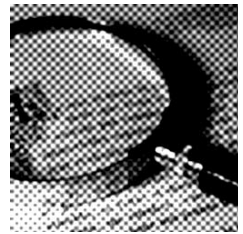


Selected Book Reviews

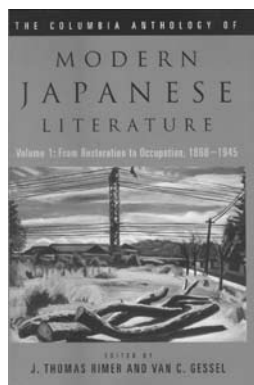


The Columbia Anthology of Modern Japanese Literature

Edited by J. Thomas Rimer and Van C. Gessel

(Columbia University Press, Two volumes: 2005/2007)

Review by Donald Richie



This is, by far, the largest of anthologies of modern Japanese literature. In two volumes, it is 1728 pages long, its size making it also the most inclusive.

Earlier anthologies—those, for example, of Keene, Morris, Hibbett, Goosen, Rogers and others—were circumscribed by their length. Though excellent introductions to modern Japanese writing, they could not include everything the compilers would have wished for and we must remain grateful to their work for what it is.

This enormous new anthology, however, suffers from no such limitations. It has the space available to include many more authors, sometimes represented by larger works. The anthology also profits in that the aims of the editors are somewhat more inclusive than those of their predecessors. Given the amount of page space at their command, they do not have to play at pantheon building (who is better than who, who is most ‘representative,’ etc.) nor do they get stuck in genre.

Prior anthologies, say the editors, “sought to privilege the aesthetic traditions of Japan as they were transformed and manifested anew in modern works.” But other kinds of writing—“ranging from detective stories to political accounts”—can now here be sampled.

Such important writers as Tatsuo Hori and Sei Ito may now join in the canon. Kenji Nakagami belongs in anthologies (though he is left out of many) and here he is. So is Junnosuke Yoshiyuki, one of Japan’s least translated stylists. Jun Ishikawa, not often encountered, is present, as is Taeko Kono and Yoshinari Shimizu. The often underrated Yasushi Inoue is

also here. The late Eto Jun is represented by his defining essay on Natsume Soseki, in its first hard-cover appearance.

At the same time, believing that works valued by Japanese readers should be included, the editors have inserted a story by Rampo Edogawa and sections from that old pot-boiler, Koyo Ozaki's *The Gold Demon*. Mystery-story-writer Seicho Matsumoto is also here, perhaps on grounds of his popularity.

Other popular choices are Haruki Murakami and Banana Yoshimoto. They are here despite the doubts of the editors. Gessel writes that "it seems unlikely that either of these writers will be able to sustain an enduring readership or reputation." Their "postmodern lenses" have a limited attraction and their prose styles "lack the aesthetic beauty and flavor ... found in the works of earlier writers."

They are here because they are representative, as is Matsumoto, not of literature but of reading tastes. Anthologies can indicate the stylistic finest or can turn sociological (or anthropological) and indicate the taste of the public that buys this literature. Or anthologies can do both and this is accomplished here in this Columbia anthology.

Gessel and Rimer see that the history of modern literature in Japan is "largely the story of the interactions between the native tradition and the imported forms and styles," and the structuring is purposely loose so that the writing is not confined by the presentation. This is a necessity to which the editors are very alive, each having had wide experience with anthologies. Van Gessel is the co-editor of *The Showa Anthology* and Thomas Rimer is the author of the invaluable *Reader's Guide to Japanese Literature*.

