

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abe Yasunari. “‘Eisei’ to iu chitsujo.” In *Shippei, kaihatsu, teikoku iryō: Ajia ni okeru byōki to iryō no rekishigaku*, edited by Tsurumi Shunsuke, Saito Susumu, Wakimura Kōhei, and Ijima Wataru. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2001.
- . “Yōjō kara eisei e.” In *Kansei no kindai 2: 1870–1910*, edited by Komori Yōichi, 47–78. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002.
- Akagami Takeshi. “Tanaka Shōzō mukashi banashi ‘kasei no kempō’ hyōkasetu e no gimon.” *Tanaka Shōzō to Ashio kōdoku jiken kenkyū* 12 (2000): 43–70.
- Anderson, Warwick. “Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution.” *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 3 (1995): 640–69.
- Andō Seiichi. *Kinsei kōgaishi no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1992.
- Anzai Kunio. “Kōdoku chōsa iinkai—dai ichiji, dai niji—no setchi to Tanaka Shōzō.” In *Eiinhon Ashio dōzan kōdoku jiken kankei shiryō*, 393–415. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2009.
- Arahata Kanson. *Yanaka mura metsubōshi*. Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1999.
- Arai Katsuhiko. “Gimin to minken fokuroa.” In *Kindai ikōki no minshūzō*, edited by Arai Katsuhiko. Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 2000.
- Arai Ōsui. *Arai Ōsui chosakushū*. 6 vols. Edited by Arai Ōsui chosakushū henshūkai. Yokohama: Shunpūsha, 2001.
- . “Ka o mite sono jin o shiru.” *Nihonjin*, January 1902.
- Beck, Ulrich. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Translated by Mark Ritter. London: Sage, 1992.
- Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. A John Hope Franklin Center Book. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Bocking, Stephen. “Ecosystems, Ecologists, and the Atom: Environmental Research at Oak Ridge National Laboratory.” *Journal of the History of Biology* 28, no. 1 (1995): 1–47.
- Bookchin, Murray. *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy*. Palo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books, 1982.
- . *The Philosophy of Social Ecology: Essays on Dialectical Naturalism*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990.

- Borish, Steven M. *The Land of the Living: The Danish Folk High Schools and Denmark's Non-Violent Path to Modernization*. Nevada City, CA: Blue Dolphin, 1991.
- Bowen, Roger W. *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan: A Study of Commoners in the Popular Rights Movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Bowler, Peter J. *The Eclipse of Darwinism: Anti-Darwinian Evolution Theories in the Decades around 1900*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Braisted, William Reynolds, ed. *Meiroku zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1976.
- Brandt, Kim. *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Brown, Azby. *Just Enough: Lessons in Living Green from Traditional Japan*. North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle, 2013.
- Brown, Wendy. "We Are All Democrats Now." In *Democracy in What State?*, edited by Amy Allen, 44–57. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Carey, Nessa. *The Epigenetics Revolution: How Modern Biology Is Rewriting Our Understanding of Genetics, Disease, and Inheritance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Carpenter, Edward. *The Art of Creation: Essays on the Self and Its Powers*. London: George Allen, 1907.
- . *Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure, and Other Essays*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.
- Caudwell, Christopher. *Studies and Further Studies in a Dying Culture*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2009.
- Cheung, Tobias. "From the Organism of a Body to the Body of an Organism: Occurrence and Meaning of the Word 'Organism' from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries." *British Journal of the History of Science* 39, no. 3 (2006): 319–39.
- . "How Humans Became Organisms: Some Reflections on the Transition from the Soul-Body Problem to the Organism-Milieu Interface." Paper presented at the University of Tokyo Center for Philosophy, Tokyo, December 7, 2009.
- Chiba kenritsu sekiyadojō hakubutsukan. *Shizen saigai o norikoete: Tonegawa churyūiki no doboku isan kara mieru rekishi*. Noda (Chiba): Chiba kenritsu sekiyadojō hakubutsukan, 2008.
- Clark, John P., and Camille Martin, eds. *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: The Radical Social Thought of Elisée Reclus*. New York: Lexington Books, 2004.
- Comte, Auguste, and John Stuart Mill. *The Correspondence of John Stuart Mill and Auguste Comte*. Translated and edited by Oscar A. Haac. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1995.
- Corl, Daniel. "Arai Ōsui to jukyō o megutte." In *Shirarezaru inochi no shisōka: Arai Ōsui o yomitoku*, edited by Arai Ōsui sensei kenenkai, 80–100. Yokohama: Shunpūsha, 2000.

