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FROM PATRIOTISM TO IMPERIALISM:  
A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL IDEALS OF KAJIN NO KIGU.  
A MEIJI POLITICAL NOVEL

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of The Ohio State University

By

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*****

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ABSTRACT

It is held that modern Japanese literature deals largely with aesthetic issues or human emotions and shows little concern over the fate of the nation. This dissertation argues that there is another dimension to modern Japanese literature by examining the political ideals of Kajin no kigū (Strange Encounters with Beautiful Women), a Meiji political novel published in installments from 1885 to 1897 by Shiba Shiro (1852-1922).

The study begins with a survey of the critical history of the novel, in which it is demonstrated that Kajin no kigū has been characterized as a masterpiece of patriotism by some scholars. The survey is followed first by a biography of the author, in which the major stages in the formation of his political views are reconstructed, and then by a synopsis of Kajin no kigū which gives context to the discussion of the political ideals of the novel.

The author's patriotic enthusiasms are best seen in his prioritizing national sovereignty over individual freedom, his sympathy for the weak nations of the world, and his anxiety over the fate of Japan in the face of "the alarming encroachment of the European powers."

While the author's patriotism is genuine, a careful reading of the text reveals that the novel also contains passages that openly advocate Japanese expansionism, and that the political ideals of the author undergo a shift from patriotism to imperialism. The shift is seen, for example, in the uncharacteristic advocacy of expansionism by characters from downtrodden
countries and in the change in the author's attitudes toward the ideal of Asian solidarity. It is argued that this shift reflects and forms part of a broad trend among Meiji intellectuals toward advocacy of Japanese expansionism.

In conclusion, the dissertation turns to the question of how to characterize Kajin no kigu as a literary and political artifact. Given the analysis presented in this dissertation, it is inaccurate and misleading to call the novel simply a work of patriotism, as has often been the case in past scholarship. On the other hand, there is another dimension that needs to be revisited if we are to develop a more comprehensive view of modern Japanese literature.
To Chen Junsen, my best friend,

and my family
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On New Year's Eve 1885 a young man named Shiba Shiro arrived in Yokohama Port. He had just returned from six years of study in the United States where he earned a bachelor's degree in finance in the first class to graduate from the newly founded Wharton Business School at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. After the abolition of the rigid Edo period (1600-1867) system of class distinctions between warriors, farmers, artisans and merchants after the Meiji Restoration, acquisition of the pragmatic skills of the West was the surest way for a young man to become successful in a nation engaged in a fullscale effort to modernize itself. With six years' experience abroad and a degree from an American university, Shiba Shirō was certainly one of the most promising young men of his day. In fact, later he became a member of the National Diet and remained in office for several terms. However, Shiba Shirō is not known to Japanese history as a statesman or a financier. He is best remembered as a political novelist.

Almost as soon as he had returned from the United States, Shiba Shirō began to write what evolved into an eight-fascicle, sixteen-volume novel which he called Kajin no kigu (Strange Encounters with Beautiful Women).  The novel was not completed until 1897, when the last installment appeared, thirteen years after the first. He published the novel under the pen

\[\text{1 柴四朗} \]
\[\text{2 佳人之奇遇} \]
name Tokai Sanshi. The largely autobiographical nature of the novel is indicated by the fact that Tokai Sanshi is also the name of the protagonist. Literally meaning "the Wanderer of the Eastern Seas," the pen name is heavily charged with both the author's personal emotions and his political convictions, as we shall see when a sketch of the author's life is introduced in Chapter Two.

In spite of its romantic title, the novel tells the story of how Tokai Sanshi, a young Japanese studying in America, happens to meet two beautiful European women at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and how their friendship develops later due to their shared lamentation for the misfortunes of their respective countries and their determination to fight for freedom and independence against the Western imperialist powers. Although the story is set in Philadelphia, the stage of the novel is really global and the thread of the romance between Sanshi and the two women serves only as a pretext for the author to weave together his numerous tales of weak nations that have fallen victim to Western imperialism.

After Sanshi returns to Japan late in the novel, however, he becomes more and more involved in the crisis between Japan and China over the issue of Korea that eventually leads to the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). As his involvement with the Korean issue grows deeper and deeper, the political stance as seen in the earlier volumes of the novel undergoes a fundamental shift from one characterized by the author's sympathy for the oppressed peoples of the world and his concern for the future of Japan to one that openly advocates Japanese imperialistic expansion into Asia. By the end of the novel, Japan has emerged victorious from

---

3 東海散士.
its war with China, but it has done so by adopting the policies of the imperialist powers that Tokai Sanshi vehemently condemned in the opening volumes of the novel. Ironically, in the last scene of the novel the protagonist finds himself in prison due to charges that he has been involved in the assassination of the Korean Queen.

When it began appearing in October 1885, the novel became an immediate bestseller and remained popular until at least the beginning of Showa period. In fact it was so popular that some contemporary critics claimed it to have "raised the price of paper in the capital," as the euphemistic expression goes, a euphemism originating from Chinese history. The claim may sound exaggerated and clichéd to modern readers, but sales figures are hard to dispute. By the time the first eight volumes were published, several hundred thousand copies of the novel were sold and enthusiastic readers were calling for continuation of the novel. The enormity of its popularity is made more concrete, moreover, if we compare its sales with those of the most popular newspapers of the day. Sales of the Tokyo nichinichi were said to have reached a peak in 1881 with a total daily circulation at 12,000 copies and the figure dropped by thirty percent in 1885. Similarly, Kokumin no tomo, another popular newspaper of the day that was started in 1887, was said to have had "remarkable sales" with a total daily circulation of about 10,000 copies.

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4 See, for example, GNBZ., 251. The original Chinese, 洛陽紙貴, is from Jinshu: Wenyuan zhuan in which the popularity of a poem by Zuosi (?-circa 308) is said to have raised the price of paper in the capital.


6 Quoted in Asukai Masamichi "Seiji shosetsu to kindai bungaku," Shiso no kagaku (June, 1959): 68.
A better indication of the popularity of the novel is seen in the influence it exerted on several generations of young people from mid-Meiji to the beginning of Showa period, including a number of well-known writers and critics. For example, Masamune Hakuchō, "the most distinguished critic among the Naturalists," was so impressed by Kajin no kigū in his youth that he hand-copied an entire volume. Uchida Roan, "one of the most vocal theoreticians of the movement of [social fiction] and one of the most impressive critical minds of the Meiji period," is said to have changed his career plans from business to literature after reading Kajin no kigū. And Ibuse Masuji, author of Kuroi ame (Black Rain, 1965), thus recalls his childhood experience with Kajin no kigū:

Before I was old enough to go to school, I could recite from memory the opening passages of Kajin no kigū which begin "When I raise my eyes, I see the Bell of Liberty..." My father would tell the guests to our house: "This boy of mine is going to be a doctor in literature."

Tayama Katai, whose representative novel Futon (The Quilt, 1907) established the pattern for Naturalist fiction, also reminisces about the popularity of Kajin no kigū.

[The novel] was bound elegantly in blue paper in the traditional Japanese style. Young students of the day all carried a copy of the book in their pocket wherever they went. The poems inserted in the novel, in particular, were chanted and recited everywhere.

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8 Ibid.
10 Cited in Asukai Masamichi, op. cit., 68.
A most vivid picture of how warmly the novel was received by young people of the Meiji period is painted by Tokutomi Roka in his novel Kuroi me to chairo no me (Black Eyes and Brown Eyes, 1928). The setting of the following passage from the novel is a school in Kyoto.

Just about that time a novel called Kaizin no kigu appeared. Everyone who could read characters read it... And the beautiful writing style of Kaizin no kigū was admired by everyone in Kyōshisha School. In particular, most of the numerous elegant kanshi poems in the novel were committed to memory. Keiji [the protagonist in Kokutomi’s novel] had a classmate by the name of Ogata Ginjiro...who, though a mediocre student as far as academic subjects were concerned, was recognized as the best reciter of poetry in the whole school. On frosty, moonlit nights, close to school bedtime, Ogata would start to recite in a loud voice...along the sandy path between the dorm buildings. His voice was sonorous and forceful, like the sound made by striking metal with stones. At this, the 300 students, who had been quietly concentrating on their school work in the lamplight, would be enraptured by the recitation as if spellbound. On the tables here and there in Kyōshisha School, one would see copies of the novel bound in the Japanese style with string and blue covers. The characters in the novel were printed in big woodblock letters mixed with katakana.¹³

Given the popularity that Kaizin no kigu enjoyed, it is no wonder the eminent historian George Sansom should have noted the following about the novel in his book The Western World and Japan, which has probably been the chief source of information about the novel for generations of Japonologists in the English-speaking world:

It is said that there was not a remote mountain village in Japan in which some young man had not a copy in his pocket, and the Chinese verses that so freely stud its pages were recited everywhere with great relish. Even its congested prose seems to have been imitated by young writers.¹⁴

This dissertation attempts to achieve two purposes. The first purpose of the dissertation is to study the political ideals of the novel. Specifically, it will examine the shift of the author’s political stance from patriotism to imperialism. In preparing for the above-mentioned study and to make it more effective, it will provide a comprehensive survey of Kajin no kigu, a work available in English only in tantalizing but often misleadingly incomplete sketches. This constitutes the second purpose of this dissertation.

The study is organized as follows: Chapter One is a broad review of the critical history of Kajin no kigu. It will be demonstrated that in spite of the enormous popularity the novel enjoyed in its day, critics disagree about what position it should be given in the history of modern Japanese literature. Moreover, it will be shown that the novel has been widely acclaimed as a work of patriotism by Japanese critics regardless of their views on the literary merits of the novel. Chapter Two provides a biographical sketch of the author. Special attention will be given to events in the life of Shiba Shirō that have impact on the formation of his political views. Chapter Three presents a synopsis of Kajin no kigu in order to give context to discussions of the political ideals of the novel, which are the focus of the two chapters that follow. Chapter Four continues the first part of the examination of the political ideals of the novel. It demonstrates in detail how the rhetoric of the author’s patriotism is expressed. Chapter Five constitutes the examination of the novel’s political content by showing the imperialist messages in the text. Moreover, it will explore the transition of the author's political
stance from patriotism to imperialism and the socio-political background that lies behind the shift. The concluding Chapter Six will attempt to differentiate two different connotations of the ambiguous term "kokkai" in addressing the issue of how the novel should be characterized. It will also consider the implications of the study for modern Japanese literature. In a coda to the conclusion, an early Chinese translation of Kajin no kigu will be discussed briefly which sheds light on the political ideals of Kajin no kigu from a different perspective.

Finally, a prefatory word about the texts used in this study. The original edition of the novel was published over a period of thirteen years from 1885 to 1897 volume by volume in traditional Japanese block printing and binding. Since the first edition, the novel has been republished in four different editions. In 1930, when Japanese printing houses first began to mass market collections of works and author's complete oeuvres, it was published by Shunyodo in the first volume of its Meiji Taisho bungaku zenshu. Then in 1931, it was published by Kaizosha in the first volume of its Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshu. The third edition of the novel was published by Kodansha in 1965 in volume three of its Nihon gendai bungaku zenshu. The most recent edition was published in 1967 by Chikuma Shobo in volume six of its Meiji bungaku zenshu.

It is the newest editions that are employed as the definitive texts for this dissertation simply because of their ready availability. But that the two editions must be used in tandem is due to fact that neither edition is incomplete as it stands: the Chikuma Shobo edition contains only the first ten of the original sixteen volumes but it includes all of the prefaces and
postscripts that accompany the corresponding volumes as well as the illustrations that were inserted. On the other hand, the Kodansha edition provides the text of all of the sixteen volumes but it lacks some of the prefaces or postscripts and all of the illustrations. Used together, the two editions make a complete set. In this study, all quotes from the original text are translated from the Kodansha edition. However, when it is necessary to quote prefaces or postscripts, they will be quoted from the Chikuma Shobō edition and noted as such. Two of the three illustrations appearing in Chapter Four are from the Chikuma Shobō edition. The third illustration, inserted in Volume Nine of Kajin no kigu, is from the first edition because the caption to this illustration is somehow missing from the Chikuma Shobō edition.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15} See MSSS., 95.
A SURVEY OF THE CRITICAL HISTORY OF KAJIN NO KIGU

In spite of the enormous popularity that the novel enjoyed in its own day, critics have disagreed about the merits of the novel and what position it should be given in the history of modern Japanese literature. As characterization of the political ideals of Kajin no kigū often surfaces in the dispute among critics over the overall value of the novel, our consideration of the political ideals of the novel will therefore start with a brief survey of the critical history of the novel.

As early as in March 1886, only two months after the publication of the first four volumes of the novel, an article entitled Kajin no kigū hihyo ("A Critique of Kajin no kigū") appeared in a magazine which, while admitting the effectiveness of the author's kambun style, excludes the work from the category of the novel. Quoting an anonymous English critic's distinction between descriptive, expository and narrative styles of writing, Takada Hanhō, a leading critic and the author of the article, argues that a novel must be a piece of writing in which every character portrayed is believable regardless of whether it is a warrior, a beauty or a child. In Kajin no kigū, he continues, we are not given such realistic portrayals. Instead, every character in the work functions as the protagonist's alter ego and sounds and behaves like him. This puts Kajin no kigū more appropriately in the category of expository writing, which is
suitable for advancing arguments, than that of the novel which, by definition, must be narrative.¹

Similarly, three months after Volume Seven of Kajin no kigu was published in December 1887, Tokutomi Sohō, another leading critic, wrote:

When one reads the beginning of the novel, it is interesting. But as one reads on, he cannot but feel bored because there is not much change in the lives of the characters. The scale of the novel is grand but there is nothing to fill in the spaces. It is like a huge garden with no trees to see.²

Sohō's comment reflects his criticism of political novels in general for lacking variation in artistic conception and for weakness in the plot, a view that he had published the year before in an article entitled Kinrai ryūko no seiji shōsetsu o hyōsu ("A Critique of the Political Novels Recently in Vogue").³ As the foregoing suggests, the reaction of contemporary or early readers and critics is directed largely to the literary qualities of Kajin no kigu and gives no indication of their reactions to the political content of the novel. The situation, however, is far different with later critics.

From the above-cited negative comments on the novel, a view has gradually arisen which criticizes Kajin no kigu for its inferior literary qualities and excludes it from the history of modern Japanese literature. Significantly this view, albeit not always but certainly quite often, gives credit to Kajin no kigu for its political enthusiasms. This view is so widespread that it is

² Tokutomi Soho, "Hihyo Kajin no kigu volume 7," Kokumin no tomo, (February, 1888).
³ Kokumin no tomo, July 6, 1887.
justifiable to refer to it as the orthodox view. For example, in his book *Kindai Nihon bungaku no kōzo* (The Structure of Modern Japanese Literature, 1972) Senuma Shigeki, while putting the novel into what he calls the "premodern" category, applauds the political implications of *Kajin no kigō*.

[Like Yano Ryūkei's *Keikoku bidan* (Inspiring Instances of Statesmanship, 1883),] Tokai Sanshi's *Kajin no kigō* is the most representative of Meiji political novels. It gives an account of the history of small nations perishing before the cruel invasion of imperialism and warns of the dangers threatening Japan's future in the world... However, generally speaking, political literature had not grown beyond the genre of the premodern narrative prose and political speeches.4 [underlining mine]

Though Senuma Shigeki does not use the term, the way he characterizes the novel as "an account of the history of small nations perishing before the cruel invasion of imperialism" and as a warning signal to the Japanese of "the dangers threatening Japan's future" indicates that he holds the novel to be "a work of patriotism," a term that will be used frequently in this study.

Similarly, Kojima Tokuya, while criticizing the writing style of the novel, regards the political sentiment of the novel as patriotic.

*Kajin no kigō*...was warmly received by contemporary readers. It tells a remarkable story of the prosperity of America, which had fought for freedom and independence, and of the activities of patriots from different oppressed nations. However, the writing style of the novel is naive, full of exaggeration and by no means good.5 [underlining mine]

While Honma Hisao admires the writing styles of the novel and admits its influence on its contemporary readers, nonetheless, he too is disappointed with the artistic quality of the work.


It was written in a superb kambun style and was very suitable for reading aloud. The first half of the novel, in particular, was well received by young people of the day who were active in political activities seeking freedom and people's rights. But other than its merits in terms of historical significance, the work is really empty and ridiculous and lacks the qualities of a novel. 

Ino Kenji also excludes Kajin no kigū from the category of “modern” Japanese literature. The series of political novels, represented by such works as Keikoku bidan, Tōkai Sanshi’s Kajin no kigū and Suehiro Tetchō’s Setchūhais, have not outgrown the premodern narratives such as Sankokushi, or adaptations of political speeches.

The above is, in a nutshell, the orthodox view of Kajin no kigū. It must be pointed out that such judgments are often made, as in the case of the critics cited above, in terse comments that lack specific evidence to support their claims. Moreover, the marginality of Meiji political novels in the history of modern Japanese literature is unmistakable from the fact that many studies of Meiji literature pass over political novels, including Kajin no kigū in complete silence. Indeed, it is hard to know, in what has become an awkwardly tautological proposition, whether the exclusion of the political novel from orthodox literature is more a factor of the definition of orthodoxy, or of the realities of literary history.

The orthodox view, however, has not gone unchallenged. Ongoing research on Kajin no kigū, in the larger context of reevaluation of modern Japanese literature in general and Meiji political novels in particular, has been carried out by some Japanese scholars who cast the

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7 Ino Kenji, Meiji no sakka (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965), pp. 4-5.
8 See, for example, Odagiri Hideo’s Meiji Taisho no sakka tachi (1), Tokyo: Daisan bunmei sha, 1978; Senuma Shigeki’s Meiji bunkaku kenkyū, Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppan kyoku, 1974; or Sasabuchi Yūichi’s Meiji Taisho bunkaku no bunseki, Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1970, to name just a few.
novel in a positive light and preserve for it a special place in the schema of modern Japanese literature. Let us now turn to the "revisionist" point of view. Serious reexamination of the novel in a positive light began in 1930s. The first influential study of *Kajin no kigu* of a positive nature appeared in an introduction to the novel written by Kojima Masajirō (1894-?), a novelist and zuihitsu essayist, when the novel was republished in the Kaizōsha edition of *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshu* in 1931. Like critics of the orthodox view, Kojima does not fail to point out the shortcomings of the novel. According to Kojima, the sixteen-volume novel is devoted largely to an account of recent world history, and it is not easy to follow the evolution of the romantic relationship between the hero and the heroine, which unfolds in a disconnected manner like "stepping-stones in a garden." Due to these shortcomings, the novel does not strike the reader as a coherent work. "However, does this mean that *Kajin no kigu* is a boring novel?"

Kojima asks rhetorically.