They have here created the largest and fullest of all anthologies of modern Japanese literature. In addition, about half of the entries were for the first time translated for this collection. (The others are reprinted, often from obscure sources.) Here then is a new and expanded view of one of the most interesting of contemporary literatures presented with learning, consideration and affection. ■

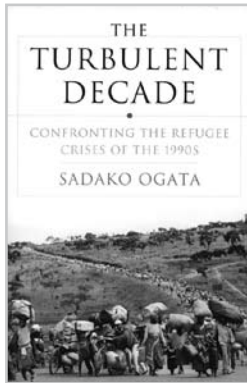
The Turbulent Decade:

Confronting the Refugee Crises of the 1990s

Sadako Ogata

(W.W. Norton & Company, 2005)

Review by Keiko Chino



Contrary to the lasting peace expected by the international community, the end of the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in fact caused new regional disputes and conflicts, and brought about disruptions and catastrophes. It was during this period that Sadako Ogata was inaugurated as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

In the few weeks following her arrival in Geneva as the new UNHCR Commissioner, Ogata faced the Kurdish refugee crisis and the civil war in the former Yugoslavia even before she had finished repatriation work. Several months later, she found herself dealing with a disaster in Somalia that foretold a series of humanitarian tragedies in Africa. She tells us in her book that “The UNHCR worked in every continent on earth like a firefighter in a fire brigade.”

In this book, Ogata focuses on problems in the four areas of Kurdistan, the Balkans, Africa, and Afghanistan that she struggled with during her tenure as UNHCR between February 1991 and December 2000, and provides an in-depth analysis of her difficulties. As she relates in her book, the four conflicts included a wide range of issues and lessons in terms of scale, the degree of risk that refugees endured, and the diversity of mobilized partners.

It is a highly valuable work that offers precise chronological recollections and information from the central player in the refugee issue. Readers will be impressed with Ogata’s approach, as the first woman, the first Japanese, and the first academic to serve as UNHCR, with her challenging duties, with her approach that so exhibited firmness, promptness, bravery, and mobility.

Ogata was neither overwhelmed by the circumstances nor lost to

emotion despite the tragic and imminent problems at hand. Her attitude is made clear in the book when she writes, “The refugee issue is basically a political issue and should be settled politically.”

The last chapter provides a comprehensive examination of the policies and behavior of the United Nations and the major countries concerned, the UNHCR and humanitarian activities, including the creation of peace after conflict under the title “Humanitarian activities in wartime and peacetime,” reflecting the results of the four conflicts. Ogata indicates that the response to a humanitarian crisis is decided in large part by the strategic interests of the major countries concerned.

While the theme of this book is not specifically Japan or the Japanese, I recommend it because I want to applaud the fact that it was a brave Japanese woman who took the lead in humanitarian activities—the most universal and contemporary of activities—during the turbulent decade following the end of the Cold War.

Ogata mentions the importance of a happy home when she says in the farewell address she delivered to UNHCR office staff at the conclusion of her mission: “I will have to rediscover Japan because there have been many changes there during my tenure as UNHCR.” Her address will surely inspire new interest in her readers.

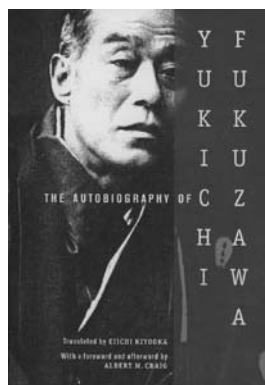
It should be of interest to readers how the author, who is now struggling on the front lines of Japan’s assistance and cooperation efforts as president of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), has rediscovered Japan. ■

The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa

Yukichi Fukuzawa

(Columbia University Press, 1980)

Review by Takenori Inoki



Yukichi Fukuzawa, a major figure in the creation of modern Japan, was an outstanding intellectual whose thought was characterized throughout by its practical and concrete substance rather than by ideological and abstract discussion. He was a contemporary of Toshimichi Okubo, Takamori Saigo, and Takayoshi Kido, three towering figures who exerted a significant influence on the politics of modern Japan. Looking at the long-term effect of his achievements as a prominent political

analyst, however, we can say that his influence on Japanese society was even greater than these three giants.

He experienced the great political transformation known as the Meiji Restoration in his mid-thirties. Although he was a bitter critic of the feudalistic Tokugawa government, his thinking combined both the depth of Edo culture and the new energy of the Meiji period. No one expressed a vision and method for the introduction of western culture and civilization to Japan in a clearer and more rational manner than Fukuzawa.

