy. However, due to the drastic external change of "black boat sailing" in 1853, the shogunate had to cope with the change. As a matter of fact, the shogunate's response was quite quick. In early 1854, it launched the "security reform". Under the strong support of Yi Zhibi, Dalaojing (1815-1860), it directly signed the "Security Treaty of five states" without the approval of emperor Xiaoming, and established Tokugawa Jiamao, the "three royal families", as the successor of the general's family. It also created "an Zheng prison" to forcefully suppress the opposition led by Ichihashi family of Shuihu fan. These three kinds of strong hand politics not only make up for the gap in the previously broken "forbidden middle and the laws of the state" and "the laws of the Wu family", but also firmly lock up the actions and public opinions of "the state interfering in politics" and "the public discussion of the princes", and restore the absolute authority of the shogunate with an iron hand. However, in March 1860, as Jingyi was assassinated by the Shuihu vassal outside Yingtian gate, the "security reform" came to an abrupt end.

The "Sakuta gate change" made the shogunate's reform ideas and institutional arrangements seriously distorted. In order to quickly relieve the political pressure and inner panic, the shogunate decided to comply with the emperor's expectation of "Gongwu combination" and voluntarily asked to marry the emperor's younger sister, and acquiesced in the inherent condition of "Gongwu combination" - to fight against foreigners with orders: "the great ceremony of conquering the ugly foreigners is not to be punished, but it is not what I expect to fight against foreigners without any plan. When we agree on all the strategies, we should play the role of [1]. Later, he took the initiative to open the floodgate of "dukegongyi". He appointed Samo, Changzhou, TUZUO, Sendai, and Jiahe as the five elders of the shogunate. He appointed Tokugawa Qingxi as "the post of general" and Songping Qingyong as the president of political affairs. He vindicated the "anzheng prison" and tried the "imperial assembly". Since then, the authoritarian politics of "Edo law" has gone to the decentralization politics of "shogunate court Daming". As Yoshida said: "the shogunate does not think of national calamities, regardless of national humiliation, and does not honor heaven.". It is the crime of conquering foreigners, which is not allowed by heaven and earth. God and man are angry : "When we are ready to fight for this great righteousness, then we can set things up. There is no time to delay[2]."

3. Innovation economy

the shogunate's economic system arrangement of "innovation economy" made the path dependence out of order. The regime suffered from the centrifugal of the people and the opposition of the gentry, and completely lost the opportunity of positive feedback and self strengthening.

During the period of Tokugawa shogunate's rule, Japan's population was basically maintained at 30-32 million, and the total area of cultivated land was basically stable. The economic basis of Mufan system was to collect land rent. The rate of land rent rose from "four public and six people" at the beginning of Mufan system to "six public and four people" at the end of Mufan system. The rise of land rent in kind on the one hand showed that land value increased and labor force devalued, on the other hand, it also showed that population spillover effect had been induced under the condition that the total amount of land remained unchanged. Yokei Xiaonan (1809-1869) pointed out in the dialogue on marsh mountain that "the people of a hundred people, 70 of whom are farmers, and the remaining 30, or the old and young poor, are all vagrants who are difficult to operate agriculture and have no spare power. Today, three out of ten people in the country are vagrants [3]". To make matters worse, foreign businessmen, according to the relevant provisions of the "five nation peace and security treaty", exchanged Mexican silver dollars for Japan's "one cent silver", and then one cent silver for "gold verdict", seizing huge profits, resulting in a large outflow of Japanese gold, with only 1858-1859 gold coins losing 100000 Liang overseas [4], leading to high inflation in Japan, people's livelihood and frequent riots. According to statistics, during 1858-1867, the total domestic price level rose by 700%, and the rice price rose from 121 Liang per stone in 1859 to 564 Liang per stone in 1868, with an increase of 466% [4]. Japan as a whole has fallen into the pain of unemployment and inflation.

4. Conclusion

Looking at the three reforms at the end of the shogunate, it is not difficult to see that:

First, the shogunate was out of control at the "key node". As a political subject, the shogunate government should make a clear choice, not hesitation, whether to "fight the barbarians first" or "start

the country first" under the condition of internal stability and external security. In the process of reform, once the absolute authority is challenged, the shogunate should firmly maintain the exclusiveness of authority and ensure the unification of government orders. However, in reality, the shogunate hesitated between "resisting foreigners" and "Founding the country". When the two political forces of "the public" and "the powerful vassal" gradually converged and waited for the opportunity, and the absolute authority of the shogunate was challenged, it chose the separation of powers to bridge instead of force. This not only shakes the prestige of the powerful, but also exposes the drawbacks of the shogunate system, Let reform appear weak. In the end, it evolved into a scramble for power by various political forces for "who is going to dominate the fight against foreigners" and "who is going to dominate the fight against foreigners" all the time, lingering on the "Founding" and "fighting against foreigners", "centralization" and "public discussion", seriously delaying the key historical nodes. Therefore, from the moment when the shogunate broke the laws of the imperial court and the imperial family and the laws of the martial family, it was doomed that centralization of power was offended and authority was challenged.

Secondly, the shogunate is out of order in "path dependence". In the end of the shogunate reform, for the problem of labor force population, the shogunate only used the "return to agriculture order" issued during the Tianbao period to persuade the farmers to return, but did not mobilize, utilize, dredge and arrange the human capital through the reform of the "Shigao system" and the "separation of army and agriculture" system, which lost the good opportunity of positive feedback in the path dependence. It is precisely because the contradiction between the agricultural farmers has not been properly resolved that it has a profound impact on the majority of the middle and lower class warrior groups who live in the farmers' income. As a result, the warrior class, as the foundation of the country, directly turns against the shogunate and loses the foundation of self strengthening in the path dependence.

The institutional dilemma of the late curtain reform has been fully exposed, and the political and economic institutional arrangements have fallen into the downward channel of the institutional spiral, showing a state of institutional locking. The overall failure of the reform led to the failure of the dual political structure of "emperor supreme general supreme power" and the anomie of the dual governance system of "shogunate powerful vassal" and the "curtain down" gradually turned from an idea into a realistic choice.

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