By no means, no... This novel is an "I-novel," something extremely rare at that time. We can see the "I-novel" quality at the very beginning of the novel where the author, Tokai Sanshi, appears simultaneously as the protagonist and the narrator, and he tells us about the events he experienced and people he encountered and things he saw and heard as well as his own life... After I finished the novel, I found myself immersed from head to toe in the author's suffocating enthusiasms. It is enthusiasm that is unyielding and indomitable. It is not enthusiasm generated by happiness; instead, it originates from a choking tragedy. It is enthusiasm that bursts forth in the author's indignation and his hatred for the world powers that oppress and invade independent but weak nations. It is enthusiasm that comes from the determination to endure hardships and animosity, from a hatred of injustice and love of justice... Such enthusiasm may be vulnerable to the criticism that it is oversimplistic and naive, but it is by no means false. It is enthusiasm that is genuine. It is enthusiasm that is pure. Among the writers of political novels of the period, there was no one else who revealed himself so fully... Because of this, I hold this un-novel-like novel in high regard.²

In this much quoted passage, Kojima proposes an interesting reevaluation of the novel. Surely the term "I-novel" reminds one of the mainstream genre bearing the same name that is "perhaps the most striking feature of modern Japanese literature." But the "I-novel" quality Kojima sees in Kajin no kigū is obviously different from that of its mainstream counterpart, since, while Kojima is moved by the "genuine" and "pure" enthusiasm of Tokai Sanshi's account of his experiences in Kajin no kigū, the mainstream "I-novel" is often known for disclosing the author's "most contemptible actions...and shameful thoughts," or for probing "the inner significance of their most trivial gestures or utterances." Kojima's remarks are revealing given his exceedingly eclectic career in which he pursued the study of Edo fiction, Naturalism, "pure literature" and finally the writing of popular fiction and Japanese literary history.

Needless to say, the author's patriotism is what Kojima has in mind when he says that he is moved by the "pure" and "genuine" enthusiasm that "bursts forth in the author's indignation and his hatred for the world powers that oppress and invade independent but weak nations." That Kojima takes the novel as a work of patriotism is made unmistakable when he says the following elsewhere in the study.

It must be noted that when this novel was written, Japan was by no means a first-class or a second-class country. It belonged to the group of small nations. Therefore, when the author narrates the dangerous ambitions of the powerful nations, his intention is to send a warning signal to us Japanese—the ultimate purpose of the author is this.

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10 Donald Keene, op. cit., 506.
11 Ibid., 506-507.
The most detailed study of *Kajin no kigū* has undoubtedly been conducted by Yanagida Izumi (1894-1969), a scholar known for the breadth of his research on Meiji culture. His essay, *Kajin no kigū to Tōkai Sanshi* ("Kajin no kigū and Tōkai Sanshi"), in the first volume of his three-volume *Seiji shosetsu kenkyū* (A Study of Political Novels), first published in 1935 and then republished in 1967, is part of his comprehensive study of Meiji political novels. This study is pioneering because it was the first monograph-length scholarly examination of the novel, and because it has become the source and basis of virtually all subsequent studies on *Kajin no kigū*. In this study Yanagida reminds readers how powerful a work *Kajin no kigū* was in its day, how its publication eclipsed in 1886 works that were later to be identified as the mainstream of modern Japanese literature, and how mainstream writers were forced to follow its example. Yanagida highly acclaims the political ideals of *Kajin no kigū* which he characterizes as "pure and unconditional patriotism." The 1950s and 60s saw a movement toward a reevaluation of Meiji political novels by challenging the orthodox view of modern Japanese literature. In this movement, scholars "rediscovered" *Kajin no kigū* and called for an appropriate place for the novel in modern Japanese literature. One of the leaders of this movement is Asukai Masamichi, a professor of Japanese literature at Kyoto University. In a pioneering article he published in 1959, Asukai

13 SSK.
14 Ibid., 361.
15 Ibid., 482-483.
makes the following statement in arguing against the orthodox view that political novels were "premodern" and "peripheral."

As far as I am concerned, political novels are neither "premodern" nor "peripheral" in the history of literature. On the contrary, they are the starting point of modern Japanese literature and represent one of its most glorious achievements. The most brilliant accomplishment among the political novels is Kajin no kigū. It is important to point out that it was the first full-length bestseller by a Japanese that deals with Japanese matters.\(^\text{16}\)

Unlike previous defenses of Kajin no kigū in which "political enthusiasm" and "artistic shortcomings" tend to be considered separately, Asukai tries to make a unified evaluation.

Summarizing previous criticism of Kajin no kigū, he points out:

It does not matter how vigorous the ideology is [in a political novel], what really counts is its quality as a literary work and how individuals are portrayed... This argument lies at the heart of all of the theory of "political novels equal premodern." All of the argument can be boiled down to the statement that in political novels like Kajin no kigū, the characters are all talented scholars and beautiful ladies and therefore do not have the problems afflicting modern individuals [and therefore they are premodern].\(^\text{17}\)

Then Asukai presents his diametrically opposite view of the novel.

The individuals in Kajin no kigū are portrayed only as the representatives of their nations. In a transitional period, there is no conflict between individuals and their organization (which is the nation in the case of Kajin no kigū) that stands behind them. The fate of individuals is infused into that of the organization... and the romantic relationship between the characters also takes the form of politics. Modern Japanese literature did not begin with works dealing with frustrated individuals, or individuals who are indifferent to social matters, it began with works dealing with individuals infused into their organization (kojin to shudan ga musubitsuku).\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{16}\) Asukai Masamichi, op. cit., 63-65.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 70-71.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 71-72.
In addition to calling for a unique place for Kajin no kigu in the history of modern Japanese literature, Asukai also reaffirms the patriotic nature of the political ideals as seen in the first fascicles of the novel.

The most important new theme is born in the first fascicle of Tōkai Sanshi (Shiba Shirō)'s Kajin no kigu. This novel, the first to figure a Japanese protagonist, is a work that considers the fate of Japan against the background of the whole world. The time set for the novel was a critical time when Japan was exposed to the danger of becoming a colony... In telling how Japan can overcome the crisis of becoming a colony, Kajin no kigu is a comprehensive report that deals with the relationship between Japan and the world.19

As the above comments are made only on the first fascicle, it is not clear what Asukai’s view is on the last volumes of Kajin no kigu, especially Volumes Ten and Sixteen, in which Shiba Shirō’s political stance shows a clear shift toward imperialism.

Nakamura Mitsuo, a leading literary critic, also proposed an alternative view of the political novel. In an article published in 1959, Nakamura calls, in what might be termed a manifesto, for a negation of Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935)’s Shōsetsu shinzi (The Essence of the Novel, 1885),20 a critical essay which has generally been considered the theoretical cornerstone of the mainstream modern Japanese literature, and for a reevaluation of the political novel. In this article, he first cites the contrastive literary environments before and after the last war. According to Nakamura, the prewar years were the golden age. Before the war, writers wrote to express what they genuinely felt about life and society; critics critiqued to discuss how writers were living in society, what goal their works tried to achieve and what

19 Ibid., 68-69.

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methods were used to achieve the said goal; readers, who respected writers as their friends, appreciated such works genuinely. In this way, writers, critics and readers worked together to support the “creative spirit of the times.”21 The situation is completely different in postwar years. Writers no longer write what they feel compelled to write. Instead, catering to readers has become their top priority. “Today is a time when there are writers but there is no literature.”22 Viewing modern Japanese literature in this light, Nakamura comes to his conclusion:

The literary ideal in Japan since Shoyo has completed its mission. In a sense, Japanese novels have returned to the starting point of 1885...In that sense, behind the confusion of modern Japanese literature is the bankruptcy of the modern realism...proposed by Tsubouchi Shōyō and perfected by writers of the Naturalist School... Modern times need a second Essence of the Novel. We must create a value system for literature that is different from the one that has been held so far. Otherwise literature will lose its raison d’être.23

While the above article calls for a reevaluation of the political novel in general, a later study by Nakamura deals specifically with Kajin no kigû.24 Because the author of Kajin no kigû is simultaneously the narrator and protagonist, he argues along lines advanced earlier by Kojima Masajirô, it is the first example of an "I-novel" in modern Japanese literature,25 an argument that turns the existing concept of the “I-novel” on its head. While admitting that the novel is full of digressions and the language is antiquated, he does not condemn the work for these faults. Instead, he raises the question of what it is about the novel that enables it to enjoy

22 Ibid., 283.
23 Ibid., 285-286.
25 Ibid., 395.
great popularity among Shiba’s contemporaries in spite of its shortcomings. Nakamura’s answer is that the subject matter of Kajin no kigū and its ideals addressed vital concerns of thousands of people and far outweigh any artistic shortcomings.\textsuperscript{26} Hence,

If masterpieces are works written when the contents find the most suitable means to express them, then Kajin no kigū comes closest to that ideal among Meiji novels... If one of the functions of a national literature is to teach people what direction they should head in and to give them the conscientiousness and pride as human beings, then Kajin no kigū performed that function better than any other work in Meiji literature.\textsuperscript{27} [underlining mine]

One cannot help but notice the sharp contrast that exists between Nakamura Mitsuo’s eulogy of Kajin no kigū and studies of Meiji literature that pass over the subject of political novels in complete silence. The key word in his eulogy is, of course, "national literature." In acclaiming Kajin no kigū as the best example of "national literature," Nakamura Mitsuo is championing a utilitarian view of literature and a revival of didacticism—or the opposite of what Tsubouchi Shōyō had advocated in Shōsetsu shinzi.

Obviously, Nakamura holds a very positive view of the political content of Kajin no kigū. He makes his point explicit when he defines the “subject matter and ideals” of the novel as “human freedom and dignity”.

[The subject matter and the ideals of the novel] are how human freedom and dignity can be obtained in today's world.

The novel deals first of all with human freedom and dignity of the people from small nations. That is because in reality freedom and dignity of these people is most threatened. In order to protect their freedom and dignity, the characters even resort to plots and revolts... Their efforts, however, are like reasoning with beasts and end in failure after failure. Nevertheless, these efforts still lead to human progress.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 399.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 398.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 398-399.
Another prominent scholar who has pioneered the rediscovery and reevaluation of Meiji political novels is Hiraoka Toshio. In an essay entitled *Meiji shoki no seiji to bungaku* ("Politics and Literature in Early Meiji Period," 1969), Hiraoka proposes a reevaluation of *Kajin no kigu* along lines different from those of the above-cited scholars. According to Hiraoka, premodern Japanese literature was divided into two discrete traditions. One was the tradition of townsfolk or gesaku literature, which focused on entertainment and had little to do with politics. The other was the tradition of warrior literature. By warrior literature, however, Hiraoka does not mean the martial tales of the Kamakura period, such as *The Tale of the Heike*. Rather, by warrior literature, he refers to literature that is rooted in Confucianism, deals exclusively with politics and is used for the purpose of promoting personal moral standards (shūshin), teaching the wise government of one's family (seika) and the art of running a country (chikoku heitenka). For Hiraoka, the contribution of *Kajin no kigu* and *Keikoku hidan*, as the most representative of Meiji political novels, lies in the fact that the two novels integrated politics and literature by bringing the townsfolk and warrior traditions together to create an entirely new genre that embodies a direction quite different from that of the mainstream modern Japanese literature starting from Tsubouchi Shōyō. In conclusion, he emphasizes the significance of the study of the two novels.

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29 Emeritus professor of Tsukuba University, Hiraoka Toshio (1930-) is currently President of Gunma Prefecture Women’s University. His research on modern Japanese literature covers a wide area from Kitamura Tokoku, Natsume Sōseki, Kunikida Doppo to Akutagawa Ryūnoske. His studies on Meiji political novels include monographs *Nihon kindai bungaku no shūhenshū* (1973, republished in 1992), *Meiji bungakushi no shihen* (1976), as well as his essay *Meiji shoki no seiji to bungaku* (1969).

30 Hiraoka Toshio, "Meiji shoki no seiji to bungaku," in *Kōza Nihon bungaku 9, kindai hen 1.* (Tokyo: Sansëïdō, 1969), 21-44.
I believe that a study of the unification of politics and literature in Keikoku bidan and 
Kajin no kigū, and of the unique principles operating in these novels, is not only a 
matter of reevaluating political novels, but it is first and foremost indispensable for a 
unified history of modern Japanese literature.\(^{31}\)

In a later study, which covers through Volume Ten of the novel,\(^{32}\) he analyzes different 
aspects of Kajin no kigū in greater detail. For example, he emphasizes that the love between the 
hero and the heroine in the novel is a love between “comrade-in-arms seeking the independence 
of weak and small nations.” That their love does not result in marriage is what makes Kajin no 
kigū superior to the gesaku fiction which always ends in a happy union. His conclusion is that 
Kajin no kigū is “a new and creative novel.”\(^{33}\)

Hiraoka agrees with Kojima Masajirō’s view that the novel was intended as a warning 
signal to the Japanese about the danger Japan faces of falling a victim to Western imperialism. 
But on the other hand, he notices a shift in the author’s political view in Volume Ten when 
Tokai Sanshi proposes to include in the novel the Korean progressive leader, Kim Okkyum, as 
another patriot who has lost his country.\(^{34}\) As we shall see in Chapter Three of this dissertation, 
the Korea leader registers objection to the proposal: “It is fine to write me into your strange 
encounters, but never make my motherland perish.”

A series of articles were published in the wake of the pioneering studies. For a time in 
the 1950s and 1960s, there was a small boom of interest in Meiji political novels. It is during 
this boom that Yanagida Izumi’s three-volume Seiji shōsetsu kenkyū, originally published in

\(^{31}\) Ibid., 44.

\(^{32}\) Hiraoka Toshio, Nihon kindai bungaku no shuppan (Tokyo: Ko shobo, 1992), 91.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., 105.

\(^{34}\) Ibid., 104.
1935, was republished in 1967. In addition, Kajin no kigū, which had been out of print since 1938, was republished in Nihon gendai bungaku zenshū by Kōdansha in 1965, and in Meiji bungaku zenshū by Chikuma Shobō in 1967. The republication of Kajin no kigū in these collections made the novel much more readily available to an academic audience and general readers alike and thus greatly facilitated subsequent research.

With the accumulation of scholarly work and an easier availability of the novel, more studies appeared in Japan in the last thirty years dealing with various aspects of Kajin no kigū. The most influential of these is probably Maeda Ai’s 1976 article entitled Meiji rekishibungaku no genzō (“The True Image of Meiji Historical Fiction”). In this study, Kajin no kigū is highly praised as a historical fiction. According to Maeda, the author of Kajin no kigū projects his own experience as a defeated samurai against the background of the nineteenth century world politics. The question that is constantly asked in the novel is the question of what is justice for the losers in history. As such, Maeda continues, Kajin no kigū challenges believers of law of the jungle such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and Kato Hiroyuki and, along with Keikoku bidan, represents an origin of historical fiction different from that started by Mori Ōgai. Maeda notices a shift in the political ideals of Kajin no kigū. For example, while noting that the novel is a narration of the sad history of weak nations as victim of the invasion of the European powers, he also points out that Tokai Sanshi’s active support of Japanese invasion of Korea makes it impossible for the international love between him and the beauties to bear fruits. 

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36 Ibid., 44-50.
The most original of these studies is probably Kamei Hideo’s discussion of the novel in Kansei no henkaku (The Revolution in Sensibility, 1983). Kamei begins his discussion of Kajin no kigi with a consideration of the language style of the novel. According to Kamei, the novel employs a style called bodokutai, which is defined as a style in which a large number of Chinese vocabulary is used with “only a minimum of katakana glosses added to show their Japanese conjugation.” As kambun vocabulary lacks the honorific system operating largely on the basis of the change of declensions, an important feature of Japanese, this style allows the writer to avoid making explicit the relative status of the characters, something impossible with wabun, or a pure Japanese text. Kamei’s whole argument hinges on his linguistic analysis.

Because of the need is eliminated to make explicit the characters’ relative status, it is possible to transcend the difference in nationality and gender, and form an international solidarity among the political refugee-characters. The solidarity thus formed, regardless of the gender and social status, was something unprecedented in Japan. This literary ideal could not have been realized without employing the kambun style.

As a result, thanks to the use of this style, in which the sense of one’s status is eliminated, it is possible to develop relationships between men and women in the novel on a completely equal basis. Hence, it is possible to revolutionize the philosophy of love as seen in the ninjōhon. Also thanks to the creation of this new type of love relationship between men and women, it is possible to incorporate into the novel international political movements from Europe to Asia. For these reasons, we must say Kajin no kigi is truly an epoch-making work.39

37 棒読体.
38 Kamei Hideo, Kansei no henkaku (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), 34.
39 Ibid., 42.
Kamei also touches on the political ideals of Kajin no kigū when he comments on how the author's experience in America helps determine the orientation of his life. "The author studied in America hoping to become an financial expert. While he was there, he came to know the unsettling international situation in which the European powers were encroaching on weak nations. A strong sense of anxiety arose in him over the crisis his motherland faces. This gave him direction for his future plans." Clearly, Kamei holds the novel to be a patriotic work.

Now let us briefly review some of the studies of the novel by non-Japanese scholars. One of the earliest studies by a non-Japanese scholar is to be found in George Sansom's discussion of the novel in his book The Western World and Japan, published in 1950. Although his introduction has made Kajin no kigū known in the English-speaking world, Sansom's comments on the literary value of the work are negative. After a summary of the story up to volume five of the original, which focuses on the romantic relationship between Sanshi and the ladies, he finds his expectations betrayed.

After such a prelude it might be supposed that a thrilling love story would follow. But nothing comes of it...The book ends by disappointing the reader of his hopes for a passionate climax, but leaves him crammed with information about four and twenty nations in revolt. Concerning the political content of the novel, Sansom points out that, along with the author's patriotic enthusiasm, messages of imperialism can also be detected in the work.

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40 Ibid., 41.
41 Ibid., 413-414.
It [the novel] is of value as evidence of the way in which patriotic Japanese minds were working after some twenty years of international intercourse...and one detects beneath the sympathy [of the author] for oppressed peoples a conviction that it is Japan's birthright to succeed to the empire of Asia.

In the same year Sansom published his book, Horace Feldman published a survey of Meiji political novels which includes a discussion of *Kajin no kigū*. In a terse opening statement, Feldman points out that "if considered from the point of view of popularity, *Kajin no kigū*...was perhaps the leader not only of the political novels but also of all the novels in Meiji," but then he quickly adds that like other political novels it was "crudely composed, incoherent, and hurriedly written." The novel therefore "is very weak...[and] there is no all-pervading thread or purpose."

*Kajin no kigū* went unexamined by Western scholars until 1984, when Donald Keene's *Dawn to the West* appeared. After providing a brief summary through Volume Ten of the original, Keene discusses what he considers to represent the political ideal of the novel. "This novel...is deeply appealing in its idealism, especially its faith in the emergence of Japan as a strong, compassionate, and democratic country." At the same time, his comments on the literary quality of the work are quite harsh.

*Chance Meetings with Beautiful Women* [Keene's translation of the title *Kajin no kigū*] possesses little novelistic merit. At times the plot can hardly be followed because of the digressions and interpolations, and no attempt is made to create believable characters.

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42 G. B. Sansom, op. cit., 414-415.


44 Ibid., 253.

45 Ibid., 249.

46 Donald Keene, op. cit., 86.
or to describe scenes convincingly...[Therefore, like other political novels, it is] hardly more than curiosities...and distinctly pre-modern.⁴⁷

In summary, then, Western views of Kajin no kīgū have remained largely in the same camp as those of the orthodox views in Japan concerning the literary quality of the novel. As for the political content of the novel, Keene and Feldman are both noncommittal while Sansom points out messages of imperialism along with the author's patriotic enthusiasms.