His Autobiography *Fukuo Jiden* is a truly great work in which he describes his life in the flow of history. After familiarizing himself with Western Studies in Nagasaki, he attended a school run by Koan Ogata in Osaka. He went to Edo, the then capital of Japan, at the request of his clan and opened a school to teach Western Studies in 1858.

He visited the U.S. in 1860 and six European countries between 1861 and 1862. In 1867, he again visited the U.S. The experience of direct contact with cultures and societies in the west allowed him to add an understanding of the power of western countries to his already deep knowledge of the political situation in Japan. He organized his experiences into a book entitled *Seiyō Jijō* (Conditions in the West).

Knowing that the Tokugawa government's reign was waning, he left government service to concentrate his energy on educating human resources at his private school, Keio Gijuku (currently Keio University), with the conviction that the greatest contribution he could make to Japan was through education. He later turned down a request from the Meiji government to serve in the administration, being convinced of the need to build up the nation based on the independence, freedom, and equality of the individual from the viewpoint of the public.

Two of his most famous works—*Gakumon no Susume* (Encouragement of Learning) and *Bunmeiron no Gairyaku* (An Outline of a Theory of Civilization)—extol freedom and equality, and discuss the necessity of cultivating intellect and morals for the development of civilization. They are truly outstanding classics clearly showing the direction that Japan should move in.

Fukuzawa wrote his autobiography with the help of Yoshijiyo Yano. After revisions and additions to the draft produced by Yano, the autobiography was completed and published as a 67-part series appearing in *Jiji Shimpo* (Current News), a magazine launched by Fukuzawa, between July 1, 1898 and February 16, 1899. The autobiography was published in book form in June of 1899, one and a half years before Fukuzawa's death.

Fukuzawa's charm and warmth are brought out in this autobiography through his gentle humor, and the depth of his intellectual energy is evidenced by his sharp wit. In fact, it is an exceptionally interesting work among the autobiographies written by notable Japanese figures. The work highlights his youth (from the end of the Edo period to the early Meiji period) with 12 of its 15 chapters devoted to this period of his life. His life after the early Meiji period is covered only in the last chapter, "Half a Lifetime of an Old Man."

Although the book is not free of ambiguity, error and omission, having been written as it was in his later years, it is an important guide to understanding how Fukuzawa formed his thought and to knowing the real character of influential leaders of Japanese opinion in the Meiji period. ■

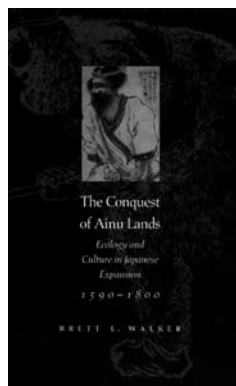
The Conquest of Ainu Lands:

Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800

Brett L. Walker

(University of California Press, 2001)

Review by Masayuki Yamauchi



Few areas of Japan are as strange as the Hokkaido (*Yezo*) of the modern age. The area that the Matsumae *han* (feudal clan) governed under Tokugawa's shogunate system was just one part of southern Hokkaido, and the majority of the indigenous Ainu population lived along the rivers and coasts that lay beyond the control of the *han*. Until recently, most Japanese regarded the *Yezo* as a frontier or foreign country.

Matsumae was an unusual feudal lord given that his *han* did not produce rice, though he was awarded the position of 10,000 *koku* (about 1,500 tons) of rice. The Ainu belonged to an area of land that can only be described as a tribal chiefdom. Inspired by a new historical perspective of the West in the study of United States history, the American scholar Brett L. Walker attempts to see *Yezo* as a frontier where races and cultures came together, and more specifically as a neutral zone founded by the interaction of cultures and politics between different groups of nationalities with different conditions and historical backgrounds. In this sense, he successfully brings a novel perspective to the modern history of Japan.