- Cronon, William. "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." In *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, edited by William Cronon, 69–90. New York: Norton, 1995.
- Cushman, Gregory T. *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History*. Studies in Environment and History. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Davis, Mike. *Dead Cities: And Other Tales*. New York: New York Press, 2002.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.
- Devall, Bill, and George Sessions. *Deep Ecology*. Salt Lake City: G. M. Smith, 1985.
- Dinmore, Eric. "Concrete Results? The TVA and the Appeal of Large Dams in Occupation-Era Japan." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 39, no. 1 (2013): 1–38.
- Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger*. New York: Routledge Classics, 1966.
- Driscoll, Mark. *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895–1945*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Dunaway, Finis. "Green Goes Mainstream: The Visual Politics of American Environmentalism circa 1990." Paper presented at the American Society for Environmental History Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, April 4, 2013.
- Eagleton, Terry. *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- Eckersley, Robyn. *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004.
- Erikson, Kai. *A New Species of Trouble: The Human Experience of Modern Disasters*. New York: Norton, 1994.
- Eto Tekireikai, ed. *Eto Tekirei senshū*. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Ie no hikari kyōkai, 1979.
- Ewald, François. "Two Infinities of Risk." In *The Politics of Everyday Fear*, edited by Brian Massumi, 221–28. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Figal, Gerald. *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Finkelstein, Sydney. *Why Smart Executives Fail: And What You Can Learn from Their Mistakes*. New York: Portfolio Trade, 2004.
- Foster, John Bellamy. *Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978–9*. Translated by Graham Burchell. Edited by Arnold I. Davidson. New York: Picador, 2008.
- . *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- . *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. 2nd ed. Vintage, 1995.
- Fujihara Tatsushi. *Ina no daitōakyōeiken: Teikoku nihon no "midori no nakumei."* Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2012.
- Fujitani Takashi. *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Fukawa Satoru. *Tanaka Shōzō to tennō jikiso jiken*. Utsunomiya: Zuisōsha, 2001.

- . *Tanaka Shōzō to Tone, Watarase no nagare*. Utsunomiya: Zuisōsha, 2004.
- Fukutō Sanae, Kojima Naoko, Masao Shin'ichirō, and Togawa Tomoru, eds. *Kegare no bunkashi: Monogatari, jendaa, reigi*. Bunka no ekkyo 11. Tokyo: Shin'washa, 2005.
- Fukuzawa Yukichi. *An Encouragement of Learning*. Translated by David Dilworth and Umeyo Hirano. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1969.
- . *Gakumon no susume* (Iwanami bunko). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1978.
- . *Outline of a Theory of Civilization*. Translated by David Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst. Tokyo: Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, 1973.
- George, Timothy S. *Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University East Asia Center, 2002.
- . "Tanaka Shōzō's Vision of an Alternative Constitutional Modernity for Japan." In *Public Spheres, Private Lives in Modern Japan*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, Andrew Gordon, and Kate Wildman Nakai, 89–116. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005.
- Gluck, Carol. "Meiji' for Our Time." In *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, edited by Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern, 11–28. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Goldman, Michael. *Imperial Nature: The World Bank and Struggles for Social Justice in the Age of Globalization*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Golley, Gregory. "Darwinism in Japan: The Birth of Ecology." Paper presented at the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Chicago, 2005.
- Grimmer-Solem, Erik. "German Social Science, Meiji Conservatism, and the Peculiarities of Japanese History." *Journal of World History* 16, no. 2 (2005): 187–222.
- Grundtvig, N. F. S. *A Grundtvig Anthology: Selections from the Writings of N. F. S. Grundtvig*. Translated by Neils Lyhne Johnson and Edward Broadbridge. Cambridge, UK: J. Clarke, 1984.
- Guattari, Félix. *The Three Ecologies*. Translated by Ian Pindar and Paul Sutton. London: Athlone, 2000.
- Guérin, Daniel. *No Gods, No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2005.
- Hanks, William F. *Intertexts: Writings on Language, Utterance, and Context*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.
- Hanley, Susan B. *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan: The Hidden Legacy of Material Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Hardin, Garrett. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science and Its Conceptual Foundations* 162 (1968): 1243–58.
- Harootunian, H. D. "The Execution of Tosaka Jun and Other Tales: Historical Amnesia, Memory, and the Question of Japan's 'Postwar.'" In *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia*, edited by Sheila Miyoshi Jager and Rana Mitter, 150–71. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- . *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