Two recent studies by American scholars demonstrate different approaches to Kajin no kīgū. John Mertz's study, entitled Meiji Political Novels and the Origin of Literary Modernity, is the first dissertation in English devoted to the examination of Meiji political novels. Based on the analysis of five Meiji political novels, including Kajin no kīgū, the study traces the origin of "literary modernity" in modern Japanese literature. In the preface to the dissertation, Mertz thus describes the purpose of his study.

I would contend that these novels, more than anything else, produced the literary environment—concomitant with all its tensions and inconsistencies—that made later works such as Ukigumo possible, even necessary... It is not the primary intent of this thesis to critique existing historical constructions...or to replace them, but rather to produce a new and hypothetically alternative construction based on the socio-political nexus...⁴⁸

The study begins with a generic classification of the political novels and points out that this genre fits poorly into the molds created for both earlier and later literature which, along with other factors such as the difficulty of language, accounts for the marginalization of political novels from the canon. Citing Asukai Masamichi, Maeda Ai and Kamei Hideo, Mertz argues

⁴⁷ Ibid., 85-87.
⁴⁸ John Mertz, "Meiji Political Novels and the Origin of Literary Modernity" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1993), xii-xiii.
that the origin of Japanese literary modernity cannot be characterized as a sudden break with the past, nor arising from contact with Western literature, as has been argued by "the dominating and debilitating trend of critical scholarship." Rather it is the composite of diverse and thoroughly interrelated changes at home dating back to the first years of Meiji and earlier.

One of "the diverse and thoroughly interrelated changes" of the first years of Meiji, according to Mertz, was "the crisis of political consciousness and conscience that marked Japan's passage into modernity." In the process of this change, the establishment (i.e., Japanese culture, the government, etc.) came to be relativized in people's perception as an entity that could be freely displaced. But the keimō mode of discourse was unable to imagine the processes and consequences of the ideological change in Japan.

[At this juncture], the political novels offered a fresh perspective to this dilemma of ideology, offering an imaginary medium to explore this destructive impulse to its logical ends, while providing a discourse that gave flesh and bones to ethical questions that had become overtly distanced from the concerns of daily life.

Another profound change Mertz cites to support his argument is the technological advances in Meiji period which triggered a series of other developments. For example, typeset printing enabled authors, on the one hand, to isolate themselves from other roles to become simply "writers" and readers, on the other hand, to read quickly and silently, thus replacing the previous practice of reading aloud in groups with individual reading. In addition, the technological possibilities of contemporaneous and widespread reportage led to the narrative incompleteness and chronotopic linking of events outside of literature to those within it. Due to

49 Ibid., 35.
50 Ibid., 46.
51 Ibid., 67.
these changes, the way people read novels changed in accordance with the way they read politics. In the case of Jokai haran (Stormy Seas of Love, 1880), a political novel by Toda Kindo (1850-1890) which portrays the union of people and their rights to participate in the decision of state affairs, the issue raised is the outcome of the entire nation in its quest for a new political system. Along with the numerous and drastic social changes in the Meiji period (including the abolition of the Tokugawa system of four classes), the entry of Western consumer goods infusing "external" fashion with "internal" ideological content produced new forms of character "interiority." In this changed and changing society, reading was gradually shorn of its social interconnectedness and literature began to achieve its independence from other aspects of life.52 Social changes in Meiji society also resulted in social mobility which altered the relation of readers to textual personae, as the written experiences of other people suddenly came alive as the embodiment of real possibilities for the reader. For Mertz, the political novel figures most prominently in this process. The study concludes with an examination of the use of literary images of crowds in political novels to disguise the judgmental authority of narration, resulting in "realism" whereby events and personae are "allowed to speak for themselves," a manifestation of what Mertz calls "literary modernity."

Although the focus of Mertz's study is not Kajin no kigū alone, which is only one of five political novels examined, it does touch on the political ideals of Kajin no kigū. For example, when commenting on the origins of nationalism as an element of stylistic modernity, Mertz says the following about Kajin no kigū:

52 Ibid., 139-141.
The characters are thus brought together by the common experience of domination by "external" forces...specifically the colonizing policies of the imperial powers of England, America, and France. The power of these nations becomes the generalized "villain" of the novel, and much of the novel's remainder is concerned with reinforcing the idea that Japan should ally itself with other Asian countries (as a leader, of course) in order to fend off European aggression.53

From such comments it is clear that Mertz holds the novel to be a patriotic work. One wonders what Mertz thinks of Volumes Ten and Sixteen of Kajin no kigū in which the idea of Japan's alliance with other Asian countries is abandoned by Shiba.54

The second recent study, conducted by Atsuko Sakaki, addresses a different issue concerning Kajin no kigū. In her study, Sakaki attempts to put the novel in historical perspective and thereby give it due credit. Her study begins with an overview of the status of Meiji political novels. After pointing out that Meiji political novels as a whole have been excluded, both within and outside of Japan, from the mainstream of modern Japanese literature, she argues that the gap between the warm reception of these novels in the Meiji period and the chill that has fallen over them since calls for our "historicizing" our notion of literature. Citing different critics, and working along lines similar to those of Hiraoka Toshio, she argues that there were two contending views of literature in the Meiji period. One was the view of the warrior tradition which identify literature with the study of Chinese classics concerned with personal morals and statesmanship; the other, represented by Tsubouchi Shoyo's Shōsetsu shinzui, enshrined the novel in the sacred altar of high Art and proposed the novel of human

53 Ibid., 37-38.
54 Judging from the footnotes Mertz includes concerning Kajin no kigū (page xxvii and page 145) the Chikuma Shobō edition appears to have served as the only source of the original text for him. But as is noted in the Preface of this dissertation, the Chikuma Shobō edition is incomplete. It contains only the first ten of the sixteen-volume original, and it is not adequately marked as missing the last six volumes.
emotions and customs as the path for new literature to take. Although the latter view came to dominate in the field of modern Japanese literature, in Sakaki's opinion, Kajin no kigū was in fact the mainstream in its own day. On the other hand, putting the novel in historical perspective presents a different picture of its language style.

However old-fashioned kanshibun might appear to us today, it did not appear so to the contemporary writers and readers in early Meiji. The supposed incompatibility of kanshibun and modernity or westernness is only an illusion, created by a post-Meiji understanding of modernization as a linear development involving the negation of literary and cultural heritage, and of Westernness as an autonomous, homogeneous and tangible entity distinct from Chineseness or Japaneseness.\footnote{Atsuko Sakaki, "Another Travel of a Genre: Kajin no kigū as an Intersection of the Political Novel of the West and the Tradition of Kanshibun," in Proceedings of Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies, Summer 1997, ed., by Eiji Sekine.}

Sakaki notices there are two sides to Shiba Shiro's political ideals. On the one hand, Shiba Shiro shows sympathy for marginalized nations, which, according to Sakaki, "seems to suggest...international friendship and a recognition of each culture." On the other hand, Shiba shows an increasing inclination toward an imperialist stance later in the novel, a point which Sakaki does not pursue. In conclusion, she points to the potential significance in a study of the novel: "In Kajin no kigū we see unexplored possibilities not only in modern Japanese literature, but in history as well."\footnote{Ibid.}

Considering the harsh judgments that have been passed on Kajin no kigū, the amount of scholarly work available on the novel is quite impressive. Nevertheless, it must be pointed
out that the amount of attention that has been given to this “most representative of Meiji political novels” in no way approaches the level of attention directed toward any “representative works of representative writers” of the mainstream Japanese literature, from Natsume Sōseki to Mishima Yukio, from Naturalism to New Sensational School. Several reasons can be cited for this. One of these is the fact that the bulk of the novel is devoted to lengthy elaborations of the history of various nations of the 19th century, and leaves the reader “crammed with information about four and twenty nations in revolt.” These include Ireland, Spain, China, Korea, Egypt, Haiti, Hungary, Liberia, Madagascar, Mexico, Burma and others. Any reader without a proper initiation into the history of these countries will feel lost once the romantic narration shifts to one of these frequent historical digressions.

The second factor that makes the novel inaccessible, even to the educated modern reader, is the language of the novel. While it may be true that the kambun kakikudashi style of Kajin no kigu played an important role in obliterating distinctions between the nationalities, ages and genders of the characters as Kamei Hideo claims, and while it may be true that the style was not old-fashioned to the contemporary readers in the Meiji period as Sakaki argues, but to modern readers, it is by far more difficult than almost any other Meiji novel, including other political novels. Donald Keene characterizes the language of the novel as “ornate, difficult, and exceedingly conventional, borrowing heavily from the stereotypes of Chinese languages.

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57 Sansom, op. cit., 414.
58 This term refers to a form of kambun kundoku, or Chinese read in the Japanese manner, in which the Japanese reading of the Chinese is written out in full. It is also variably referred to as kambun chokuyakutai, or kambun kuzushi. See Nanette Twine, Language and the Modern State (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 34-35.
George Sansom testifies to the same effect: "It is as well to premise that it is a deplorably bad novel, today unreadable except by a conscientious historian of manners blessed with great powers of endurance." Moreover, the complaint about the difficulty of the language of *Kajin no kigū* is by no means a phenomenon limited to foreign scholars, as we can see from the following account by Seki Ryoichi, a professor of Japanese literature at Nishogakusha University in Tokyo.

The political novel *Kajin no kigū* is no longer read much today. I once tried to teach part of it to a class. As college students of nowadays have trouble reading the magnificent *kundoku* style of the novel, I read it aloud to them. But there were characters in the novel that even I could not read, and I frequently got stuck. It was very embarrassing.

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59 Keene, op. cit., 86.
60 Sansom, op. cit., 412.
CHAPTER 2

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SHIBA SHIRO (1852-1922)

The life of an author is often eschewed as immaterial or irrelevant to an appreciation of his works. Nevertheless it can be argued in the case of Kajin no kigő that a brief examination of Shiba Shiro’s background and career is not only relevant but also essential for understanding the work because Kajin no kigő is saturated with the author’s personal experiences and his political views. Moreover, as we pointed out in our survey of the critical history of its reception in Japan, there is a large camp of critics and commentators who have felt justified in identifying Kajin no kigő as an “I-novel”—not as a variant of the mainstream watakushi-shōsetsu—but as a prototype for a promising but lost orientation in modern Japanese literature. Accordingly, we may reach a better understanding of the novel if we begin our discussion with a consideration of the author’s life.

Available information on Shiba’s life is, ironically, quite sketchy, and very often it has to be supplemented with information that derives from the novel itself. What follows in this chapter, therefore, is not intended to be comprehensive or exhaustive. Rather, it is a reconstruction of the major stages in the author’s life that shed light on the novel and on the formation of the his political views as found in the novel.
BIRTH AND EARLY EDUCATION

Shiba Shiro was born December 2, 1852, in a military fort in Futtsu, Awa Domain (the southern part of present-day Chiba Prefecture), hundreds of miles from his native Aizu, a feudal domain which became part of present-day Fukushima Prefecture after the Meiji Restoration. As early as the first decade of the 19th century, a coastal defense program was launched by the Tokugawa Shogunate to fortify Japan against the invasive foreign ships whose calls on Japanese waters had become more and more frequent. As part of the defense program, it was decided the Aizu domain was to be responsible for the military fort in Futtsu. It happened that Shiba Shiro was born as Shiba family’s fourth son when his father was serving as commander of the Aizu garrison in Futtsu. That Shiba Shiro was born in a military fort built to defend Japan from intruding foreign ships testifies to the international environment in which Japan found itself by the middle of the nineteenth century. Indeed, only eight days before Shiba was born, on November 24 1852, Commodore Matthew Perry’s “Black Ships” sailed from the port of Norfolk, Virginia, for an expedition to Japan, an expedition which soon led to the forcible opening of the country and was prelude to modern Japanese history. This international environment was to become the broad background for Kajin no kigō, Shiba Shiro’s bestseller political novel.

His father was Shiba Satazō Yoshimichi. Yoshimichi served in the feudal domain as an instructor of horsemanship and rifle practice, as had his ancestors for several generations. He
had a salary of 300 koku of rice a year (one koku equaling 5 bushels of rice, or enough to feed a person for a year). During the more than two hundred years of feudal rule under the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japanese society was rigidly divided into the four classes of the samurai warriors, farmers, artisans and merchants. As a member of the prestigious samurai class, Yoshimichi was expected to abide by a set of strictly regulated social codes. Being an instructor of horsemanship and rifle practice, Satazō was an omonogashira (a middle rank commander) and belonged to the rank of kakuyaku kurohimo, a status in the domain subordinate to only two higher ranks of commanders called the hanto and shinhanto. At this rank, he was allowed to wear the kamishimo, the formal outfit permitted to omonogashira, so that his social status would be apparent to all at first sight. We can get a glimpse as to how this hierarchical social order was rigidly adhered to even in the family life of a samurai from the childhood recollections of Shiba Gořo (1859-1945), Shiba Shiro's younger brother, who was later to become a well-known Army General.

My father loved us children dearly and even doted on us. But the social dictum of the time required that he maintain formality appropriate to a samurai even at home with his children. As a child I was extremely timid and father's formality made me nervous in his presence. I always tried to avoid him. Sometimes when he picked me up and put me on his knee as he sat down to the kotatsu, my whole body would freeze and I could not answer the simplest questions he asked. I prayed only that he would let me go soon.

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1 広物頭.
2 格役黒帯.
3 番頭.
4 新番頭.
5 上下.
As the fourth son of the family, Shiro was at first named Shigeshiro and came to be called Shiro only after the Meiji Restoration. He had a weak constitution and was more than once taken ill at critical moments in his life, a fact reflected in the novel, as we shall see in the next chapter when a synopsis of Kajin no kigū is introduced. Shiba Shiro's was a large family. His grandmother, Tsune, was a knowledgeable waka poet already in her 60s when Shiro was born. His mother, Fuji, was from the Hino family. There were 11 children in the family. Of the five boys, the oldest three, Taichirō, Kennosuke and Gosaburō, were already serving the feudal domain as samurai by the time Shiro had reached age ten. Of the six girls, two died in infancy. Of the surviving four, three older sisters, Kayo, Tsuma and Soi, were married to samurai families of nearby domains. Satsu was Shiro’s only younger sister. Due to samurai tradition and strict discipline, reportedly there was never a family quarrel in the household. But changes were taking place rapidly in Japan, and the domestic tranquillity and order of the Shiba family was soon to be destroyed forever.

As his father and elder brothers often had to serve in posts away from home, like his younger siblings, Shiba Shiro was brought up largely by his grandmother and mother. As an adult, Shiba Shiro often told people that due to the disaster that befell Aizu and his family, he had never received a formal education when young and that he was entirely self-taught. Yet one suspects that there is myth-making at work in these remarks and Shiro had far better childhood education than he would have us believe. Shiba Gorō touches, for example, on the

7 茂四朗.
8 For example, he is quoted as saying so in a biographical sketch carried in the September 25, 1887 issue of The Eiri jin shimbun.
early education he received from his mother in his recollections of childhood up to the time when Shiro went to study in the United States in 1879. This reminiscence remains one of the few sources of information on Shiba Shiro's early life.

I received my early education almost entirely from my mother who, on the one hand, had a strict side to her and was respected as a wife of a samurai; on the other hand, she loved me dearly as an affectionate mother. She would sit me on her knee and read such fairy-tales as Momotaro, and again and again she would teach me famous Japanese waka poetry such as Hyakunin isshu (Single Poems of a Hundred Poets), and Rakka no yuki no chōka (The Long Poems of Fallen Snow Blossoms). When she taught me these things, I could tell she too was truly enjoying them herself. My knowledge about the father and son of Kusunoki Masashige, the great general of the period of the Northern and Southern Courts (1336-1392), about the stories of the twenty-four great Chinese examples of filial piety and others is all derived from my mother. Even today, [at the age of eighty], I still remember the texts of some of these stories. Whenever I recite them now, I cannot but feel the nostalgia for the warmth of sitting on my mother's knee.®

Doubtless Shiba Shiro had an education similar to what his brother received. The poems recorded as composed by Aizu women in Kajin no kigu, though few in number, provide a clue as to the kind of education these samurai women must have provided. The following passage, for example, is an excerpt from volume two of Kajin no kigu. After telling how his home domain fell to the Satsuma-Choshu government troops in the Expedition against Aizu during April 1868-September 1868 (Aizu senso), the protagonist speaks of how the Aizu women reacted to the news that their domain had surrendered.

The castle resisted the government troops for a month before it finally surrendered. In this battle, there were many women who secretly took up arms and joined the ranks, and they suffered heavy casualties. When one woman learned that her husband, father-in-law as well as brothers-in-law were all killed in battle, she decided to commit suicide. She first killed her mother-in-law and her own children with a sword, then she composed the following waka poem:

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® Ishimitsu Mahito, op. cit. 11.
Oh, everyone, do you know?
We, who cannot protect our castle town,
our houses and bodies are burning
with the heart of our loyalty!

Finally, she set her house on fire and took her own life.

There was a girl. She was so filled with grief and indignation when she heard
that the domain had surrendered she bit her own fingers and wrote the following poem
on the wall in blood.

How would I know,
a maiden living deep in the boudoir,
that our lord, the daimyō of the domain,
has raised the white flag atop the castle?

Whereupon she hung herself on a pine tree in front of the castle.

There was another woman who took out her hairpin and wrote a waka poem
with it on the wall of the castle:

From tomorrow,
people from what town
will be viewing the moon-light
shining on the castle,
a place that has been so familiar to me?

Then she cut her hair and started to pray for those who died in the battle. ¹⁰

The second poem is a kanshi or a Chinese verse, while the other two are waka or
poems in the Japanese style. Though the power and tragic beauty of the original is inevitably
lost in translation, the determination of the samurai women who would rather die than
surrender, and the confidence with which they express themselves in poetry, should be clear
nevertheless.

¹⁰ ibid., 101.
The other source of Shiro's early education was the Nisshinkan, the clan school established by the Aizu domain for the education of the sons of high-ranking samurai.

Construction of Nisshinkan was started in 1799 by Matsudaira Katanobu, the fifth lord of the domain, at the suggestion of Tanaka Harunaka, his Elder Adviser. It took five years for the 125,000 square meter complex to be completed. The school had separate buildings for teaching children kanji and sodoku reading, for teaching young adults the Chinese classics, military strategy and medicine. In addition, it had an observatory for the teaching of astronomy, an archery range, a rifle shooting range and a printing house. At the center of the whole complex was the Taisei Confucian Shrine, as was typical of schools devoted to neo-Confucianism. The scale of the school and the completeness of its facilities was quite impressive, even by modern standards. It indicates not only the extent to which the Aizu domain valued education but also testifies its financial power in building and maintaining the facility. The quality of the clan school and its contribution to modern Japanese education is widely recognized by the Japanese, as pointed out by Kuno Akiko:

The Nisshinkan was by far the best institution of its type in the northern region, and counted among its students many who later became leading figures in Japanese education such as Takamine Hideo, principal of the Japanese Women's Higher Normal School, Ibuka Kajinosuke, founder of Meiji Gakuin...[Yamakawa] Taizo—who became the principal of Tokyo Higher Normal School—and [Yamakawa] Kenjirō, who became president of the University of Tokyo.12

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11 Written 素読, sodoku reading was a method of teaching children to read aloud the text of Chinese classics regardless of whether they understand it or not. During the Edo and early Meiji period, this was a common mode of instruction of children at an early age, usually at four or five.