Lord Matsumae, who was commonly referred to as the "Lord of *Yezo* Isle", was given the authority to manage trade when Toyotomi Hideyoshi ruled Japan. He gave fishing grounds inhabited by Ainus to his retainers as trading points. There were boundaries between the places where Japanese settled and those where Ainus lived, but there were many loopholes. Warriors of the Matsumae *han* who lived on trade and the Ainu's resources were idiosyncratic, almost equivalent to the merchants during the Edo period in which a Confucian sense of social standing was firmly established. Walker proposed that it was this ambiguity that made the Matsumae *han* less conscious about security and national defense, indirectly causing them to forfeit territory to the Tokugawa government on two occasions. He also

argues convincingly that the rebellion by Samkusaynu in 1669 was not merely resistance by an ethnic group, and that the Tokugawa government and the Matsumae *han* became involved in the battles that were waged between Ainu chieftains over animal harvests for trade with Japanese.

The Matsumae *han*'s monopoly on trade imposed increasing severity on the Ainu as time went by. In fact, when the Matsumae *han* was established around 1590, the Ainu used to exchange five bundles of dried salmon for one big bale of rice, but they exchanged the same amount of salmon for just one small bale of rice 80 years later. Ainu who had become familiar with the value of rice, *sake*, and metal products through trade with the Japanese were forced to accept unfavorable terms. Walker presents an incisive analysis, stating that the Ainu renounced the use of force to protect their lands because their daily life depended economically on trade with the Japanese.

Walker introduces the image of the afterworld entertained by Ainus that depicts the natural environment of *Yezo* as a sacred place full of *kamui* (spirits) in the shape of bears and fish. A bear that surrenders itself to the warm-hearted, gentle, and kind Ainus dies in the midst of singing and dancing, and is sent to the kingdom of God with many gifts presented by the Ainu. The bear comes back to the earth many times to see the kindly youths and their dancing. They are shot and killed by arrows every time they come back, but are satisfied with the heartfelt entertainment. In other words, nature, humans (Ainus), and bears coexist comfortably, without invading each other's territories. It is a beautiful piece of folklore.

The Ainu population, numbering twenty to forty thousand, decreased from the late 17th century onwards. Walker attributes the decrease to the effects of rampant so-called "ecological imperialism", such as smallpox and syphilis. Ironically, however, the Ainu's medical situation improved because the Tokugawa government gave them kind and favorable treatment. It was not the Matsumae *han* but the Tokugawa government that produced the "good present days" and created the myths of the "Disappearing Race" and "Docile Ainus." In this way, the author succeeds in multilaterally analyzing the ecology of the Ainu, trade with the Sakhalin and Kurile (Chishima) Islands, the transmission of epidemics, and the role of ritual, with the help of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. On a final note, let me just add that the book is available in a lucid Japanese translation by Toshiyuki Akizuki, himself a researcher of the history of the Northern Territories. ■

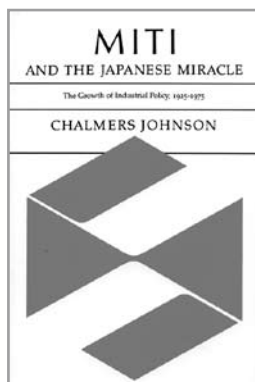
MITI and the Japanese Miracle:

The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975

Chalmers Johnson

(Stanford University Press, 1982)

Review by Glen S. Fukushima



This is the most influential book on Japanese political economy published in the past quarter of a century. Since its publication in 1982, it has shaped the world's (including Japan's) view of the successes—and failures—of Japan's economic organization and performance in the postwar period.

The author, Chalmers Johnson, is a comparative political scientist with a deep knowledge of economics, history, and Asia. In this book, he shows over a 50-year period how Japan's MITI

(Ministry of International Trade and Industry) led the country's industrial policy, a cooperative effort between the public sector and private sector to ensure the growth of Japanese economic power.