- . *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa, Japan*. Publications of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996.
- Havens, Thomas R. H. “Comte, Mill, and the Thought of Nishi Amane in Meiji Japan.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 27, no. 2 (1968): 217–28.
- Hayashi Takeji. *Tanaka Shōzō: Sono shō to tataakai no “konpongi.”* Tokyo: Tabata shoten, 1980.
- Hokkaido shinbun shuzaihan, ed. *Kenshō “yuki jirushi” hōkai: Sono toki, nani ga okotta ka*. Tokyo: Kōdansha (bunko), 2002.
- Honda Toshiaki. “Keisei hisaku.” In *Nihon shisō taikai 44: Honda Toshiaki, Kaihō Seiryō*, 11–86. Edited by Akihiro Tsukatani and Kuranami Seiji. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970.
- Howell, David L. *Capitalism from Within: Economy, Society, and the State in a Japanese Fishery*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- . “Fecal Matters: Prolegomenon to a History of Shit in Japan.” In *Japan at Nature’s Edge: The Environmental Context of a Global Power*, edited by Ian Jared Miller, Julia Adeney Thomas, and Brett L. Walker, 137–51. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2013.
- . *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Howland, Douglas. *Personal Liberty and Public Good: The Introduction of John Stuart Mill to Japan and China*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- . *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002.
- Ijima Wataru and Wakimura Kōhei. “Kinda ajia ni okeru teikokushugi to iryō: Kōshū eisei.” In *Shippei, kaihatsu, teikoku iryō: Ajia ni okeru byōki to iryō no rekishigaku*, edited by Tsurumi Shunsuke, 75–95. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2001.
- Irokawa Daikichi. *The Culture of the Meiji Period*. Translated by Marius B. Jansen. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- , ed. *Meiji kenpakusho shūsei*. Vol. 6. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1991.
- Ishikawa Eisuke. *Ōedo risaikuru jijō*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1997.
- Ishikawa Sanshirō. *Ishikawa Sanshirō chosakushū*. Tokyo: Seidosha, 1977.
- Itagaki Taisuke. *Jiyūtōshi*. 3 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1957.
- Iwasaki Masaya. *Nōhon shisō no shakaishi: Seikatsu to kokutai no kōsaku*. Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku gakujutsu shuppankai, 1997.
- Janetta, Ann Bowman. *Epidemics and Mortality in Early Modern Japan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- . “From Physician to Bureaucrat: The Case of Nagayo Sensai.” In *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, edited by Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern, 151–60. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

- Jansen, Marius B. *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Johnston, William. *The Modern Epidemic: A History of Tuberculosis in Japan*. Harvard East Asian Monographs No. 162. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1995.
- Josephson, Paul. *Industrialized Nature: Brute Force Technology and the Transformation of the Natural World*. Washington, DC: Island, 2002.
- Kaibara Ekken. *The Philosophy of Qi: The Record of Great Doubts*. Translated by Mary Evelyn Tucker. 1713. Reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Kakimoto Akihito. *Kenko to yamai no episuteemee*. Kyoto: Mineruba shobō, 1991.
- Kanai Takanori. “‘Aiso’ to iu shisō: Kokkai kaisetsu kenpaku-seigan ni miru ‘shūtai’ no katei.” In *Kindai ikōki no minshūzō*, edited by Arai Katsuhiko, 157–81. Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 2000.
- . “Kokkai kaisetsu seigan undō ni miru Matsuzawa Kyūsaku no shisō (1).” *Waseda seiji kōhōkenkyū* 50 (1995).
- . “‘Tōyō minken hyakkaden’ ni miru ‘kindai’ teki ningenzō.” *Minshūshi kenkyū* 56 (1998): 17–34.
- Kano Masanao. *Nihon no kindai shisō*. Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho, 2002.
- Karatani Kōjin. “The Discovery of Landscape.” In *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 11–44. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Kawashima, Ken C. “Biopolitics and the Aleatory Event(s) of Capitalism.” *positions: east asia critique*, forthcoming.
- . *The Proletarian Gamble: Korean Workers in Interwar Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Kelly, William W. *Water Control in Tokugawa Japan: Irrigation Organization in a Japanese River Basin, 1600–1870*. Cornell University East Asia Papers No. 31. Ithaca, NY: China-Japan Program, Cornell University, 1982.
- Kikaku henshū kin-gendai shiryō kankōkai, ed. *Kindai tōshi no eisei kankyō: Tokyo hen*. Vol. 43, *Kindai tōshi kankyō kenkyū shiryō sōsho*. Tokyo: Kin-gendai shiryō kankōdai.
- Kinoshita Naoe. “Shakai kaigo no iro.” *Rikugō zasshi* 253 (1902).
- Kitasato Institute and Kitasato University, eds. *Collected Papers of Shibasaburō Kitasato*. Tokyo: Kitasato Institute and Kitasato University, 1977.
- Komatsu Hiroshi. *Tanaka Shōzō: Nijū isseki e no shisōjin*. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1997.
- . *Tanaka Shōzō no kindai*. Tokyo: Gendai kikakushitsu, 2001.
- Komatsu Kōzō. *Okada Torajirō: Sono shisō to jidai*. Osaka: Sōgensha, 2000.
- Komori Yōichi. “Sōsetsu: Sabetsu no kansei.” In *Kansei no kindai 2: 1870–1910*, edited by Komori Yōichi, 3–46. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002.
- Komurō Shinsuke. *Tōyō minken hyakkaden*. Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1957.
- Konishi Sho. *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013.
- Kōno Hironaka. “Kokkai o kaisetsu suru inka o jōgan suru sho.” In *Jiyūtōshi jō*, edited by Itagaki Taisuke. Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1995.