According to Shiba Gorō, students started the Chinese classics at the age of seven in
the juku, or private schools. At age ten they were enrolled in Nisshinkan to receive a formal
education.13 As the Expedition against Aizu did not begin until Shiba Shiro was 16 years old,
we have reason to believe that Shiba Shiro owed much to the clan school for his solid
grounding in the Chinese classics, a knowledge he brings in to full play in Kajin no kigu.

EXPEDITION AGAINST AIZU AND ITS IMPACT

The event that was to have the greatest and permanent impact on the formation of
Shiba Shiro's political views was undoubtedly the tragedy that befell his domain and his family
during the Expedition against Aizu, the most fierce phase of the Boshin Civil War (January
1868 to June 1869). Though the Aizu Campaign was fought from April to November 1868,
the events that led to the tragedy can be traced back to 1862 when Matsudaira Katamori
(1836-1893), lord of the Aizu domain, was appointed the head of the Kyōto Security
Headquarters by the shogunate council. This was a newly created position designed to protect
the emperor and to restore and maintain order in the capital, which had been thrown into chaos
by wide-spread terrorism. The terrorism was caused by radicals who, opposed to the opening
of the country, campaigned under the slogan of “revering the emperor and repelling the
barbarians” (sonno joi), and to “the union of court and Shogunate” (kobu gattai), a movement
that aimed at strengthening Japan in the face of foreign pressure by forging a leadership
embracing the imperial court, the shogunate and the lords of major domains. Because of the

13 Ishimitsu Mahito, op. cit., 11.
risk the position would involve, Katamori refused to accept the appointment when the news reached Aizu. Voices against accepting the appointment were also heard from officials of the domain. For example, Saigo Tanomo, the chief retainer of the domain, was strongly opposed. To accept such a position, Saigo argued, was to throw oneself into the vertex of national turmoil, or to use his metaphor, "attempt to put out a fire by carrying wood to the site of the fire." Furthermore, as chief retainer of the domain, Saigo knew better than anyone that accepting the position would entail committing a large army from Aizu to Kyoto and the burden of maintaining it would fall entirely on Aizu. This burden in itself would bring disastrous consequences to domain finances, to say nothing of the political risk it would definitely involve.

Meanwhile, the top representatives of the shogunate council—one of whom being Hitotsubashi Yoshinobu who was to become the fifteenth and the last Tokugawa shogun only four years later—continued to push their request. They did so by citing the words of the founding father of the Aizu domain, Hoshina Masayuki (1611-1671). Hoshina Masayuki was the illegitimate son of the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada. In 1643 he received 230,000 koku of fertile land in the Aizu region from the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu and became the founder of the Aizu domain. Thereafter, the Hoshina family descendants were given the name Matsudaira, a name reserved exclusively for all illegitimate offspring of the shogun. From

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14 Obunsha, Aizu sensō (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1984), 133.
15 Ibid., 18.
16 Ibid.
that time on, loyalty to the shogun became a vital part of the Aizu samurai creed, a strict code that was to be followed by every samurai man, woman and child in the domain. The will Hoshina Masayuki left had become the well-known founding principle of the Aizu domain and the opening lines reads: “You must be devoted wholeheartedly to the Tokugawa Shogunate and carry out our obligation thereto... Anyone who doubts this does not number among my descendants.” The Shogunal representatives argued that if Hoshina Masayuki were alive today, he would have accept the appointment without question. This left Katamori no choice but to agree. A strong supporter of the view that called for the union of the court and the shogunate, Katamori believed that to devote himself to the shogunate and to the emperor were one and the same thing.

Matsudaira Katamori assumed control of security in Kyoto in December 1862. At first, he tried to be open-minded towards the radicals advocating "revering the emperor and repelling the barbarians," and he allowed freedom of expression. Soon, however, he realized that he could not afford to be so permissive. Before he took office, many people had fallen victim to terrorism in the capital, and the situation grew only more aggravated after he took office. Not only were more murders committed and the city was thrown into further disarray, the nature of the terrorism showed a shift. In the past, targets of terrorism had been mostly individuals who were supporters of the union of the court and the shogunate, or who were involved in the Ansei Crackdown, a crackdown on radicals in 1858 ordered by Ii Naosuke, the former Elder Advisor of the Shogunate, who was later assassinated by way of revenge by radicals in Edo.

Since Takamori took office, however, the radicals had adopted a new political agenda aimed at overthrowing the Tokugawa Bakufu. The shift in radical tactics is most graphically seen in an incident of February 1863, shortly after Takamori took office, when the heads from wooden statues of three Muromachi period shoguns in Kyoto were “decapitated” and put on public display. Alongside the severed heads, a signboard was erected on which was written the crimes of the shogunate since the time when the warrior class had seized power from the court at the end of the Heian period (794-1185).

It is time today to reestablish the correct social order and to settle the crimes of the usurpatory subjects since the days of Kamakura regime. To start, we have hereby placed a heavenly curse upon the ugly statues of the three rebellious traitors who are among the most unpardonable.18

What had been merely revenge for the Ansei Crackdown and opposition to the movement for the union of the shogunate with the court had now grown into a clearly defined political agenda set upon overthrowing the shogunate. What complicated the situation was the fact that some high-ranking court nobles were involved in the activities of the radicals.19

Katamori decided to take swift action. He rounded up those guilty of cutting off the heads of the statues, and followed this up with a series of crackdowns on terrorism by radicals. Then on August 18 1863, he assisted Emperor Komei (1847-1866) in launching a coup which successfully expelled from the capital seven court nobles, who were believed to be behind the

18 Konishi Shiro, Kaikoku to jo in Nihon no rekishi, 19 (Tokyo: Chuô koron sha, 1966), 266.
19 Ibid., 304. Also see Aizu senso (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1984), 19.
radicals, along with the anti-foreign, anti-shogunate Chōshū samurai. With the success of the house-cleaning action, the political situation in the capital was once more under control.

As has been pointed out by many Japanese historians, Emperor Kōmei never had any intention of overthrowing the shogunate although he was a resolute supporter of expelling the foreigners. To him, expelling the barbarians could be achieved only by the joint effort of the court and the Bakufu under the leadership of the Shogun. Emperor Kōmei was delighted with the job Katamori had done in maintaining security in the capital, and he was especially pleased with Katamori's loyalty to him, as demonstrated by the August 18 coup. To commend Katamori's devotion and loyalty, the emperor bestowed a letter of commendation on Takamori in October 1863. It included two waka poems of his own composition. The emperor's letter reads:

Our heart aches as proponents of violence, from court nobles downwards, resorted to terrorism, and the situation in the capital deteriorated. However, as soon as We issued the imperial order to restore peace in Kyoto, you promptly brought the situation under control and eliminated all worry that was in Our mind. The way you carried out Our order is indication of your loyalty to the court, and We are extremely delighted. To acknowledge such loyalty, We hereby bestow upon you a box containing two waka poems.

With this letter of commendation from the emperor, Katamori was convinced that his loyalty and service to the shogun, the emperor and Japan had been recognized and that he had made the right choice in accepting the appointment in Kyoto—in spite of the considerable sacrifice it entailed to his own domain.

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20 See, for example, Konishi Shiro, Kaikoku to voi, 302.
21 Ibid., 310.
While Katamori was happy that the loyalty of Aizu had been recognized, in cracking down on the radicals it was inevitable that the Aizu had made itself the enemy of the radicals. The most formidable of the radicals was the Choshu domain. In early July 1864, many Choshu radicals were killed in the Ikedaya Incident by agents working under Katamori; in the Palace Gate Incident the following month, when the Choshu activists tried to launch a counterattack by forcing their way into the capital, more of their leaders were killed. These incidents made Aizu the sworn enemy of Choshu.

The relationship between Aizu and Satsuma was different however. The two domains had been comrade-in-arms in cracking down on Choshu extremists in the Palace Gate Incident of August 1864. But by January 1866, through the mediation by Sakamoto Ryōma, a masterless samurai from the Tosa domain, Satsuma had secretly joined hands with Choshu and created an anti-shogunate alliance which set it as its goal the restoration of the imperial rule by military force.

By 1866, the political situation had become far less stable, and it was subject to precipitous changes thereafter. The fourteenth Shogun Iemochi died in July 1866, and the fifteenth and the last of Tokugawa Shoguns, Yoshinobu, took office four and half months later. Then Emperor Komei died in December. When Emperor Meiji was enthroned in January 1867, he was only a fifteen-year old boy. By 1867, it was all too apparent that the shogunate could no longer hold out against the forces led by the Choshu and Satsuma domains. On October 14 1867, the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu issued a formal statement offering to surrender voluntarily to the emperor his de facto power to administer Japan, an offer which was accepted.
accepted by the court. In spite of Yoshinobu’s surrender, however, the leaders of Satsuma and Choshu continued to push for a military victory. To justify their expedition against pro-Tokugawa domains, they obtained from the young emperor a secret ordinance, dated October 13 1867—only one day prior to the acceptance of the shogun’s official surrender of power—which ordered military subjugation of Tokugawa Yoshinobu. In the secret ordinance, the Aizu domain was also listed as a target of military subjugation for having been “the chief accomplice” of Yoshinobu. In December 1867, Satsuma and Choshu troops moved on Kyoto. On January 3 1868, their forces surrounded the imperial palace and proclaimed an “imperial restoration.” This move precipitated a battle at Toba-Fushimi near Kyoto, the first battle of the Boshin Civil War, in which the pro-shogunate forces, now identified as “the enemy of the court” and "the army of the traitors," were defeated by the better equipped Meiji government troops.

Aizu soldiers fought in the battle of Toba-Fushimi. After the defeat, Katamori followed Yoshinobu to Edo castle but he was ordered to leave, because Yoshinobu, having pledged submission to the Meiji government, wanted to distance himself from Katamori who had become the target of the Satō hatred because of his earlier punishment of the radicals in Kyoto. Thus Aizu, despite its loyalty and service to the shogunate and the court, was rejected by both the shogunate and the newly formed Meiji government, which claimed that it represented the new emperor.

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22 Ibid., 476.
23 Konishi Shiro, Kaikoku to yori, 477.
Katamori returned to Aizu for the first time in six years on February 22, 1868. He arranged for a petition to be sent to the Meiji government to revoke its crusade against Aizu as the enemy of the court, but it was turned down. Sympathetic domains in northeastern Japan also pleaded with the new government on behalf of Aizu, but their appeals were also rejected. When all of the petitions were rejected, the Ouetsu reppan domei, or a league of northern domains, was formed to carry out military resistance, and Aizu became with the leader of the league. Thus, Aizu was stigmatized as a traitor to the court, and it was forced to protect itself by military means. The strong feelings of having been victimized prevalent among Aizu samurai can be seen in an account of a Shiba family episode from early spring 1868, as recorded by Shiba Goro.

Regardless of the turmoil in the world, when March came that year [1868], signs of spring were seen in Aizu too. Nightingales started to sing, water melted from snow, and leaves of tender green shone under the bright spring sun. Everything was the same as in springs past. Likewise, on March 3—oh yes that day was the last Girls' Festival my mother and my sisters celebrated together. Following the traditions of the past, they decorated the tiered platform for dolls, covering the platform with a red felt carpet. On the platform, they stood the doll Emperor and Empress, three doll court ladies, and the five doll court musicians. They were all dressed in traditional costumes...

"Mother, I hear the doll Emperor and Empress stand for our emperor and empress. Is that true?" I asked.

She stared at me, nodded her head but she said nothing. Being a child, I could not understand why we had become the target of the crusade of the imperial forces, and why we were called the enemy of the emperor and the traitors of the country when we were celebrating the Majesties, just as we had done every year...

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24 Ishimitsu Mahito, op. cit. 19. Also see Matsui Sachiko, op. cit. 102.
26 Ibid., 18-19.
As the leader of a pro-shogunate league of northeastern Honshu domains, Aizu was engaged in battle by government troops directly on April 20. But the government troops enjoyed an overwhelming military advantage from the beginning. By August 23, they lay siege to Aizu castle. After a month of fierce fighting, Aizu surrendered.

All the males of the Shiba family took up arms and fought in the battle with the exception of the nine-year-old Goro, whom his mother sent away with a relative so that in the worst possible case, there would be a survivor to the blood line of the Shiba family. The father fought at the castle and was wounded. Taichiro, the oldest son, fought as an officer in Echigo, present-day Niigata Prefecture. Kennosuke, the second oldest, was killed while fighting with the artillery troops in Utsunomiya. The fierceness of the battle is captured vividly in Kajin no kigu. One episode tells the now famous tale of the valor, tragedy and martyrdom of the Byakkotai, or the White Tiger Unit.

There was a unit of young soldiers called Byakkotai, or the “White Tiger Troops.” These were boys of 16 to 17 years old from good samurai families. It was their first time to fight in a real battle, and they were confronted by a formidable enemy. Disproportionally outnumbered by the enemy, they suffered great losses. When the sixteen remaining soldiers ran to the top of a hill...they saw their castle town was shrouded in black smoke and the donjon of the castle was in flames too. Believing [erroneously] that the castle had fallen into the hands of the enemy [which was not the case until much later]...they swore that they would rather die than surrender. After bidding farewell to each other, they all committed ritual suicide. How sad it was!!

Being 16 years old, Shiba Shiro was also enlisted in the Byakkotai and would have shared the same fate as the other White Tigers had he not been confined to bed by illness. But as the government troops lay siege to the castle and the battle turned against Aizu on August

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27 GNBZ., 101.
23, his mother dragged him from bed and urged him to fight in full battle gear. Goro thus recalls what happened that day to Shigeshiro, as Shiro was called by his family at the time.

First of all, my mother dragged Shigeshiro out of bed. After helping him put on his clothes and wear his two swords, she urged him to battle. Looking very pale, Shigeshiro apparently had trouble walking steadily. Mother took his hand and led him out the door. When all of the family were seeing him off at the door, Shigeshiro seemed at a loss to know what to do. My mother reprimanded him sharply: “You are a son of the Shiba family, aren’t you? Your father is already fighting at the castle and you must hurry and join him in battle. Don’t disgrace the name of our family.”

My grandmother also tried to encourage him: “We are proceeding one step ahead of you and will be waiting for you in the nether world.” Hearing this, Shigeshiro bowed to the family deeply and was quickly on his way, with his unsteady steps.28

The following morning, when the government troops broke into the castle town, the five Shiba women—the grandmother at age 81, mother at 50, older sister Soi at 19, Taichiro’s wife, sister-in-law Toku, at 20, and younger sister Satsu at only 5—gathered together. After offering incense and praying to their ancestors, they committed suicide in order not to hinder the fighting men and to save precious food for them.29 The Shibas was only one of many Aizu samurai families that lost their women in this tragic way, as is noted by Akiko Kuno.

More tragedies were occurring at the homes of the absent samurai. Although they were permitted to take refuge in the castle, many women felt that their presence would hinder their fathers, husbands, and sons in the fighting, and would be a drain on the domain’s precious food supply, particularly if the siege were prolonged. They therefore decided to stay where they were, but rather than be humiliated by the enemy forces, chose to commit suicide. All the members of some families ended their lives that way... on that first day alone over two hundred people died by their own hand, including the wife of chief retainer Saigo, who killed her small children and then herself. In the Saigo household a total of twenty-one women and children died.30

28 Ishimitsu Mahito, op. cit., 23.
29 Ibid., 24.
30 Akiko Kuno, op. cit., 40.
The sole regret of these women was that the loyalty of Aizu went unrecognized, and they carried to their death the shame of being treated as traitors to the emperor.

In *Kajin no kigu* it is made unquestionably clear that the oligarchs of Satsuma and Chōshū were responsible for the tragedy that Aizu suffered.

At the time, people all accused us of shielding the Bakufu and of impeding the enterprise of the Meiji Restoration. Then the court also charged us with harboring malicious intentions and disobeying imperial orders... A large army was sent eastward...to butcher us who had already surrendered. We were left with nowhere to appeal or implore. They acted in no way like the army of His Majesty. From the lord to retainers, we all knew that [we had been reduced to that state] only because of the tricks of the leaders of the one or two powerful domains that overtly made it appear that they were supporting the young emperor. But in reality they were taking their private revenge on us.31

We are told of the impact of the defeat on the minds of the Aizu soldiers in an episode in *Kajin no kigu*. Defeated and ostracized, many chose to commit suicide. But the argument is advanced by a commander that rather than dying as the enemy of the court, they must bear the humiliation for the time being so that they can prove their loyalty by risking their lives “to the edge of swords and arrowheads” in the future when Japan is attacked by foreign aggressors. Only then will Aizu’s loyalty be proven.32

It is not known whether, as a matter of a historical fact, the defeated Aizu soldiers and their commanders debated their defeat in such terms, or if the above episode is the author’s creation years later. even if it is a creation, there is no doubt that the feeling of being victimized and a desire to prove Aizu loyalty to the world was shared by Aizu soldiers, including Shiba Shiro. It is here that we can see the impact of the Aizu War on the formation of Shiba Shiro’s

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31 GNBZ, 100-101.
32 Ibid., 101.
political beliefs. It was mentioned earlier that Shiba Shūro wrote the novel under the pen name Tōkai Sanshi, which is also the name of the protagonist of the novel. When translated into English, it is often rendered literally as "the Wanderer from the Eastern Seas," thus making it sound rather romantic. But the pen name is heavily colored by the author’s emotions. It implies the meaning of "a gentleman from Japan (Tōkai) who has lost his home," suggesting the spiritual scar left by the Aizu War. If the above episode is any indication of the author’s way of thinking, then the way to healing the bitter wounds of the past lies in his serving Japan in the future.

YEARS OF HARDSHIP

Shiba Shūro’s means to serve Japan, however, was largely defined by the times. There was a saying in early Meiji to the effect: “If you are not a samurai from Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa or Hizen, the four big heroes of the Meiji Restoration, then you are not a human being. After the fall of the Tokugawa Bakufu, it is now the world of the big domains.” As a defeated pro-shogunate samurai, pursuing pragmatic skills was the only door open to Shiba Shūro as the means to get ahead in society, all channels leading to a government position having been closed to him.

But even in pursuing pragmatic skills, he had to go through a period of hardship. After the fall of the castle in September 1868, the samurai of Aizu domain were sent to detention

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33 See Keene, op. cit., 81. and Sansom, op. cit., 411.

34 Ishimitsu Mahito, op. cit., 87.
centers in Tokyo, where they were held until September 1869, when the Meiji government permitted the revival of the Matsudaira name. The samurai were granted a new fief, to be called Tonami domain, on the northernmost tip of Honshu (present-day Aomori Prefecture). Literally meaning “south of Hokkaido,” the word Tonami derived from the expression that “all of the domains south of Hokkaido are the land of the emperor,” and was meant to convey the message that to be granted a fief in the remote north did not mean exile from the land of the emperor. The granting of the new fief provided the Aizu samurai with a faint glimmer of hope. Aside from the possibility of conciliation with the new government, the idea of bringing new lands in the boundless north under cultivation was an attractive one, and it seemed to offer an opportunity for the revival of Aizu fortunes. Aizu samurai were moved to tears at the news of the royal pardon and the creation of a new fief.