The significance of the book is hard to overstate. It is the first scholarly analysis in English of Japan's postwar industrial policy based on primary sources. As such, it is a path-breaking study that deserves the label of a "classic."

Second, it is a model of institutional analysis that spawned a series of studies of other Japanese ministries, agencies, and institutions.

Third, by examining the relationship between government, business, and politics, Johnson explicated the "Japanese model of capitalism." This was to draw considerable attention in the late 1980s and 1990s, as the end of the Cold War led to a collapse of the capitalism-versus-communism dichotomy and the need to understand the different forms of capitalism, most notably the Anglo-American, Continental European, and Japanese.

Fourth, the book stimulated a vigorous debate not only about the Japanese political economy, but about the "East Asian developmental state" more generally—including the examples of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Malaysia—and its implications for academia, policy, and business.

Fifth, in addition to its academic and intellectual contributions, the book influenced the real world of companies, governments, and

journalism. It is rare for a 400-page book in small print with 20 pages of footnotes and 14 pages of appendices published by a university press to gain the wide readership the book received. But Johnson's trenchant analysis influenced corporate policies toward Japan, government negotiating strategies toward the Japanese government, and journalists' coverage of the Japanese economy.

The Japanese reaction to the book was mixed. While on the one hand agreeing that the Japanese government contributed greatly to the country's postwar "economic miracle," many Japanese found Johnson's argument uncomfortable to the extent that it led foreign companies and governments to urge the Japanese government to open Japan's market to trade and investment from abroad. Thus the official Japanese response to such foreign requests was to point out that Johnson's arguments were valid up to 1975 (the end point of the book's analysis), but that after that Japan had become a "free market," so the government was powerless to solve trade or economic problems. In the parlance of the times, such issues were supposedly "beyond government reach."

Johnson's critics argued that he focused too much on the role of the government, not assigning enough credit to the private sector for Japan's postwar economic growth. Others pointed out that he gave too much credit to MITI and not enough credit to MOF (Ministry of Finance) or to the role of the FTC (Fair Trade Commission). Still others claimed that it was precisely the government's heavy-handed role in the economy that led to Japan's "lost decade" and faltering competitiveness in the 1990s.

Despite such criticisms, the book has withstood the test of time as the most authoritative academic analysis of Japan's industrial policy and the book that both defined the research agenda for policy analysts of Japan and shaped the thinking and approach toward Japan of a generation of business people, government officials, and journalists. It remains the single best study of how the Japanese political economy got to where it is today. ■

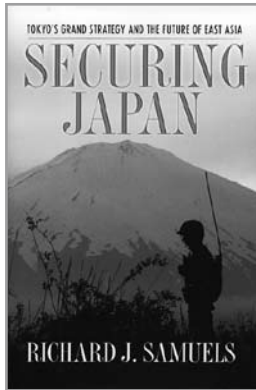
Securing Japan:

Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia

Richard Samuels

(Cornell University Press, 2007)

Review by Takashi Shiraishi



This book is one of the most balanced studies on Japan's security policy and underlying strategic thinking currently available in English. The author, Richard Samuels, is a scholar of Japanese studies and political science who has written a number of outstanding books and articles on Japanese politics and political history, including Japan's energy policy, science and technology policy, and an entertaining comparative history of Japan and Italy. In this book, he carefully analyzes the debate,

which has been underway in Japan for years, over Japan's security policy and strategy.

According to the author, the domestic political situation was stable during three separate periods in Japanese history, periods in which the national security strategy was pursued on the basis of a broad national consensus. The first was the policy of a "rich nation and strong army" in the 19th century, the second was "hegemony in Asia" in 1930-45, and the third was the strategy of "being a mercantile state and hitching a cheap ride on the US for security." Since the end of the Cold War, however, Japan has been developing new security policies to respond to new threats—the rise of China, North Korea, the likelihood of abandonment by the US, and Japan's relative decline. Simultaneously, a wide-ranging debate over two core values, autonomy and prestige, is underway in Japan, and a new national consensus on Japanese strategy will be built on this debate in the near future.