- Koschmann, J. Victor. "The Spirit of Capitalism as Disciplinary Regime: The Postwar Thought of Ōtsuka Hisao." In *Total War and "Modernization,"* edited by Yasushi Yamanouchi, J. Victor Koschmann, and Ryūichi Narita, 97–115. Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998.
- Kurosawa Torizō. *Kendo kokusaku to yūchiku kikai nōgyō*. Tokyo: Nihon yūchiku kikai nōgyō kyōkai, 1943.
- . *Nōgyōkoku: Denumaaku*. Tokyo: Kawade, 1952.
- . *Nōmindō*. Sapporo: Hokkaido rakunō gijyuku, 1937.
- . *Rakunō gakuen no rekishi to shimei*. Ebetsu: Rakunō gakuen, 1970.
- . *Shokuryō hisshōsen to chikuryoku sōdōin*. Tokyo: Hokkaido kōnō kōsha, 1944.
- . *Sōgo nōsei ni kan suru ikensho*. Sapporo: Chūō rakunōkai, 1968.
- . *Sōgō nōsei to rankunō no kikin ni kan suru ikensho*. Sapporo: Chūō rakunōkai, 1969.
- . *Utsunomiya Sentarō*. Ebetsu: Rakunō gakuen shuppanbu, 1957.
- Kurotani Ryōtarō. *Miyao Shunji den*. Tokyo: Yoshioka kōzō, 1939.
- Laibman, David. *Value, Technical Change, and Crisis: Explorations in Marxist Economic Theory*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1991.
- Latour, Bruno. *The Pasteurization of France*. Translated by Alan Sheridan and John Law. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- . *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- Leigh, G. J. *The World's Greatest Fix: A History of Nitrogen and Agriculture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Lo Ch'in-shun. *Knowledge Painfully Acquired*. Translated by Irene Bloom. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- Lukács, Georg. *The Destruction of Reason*. Translated by Peter Palmer. London: Merlin, 1980.
- . *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971.
- Makihara Norio. *Kyakubun to kokumin no aida*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1998.
- . "Tanaka Shōzō: Hijisha to jisha no hazama ni." In *Kansei no kindai 2: 1870–1910*, edited by Komori Yōichi, 81–114. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002.
- Manning, Richard. *Against the Grain: How Agriculture Has Hijacked Civilization*. New York: North Point, 2005.
- Mao Zedung. *A Critique of Soviet Economics*. Translated by Moss Roberts. New York: Monthly Review, 1977.
- Marcon, Federico. *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming.
- Marcuse, Herbert. *Soviet Marxism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Marran, Christine L. *Poison Woman: Figuring Female Transgression in Modern Japanese Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.



- Marx, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 1. Translated by Ben Fowkes. London: Penguin Books, 1976.
- . *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 2. Translated by David Fernbach. London: Penguin Books, 1978.
- . “Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts” (1844). In *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, 279–400. New York: Penguin, 1992.
- Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engels. *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels: Collected Works*. 50 vols. New York: International, 1975.
- Mass, Jeffrey P. *Antiquity and Anachronism in Japanese History*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Matsumoto Eiko. “Kōdokuchi no sanjō (1902).” *Tanaka Shōzō no sekai* 5 (1986): 29–116.
- Matsumoto Sannosuke. “The Idea of Heaven: A Tokugawa Foundation for Natural Rights Theory.” In *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period*, edited by Tetsuo Najita and Irwin Scheiner, 181–99. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Maus, Tanya. “Rising Up and Saving the World: Ishii Jūji and the Ethics of Social Relief during the Mid-Meiji Period (1880–87).” *Japan Review* 25 (2013): 67–87.
- McCormack, Gavan. “Modernity, Water, and the Environment in Japan.” In *A Companion to Japanese History*, edited by William M. Tsutsui, 443–59. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007.
- McCully, Patrick. *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*. Enlarged and updated ed. New York: Zed Books, 2001.
- McMullen, Ian James. “Kumazawa Banzan and *Jitsugaku*: Toward Pragmatic Action.” In *Principle and Practicality*, edited by William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, 337–73. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.
- Meisner, Maurice. *Mao’s China and After: A History of the People’s Republic*. 3rd ed. New York: Free Press, 1999.
- Mencius. “Kung-Sun Ch’Au, Part II, Chapter 4.3.” In *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, *The Works of Mencius*, edited by James Legge. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Miller, Ian Jared. *The Nature of the Beasts: Empire and Exhibition at the Tokyo Imperial Zoo*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.
- Misawa Katsue. *Misawa Katsue chosakushū*. Vol. 3, *Fūdo no hakken to sōzō*. Tokyo: Nōsangyōsan bunka kyōkai, 2009.
- Mitman, Gregg, Michelle Murphy, and Christopher Sellers, eds. *Landscapes of Exposure: Knowledge and Illness in Modern Environments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Miura Ken’ichiro. “Yanaka mura haison.” *Hakuō hōgaku* 18 (2001): 211–46.
- Mizoguchi Yuzo. *Ichigo no jiten: Kōshi*. Tokyo: Sanshodō, 1996.
- Molony, Barbara. *Technology and Investment: The Prewar Japanese Chemical Industry*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1990.
- Moore, Aaron Stephen. *Constructing East Asia: Technology, Ideology, and Empire in Japan’s Wartime Era, 1931–35*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013.