But the promised land did not live up to even the most modest of the settlers’ expectations. As soon as they arrived at the new lands on Shimokita Peninsula, they realized how harshly they were really punished by the new government. Aizu had been a powerful domain of three hundred thousand koku of rice at the time of the Aizu War. The new fief was with thirty thousand koku, and even that figure was only nominal. In far less hospitable terrain and buried under snow for half of a year, the actual annual yield of the new fief was no more than seven thousand koku, far from enough to support the lives of the seventeen thousand people who made the journey. In a chapter entitled “The Road to Hell,” Shiba Goro recalls the hardships they suffered at Shimokita Peninsula.

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[Due to the poor condition of the house we stayed in] even if we built a fire in the ground hearth to protect ourselves from the extreme cold, the strong wind from Mutsu Bay blew through our rooms and the temperature by the side of the hearth was ten to fifteen degrees below zero Celsius. As the porridge we cooked would soon freeze as hard as a stone, we had to melt it before we could eat... We husked the rice by pestling it in a mortar belonging to our neighbors. To husked rice, we added a little soy beans or potatoes to make a simple gruel. Meals of white rice, or white rice porridge, was a luxury we did not even think of. When we ran out of potatoes, we would gather seaweed from the shore, dry it and...cook our gruel with it...just to suppress our hunger. The gruel was brown in color and had a sickening smell... That winter, we barely managed to survive. Due to malnutrition, we were all thin and worn-out, and we developed beriberi.\(^{37}\)

As they bore these hardships, Aizu samurai's grew bitter in their feelings for Satsuma-Chōshū.

The treatment [Aizu received]... was not an act of grace. Rather, it was nothing short of exile, an exile of an entire domain, a harsh punishment unprecedented in [Japanese] history.\(^{38}\)

In the same chapter, Shiba Gorō recalls that, to supplement their gruel on one occasion, the family had to eat the meat of a dog that a hunter shot and abandoned by the side of the river. When Gorō, who was just an eleven-year-old boy, showed signs of disgust at the sight of the dog meat, his father burst into a rage.

"You are the son of a samurai. Have you forgotten that? When we run out of food in the battlefield, we would eat anything to keep fighting. It doesn't matter whether it is the meat of a dog or cat. Now we have been driven by the cursed Satsuma-Chōshū troops to this remote northern outpost. If we die of hunger here, we will become a laughingstock to them. That will be a shame passed on to later generations. Here too is a battlefield. It will remain a battlefield until the day the humiliation of Aizu domain is finally absolved.\(^{39}\)

\(^{37}\) Ibid., 62-63.  
\(^{38}\) Ibid., 74.  
\(^{39}\) Ibid., 64.
Although no detailed account is available, sources of information on Shiba's early life indicate that when the Boshin Civil War erupted in January 1868 in Toba-Fushimi near Kyoto, Shiba Shiro took up arms and fought as a soldier on the shogunate side. When he returned to Aizu after the defeat, he studied French under Numa Morikazu in his private academy. He had almost missed witnessing the fall of Aizu altogether because he had been chosen as one of a group of young men to be sent to study abroad by the domain. But the same illness that had kept him from battle also kept him from being sent abroad in early 1868.40

When the Shiba family was relocated to Tonami in May 1870, Shiba Shiro remained in Tokyo to continue his studies. He was first enrolled in Numa Morikazu's private academy, now reopened in Tokyo. Next, he attended Santo Naoto's Kitamonsha School. Finally, he became a live-in student for an Englishman in Yokohama. It is not known what subjects he studied during these years, but it seems that he learned remarkable skills at English, for by 1873 he had succeeded in getting himself appointed an interpreter for two Englishmen hired to work in a ranch at Tonami run by Hirozawa Yasuto. This position enabled him to live with his father and brothers for the first time in three years since their parting in 1870. Shiba Shiro's father died on September 6, 1882, when Shiro was studying in Philadelphia.41 In Volume Nine of Kajin no kigu, there is an emotional passage stating that this period in Tonami was the only time that "Tokai Sanshi" had served his father by working by his side, and it expresses how

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40 See, for example, E'iri jiyu shimbun, September 25, 1887, and also SSK, 362.
41 The correct date of Sadazo Yoshimichi's death is to be found in records kept in Eirinji Temple in Aizu Wakamatsu where he is buried. The date given is September 1891 in Yanagida Izumi's Seiji shosetsu kenkyu, I, 420, and in his Meiji seiji shosetsu shu, II, 486. This error is repeated in the sketchy biography of Shiba Shiro that appears in Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho, vol., 21, 343.
guilty the son feels for failing to perform his filial piety to his parents. The passage is based on Shiba Shiro's experience of this period.

But soon the desire for further study had him on the road seeking new opportunities. At one time, he was in Hakodate in Hokkaido. Then he entered To'oku Gijuku, a school in Hirosaki, Aomori Prefecture. (The feudal domains were abolished and prefectures established in 1871). Having difficulty paying the tuition, he dropped out of the school and left Hirosaki. For a while, he returned to the Nisshikan, when the Aizu domain school reopened in Aizu. Though he enjoyed the benefits of reduced tuition at the new Nisshikan as the son of an ex-samurai, the traditional curriculum at a countryside domain school could no longer satisfy his desire for new knowledge, and eventually he left Aizu and went to Tokyo again in 1874. His prospects remained uncertain until 1875 when, through an introduction from his oldest brother, Taichiro, he became a live-in student in the household of Yanagidani Kentaro, then Chief of the powerful Yokohama Customs Office. This experience turned out to be especially beneficial.

Impressed by Shiba's devotion to learning and his aspirations, Yanagidani offered to pay his tuition so that the boy could concentrate on his education. With Yanagidani's support, Shiba spent the next three years devoting himself to his studies. While there is no record of where and what Shiro studied during these three years, we do know he did not bury himself completely in books. Rather, he showed an interest in political and economic issues of the country, and from time to time contributed articles to newspapers. For example, at least three of his articles appeared in 1876 on Tokyo mainichi shimbun, a major daily in Tokyo. One of these articles

42 Unfortunately no information has been found on Yanagidani Kentaro, nor the circumstances which made him decide to support Shiba Shiro. This is one of the "missing links" in Shiba Shiro's life story.
dated October 27 of 1876 dealt with the detrimental effects of the developing logging industry on Japanese resources and the economy. Another piece, dated November 24 of 1876, was a narrative entitled Tōyō bijin no tan ("Lamentations for the Japanese Beauty").43 Told in a highly allegorical manner, the story expresses the author's criticism of the Meiji government's Westernization policy, and it has been said to have served as the protomodel for Kajin no kīgu, to be written nine years later.44 A discussion of the connection between the two works will be presented in Chapter Four.

But his studies were interrupted in 1877 when the Satsuma Rebellion broke out in January. Often called the last major armed uprising to protest the reforms of the new Meiji government, the rebellion was led by Saigō Takamori (1827-1877), the Satsuma samurai who the Aizu people believed had betrayed them by forging a secret alliance with Chōshū and then forced them into a civil war.

After Saigō was ostracized from the inner circle of the Meiji establishment in 1874 in a dispute over the issue of Japan's conquering Korea, he returned to Satsuma and gradually emerged as the leader of the dissident samurai and antigovernment movement that eventually culminated in armed conflict with the government in 1877, or the Satsuma Rebellion. It is ironic that affairs should have reversed themselves so completely in less than a decade. During the Aizu War nine years before, Satsuma had denounced Aizu as the enemy of the government and launched a punitive expedition against it. But now it was Satsuma that became the enemy of the government. It is no wonder that many young people from Aizu volunteered to fight.

43 Tokyo mainichi shimbun, November 24, 1876.
44 See, for example, SSK., 365.
Shiba Gōro, who had become an army cadet by that time, wrote in his diary for February 20, 1877: "I hear that it has been decided to send troops to suppress 'the sweet potatoes' [a nick name for Satsuma samurai due to the fact that sweet potatoes were grown in Satsuma]. How wonderful! How wonderful!" Like other Aizu young people, Shiba Shūro did not miss this opportunity to take revenge on Satsuma. He went to battle under the command of Yamakawa Hiroshi, a Lieutenant-Colonel and a former Aizu retainer. He wrote to his younger brother on March 27 1877, the day of his unit's departure westward:

> If I do not shoot an arrow at the devils of Satsuma, what face would I have to see our loved ones in the next world? The day has finally come today for me to set out with the expedition army heading west. Let us reunite on the day of triumph...  

And the day of triumph was quick to come with the crushing defeat of the Rebellion army and Saigō's suicide in September 1877. But the greatest benefit Shūro derived from the war was undoubtedly his acquaintance with Tani Kanjō and Toyokawa Ryōhei. Tani Kanjō (1837-1911) had been commander of the forces at Kumamoto garrison that decisively repulsed Saigō's army during rebellion. He was to become the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce in the first Ito Hirobumi cabinet in 1885 and to figure prominently later in Shiba's life. It is important to note that Tani Kanjō, like many other acquaintances Shiba made in the war, was from the Tosa domain, an ally of Satsuma and Chōshū during the Boshin Civil War, and an participant in the expedition against Aizu. The association of Shiba with ex-Tosa-samurai testifies to the extent to which political relations had changed in Japan since the Aizu War nine year before. Toyokawa Ryōhei (1852-1920), also from Tosa, later became a successful

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46 Ibid., 116.
entrepreneur and played a leading role in the creation of Mitsubishi Bank and Mitsubishi School of Commerce. It was through Toyokawa’s introduction that, Shiba Shīro became acquainted with Iwasaki Yatarō (1834-1885), Toyokawa’s cousin and the founder of the Mitsubishi zaibatsu. This association proved to be of far-reaching importance because it was the Iwasaki family who provided financial support for Shiro to study in the United States.

There is no record as to why the Mitsubishi tycoon decided to support Shiba Shīro, a young man from Aizu of only recent acquaintance. According to a biography of Iwasaki Yatarō’s life, Yatarō was a generous supporter of promising young men. He was particularly interested in attracting talented young men to the business world at a time when a career in the government bureaucracy was the dream of most young men. Moreover, the Mitsubishi shipping business suffered from fierce foreign competition, especially from American and British shipping companies for many years in the beginning of the Meiji period. Even though Mitsubishi had emerged victorious from the competition by 1876, Yatarō warned his employees that for Japanese ships to navigate the world that Mitsubishi’s work had just begun. From these facts, it can be hypothesized that Yatarō, impressed by Shiba’s devotion to study and his English ability, and hoping the young man could help put Japanese business on firm ground in competing with foreign companies, decided to sponsor Shiba’s study in America on the condition that Shīro would study business. Though this is only a hypothesis, it helps to explain why Shiba Shīro chose atypically to study economics and in America, another

48 Mishima Yasuo, Mitsubishi zaibatsu shi (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1979), 58-68.
otherwise unexplained fact about Shiba Shiro’s life. At any rate, his dream to study in America came true in 1879, when he was 27.49

YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES

Shiba Shiro left for America in January 1879. It happened at the time that Yanagidani Kentarō was newly appointed as the Japanese consul in San Francisco and had just taken office. Shiba decided to stay in San Francisco with his old benefactor. In San Francisco, he studied at Pacific Business College for nearly two years until December 1880 when he received a diploma.50 Then he left the west coast and went to Boston to study political economics at Harvard. In September 1882, he enrolled in the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, where he studied two years until he earned a bachelor’s degree in finance in June 1884. Six months after his graduation, he was on his way back to Japan.

Considering the fame Shiba Shiro later enjoyed, first, as the author of a bestseller, and then, as a member of the Diet, the amount of research into his years in America is surprisingly scant. From the few studies available, however, we can glean some aspects of his life in this

49 Among the numerous young men who benefited from Iwasaki’s help was Baba Tatsui (1850-1888), the most famous theorist of the Freedom and People’s Rights movement. When Baba went to Philadelphia in 1885 after his release from prison, he was asked to be the mentor of Iwasaki Yataro’s eldest son, Hisaya, who was then studying at the Wharton Business School, University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Shiba Shiro might have introduced the Wharton School to Hisaya. Hisaya graduated from the Wharton school in 1891 and became the third president of Mitsubishi in 1893. (Iwasaki Yataro den, Vol. 2, 616-617.) When Baba Tatsui was critically ill while staying in Philadelphia, Iwasaki Hisaya looked after him. When Baba finally died in 1888, Hisaya had a memorial pillar built at Baba’s gravesite in West Philadelphia. Baba Tatsui also figures in Kajin no kigō. (Iwasaki Yataro den, vol. 2, 422-423.)

50 The diploma is kept at Aizu Wakamatsu Municipal Public Library. It is dated December 17, 1880.
period. One is the Japanese friends he associated with in America. In Volume One of *Kajin no kigū*, we are told of a visit by Tokai Sanshi to Bunker Hill near Boston in the spring of 1881. His feelings after the visit to the battlefield of the American Independence War are recorded in a *kanshi* poem in the novel:

A lonely traveller up on top of Bunker Hill,
I gaze at the monument
in honor of the heroes who once fought here.
Under the banner of righteousness
they fought the wolves and tigers for their country.
When victory was finally won,
the triumphant song echoed throughout the thirteen states...

The heroic struggle of the American people for national freedom and independence contrasts sharply with the situation in Japan, and this makes Tokai Sanshi worry about the future of Japan. The poem continues:

Freedom is not valued in the Eastern Seas,
and patriots worry in vain about their motherland...
Thinking of Japan from a foreign land,
the falling leaves only intensify my loneliness.

If this poem is not a fictional creation—and we have reason to believe it is not because Shiba Shīrō was already in Boston in the spring of 1881—it is ample indication that Shiba Shīrō, while studying pragmatic skills in America, was also concerned about Japan’s “freedom” in the world.

We are told that Sanshi then shows his poem to a certain Tekkenshi, “the only Japanese traveling in America with whom one can talk about poetry.”

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51 GNBZ, 88.
52 GNBZ, 88.
53 GNBZ, 88.
by Onuma Toshio, the character Tekkenshi in the novel is based on a real person named Sakakibara Koichi. Born in 1854 in a samurai family in the Kishiwada domain (south of present-day Osaka), Sakakibara was a kanshi poet, nanga painter and a master calligrapher. Some of the Chinese poems in Kaiin no kigū are said to be adaptations of his compositions.

Sakakibara was admitted to Keio gijuku the same year as Inukai Tsuyoshi, a friend of Shiba Shiro who was to become Japanese Prime Minister in 1931, and he and Inukai became good friends. It is probably through Inukai that Shiba came to know Sakakibara. After graduation from Keio in November 1880, and following the advice of Fukuzawa Yukichi, the founder of Keio gijuku, Sakakibara decided to study the railroad industry in America. When Sakakibara arrived in San Francisco, Shiba Shiro met him at his hotel. The two friends talked late into the rainy evening. Three days later, Sakakibara headed for his destination of Boston and was soon hired by Old Colony, a railroad company in Boston. Shiba Shiro stayed in San Francisco only long enough to graduate in December 1880, and then he joined Sakakibara in Boston. The association between the two of them in America is depicted in Kaiin no kigū by a kanshi poem composed by Tekkenshi in early 1881 as a reply to Sanshi’s Bunker Hill poem.

When we met last year in San Francisco
we talked about life and the world.
You revealed your aspirations
and I came to see the enormity of your mind.
After three days we were separated again,
I heading east across the snow-capped Rocky Mountains
You staying on west coast musing over the moon-lit Pacific Ocean.
The moon and the snow have no feelings
but we find sustenance in them for our mutual longing...
Then you came east...

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and we are united at the crossroad of the metropolitan. 55

Apparently the two friends were greatly impressed by the level of American prosperity as demonstrated by the city life in Boston.

Everyone is properly provided for,
every business is prosperous.
Six days are set for work and one day for rest.
They have grilled meat for food,
they have carriages for transportation.
Their shelter is built of stone,
their clothing is made of wool.
Electric wires are woven into every store,
cooking smoke curls upwards from every kitchen.
Fishes and dragons are dumbfounded when ships navigate the sea,
the axle of the earth is shaken when a train passes through a tunnel. 56

They were particularly impressed by the political consciousness of the American people. To the eyes of the two young Japanese, in America "a grandmother in the fields can understand freedom, a grandfather in the alley can dwell on state affairs." 57 Then the poem turns to reveal their shared lamentation for the situation in Japan.

When we think of the situation in Japan,
we cannot but feel anxious.
While a ferocious Russia is covetous of our northern gate,
while a shrewd Britain is disturbing our fence,
the ones in power understand only giving into their demands,
as a result Japan is declining. 58

55 GNBZ., 88.
56 GNBZ., 88.
57 GNBZ., 88.
58 GNBZ., 88.
It seems that during their association in Boston, Shiba Shirō told Sakakibara how he planned to serve Japan through the knowledge of economics he acquired in America. For Tekkenshi’s poem continues:

Out of a population of thirty million,
no one can come up with a remedy.
I admire you, the only one who proposes economics as the means
to save Japan from drowning and make it prosper.\(^{59}\)

Shiba Shirō’s “aspirations” which are mentioned in abstract terms in their conversation in San Francisco are made specific here.

In Boston, Sakakibara introduced Shiba Shirō to Ogawa Isshin, who was to become a famous photographer during the Meiji and Taisho periods. At the time Ogawa was studying photography at a studio in Boston. He was born into the Harada family but was adopted by the Ogawa family. He had an older brother in the Harada household named Shozaemon and Shozaemon was the owner of the Hakubundo publishing company. Apparently thanks to the acquaintance he made with Ogawa while in America, Ogawa acted on his behalf and two of Shiba Shirō’s important works, including *Kai no kigō*, came to be published by Hakubundo. Shiba also associated with other Japanese studying in Boston. These include a Nobechi Kuki, who was to become the first president of the Japanese Railroad School, and a Suzuki Morizo, who was to become a well-known entrepreneur in the Kansai textile industry. Ōnuma’s article carries a photograph of the five young Japanese when they were in Boston studying pragmatic subjects in hopes of serving Japan in the future.\(^{60}\)

\(^{59}\) GNBJZ., 88-89.
\(^{60}\) Ōnuma Toshio, op. cit., 105.
In Boston, Shiba studied political economics at Harvard, but he left Harvard without a degree. The circumstances surrounding his departure from Boston are unknown, and the next thing we know is that starting from September 1882, Shiba Shiro’s name appears as a registered student in the Wharton Business School of the University of Pennsylvania, the first business school in America. The Wharton School was built as a college department with a donation from Joseph Wharton (1826-1909), a leading entrepreneur in Pennsylvania in the steel and mining industry. His company, like many businesses in America at the time, was confronted by fierce European competition. As a result, Wharton became an ardent protectionist, and he was an active member in the salon of Henry Charles Carey (1793-1879), “Philadelphia’s mentor in protectionist economics.”\footnote{Steven Sass, The Pragmatic Imagination: A History of the Wharton School, 1881-1981 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 15.} Wharton did not have an heir to inherit his business, and so he came up with the concept of donating money to build a business school to systematically train promising young men to be the future business leaders of American business. In 1881, he donated 100 thousand dollars to the University of Pennsylvania to build a school named after him. Shiba Shiro was among the first four full-time students enrolled in the new program.

The first dean of the Wharton School was Robert Thompson (1844-1924), an Irish immigrant and an ardent anti-English protectionist. Thompson was born in Belfast into a farming family. After the Great Potato Famine in Ireland in 1840s, Thompson immigrated to America with his family and settled in Philadelphia. He graduated from University of Pennsylvania where he was influenced by the protectionist ideas of Henry Charles Carey, the
leader of protectionism in Philadelphia and a second generation Irish American. Later
Thompson's own protectionist theories were recognized by local business men and, when the
Wharton School was established, Thompson was appointed dean of the new business school.