According to the author, there are four key views regarding security strategy in Japan. The first is that Japan should become "normal." "Normal nation-alists" believe that military strength is the way to prestige, which is the prime value of security. The second view is that of the "neo-autonomists," who believe that military strength is the way to autonomy

from the US. For these two groups, autonomy is the prime value of security. The other two groups, liberals and “left” pacifists, believe that prosperity is the core value. In the author’s view, Japan, primarily led by normal nation-alists and liberals, will maintain continuity with the Yoshida Doctrine of the Cold War, and at the same time build a new national consensus by maintaining vitality based on techno-nationalism and putting emphasis both on the alliance with the US and the partnership with Asia. That is, Japan will not overly depend on the US nor become excessively vulnerable to the threat of China. The author calls this new consensus a “Goldilocks consensus.”

This conclusion seems reasonable. However, the point that neo-autonomists and pacifists should be considered as important as normal nation-alists and middle-power liberals in the current debate over Japan’s grand strategy is highly questionable. Pacifists effectively lost public trust when the Socialist Party opportunistically dumped its pacifism to remain in power in the mid 1990s, while neo-autonomists, illustrated by Samuels in this book using a cartoonist and publicists, are engaged in nothing but a niche business for less than 5% of Japanese readers. In this sense, both groups are marginal in Japanese politics. It is natural, then, that a consensus can be created only between normal nation-alists and middle-power liberals, which Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda describes as the “resonance” of the Japan-US alliance and the partnership with Asia. ■

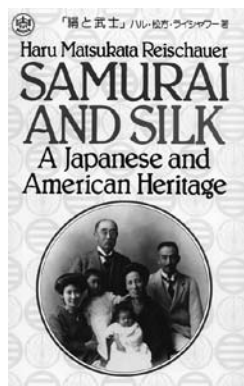
Samurai and Silk:

A Japanese and American Heritage

Edited by Haru Matsukata Reischauer

(Tuttle Publishing, 1986)

Review by Izumi Koide



The one-hundred-year period from the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century saw major historical changes both in the West and Asia. Especially Japan, an island country located on the eastern fringe of Asia, underwent significant change during that period. Japan had restricted its external relations through its national isolation policy since the early 17th century. In the mid-19th century, however, Japan was forced to open the country by the US and then faced a world where imperialism was emerging. Japan therefore tried to avoid colonization by establishing a modern state among powerful nations.

This book describes a family story, centering on the author's two grandfathers, Masayoshi Matsukata (1835-1924) and Ryoichiro Arai (1855-1939). During the one-hundred-year transition period, Matsukata and Arai respectively helped to build Japan as a modern economy, the former as a political leader and the latter through direct trade with the US.

Matsukata, who was born into a lower-class samurai family in the influential Satsuma domain (now Kagoshima Prefecture), belonged to the ruling class that promoted change in the period during which Japan evolved from a feudal society to a modern state, and acted as a pivotal member of the new central government established in 1868. Initially he became well-versed in taxation through local administration and applied his powers to land tax reforms. He visited Paris in 1878 when the world exposition was held there, and stayed for nearly one year to study European agriculture, commerce, industry, and the fiscal system. He learned about fiscal policy from then French Financial Minister Leon Say and was profoundly influenced. He was appointed finance minister in 1881 and put the national finances on a sound footing during the period from 1881 to 1885, including establishing a central bank, the Bank of

Japan. He became prime minister in 1891 after the Imperial Diet was established, and later acted as both prime minister and finance minister. As a key player in the Meiji government, he helped to strengthen the modern financial basis, for instance, by adopting the gold standard.

Ryoichiro Arai came from a rich farming family in a small village now located in Gunma Prefecture. Ever since Japan started trading with the West, Gunma Prefecture had been the leading silk producer, and silk was the country's main export. However, foreigners controlled trade and information on overseas markets. Ryoichiro's elder brother, who was engaged in silk production, wanted to trade directly, and so sent Ryoichiro to the US in 1876. Ryoichiro went to the US with samples and settled in New York, where he liaised between Japanese exporters and American buyers, focusing on the quality of products to secure credit. During his more than sixty years in the US, foreign earnings from silk exports grew to account for 40% of Japan's imports: this money was used to import machines and mineral resources to Japan that formed the foundation for industry. Hence, the silk trade created this basis.