- . “‘The Yalu River Era of Developing Asia’: Japanese Expertise, Colonial Power, and the Construction of Sup’Ung Dam.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 72, no. 1 (2013): 115–39.
- Moore, Joe. *Japanese Workers and the Struggle for Power, 1945–1947*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. “Concepts of Nature and Technology in Pre-Industrial Japan.” *East Asian History* 1 (1991): 81–97.
- . “Environmental Problems and Perceptions in Early Industrial Japan.” In *Sediments of Time: Environmental Society in Chinese History*, edited by Mark Elvin, 756–80. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Murakami Yasumasa. *Ashio dōzanshi*. Utsunomiya: Zuisōsha, 2006.
- Murphy, Michelle. *Sick Building Syndrome and the Problem of Uncertainty: Environmental Politics, Technoscience, and Women Workers*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Najita Tetsuo. “Ambiguous Encounters: Ogata Kōan and International Studies in Late Tokugawa Osaka.” In *Osaka: The Merchants’ Capital of Early Modern Japan*, edited by James L. McClain and Wakita Osamu, 213–42. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- . “Nature Is the Source of Rights, but Nature Has No Rights: Rethinking Humanity in the Issue of Ecology.” Paper presented at the Imminent Issues: Symposium in Honor of Masao Miyoshi, New York University, April 29, 2004.
- . *Ordinary Economies in Japan: A Historical Perspective, 1750–1950*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
- , ed. *Readings in Tokugawa Thought*. 3rd ed. Select Papers, Center for East Asian Studies, University of Chicago, Vol. 9. Chicago: Center for East Asian Studies, 1998.
- . *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudo Merchant Academy of Osaka*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997.
- Nakamura Kennosuke. *Senkyōshi Nikorai to meiji nihon*. Vol. 458, Iwanami shinsho. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996.
- Namihara Emiko. *Kegare no kōzō*. Shinseiban ed. Tokyo: Seidosha, 1988.
- Narita Ryūichi. “Shintai to kōshū eisei: Nihon no bunmeika to kokuminka.” In *Kōza sekaishi*, 375–401. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1995.
- . “Teito Tokyo.” In *Iwanami kōza: Nihon tsūshi 16, kindai 1*, edited by Asao Naohiko, Amino Yoshihiko, Ishii Susumu, Kano Masanao, Hayakawa Atsuya, and Yasumaru Yoshio, 175–214. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1994.
- Nash, Linda Lorraine. *Inescapable Ecologies: A History of Environment, Disease, and Knowledge*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Nihei Teiichi. *Nanpō no inasaku to nōkigu*. Tokyo: Nihon yūchiku kikai nōgyōkyōkai, 1943.
- Nimura Kazuo. *The Ashio Riot of 1907: A Social History of Mining in Japan*. Translated by Terry Boardman and Andrew Gordon. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Nixon, Rob. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.