Thompson was not only dean, but he also taught classes. In his lectures, he attacked
classic English economic theory established by Adam Smith and David Ricardo, and he
advocated the merits of the Philadelphia school of economic theory developed by Henry Carey
and his students. For example, Thompson insisted that free trade would polarize the world into
rich and poor nations, instead of being an equal transaction conducted between nations, as
classic English economic theory advocated. History indicates, he argues, that as a result of free
trade, wealth and technology were concentrated in the hands of a few industrialized nations
while the poorer countries became providers of raw materials and cheap labor, and had to
depend on rich nations for industrial products. 62

One of the principal characters in Kajin no kigu is a beauty from Ireland who speaks at
length about the misery of the Irish people under British oppression and the Irish independence
movement. It is most likely that Shiba Shiro's sympathy for Ireland and his concept of an Irish
character in the novel originated with his Irish teachers at the Wharton School. It is believed
that Shiba Shiro's description of Ireland in 1885 in Kajin no kigu was the earliest introduction
of the country to Japanese readers, and his detailed account of Irish issues represented the
latest information available in Meiji Japan on the country. 63

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62 Ibid., 40-44.
63 Umo Itayu, "Tokai Sanshi (Shiba Shiro) no zosho," Seiyo daigaku keizai kenkyu 55/56 (December
When studying Shiba Shiro’s life in America, one is puzzled by three interrelated questions: why he decided to leave Harvard without a degree, how he came to know about the Wharton School, and what it was about the Wharton School that attracted him. While there are no definite answers to these questions, evidence suggests he was attracted to Philadelphia by the protectionist economic theory developed by Henry Charles Carey and his disciples. The evidence comes chiefly from Shiba Shiro’s private library. In April 1903, shortly after the Aizu Wakamatsu Municipal Public Library was established, Shiba donated about 790 volumes. Among the 400 English titles donated is John F. Scanlan’s Why Ireland Is Poor: A Tariff and Free-Trade Lesson for the American People published in 1880. As can be seen from even the title, the book deals with the consequences Ireland suffered as a result of free trade with England, and it is intended as a warning to America of the same danger. The book was dedicated to Matthew Carey, Henry Charles Carey and Henry Carey Baird. Henry Charles Carey was, of course, the pioneer of the Philadelphia school of American protectionism. Matthew Carey was his father and Henry Carey Baird his nephew, both ardent anti-English protectionists. Dedicating his book to the Careys, Scanlan suggests the Philadelphia school color of the book, and Scanlan himself was probably one of Henry Charles Carey’s disciples.

What is most interesting is the autograph on the title page of the book, which reads: “Mr. Shiro Shiba with the regards of his friend & teacher Heuyle Baird, philad. Feb. 28/81.” Apparently, Shiba Shirō obtained the book as a gift when he was still in Harvard, probably before his visit to Bunker Hill. Judged by the last name, the author of the autograph, Heuyle Baird, was probably related to Henry Carey Baird, and he was teaching at Harvard. It is highly
likely that Shiba Shiro came to know of Henry Charles Carey and the protectionism of the Philadelphia school through Heuyle Baird and from books like Scanlan's. It must be pointed out that the economic theories of Henry Charles Carey and his students were still of marginal importance in the United States at the time. As is pointed out by scholars of US economic history, the development of economic thought through the middle of the nineteenth century in the United States was nominated by classical English political economy. The tenets of this school and the writings of Smith, Malthus, Mill and Ricardo were enthusiastically adopted by American political economists. In midst of this dominant trend, however, there was a strain of political economy that opposed the adoption of English classical theory and proposed a nationally-oriented protectionist theory. The foremost proponents of this theory were the Philadelphia businessman and economist Henry Charles Carey and his students. Bent on studying economics in order to serve Japan, Shiba Shiro did not fail to see the obvious parallels between Ireland and Japan. He must have felt the need to learn more about the Philadelphia protectionist theory. One can conjecture that it prompted him to leave Harvard without a degree and to enroll into the Wharton School as soon as it was established.


When I was reading the evening issue of a Philadelphia newspaper on June 18, I noticed an article which reports a letter by a reader from London to the editor of an

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English newspaper dated the end of May. The main point of the letter is that the best customers of the products of Great Britain, such as India, China, Turkey and elsewhere are also the most impoverished countries on earth.

That is absolutely a well-founded point which lays bare the truth in a penetrating observation. However, we still need to explore the reason why the best customers holding trading relationships with England should also be the poorest countries in the world. Then our pursuit will lead us to the following discoveries.\(^{65}\)

Then, citing examples from Turkey, India, Ireland and China, the article goes on to demonstrate how free trade has led to the decline of various countries in the world. The following is the example of Ireland he cites:

Ireland is heading for a situation as helpless as India. Because English products flood into the country and have ruined the national industry, fields are left unattended and factories abandoned. In addition, once every few years the country is attacked by a famine. When a famine attacks, able-bodied adults wander from home, the young and the old are left to die by the roadside. The country joins the ranks of the poorest in the world.\(^{66}\)

Finally, the article points out the relevance of the above observations for Japan.

Currently, England is trying to perform the same trick on Japan and reduce it to the miserable condition of the aforementioned nations. What is particularly repugnant are the unequal treaties which the British have tricked Japan into signing. Because of these treaties, Japan, an independent empire, cannot exercise its rights to impose appropriate tariffs on foreign products. Because of these treaties, English products of inferior quality flood our markets, our national production industry declines, and lamentations over financial difficulties and shortage of money are heard everywhere. Because of these treaties, the Japanese government has fallen deep into financial difficulty, for internally there is little the government can tax, and externally it cannot increase tariffs on foreign imports.\(^{67}\)

As we shall see, Shiba Shiro’s experience in the United States is said to have enabled him to see firsthand the ominous power of Western imperialism, and the experience prompted

\(^{65}\) *Tokai keizai shimpo*, August 5, 1881.

\(^{66}\) Ibid.

\(^{67}\) Ibid. See the next section for an explanation of the unequal treaties.
him to warn his fellow Japanese of the dangers for Japan. What the above article reveals is how Shiba perceived the danger in economic terms, as well as how he was influenced by the protectionist thinking of Thompson and Carey. This perception is reflected in Kajin no kigu in his accounts of various weak nations falling prey to the expansion of Western imperialism.

Shiba graduated from the Wharton School on June 13 1884 with a Bachelor’s Degree in Finance, one of the first five graduates in the history of the school. He was on the journey to return to Japan in December 1884 and arrived at Yokohama port on New Year’s Eve 1885. He was 33.

RETURN TO JAPAN
PUBLICATION OF FASCICLES I, II AND III

Almost immediately after his return to Japan, Shiba Shirō began to write a novel which he called Kajin no kigu. Although it took thirteen years for the eight-fascicle, sixteen-volume novel to be completed, the first six volumes were written and published in a rapid succession. Fascicle one appeared in October 1885. Then in January and August 1886, the second and third fascicles appeared. As is mentioned in the Preface, the novel received an extremely warm reception, even though Shiba Shirō had been a total stranger to the world of literature.

But why did someone who had studied business for six years in the United States write a novel upon returning to Japan? According to the author, the novel was not started from scratch in 1885. Rather, it was an adaptation of the notes that he had jotted down while in

69 The degree is kept at Aizu wakamatsu Municipal Public Library. It is dated June 13, 1884.
There is evidence that supports the author’s statement. For example, Yanagida Izumi notes that Shiba Shiro had planned the novel much earlier. While Shiro was still in America, he had written to his younger brother, Goro, that he intended to write a novel by the title of Kaiin no kigu and had already worked out a draft in his mind.

Other Japanese scholars attribute the timing of the publication of the novel to the widespread Westernization in Japan at the time. Standing as the symbol of Japan's Westernization of the period was the Rokumeikan, completed in November 1883 at an exorbitant cost of 180,000 yen. The name “Rokumeikan,” literally translated as “the Deer Call Pavilion,” derives from a Chinese classic poem in which the happy calls among deer while sharing the pasture are used as a metaphor for entertaining distinguished guests, and it alludes to the inviting calls made by Japanese leaders to the foreign community. Located near what is now the Palace Hotel in Tokyo and was once the site of the former daimyo residence of the Satsuma domain, the Rokumeikan was a gaudy, two-story Victorian hall designed for the purpose of entertaining and accommodating foreign residents with cards, billiards, Western music, dances and lavish balls held beautifully decorated guest rooms.

From the point of view of the Meiji government, the construction of the Rokumeikan was part of its diplomatic agenda to revise the so-called unequal treaties with the Western powers, which have been concluded between Japan and the West toward the end of the Edo period. Ignorant of the practices of international relations and under strong outside pressure,
the Tokugawa government had agreed to a system of extraterritoriality, or the right of the Western signatory to try its nationals by its own laws for offenses committed on Japanese soil. Moreover, as a result of commercial treaties negotiated in 1858 and 1866, Japanese tariffs were placed under the control of Western nations. The new Meiji government’s first official response to the treaties was to accept them. While it may seem that the government had little alternative, the act was a positive one, taken up in the interest of asserting control over foreign affairs and winning international support. Having established “legitimate rule” at home, imperial officials at first hoped that the treaty revision would be easily obtained once domestic stability was achieved. However, the dimensions of the burden gradually began to be realized and the notion of a link between domestic reform along Western lines and revision of the treaties developed in the minds of Meiji government leaders. It was in this context that Prime Minister Ito sponsored a spectacular costume ball for foreign residents in which he appeared as an Italian nobleman and Foreign Minister Inoue appeared as a figure from Japanese legend.

Shiba Shiro was both angry and worried at what he saw happening in Japan. He was angry because the leading advocates of Westernization had been leaders of the radicals who had chanted the slogan of “expelling the barbarians” in the last days of the Edo period. To Shiba, the antiforeign radicals had intoned the slogan only as a means to take power. Once in power, however, they reversed their position on Western nations and turned to seeking favor from them. He feared that by doing so the Meiji oligarchs were jeopardizing Japan’s future, given the widespread operation of the law of the jungle in the world that he had observed firsthand in America. He wrote his book to warn his fellow Japanese of the danger. It has been
earlier that the pen name “Tokai Sanshi” is highly suggestive of the impact that the Aizu War had on Shiba Shiro personally, and it implies the meaning of “a person who has lost his home.” Yet, it also has another layer of meaning, namely “a person who is anxious that he might lose his home again,” this time Japan. Therefore underlying the author’s motivation in publicizing Kajin no kigū, one sees the author’s desire to demonstrate Aizu loyalty to Japan, a desire that can be traced back to his experience as a defeated samurai of Aizu.

One remarkable fact about Shiba’s life is that after his return to Japan from America, he almost never used the pragmatic financial knowledge he had painstakingly learned abroad. This is particularly remarkable when we compare him with the Japanese that he associated with in Boston. While all of the other four, Sakakibara Koichi, Ogawa Isshin, Nobechi Kuki and Suzuki Morizō, became pioneering leaders in their field of Western technology upon their return home, Shiba Shiro wrote almost nothing on economic issues after his return to Japan. It has been proposed that the sudden success of Kajin no kigū turned Shiba away from economics. But his activities following his return point to another possibility. It has been hypothesized earlier that Iwasaki Yatarō sponsored Shiba Shiro’s study in the United States on the condition that he study business. One might well expect at least a meeting between Shiba and his benefactor when Shiba returned, but the Mitsubishi tycoon, who had been energetically commanding his business empire all his life, fell critically ill from in 1885 and finally died on February 7 of that year. Tani Kanjō, who had become president of the prestigious Gakushūin

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73 Ibid.
or "Peers" University by then, as well as Toyokawa Ryohei, numbered among the thirty thousand mourners who attended the funeral on February 13, to which Meiji emperor had sent a company of imperial honor guards. Iwasaki Yatarō's death probably gave Shiba Shiro the freedom to pursue a career of his own choice.

It seems that Shiba Shiro did not attend his benefactor's funeral. Not only we do not see his name in the list of important mourners in Yatarō's biography (Perhaps Shiba's name was not important enough to be listed at the time), but more importantly, February 1885 was a time when Shiba himself fell ill. If his own preface to Kajin no kigō, dated March 1885, is to be believed, the opening volumes of the novel were put together during "the sixty days" when he was recuperating from "an illness" in Atami. When he recovered, he went to Tokyo and visited numerous politicians including Tani Kanjō, Goto Shōjiro, Sugiura Jūgo, Miura Gorō and Inukai Tsuyoshi, all of whom wrote prefaces or postscripts to different volumes of Kajin no kigō. It seems that with the freedom to pursue a career of his own choice, Shiba Shiro started to actively seek a career in politics.

OFFICIAL TOUR ABROAD
PUBLICATION OF FASCICLE IV AND TÔYÔ NO KAJIN

Opportunity soon came his way. In December 1885, when Japan's first cabinet was formed, Itō Hirobumi became the first prime minister, and Tani Kanjō was appointed Minister...
of Agriculture and Commerce. At the request of Tani Kanjō, Shiba Shirō was appointed his secretary. The first duty assigned to Shiba was to accompany Tani Kanjō on an official tour of the world, which lasted fifteen months from March 1886 to June 1887.

The minister and the entourage left Yokohama on March 13, 1886. On March 20, they arrived in Hong Kong, where Shiba Shirō met his younger brother, Gorō, who had been sent to study in Hong Kong. On April 3, the party arrived in Ceylon. Here Shiba Shirō and Tani Kanjō met Arabi Pasha, the Egyptian general who led the Egyptian war of independence against England in 1882 and who was sent into exile in Ceylon after being defeated. We know that Shiba Shirō was familiar with Egyptian history, for among the books he donated to the Aizu Wakamatsu Municipal Public Library are found Baron de Malorite’s *Egypt, Native Rulers and Foreign Interference* (1883) and Seymour Keay’s *Spoiling of the Egyptians* (1882). These were books written by Westerners criticizing English exploitation of Egypt and interference with Egyptian affairs. The meeting with Arabi Pasha must have greatly intensified his sympathy for Arabi Pasha’s lost cause, because when he continued to write Volume Six of *Kajin no kigu* during the tour, he started to incorporate a tale of Egypt in which he quoted Keay’s book at lengthy. In fact, he was so interested in telling the miseries inflicted upon Egypt by the British that later he was to publish a whole book on modern Egyptian history in 1889. The meeting with Arabi Pasha made a trip to Egypt desirable because both Shiba and his superior wished to see with their own eyes what happened to a poor nation where Westerners took control. The party stayed in Egypt until April 20, 1886.
Their next stop was Paris, where they stayed until June 10. From July 26, Tani Kanjō arranged for a three-month series of personal lectures by Lorenz von Stein (1815-1890), a famous German professor of law and economics. The private lectures were taken at the recommendation of Ito Hirobumi, who had attended von Stein's lectures when he was studying in Germany. The content of the lectures is not clear, but we glimpses of it are to be found in the dairy that Tani Kanjo diary kept during the world tour. From the diary, we know, for example, that the Japanese who had visited von Stein before, including Ito Hirobumi, had shown interest only in Constitutional law. Tani Kanjō was the first Japanese who showed interest in the specific mechanisms of government and other pragmatic subjects. Von Stein predicted that unless pragmatic goals Tani set up for Japan were instituted, Japan's future was precarious. 

On November 1, Tani and Shiba were on the road again. First they went to Berlin. On December 15, they arrived in Odessa. From there, they went to Constantinople, where they met the Turkish emperor. After leaving Turkey on January 6 1887, they toured Athens, Bombay and Rome. On March 30, while visiting Turin, Shiba Shirō visited Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot. Shiba's meeting with Kossuth not only resulted in the latter's figuring in Kajin no kigū, but also in a lengthy introduction of Hungarian history in the novel. Then, by way of Paris, they arrived in London. After visiting Birmingham and Manchester, they crossed the Atlantic to the United States. Their visit of the United States was a whirlwind tour of many cities in three weeks. On May 10, they were in New York; on May 15, in Washington; on May 19, in Philadelphia; on May 26, in Chicago and on May 31, in San Francisco. They departed

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from San Francisco on June 4 and arrived at Yokohama on June 23, fifteen months after they had started the tour.

Tani Kanjo had been sent on this unusually long world tour by Ito Hirobumi. One purpose was to have him investigate affairs in different countries. But more importantly, Ito tried to soften the attitude of the hardline samurai by exposing him to western material civilization and thereby turn him into a supporter of the Westernization objectives of the government. But Ito's plan backfired. The cultural differences among European nations and the spirit with which each maintained its own nationality is what appears to have impressed Tani the most. On the other hand, observation of peoples in the colonies of European nations led him to conclude that weak-willed association with Westerners led to subjugation.

Tani's tour abroad coincide with the renewed efforts of the government to seek the revision of the unequal treaties. In 1886, Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru started a series of negotiations in which he proposed, among other things, that, Japan would accept a mixed court, whereby a certain number of foreign judges would sit on the Japanese bench in return for the abolition of the system of extraterritoriality. Furthermore, all of Japan's new legal codes would be determined in accordance with Western principles. Tani and Shiba returned to Japan in the summer of 1887 just as Inoue was pressing his plans for treaty revision. Merely ten days after his return, Tani Kanjo submitted a proposal to the cabinet arguing against what he considered submission to the humiliating demands of the treaty powers and calling for an immediate cessation of the on-going negotiations with Western signatories. Tani's action infuriated Ito Hirobumi who rejected Tani's proposal called him "a madman.” On July 20,
Tani Kanjō submitted the same proposal to Emperor Meiji and then resigned his post as cabinet minister on July 26.

As a resolute supporter of Tani Kanjō, Shiba Shirō also resigned. The dramatic resignation of the minister and his bestselling author-secretary triggered a wide-spread campaign in Japan against the ongoing treaty revision negotiation. In face of massive protest, the Ito cabinet had no choice but to postpone the negotiations and Foreign Minister Inoue was obliged to resign from his position. As a result, Tani Kanjō was hailed as a national hero. Shiba Shirō, too, came to be identified with the protagonist of Kajin no kīgu, and newspapers published his biography in response to demands from readers to know more about “the Wanderer from the Eastern Seas.” The myth of his “autodidactic education” was promoted by Shiba Shirō in this biographical accounts and dated from this time.

Shortly after his resignation in July 1887, Shiba Shirō secluded himself in Kiyomi Temple in Shizuoka Prefecture and concentrated on reading and writing. The result of this period of seclusion is Volumes Seven and Eight of Kajin no kīgu published in December 1887 and March 1888 respectively, as well as Toyo no kajin (The Tale of the Japanese Beauty), his second novel, published in January 1888. Volume Seven of Kajin no kīgu is largely devoted to the war of independence in Egypt, and Volume Eight to Hungarian history, resulting from author’s meetings with Arabi Pasha and Louis Kossuth during his tour abroad. As we shall see

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76 SSK., 404.
77 See E’iri shimbun, September 25, 1887, for a biography of Shiba Shirō up to the fall of Aizu to the government troops.
78 Though the biography is marked “to be continued” in the September 25 1887 issue of E’iri shimbun, the sequel never appeared. The reason for its discontinuation is unknown.
in the next chapter, the account of Hungarian history is used as a camouflage to deliver the author's veiled criticism of the Japanese government. Meanwhile Tōyō no kaiin can be said to be an expanded version of Tōyō bijin no tan, the narrative that Shiba published in the newspaper Tokyo mainichi shimbun in 1876. Like the earlier narrative, Tōyō no kaiin expresses the author’s criticism of the government in a highly allegorical way. But this is a topic we shall return to in Chapter Five.