This book is fascinating as the author describes how her two grandfathers established the basis of the modern Japanese economy from different dimensions, and includes her own experiences as a member of the family. The book covers not only their public achievements but also their character development and family lives. It also includes stories of their descendents, including Kojiro Matsukata, Saburo Matsukata and Shigeharu Matsumoto. The author had two homelands because she was born in Japan, enjoyed an American-style education, and married an American scholar who later became US ambassador to Japan. This family story told by her succeeds both as a biography and as a historical work. Based on careful research, she offers a lively description of Japan's modernization. ■

Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration

Marius Jansen

(Columbia University Press, 1994)

Review by Shinichi Kitaoka



The development of modern Japan was based on a number of fundamental conditions that were already in place by the time of Commodore Perry's arrival in 1853. However, this development would not have been possible without the changes the country underwent during the final years of the Edo Period. Low-ranking Satsuma and Choshu samurai warriors played a central role in overthrowing the 250-year-old Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868, and abolishing first the feudal clan system in 1871 and eventually the warrior class itself. These were momentous changes.

However, it is only in relatively recent years that the Meiji Restoration has come to be seen in a positive light. For many years, the study of history in Japan was largely influenced by Marxist historiography, and was mainly discussed in terms of how slow and distorted the development of Japan was in comparison to the Western world. With few exceptions, the Meiji Restoration was seen in a negative light as a half-hearted revolution.

The first positive evaluation of modern Japan came from foreign, not Japanese, scholars such as Edwin O. Reischauer, John Hall, and the author of this book, Marius Jansen (1922-2000). Referred to as modernization theorists, they were criticized by Japanese left wing scholars as spokespersons for American imperialism. However, there is no doubt today that their reputations as scholars of Japan have been firmly established. Looking back to when these scholars were most active, I believe that those days were the golden age of Japanese studies in America.

This book describes the radical transformation from the late Tokugawa Shogunate to the Meiji Restoration, focusing mainly on Ryoma Sakamoto (and Shintaro Nakaoka) of Tosa. Jansen begins with the political situation

first in the whole of Japan, then in Tosa, and then delves into the thoughts and actions of samurai warriors, such as Sakamoto and Nakaoka, in Tosa. In this way, he repeatedly narrows the focus and gives a vivid account of the volatile political situation leading to the final days of the Tokugawa Shogunate and Ryoma's growth and triumph.

Sakamoto Ryoma (1835-67) is a political hero in Japan, but initially he was simply an anti-foreign exclusionist opposed to the intrusion of Western countries. However, after he traveled to Edo, he became acquainted with Katsu Kaishu, learned more about the Western world, and matured into an outstanding politician. He organized the Kaiantai* with the support of the Tosa Clan, and united the previously antagonistic Satsuma and Choshu, the two big powers that eventually overthrew the Tokugawa Shogunate, and began to present his views about being a modern nation. Regrettably, Ryoma was assassinated before the new government was established, but his vision continued to have a major influence on Japan's politics even after the Meiji Restoration.

The manner in which Jansen writes this book is especially effective for readers who are not well-versed in the history of Japan. In this sense, the book may rank above the popular *Ryoma ga Yuku* by Shiba Ryotaro. In fact, Shiba may very well have received some hints from Jansen's work.

This book is outstanding among Japanese studies in the U.S. in terms of the importance of the theme and appeal of the central character, not to mention the fact that it demonstrates Jansen's excellent analytical and literary abilities. ■

* Kaiantai was something between a primitive navy and a cargo company. It helped the anti-Bakufu group by providing munitions and other contraband from Nagasaki to Satsuma and to Choshu.