- . 2011. *Slow Violence and Environmental Storytelling*. [www.niemanstoryboard.org](http://www.niemanstoryboard.org).
- Notehelfer, F. G. "Between Tradition and Modernity: Labor and the Ashio Copper Mine." *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 1 (1984): 11–24.
- . "Japan's First Pollution Incident." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 2, no. 1 (1975): 351–83.
- . *Kōtoku Shūsui, Portrait of a Japanese Radical*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Nozawa Hideki. "Ishikawa Sanshirō ni okeru Erize Rukuryu no shisō: Sono juyō to sai." *Chirigaku hyōron* 79, no. 14 (2006): 837–56.
- Obata Tokujirō. "Tenpen chii." In *Meiji bunka zenshū 24 kagaku hen*, edited by Yoshino Sakuzō, 33–44. Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1930.
- Ogura Takekazu. *Can Japanese Agriculture Survive?* Tokyo: Agricultural Policy Research Center, 1980.
- Oka Asajirō. "Jinrui no seifuku ni tai suru shizen no fukushū." *Chūō kōron* 27, no. 274 (1912): 13–20.
- Okuma Takashi. *Tonegawa chisui no hensen to suigai*. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1987.
- Ōmachi Masami. *Jiyūminken undō to chihō seiji*. Utsunomiya: Zuisōsha, 2002.
- Osaka nippō. "Osaka Nippō June 9, 1878." In *Wappa sōdō shiryō*, edited by Tsuruoka shishi henshūkai, 303–5. Tsuruoka (Yamagata): Tsuruoka shishi henshūkai, 1982.
- Osamu Kanaya, ed. *Rongo (kaiban)*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999.
- Postone, Moishe. *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Purseglove, Jeremy. *Taming the Flood: A History and Natural History of Rivers and Wetlands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Pyle, Kenneth. "Introduction: Japan Faces Her Future." In "Symposium: The Ashio Copper Mine Pollution Case," special issue, *Journal of Japanese Studies* 2, no. 1 (1975): 347–50.
- . "The Technology of Japanese Nationalism: The Local Improvement Movement, 1900–1918." *Journal of Asian Studies* 33 (1973): 51–65.
- Reclus, Elisée. *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: The Radical Social Thought of Elisée Reclus*. Edited by John P. Clark and Camille Martin. New York: Lexington Books, 2004.
- Reitan, Richard. "Ethics and Natural Rights Theory: Competing Conceptions of Nature during the Meiji Period." *Nenpō nihon shisōshi* 8 (2009): 1–28.
- . *Making a Moral Society: Ethics and the State in Meiji Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010.
- . "The Social Mind and the Body of the Crowd: Crowd Psychology in Early Twentieth Century Japan." Paper presented at the University of Tokyo Center for Philosophy, 2009.
- Rogaski, Ruth. *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

- Rowbotham, Sheila. *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love*. London: Verso, 2008.
- Sakai Naoki. "Subject and Substratum: On Japanese Imperial Nationalism." *Cultural Studies* 14, nos. 3/4 (2000): 462–530.
- Sano Tomonori. "Ideologies of Integration Past: Universality, Revolution-Phobia, and Integration." *Asian Regional Integration Review* 1 (2009).
- Sato Tatsuya. "Nishi Amane ni okeru 'saikorogii' to 'shinrigaku' no aida." In *Nishi Amane to Nihon no kindai*, edited by Shimane kenritsu daigaku Nishi Amane kenkyūkai, 217–50. Tokyo: Perikan sha, 2005.
- Scheiner, Irwin. "Benevolent Lords and Honorable Peasants: Rebellion and Peasant Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan." In *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period 1600–1868*, edited by Tetsuo Najita and Irwin Scheiner, 39–63. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Schneider, Herbert Wallace. *A Prophet and a Pilgrim, Being the Incredible History of Thomas Lake Harris and Laurence Oliphant; Their Sexual Mysticism and Utopian Communities; Amply Documented to Confound the Skeptic*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.
- Shaars, Marvin A. "The Story of the Department of Agricultural Economics, 1909–72." University of Wisconsin, 1972. <http://www.aae.wisc.edu/pubs/AAEStory.pdf> (accessed November 11, 2009).
- Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*. Studies in Environment and History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Shibusawa Eiichi. *The Autobiography of Shibusawa Eiichi: From Peasant to Entrepreneur*. Translated by Teruko Craig. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1994.
- Shiga Shigetaka. *Nihon fūkeiron*. Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1995.
- Shimada Kenji. *Shūshigaku to yōmeigaku*. Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho, 2002.
- Shimada Sōzō. *Tanaka Shōzō ō yoroku*. 2 vols. Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1972.
- Shimoda Hiraku. "Bad Sushi or Bad Merchant? The 'Dead Fish Poisoning Incident' of 1852." *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 3 (2001): 513–31.
- Shōji Kichirō. "Shōzō no tochi hanbai 'sanzen to en' no mōke ni gigi ari." *Tanaka Shōzō to Ashio kōdoku jiken kenkyū* 8 (1989): 61–109.
- Shōji Kichirō and Masuro Sugai. "The Ashio Copper Mine Pollution Case: The Origins of Environmental Destruction." In *Industrial Pollution in Japan*, edited by Jun Ui, 18–63. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1992.
- Sippel, Patricia. "Chisui: Creating a Sacred Domain in Early Modern and Modern Japan." In *Public Spheres, Private Lives in Modern Japan, 1600–1950*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, Andrew Gordon, and Kate Wildman Nakai, 155–84. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005.
- Smil, Vaclav. *Enriching the Earth: Fritz Haber, Carl Bosch, and the Transformation of World Food Production*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004.
- Smith, Kerry. *A Time of Crisis: Japan, the Great Depression, and Rural Revitalization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001.