DAIDO DANKETSU MOVEMENT, TREATY REVISIONS, PUBLICATION OF FASCICLE V AND EJIPUTO KINSEI SHI

The resignations of Tani Kanjō and Shiba Shiro not only caused the interruption of the negotiation of the treaty revision, but they also rekindled political activities in Japan, which had abated after the decline of the popular rights movement in late 1884 when the two most important political parties, the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party) and the Kanshinto (Reform Party), dissolved themselves due to government repression and internal discord. The political enthusiasms rekindled by resignations of the two hardliners reinforced an ongoing political movement that sought to reorganize the former political parties, particularly the Jiyūtō, into a grand merger of forces (daido danketsu undō) for the larger common purpose of challenging the government and preparing for the new parliamentary system promised by 1890.

Standing in the front of the movement was Gotō Shōjirō (1838-1897), one of the leaders of the former Jiyūtō. On October 3 1887, Gotō Shōjirō invited seventy former political party members to a meeting in Tokyo. As a result of this meeting, an association called the
“1887 Club” (Teigai kurabu) was formed, and concrete plans were made for the formation of a new political party. Shiba Shirō also attended the October 3 meeting, but according to Yanagida Izumi, he was by no means a mere follower of Gō Shōjirō. To the contrary, he probably had a political agenda of his own in attending the meeting—namely, to create a grand anti-Satsuma/Chōshū political party whose leaders would include Gōtō, Tani and Itagaki Taisuke.79 Indeed, after the meeting, Shiba planned to travel to Kansai, Shikoku, Chūgoku and Kyūshū to recruit supporters for the creation of such a grand party. He left Tokyo on November 2 1887. On November 23, Shiba arrived in Kochi and visited Tani Kanjō to whom he disclosed his grand vision. But Tani, due to his lukewarm relations with Gō Shōjirō and Itagaki Taisuke, was not enthusiastic about Shiba’s vision of the three men leading a new political party. Realizing that the goal of a new party could not be reached as soon as he had expected, Shiba Shirō again retreated into seclusion in Atami to resume his reading and writing.

He remained in seclusion until March 1888 when he went to Tokyo. In April 1888, he became a contributing editor of the newly started Tokyo dempō newspaper. Then he was invited to serve as adviser on the reform of the Osaka Commerce Association, apparently because of his training in America. Thinking of himself as a politician, he leaned toward declining the invitation, but he finally consented due to the repeated requests of the Association. When the old, failing Osaka nippo newspaper was reborn as Osaka mainichi shimbun in November 1888, he became the chief editor. In February 1889, when the Constitution of the Empire of Japan was promulgated, he attended the ceremonies in Tokyo.

79 MSSK., 404.
On the same day the Constitution was promulgated, the newspaper Nihon was launched by Kuga Katsunan, a member of the Seikyōsha. Operating with Tani Kanjō’s financial support, the newspaper advocated a hardline foreign policy. Shiba Shiro became a friend (shayu) of the newspaper and remained in close touch with it. He stayed in Tokyo through mid-March.

Before Shiba’s leaving Tokyo, however, something unexpected happened that dealt a heavy blow to his plans to create a grand new political party: In March 1889 Gōto Shōjirō, the person Shiba had expected to lead the new anti-Satsuma/Chōshū party, betrayed the daidō danketsu movement by accepting the post of Minister of Communications in the cabinet of Prime Minister Koroda Kiyotaka. Gōto’s opportunistic move deepened the rift already present in the daidō danketsu movement and resulted in its split apart.

Moreover the issue of treaty revision once again became the focus of national attention. After Inoue’s resignation, the government had turned to Okuma Shigenobu as foreign minister in February 1888. Unlike Inoue who had dealt with the treaty powers collectively, Okuma adopted a policy of dealing with them separately. He had removed some of the more objectionable features of the Inoue plan, but overeager for quick results, he created a plan which still permitted not only a majority foreign judges serving in trials where foreigners were the accused but also foreign judges sitting in the Japanese supreme court.80 When the newspaper Nihon obtained a draft of Okuma’s proposed plan and publicized it, a nation-wide protest started. Standing in the forefront of the opposition movement were Shiba Shiro, Tani Kanjō and Miura Gorō. Shiba was particularly active in the opposition movement.

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went to Tokyo in September 1889, for example, he tried to persuade Tani to launch another newspaper to promote opposition to the government treaty revision plans.

The goals of the opposition movement were realized quite unexpectedly due to an assassination attempt on the life of Foreign Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu on October 17, 1889. He was attacked by a fanatic ultranationalist who threw a bomb at his carriage in front of the Foreign Ministry. Ōkuma survived but he lost a leg when the bomb exploded. As a result of the failed assassination, the treaty revision negotiations ceased, the Kuroda cabinet was forced to resign en masse and Ōkuma “lost both his leg and his position,” or “shikkkyakushita,” as the Japanese pun goes.

In November 1889, Shiba Shiro published Ejiputo kinsei shi (A Modern History of Egypt), under his pen name of Tokai Sanshi. Based on approximately 17 sources in English including Keay’s Spoiling the Egyptians, the 556-page long book covers Egyptian history from 1805 when Mohammed Ali was formally appointed as Viceroy of Egypt by the Ottoman Sultan until September 1882 when Arabi Pasha was defeated in the Independence War and was exiled to the Island of Ceylon. Shiba Shiro’s intent in publishing the book about a remote country lies, however, closer to matters at home—namely to warn the Japanese of the danger of Western imperialism and to attack the blind imitation of the West by the Japanese government. This is spelt out by Tani Kanjo in his Introduction to the book.

I once visited Arabi Pasha, the defeated Egyptian general in Ceylon, and asked him the reason for his defeat...[What he told me] made me shed tears. Prompted by Arabi Pasha’s story, I changed my travel plans and toured Cairo. There when I saw with my own eyes what I could not bear to see, I felt deeply disturbed for a long time. Oh, unaware of the limitations in national resources and blind to the feelings of the people,

81 失脚した.
the incompetent politicians indulged themselves in their tastes and were preoccupied in imitating the life-styles of the Europeans, [which are responsible for the misery of Egypt today]. Tokai Sanshi is a good friend of mine and we went together on a tour of the world... He has published Kajin no kigu to warn of the dangers we face; today, he has written A Modern History of Egypt. But instead of narrating the grandeur of Great Britain or France, he has chosen to tell the defeat and the misery of Egypt. His intention should be as clear as crystal from this fact.\(^2\)

In December 1889, Shiba Shiro visited Aizu Wakamatsu to campaign for a seat in the upcoming Diet election. But he found a changed situation in his hometown due to the announcement that Yamakawa Hiroshi would run for the election. Yamakawa Hiroshi had been a senior retainer of the Aizu domain and led the defeated Aizu samurai through the difficult years after the Aizu War. Moreover, Shiba Shiro fought under Yamakawa’s command in the Satsuma Rebellion, and it was through Yamakawa’s introduction during the Satsuma Rebellion that he came to know Tani Kanjo and Toyokawa Ryohei. Having no desire to campaign against a man whom he as his senior and superior, Shiba decided to withdraw his candidacy. After the withdrawal, once again, he secluded himself in Atami and concentrated on reading and writing.

At the end of a two-year seclusion in Atami, he had published Volumes Nine and Ten of Kajin no kigu in November and December 1891, respectively. Volume Nine tells of what happens shortly before and after Tokai Sanshi’s return to Japan, and Volume Ten is devoted entirely to the Korean issue. As we shall see in Chapter Five, this period and these volumes mark a clear shift in Shiba Shiro’s political stance. It is a shift from sympathy for the weak.

nations of the world, an indignation at the Western powers and a deep concern over the fate of Japan to a new stance of open advocacy of Japan expansionism.

YEARS AS A DIET MEMBER
PUBLICATION OF FASCICLES VI TO VIII

December 1891 saw the dissolution of the second Diet. With the dissolution of the second Diet came the news that Yamakawa Hiroshi would not run for reelection. Shiba Shiro decided the time had come for him to run for office. He returned to Aizu Wakamatsu in January 1892 and officially registered as a candidate. In February, he was elected a member of the House of Representatives, and from February 1892 to March 1915, Shiba was reelected seven times. Since it would be a tedious story to chronicle each of his campaigns, it is important for our purposes to point out only two aspects about his years as a Diet member.

The first is his advocacy of a hardline foreign policy, or the so-called "tai gaiko" stance. In an account of Shiba Shiro's years in the Diet given by Yanagida Izumi, the term "tai gaiko" is used repeatedly to characterize Shiba's position. For example, among the three principles of the Domei seisha (the Alliance Political Society), an political organization created by Shiba and others in January 1894, are the principles of a responsible cabinet (sekinin naikaku) and "tai gaiko." Similarly, after listing the five principles of the Rikken kakushinto (Constitutional Reform Party), a political party which Shiba helped to create in March 1894,
Yanagida points out “the most important of the five principles are the two principles of a responsible cabinet and taigaiko.”

The specific content of “taigaiko” is above all the demand for completely equal treaties with the Western powers. Anything short of that goal was unacceptable. In this sense, “taigaiko” has strong patriotic overtones. However, it also advocates overseas colonialism. For example, in March 1893, Shiba Shiro joined the Shokumin kyokai (The Association of Colonialists). Among the goals of the Association are the promotion of “colonial navigation in order to control the seas” and development of “foreign trade in order to compete for profits from overseas.”

The second aspect of his Diet career is the matter of his involvement with the Korean issue. China and Japan had been competing over Korea since 1870s. China tried to maintain its historical suzerainty over Korea, but Japan insisted on Korean independence so that it could bring Korea under its own control. The competition between China and Japan eventually led to the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) in which Japan defeated China. After the war, as the conservative Korean court adopted a pro-Russian and anti-Japanese policy, the Japanese Minister at the legation in Seoul masterminded the assassination of Queen Min, the head of the conservative forces, on October 8 1895. Claiming himself a supporter of Korean independence, Shiba Shiro travelled four times to Korea before, during and after the war while serving as a Diet member. He was, as a matter of fact, in Seoul when the assassination took place. When the Japanese involved in the assassination of Queen Min were recalled to Japan and imprisoned

85 SSK., 428.
86 SSK., 428.
in Hiroshima, Shiba was among them. But like all the those recalled from Korea, he was found not guilty. He was released in January 1896. As we shall see in Chapter Five, however, Shiba Shiro was not only involved in the assassination but he played a leading role in its planning, execution and cover-up—all as part of his "taigaiko" foreign policy.

The last three fascicles of Kajin no kigū appeared in July, September and October 1897, six years after Volumes Nine and Ten were published. It is believed that the last six volumes were not included in the original plan for the work and they were written to warn the Japanese, no longer of the danger of Japan’s falling victim to Western imperialism as in the case of the opening volumes, but of Japan’s confrontation with Russia over Korea that “will take place sooner or later.”

Indeed, Shiba Shiro’s last novel, entitled Nichiro sensō: Hanekawa Rokurō (Russo-Japanese War: The Tale of Hanekawa Rokuro) and published in 1903, was devoted entirely to a depiction of that confrontation—a confrontation that became a reality only one year after the novel was published. The Tale, Hanekawa Rokurō tells of Hanekawa Rokurō, a young Japanese from a samurai family of Aizu whose grandfather and father both died in their efforts to check Russian ambitious expansion eastward. After many failures, Hanekawa succeeds in inventing military airplanes which leads to Japan’s victory over Russia and, as a result, Japan gains hegemony in East Asia and Korea becomes its protectorate. Thereafter, for the sake of

87 SSK., 425.
eternal peace in East Asia and after consultation with Britain and the United States, Japan calls a peace conference of all the nations and makes an epoch-making contribution to world peace.

As is mentioned at the beginning of this biographical sketch, little information is available about Shiba Shirō's private life. We know only that the "wanderer" did not marry until October 20, 1908 when he was fifty-six years old. His wife, Nakamura Kiku, was from Fukakawa Ward in Tokyo and is said to have been a geisha. She was forty-three at the time and had an adopted son. Seven years before, Shiba had also adopted a six-year-old son and named him Shiba Moriaki. Shiba died on September 25, 1922 in Atami, Shizuoka Prefecture, at the age of seventy.
CHAPTER 3

A SYNOPSIS OF KAJIN NO KIGU

In order to give context to our discussion of the political ideals of the novel in later chapters, this chapter introduces a summary of the story of Kajin no kigū. As is noted earlier, the novel consists of eight fascicles, each of which is divided into two volumes. These volumes, however, do not provide well-defined structural boundaries in the development of the plot, which, while never well-designed, grows particularly tenuous later in the novel. For example, Volume Four begins with the death of the Irish nationalist Fannie Parnell and ends halfway through Kōren's account of the rescue of Yūran's father in Madrid, an episode which runs well into Volume Five. Similarly, Volume Nine starts in the middle of Mary Kossuth's account of Hungarian history, an account that ends halfway through the volume, which then shifts to Sanshi's preparations for his return to Japan. In Volumes Ten and Sixteen respectively, except for brief indirect references, the three main characters, the two European women and Hankei, have been totally forgotten and the focus shifts completely to the Korean issue. If one is to make sense of the patchwork of Kajin no kigū in summarizing it, it is necessary to impose a somewhat more manageable organization on the major events of the novel, without necessarily following the strict numerical chronology of the fascicles and volumes of the original. For this reason, the following synopsis is divided into nine sections. Moreover, a subtitle, absent from the original sixteen volumes, is provided in each section to highlight the main idea. The number
in parenthesis at the end of each subtitle indicates the volume or volumes on which the summary in the section is based. The text used for this chapter is from *Meiji seiji shosetsu shu*, volume three of *Nihon gendai bungaku zenshu* published by Kodansha in 1965, because it provides the full sixteen volumes, albeit without some prefaces and postscripts.

**STRANGE ENCOUNTERS OF FOUR PATRIOTS IN PHILADELPHIA (1-2)**

The story begins with the visit of the protagonist, a young Japanese student named Tokai Sanshi, to Independence Hall in Philadelphia in the spring of 1882 and his chance meeting with two beautiful young women. It is, of course, from this and subsequent encounters that the work derives.

Tokai Sanshi one day climbed Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Above him he could see the cracked Liberty Bell; below him he could read the Declaration of Independence. He reminisced about the noble character of the American people at the time when, raising the banner of righteousness, they had rid themselves of the tyrannical rule of the English king and eventually succeeded in becoming independent and free. Looking up, looking down, he was overcome with emotion. He gazed out the window with a deep sigh. Just at that moment two young women came up the spiral staircase.¹

Sanshi's attention is caught by the two beauties, or *kajin*² as they are called in the title, who are then heard to recount, with great admiration, the major events of the American War of Independence that took place at various historic sites including Carpenter Hall, Valley Forge, the Delaware River in Philadelphia and Bunker Hill in Charlestown Boston. Sanshi wonders

¹ GNBZ., 88.
² The word *kajin* derives from Chinese classics meaning a beautiful woman.
about their nationality when the two women end their account with the wish that one day their own countries will become as strong and independent as America.

When Bunker Hill is mentioned, the flow of the women's conversation is interrupted by insertion in mid-sentence of a lengthy digression to explain the place name. It is the first of many such digressional notes in the novel, a peculiar feature of *Kajin no kigu*, which makes it difficult to follow the story line. Once the battle of Bunker Hill is explained, the note goes on to introduce a Chinese poem composed by Sanshi when he visited Bunker Hill the year before in 1881. This in turn leads to a reply to Sanshi's poem written by Tekkenshi, Sanshi's friend.³ While it is poor form stylistically to let notes continually interrupt the flow of the narrative, we should keep in mind that the author has important political messages to convey in these notes, and these asides become the occasion on which he instructs his readers concerning historical or current events. For example, as quoted in Chapter Two of this dissertation, the Chinese poem that Sanshi composes on the occasion of his visit to Bunker Hill contrasts the heroic struggle of the American people for national independence with the situation in Japan, which is a source of deep concern to him.

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Freedom is not valued in the Eastern Seas,
and patriots worry in vain for their motherland...
Thinking of Japan in a foreign land,
the falling leaves only intensify my loneliness.⁴
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Tekkenshi's reply becomes the occasion to admire Sanshi's patriotism and his sensitivity.

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You revealed your aspirations
and I come to see the enormity of your mind...⁵
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¹ Tekkenshi was the literary name (go) of Sakakibara Koichi, a Keio Gijuku graduate who was working in a railroad company in Boston at the time. See Chapter Two for more information on him.
² GNBZ., 88.
³ GNBZ., 88.
⁴ GNBZ., 88.
⁵ GNBZ., 88.
Tokai Sanshi leaves Independence Hall wondering who the women are. The following
day, he sees them again as he rows a boat on the Schuylkill River on the outskirts of
downtown Philadelphia. As his rowboat passes by theirs, he sees one woman plying the oars,
while the other is playing a concertina. The young women gaze at him and appear to whisper
knowingly about him. But presently their boat disappears beyond a bend in the river. Sanshi’s
romantic feelings are triggered.

Sanshi always regretted that Americans lacked a taste for aesthetics and that he
had no one with whom to discuss poetic topics such as the blossoms or the moon.
Now that he encountered, quite unexpectedly, two beauties playing the concertina and
chanting poetry among the flowers of late spring, he could not help but admire their
refinement. His sole desire was to entrust his feelings to the ripples of the river, which
would carry him to the other shore of the river.

On his way home on foot, he encounters the two women once again, and by now he is
desperate to be introduced to them. When he hesitates, one of the women approaches him.

“She was twenty-three or twenty-four, her eyes were green, her teeth were white, and her hair
long and blonde... Both in attitude and appearance she brought to mind pear blossoms wet with
dew, or crimson lotuses floating in an azure pond.” The woman identifies herself as Koren,
probably derived from the Irish “Colleen” but written in two Chinese characters meaning
Crimson Lotus (Honglian in Chinese), and she declares that she and her friend have sought
refuge at Valley Forge for certain reasons. She approaches Sanshi at the suggestion of her

6 Shiba Shiro seems to be rather loose in his reference to the river. In its first appearance, the river is
identified specifically as a tributary of the Delaware River and is said to lead upstream to Valley Forge, or
“Forge Valley” as it is called in the novel. This makes it unmistakably the Schuylkill River. But in all
subsequent references to his encounter with the two women while rowing a boat, including the caption to
an illustration in Volume One portraying the scene of encounter, the river is identified as the Delaware,
an obvious mistake.

7 GNBZ., 90.
8 GNBZ., 90.
9 紅蓮.
friend who took him for a Spaniard. As Sanshi tells her that he is a student from the capital of the Rising Sun, the other woman comes from the house to greet him. She is about twenty.

Looking from a distance, she is like a new moon seen through the veil of clouds. Upon closer examination, she seems to be a dazzling white crane poised on fairy steps... Though not heavily made-up, her cool loveliness might be mistaken for snow. Her eyebrows paint the blue of distant mountains; her phoenix sidelocks are greener than the clouds. The autumn waves in her eyes, brimming with feeling, are at the same time sharp with piercing dignity... As she descends the stairs, one wonders whether some angel has come down to earth to mingle with humankind.10

Sanshi feels deeply stirred by her beauty.