- Smith, W. Eugene, and Aileen Smith. *Minamata: The Story of the Poisoning of a City, and of the People Who Chose to Carry the Burden of Courage*. New York: Alskog-Sensorium / Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.
- Stalin, Josef. *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972.
- Stallybrass, Peter, and Allon White. *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Steele, M. William. *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- . “From Custom to Right: The Politicization of the Village in Early Meiji Japan.” *Modern Asian Studies* 23 (1989): 729–48.
- Stolz, Robert. “Here, Now: Everyday Space as Cultural Critique.” In *Tosaka Jun: A Critical Reader*, edited by Ken C. Kawashima, Fabian Schäfer, and Robert Stolz. Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, forthcoming.
- Stone, Alan. “The Vanishing Village: The Ashio Copper Mine Pollution Case, 1890–1907.” PhD diss., University of Washington, 1974.
- Strong, Kenneth. *Ox against the Storm: A Biography of Tanaka Shōzō*. Kent: Japan Library, 1977.
- Sugai Masuro. “The Development Process of Mining Pollution at the Ashio Copper Mine.” *Project on Technology Transfer, Transformation, and Development: The Japanese Experience (JE)* (1983).
- Sugawara Hikaru. “Tanaka Shōzō no kōdō no ronri.” Unpublished essay.
- Sugiyama Hiroshi. “Korera sōdōron: Sono kōzu to ronri.” In *Jiyūminken to kindai shakai*, edited by Arai Katsuhiko, 147–75. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 2004.
- Sumitani Mikio and Rōdō undōshi kenkyūkai, eds. *Shinkigen*. 8 vols. Vol. 3, *Meiji shakaishugi shiryō shū*. Tokyo: Rōdō undōshi kenkyūkai, 1961.
- Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Economic and Scientific Section. Director of Production and Utilities. Industry Division. Industrial Production and Construction Branch. ARC Identifier 458432. *Hokkaido Co-operative Dairy Company Ltd (HCLC Matters)*. Record Group 331: Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907–1966. Textual Reference (Military) (Rd-Dc-2-Mil). College Park, MD: National Archives and Records Administration, 1945–50.
- . Government Section. Administration Division. (10/02/1945–04/28/1952), *Kurosawa Torizo*. ARC Identifier 358041, Record Group 331: Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907–1966. Textual Reference (Military) (Rd-Dc-2-Mil). College Park, MD: National Archives and Records Administration, 1945–52.
- Suzuki Noboru. “Nishi Amane tetsugaku no ninchitaikei to tōitsu kagaku—sōgōka e no kōzu o motomete.” In *Nishi Amane to nihon no kindai*, edited by Shimane kenritsu daigaku Nishi Amane kenkyūkai, 282–323. Tokyo: Perikan sha, 2005.
- Suzuki Sadami, ed. “*Seimei*” de yomu nihon kindai: *Taishō seimeishugi no tanjō to tenkai*. Tokyo: Nihon hōshō shuppankai, 1996.
- . *Taishō seimeishugi to gendai*. Tokyo: Kawaide shobō shinsha, 1995.

- Tachibana Kōzaburō. "Nihon aikoku kakushin hongī." In *Gendai nihon shisōshi taikai*, vol. 31, *Chōkokkashugi*, 213–38. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1964.
- Takaoka Hiroyuki, ed. *Shiryōshū: Sōryōkusen to bunka 2: Kōsei undō, kenmin undō, dokusho undō*. Tokyo: Otsukishoten, 2001.
- Tanaka Shōzō. *Tanaka Shōzō senshū*. 7 vols. Edited by Anzai Kunio, Kano Masanao, Komatsu Hiroshi, Sakaya Junji, and Yui Masaomi. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989.
- . *Tanaka Shōzō zenshū*. 20 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1977–80.
- Tanaka, Stefan. *New Times in Modern Japan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Tatematsu Wahei. *Doku: Fūbun Tanaka Shōzō*. Tokyo: Tokyo shoseki, 1997.
- Thomas, Julia Adeney. *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology*. Twentieth-Century Japan No. 12. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Tiegel, Ernst. *Eisei hanron* (1879). Vol. 3. Translated by Ōi Gendō. *Eisei hanron maku 1–2, Kindai Nihon yōjōron eiseiron shūsei*. Tokyo: Ozorasha, 1992.
- . "Ifukuryō shinkensetsu" (1881). In *Kaseigaku bunken shūsei zokuhen Meiji 6*, edited by Chitako Tanaka, 297–314. Tokyo: Watanabe shoten, 1969.
- Tochigikenshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Tochigikenshi shiryōhen kingendai 9. Tochigikenshi*. Utsunomiya: Tochigiken kyōiku kōhōkai, 1980.
- Tomba, Massimiliano. *Marx's Temporalities*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Tosaka Jun. *Tosaka Jun zenshū*. 6 vols. Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1966.
- Totman, Conrad. *The Green Archipelago: Forestry in Pre-Industrial Japan*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989.
- . *A History of Japan*. Blackwell History of the World. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005.
- . *Pre-Industrial Korea and Japan in Environmental Perspective*. Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch Der Orientalistik. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- . "Preindustrial River Conservancy: Causes and Consequences." *Monumenta Nipponica* 47, no. 1 (1992): 59–72.
- Toulmin, Stephen. *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Tsurumaki Takao. *Kindaika to dentōteki minshū sekai: Tenkanki no minshū undō to sono shisō*. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1992.
- Tsuzuki Chūshichi. "'My Dear Sanshiro': Edward Carpenter and His Japanese Disciple." *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* 6, no. 1 (1972): 1–9.
- Tucker, Mary Evelyn. "The Philosophy of Ch'i as an Ecological Cosmology." In *Confucianism and Ecology: The Interrelation of Heaven, Earth, and Humans*, edited by Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Berthrong, 187–207. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions, 1998.
- Uchimizu Mamoru, ed. *Shiryō Ashio kōdoku jiken*. Tokyo: Akishobō, 1971.
- Uchimura Kanzō. "Denmaruku koku no hanashi: Shinkō to jumoku to o motte kuni o sukuishi hanashi (1911)." In *Kōsei e no saidai ibutsu-denmaruku koku no hanashi*, 71–87. Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 2002.

- Ueki Emori. "Discourse on Popular Rights and Liberty." In *From Japan's Modernity: A Reader*, edited by Tetsuo Najita, translated by Katsuya Hirano, 49–52. Chicago: University of Chicago Center for East Asian Studies, 2002.
- Ueno Takashi. "Jiyūminken ni okeru Igrisu kōrishugi shisō no taishū—Mutsu Mumemitsu to Jierimi Bensamu." *Gendaishi kenkyū* 35 (1991): 35–50.
- Uesugi Kentarō. "Kindai nihon ni okeru kōrishugi seiji shisō no juyō." In *Nihon bunka o yominaosu—shinpushugi to ronri*, edited by Uesugi Kentarō, 72–106. Tokyo: Hokue shuppan, 1991.
- Utsunomiya Sentarō. *Hikōki seisaku hitsuju genryō taru kazein kōgyō kokusan dokuritsu ni kan suru seigansho*. Sapporo: Hokkaido seiraku hanbai kumiai rengōkai, 1933.
- Van Wyck, Peter. *Primitives in the Wilderness: Deep Ecology and the Missing Human Subject*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1997.
- . *Signs of Danger: Waste, Trauma, and Nuclear Threat*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Virilio, Paul. "The Primal Accident." In *The Politics of Everyday Fear*, edited by Brian Massumi, 211–18. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Vlastos, Stephen. *Peasant Protests and Uprisings in Tokugawa Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Walker, Brett L. *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590–1800*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- . *The Lost Wolves of Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- . *Toxic Archipelago: A History of Industrial Disease in Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.
- Walker, Gavin. "The Absent Body of Labour Power: Uno Kōzō's Logic of Capital." In *Historical Materialism*. Forthcoming.
- Walthall, Anne. *Peasant Uprisings in Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Watanabe Hiroshi. *Higashi ajia no ōken to shisō*. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1997.
- Watsuji Tetsurō. *Fūdo: Ningengakuteki kōsatsu* (1935). 38th ed. Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1999.
- Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Winch, Donald. *Economics and Policy*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969.
- Yanaka mura to Moro Chikasuke o katarukai, ed. *Yanaka mura sonchō: Moro Chikasuke*. Utsunomiya: Zuisōsha, 2001.
- Yasuda Keisai. *Tsūzoku yōjōkunmō*. Edited by Ōi Gendō. Vol. 4, *Yōjōdan, Tsūzoku yōjōkunmō, Eisei tekiyō, eisei yōron, Kindai Nihon Yōseiron Eiseiron Shūsei*. 1880. Reprint, Tokyo: Ozorasha, 1992.
- Yasushi Yamanouchi, J. Victor Koschmann, and Ryūichi Narita, eds. *Total War and "Modernization."* Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998.
- Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Yui Masaomi. *Tanaka Shōzō*. Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho: kiban, 1984.



- Yukijirushi nyūgyō kabushikigaisha. *Yukijirushi nyūgyōshi*. Vol. 1. Sapporo: Yukijirushinyūgyō, 1960.
- Zhang Dainian and Edmund Ryden. *Key Concepts in Chinese Philosophy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Zimmerman, Michael E. *Contesting Earth's Future: Radical Ecology and Postmodernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Žižek, Slavoj. "Introduction: Robespierre, or, The 'Divine Violence' of Terror." In *Virtue and Terror: Maximilien Robespierre*, edited by Jean Ducange, vii–xxxix. London: Verso, 2007.