At the invitation of the ladies, Sanshi visits their hermitage at Valley Forge. When he enters the house, he notices a white parrot in a cage hanging at the window, and musical instruments such as a flute, a harp and banjoes on a shelf. Meanwhile, inscribed on a horizontal board on the wall is a couplet in Chinese characters that reads “The fragrance of the orchid is confined to the mysterious valley; integrity and loyalty are maintained for the visit of the phoenix.”11 It soon becomes clear that the two ladies are the two beauties he had met the day before at Independence Hall. But their life in this secluded place leaves him at a loss as to their nationality, a matter which had preoccupied him the day before. At his request, the two ladies launch into a formal introduction of themselves.

The mysterious angelic beauty speaks first. She tells Sanshi her name is Yūran,12 probably derived from “Yolanda” but written in two Chinese characters meaning Mysterious Orchid (pronounced Youlan in Chinese), and she is from a distinguished Spanish family in Madrid. Her name suggests that she is subject of the couplet on the wall and that Sanshi is the 10 GNBZ., 91.
11 NNBZ., 91.
12 NNBZ.
long expected phoenix that has come to find her in the mysterious valley. Yūran’s self-introduction turns into a long account of the many woes suffered by Spain, a once powerful empire.

In the past, we Spaniards were a valiant and unyielding people who braved the waves of thousands of miles of ocean and overcame all difficulties. It is we who discovered the Continent of America and made it our territory. Our national flag once flew over the sky of the four seas, our name once thundered throughout Europe and our wealth was once unrivaled in the world...

[But unfortunately now Spain] has declined so much that it is troubled by domestic unrest and threatened by foreign invasion.\(^{13}\)

We are told that after Spanish King Ferdinand VII died, the throne was usurped by Queen Isabella II who stole it from Don Carlos, brother of Ferdinand and legitimate successor to the throne. Although the corrupt queen was eventually ousted by the people, the search abroad for a successor to the throne, first in Prussia and then in Italy, has opened the way for foreign interference in Spanish affairs. In the meantime, anti-royalist radicals at home have called for the establishment of a republic and this has thrown Spain into further chaos.

Believing that a constitutional monarchy is most suitable for Spain, Yūran’s father joined forces backing the restoration of Don Carlos. He cited the failure of a republic in Mexico as proof that people of Spanish blood are temperamentally unsuited for a republican system. But just as the Carlists were about to achieve their goal of establishing a constitutional monarchy with Don Carlos as king, Prussia started to interfere militarily. After a series of battles with the Prussians, in which Yūran’s brother was killed, the Carlists were defeated. Yūran’s father, as a general of the Carlist forces, has escaped to America with his daughter. Yūran has lived in America for the last ten years. The general meanwhile, has returned to Spain to carry on the

\(^{13}\) GNBZ., 91.
royalist struggle. Yuran is reduced to tears as she speaks of her worries for her father and for her motherland of Spain.

My country is in decline and my family and relatives are scattered. When I sit alone gazing at the moon, I am choked with sorrow and indignation; when I face the blossoms and recite poetry, my mind is filled with concern and worry.¹⁴

Koren's self-introduction follows. She tells us that she is from Ireland; her father was a wealthy merchant who, indignant over English oppression, participated in the Irish independence movement. Due to the charges brought against him by a traitor within the movement, however, he was arrested by the English authorities and died in jail. Subsequently the helpless young Koren became the target of the wanton governor-general of Ireland who sought her as his concubine. Though an Irishman, the governor was obsequious to the English rulers and became the object of the hatred of all the Irish people. When Koren denounced the governor for his sycophancy and obsequiousness to the British, he charged her with slander and banished her from Ireland. It was at this point that the course of Koren's life-long struggle was set. "In leaving Ireland, I swore that I would never be a subject to the Queen of England and that I would devote myself to Irish independence movement."¹⁵ After wandering about Europe, Koren came to America where he met Yuran, and immediately they became close friends. She is supporting Irish independence movement from America by working with Fannie Parnell, leading activist of the Irish independence in America and sister of Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891), a leader of the Irish Home Rule movement.

¹⁴ GNBZ., 95.
¹⁵ GNBZ., 96.
At this point, a new character is rather abruptly introduced, namely a Chinese named Hankei (Hankei being the Japanese pronunciation; the same characters are pronounced Fanqing in Chinese) who is employed by Yūran and Kōren as a household servant. Deeply moved by the two women's stories, Hankei tells the story of what has brought him to America. He says his motherland has also perished due to foreign conquest. He says that he is the descendent of a once distinguished family of Ming China, and he is devoted, like his patriotic ancestors, to the cause of restoration of the Ming dynasty by overthrowing the alien Manchu court. After his father died fighting the English invaders in the Opium War (1839-1842), and his sister died fighting the Manchus, he disguised himself as a commoner and escaped to America. On arriving in the United States, he felt terribly disillusioned in America as a "stronghold of liberty and equality."

...Americans loathe Chinese as they would a boa constrictor or a serpent or scorpions and they despise us even worse than a black man, as you all know. What is worse is that of late the American government has gone so far as to issue an Exclusion Act forbidding Chinese to immigrate to America... Americans are said to be a people who cherish human freedom and respect equal rights. But how can we applaud them when they adopt such a policy? It is said the way of heaven rewards the virtuous, and the Europeans and Americans will take side with the righteous. But I cannot help but doubt it. 17

Hearing the stories of the three émigrés, Sanshi is so moved that his tears fall upon Yūran's dress. As the ladies express their amazement at the way a young Japanese man is so touched by their pathos, Sanshi says that, like them, he is also a survivor of a vanquished country, has lived through the rain of bullets and smoke of cannon-fire in a besieged castle and suffered unspeakable hardships. The ladies are taken aback at the suggestion that a gentleman

16 Written 范卿 in Chinese characters. Hankei is actually his alias. His full name is 鼎泰琏, pronounced Ding Tailian in Chinese. Throughout the novel, however, he goes by his alias.
17 GNBZ., 98.
like Sanshi should have experienced such hardships. Whereupon Sanshi recounts the tragedy of his native Aizu domain and his family before and after the Meiji Restoration—of how Japan was opened to the world at the end of Edo period, of how Aizu became the sacrifice lamb to the ideals of loyalty, due to the machinations of Satsuma and Choshu, and was attacked and defeated by the Meiji government troops, and of how, when the Aizu Castle was besieged by the government troops, he lost his mother, grandmother, a brother and three sisters. When Aizu eventually surrendered to the government troops, Sanshi continues, many of the defeated and ostracized Aizu soldiers chose to commit suicide. But an argument is advanced by a commander that rather than dying as the enemy of the court, the people of Aizu must bear the humiliation for the time being so that they can “risk their lives to the edge of swords and arrowheads” in the future when Japan is attacked by foreign aggressors. Only then will Aizu loyalty be proved. But the current situation in Japan troubles Sanshi. He emphasizes the danger Japan faces from rampant imperialism, and he expresses concern that his fellow Japanese are oblivious to it and are preoccupied with the pursuit of internal freedom alone.

They are not aware that [while they are preoccupied with endless internal disputes], Japan’s national rights are being violated by the Europeans and the profits of our economy are taken by foreign merchants...This is why I am worried about the future of Japan day and night.

The women and Hankei listen to Sanshi with a display of great sympathy. Everyone is amazed at how the four of them have happened to meet in America, coming as they have from different parts of the world, yet each telling similar stories of misgivings about the fate of their homeland.

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18 GNBZ., 101.
19 GNBZ., 102-103.
By now the sun has set and a new moon has risen. Yuran suggests that on such a beautiful night, they should dance and sing to celebrate their strange rendezvous. Thereupon, to the accompaniment played by the two ladies on the harp, the four sing the French national anthem, Marseillaise, in a Chinese translation. Yuran dances with Sanshi. A poetry exchange follows in which each character improvises a poem to express his or her feelings at their strange meeting. Sanshi’s poem hints at his admiration for the ladies. He does this by making a play on the words using the two ladies’ names and Yuran’s couplet on the wall. But his poem quickly turns from romantic interests to extol their political aspirations:

Rowing a boat on the river,
I found myself in a fairy land.
A phoenix is attracted to the fragrance
of the mysterious orchid in a valley;
mandarin ducks under the shade of the crimson lotus
that is reflected in a pure pond...
You tell of the hardships of human life,
I narrate the rise and fall of nations.
Our goals have yet to be reached,
Our ambition turns to sadness. 20

When Yuran comments on the beautiful night scene of Philadelphia across the river, 21 Sanshi chants a poem that describes his life as a foreign student studying in Philadelphia.

In the house by the river at the foot of the hill,
there is a Japanese studying in a foreign land.
The moon is bright and the night is cold,
it is autumn in Philadelphia. 22

Sanshi is asked to stay that night. As he falls asleep, he dreams that he has been seriously wounded on a battlefield. As he lies dying, a lady appears. Holding aloft the banner of

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20 GNBZ., 104.
21 If they can see the city of Philadelphia, then they are on the Delaware River, since Philadelphia cannot be seen from Valley Forge.
22 GNBZ., 105.
freedom, she passes through a storm of bullets to rescue him. The lady is no other than Yūran, with whom Sanshi is now clearly in love. When he awakens, he hears the white parrot in the cage crying “My love, do not abandon me!” And when Koren asks mischievously who has taught the parrot the words, it is clear that tender feelings between Yūran and Sanshi are mutual. When they part that morning, they agree to meet a week later.

The summary in this section is based on the first two volumes of Kajin no kigu. These volumes are probably the part of the novel that has been studied the most. For example, George Sansom’s discussion of the novel in his The Western World and Japan, and Kamei Hideo’s examination of Kajin no kigu as an example of the relationship between stylistics and the author’s sense of self, are both based on these two volumes. It has been noted that, compared with the rest of the novel, these volumes are much better structured. According to Fujii Shin’ichi, this is because these volumes are under strong influence of Yusenkutsu (An Excursion to the Fairy Cave, Yü xianku in Chinese), a Chinese novel of the T’ang period, that also tells the strange encounter of a man with two ladies. Some of the themes introduced in the first two volumes are developed in later installments. Aesthetic sensibility is one of them. Sanshi is attracted to the ladies not only by their beauty but also by their refinement. It is in moonlight and blossoms that the characters exchange poems, and it is in poetry that they express themselves. Yet there is no doubt what truly bind them together is their indignation at oppressors of the world and their shared sense of victimization. All four of the characters


\(^{24}\) Zhang Wencheng, Yiu xianku.
regard themselves as victims of tyranny, injustice or oppression. When other patriotic characters are introduced later in the novel, they too will be asked to join this select circle of the weak and the oppressed.

LOUIS KOSSUTH SPEAKS OF POLAND;
FANNIE PARNELL OF IRELAND (3)

Later it becomes clear that after this emotional meeting the four characters are never again to be reunited as a complete ensemble in the novel. On the date designated for their second meeting, Sanshi is prevented from visiting, first because of bad weather and then because of illness, which is a reflection of the author’s weak constitution. When he finally makes his way to the riverside house again, ten days late, he finds the two women and Hankei have disappeared. Sanshi learns from a letter that Yuran has left behind that she has set out on a secret mission to Madrid upon hearing word that her father has been taken prisoner by the anti-royalists and she is determined to rescue him. Her love for Sanshi is clearly suggested in the letter. Alongside Yuran’s letter is a letter written by Koren to introduce Sanshi to Fannie Parnell, the leader of the Irish independence movement in America, who lives in New Jersey. But Sanshi has no way of knowing what has happened to Koren and Hankei.

Sanshi spends the rest of the spring in despair and loneliness. Soon, the summer comes. One day Sanshi goes to visit the grave of Benjamin Franklin, “the champion of freedom and forerunner of science...to whom America owes a great deal for its independence.” As he reminisces over Franklin’s great achievements both as a statesman and as a scientist, Sanshi encounters a gentleman who is also paying his respects to Franklin. Though Sanshi does not
realize it at the time, that man is Louis Kossuth (1802-1894), the famous Hungarian patriot who is to figure prominently later in the novel. In the course of their conversation, Kossuth explains to Sanshi the cause of Poland's loss of independence, and he emphasizes the sufferings of weak nations. He argues that national ruin can follow from internal dissension, and that even mistaken ideas regarding liberty can lead to national disaster. As is so often the case in Kajin no kigu, a newspaper report or a historical reference becomes the occasion for a digression of historical or political import. Here, Kossuth is prompted into telling about Polish history by the presence of an elm tree planted at Franklin's grave by Traddeus Kosciuszko (1746-1817), the leader of the Polish resistance against Russian and Prussian invasions, when he was in America to help fight the War of Independence. Due to the service he rendered to the colonists, Kosciuszko was urged to stay in America and was offered a high position. He declined, however, and returned to Poland to carry on the Polish resistance. He planted the tree just before he left America.

One day, Sanshi reads in the newspaper of the escape of a Carlist general from a prison in Madrid. He feels relieved, believing the story to be evidence that Yūran has successfully rescued her father. To find out the truth, he decides to visit Fannie Parnell in New Jersey. At first, his request to see Miss. Parnell is rejected by the maid, who says her mistress is sick and will not receive guests. But after presenting Kōren's letter of introduction, along with his own name card, he is invited in. It turns out that Fannie Parnell is very sick indeed. Asked by Sanshi as to the cause of her illness, she says it is caused by her ignoring the limits of her physical powers and working too hard for the cause of her country. Her patriotic enthusiasm soon becomes clear to Sanshi when she sings a song of her own composition entitled “Ireland, My
Motherland," which describes the misery of the Irish people under English oppression and expresses the determination of the Irish people to fight for independence. When further explaining to Sanshi what is happening in Ireland, she launches into a long aside.

Independence is the endowed right of a nation; liberty is the inviolable right of human beings. But the English violated both rights of the Irish people and have been treating us worse than animals. Look at the misery of the people in southern Ireland...But the unscrupulous English tell the world the Irish people do not deserve better. They say the Irish people are dull in intelligence, that we will not learn no matter how much we are taught, that we will not make progress no matter how well we are guided, that our stupidity is worse than that of the Chinese or the Indian, that it is the Irish people that hinder the civilization of Great Britain and besmirch the good name of England... The English may be able to suppress the meek Indians with their tyranny, but they shall never stop us from fighting for our independence.

As is occasionally the case in Kajin no kigu, serious discussion of political matters are mingled with humorous or light-hearted episodes. Here the meeting with Fannie Parnell has a light-hearted side as well. Before she speaks of her motherland, Fannie Parnell invites Sanshi to join her in angling in the river behind her house (despite her illness), and when they finish, each catches the same number of fish as the other. When Sanshi claims he has won the competition because his fish are larger, Fannie jokingly presents a theory of quality over quantity. To prove her point, she cites such historical figures as Julius Caesar, Andrew Jackson, Napoleon, and James Watt, the inventor of steam engine.

These are all great names in the history of the world. None of them reached the average size of a man as far as height is concerned. But it is their intelligence that made them outstanding...we should not measure them by their physical size.25

25 GNBZ., 115-116.
26 GNBZ., 103.
When asked whether she has news of Yūran, Fannie says no, but not without joking about Sanshi’s relationship with Yūran. We are not told, however, where and how she has come to know about the relationship.

The character Fannie Parnell, an actual historical figure, is introduced to reinforce the author’s political message derived from Kōren’s tale of Ireland: namely the cruelty of imperialism and the misery of the oppressed. The relevance of Kossuth’s account of Polish history to Japanese realities, on the other hand, is made clear by the author’s emphasis on the priority of national independence over individual freedom. This is a view that is quite the opposite of that held by proponents of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement in Japan, a point that will be discussed in the next chapter.

RESCUE OF YURAN’S FATHER BY THE BADGER GAME (4-5)

Fannie Parnell dies shortly after Sanshi’s meeting with her. Anxiety about the safety of Yūran and Kōren and the shock by the news of Fannie Parnell’s death puts Sanshi in his sickbed. One evening, when he finally recovers, Sanshi pays a visit to Fannie Parnell’s grave to offer a memorial speech addressed to her spirit.

Fannie Parnell, an Irish patriot, died on month day 1882 [sic.] at the age of 28. Her father is an admiral, her mother and brother are well-known leaders of the Irish independence movement. Fannie Parnell herself was also a pillar of the movement… When Ireland fell under foreign rule…she devoted all of her life to her country…and took it as her responsibility to restore its independence…

She once revealed to me her philosophy of life saying the reputation of a person cannot be determined until he or she dies. All that a living person can do is to act so that one will not feel ashamed before later generations. Now, Miss. Parnell, you may rest in peace. As human beings, who can avoid the fate of death? But great

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27 According to Yanagida Izumi, Fannie Parnell was born in 1849 and died on July 20 1882 in Wharton, New Jersey, at the age of 33. See SSK, 387. It is not clear whether Shiba Shiro actually met her.
figures in history are great because though their bodies have died, their names will be forever remembered. Now, Miss. Parnell, may you rest in peace...28

The sorrow Sanshi feels at Fannie's death renews his longing for Yūran and Kōren, and at the end of the memorial, he alludes to his last meeting with them. Once again, the tone of the rhetoric becomes that of the romantic poet, and the metaphors are carried over from the scene at the house by the riverside.

The mysterious orchid is destroyed and the phoenix is gone; the crimson lotus is broken and the mandarin ducks are parted...In the past, we shared our common ideals, but now we are living in different worlds. When I recall the happy moment when we were together, my sadness only deepens. Oh, who can console the sorrow in my heart?29

As he is about to finish his memorial, he notices a shadowy figure moving behind the trees in the graveyard. In the shining moonlight, he finds the figure to be no other than Kōren. Kōren explains she has just returned from Europe, and, hearing of the death of Fannie Parnell, has hurried to the cemetery to offer flowers in memory of the great independence movement leader. Thus reunited, Sanshi and Kōren go to the Valley Forge hermitage and discuss what has happened since their last encounter. Between uncontrollable sobs, Kōren prefaces her story with the terrible news that Yūran and Hankei are probably drowned. In a state of shock, Sanshi urges her for details, and Kōren delivers a long tale of the adventurous rescue of Yūran's father.

The story starts with their departure from Philadelphia. When Yūran received word her father had been imprisoned, she determined to go to Madrid to rescue him, and Kōren and Hankei decided to accompany her on the secret and dangerous mission. As their ship left

28 GNBZ., 117-118.
29 GNBZ., 118.
Philadelphia, the two ladies shed tears, for they feared that they might never see Sanshi again.

When night fell and a bright moon rose in the sky above the Atlantic, Yuran stood on the ship’s deck and chanted a long four-stanza kanshi poem on the four subjects of her motherland, her father, Japan and the Japanese man, her first love. It is this long poem that was beloved of Meiji youth and young students were referred to as reciting avidly at Kyōshisha University in Tokutomi Roka’s novel Kuroi me to chairn no me. The stanzas on Yuran’s father and on Tokai Sanshi run as follows:

I long for my old father.  
I long to see him but the trip is dangerous.  
My worry is so deep that sleep does not fall upon me,  
even when the stars have descended in the Western sky.  
The dagger hidden in my bosom shines cold light,  
The jade rings at my waist are quietly jingling.  
Aware that I might not be able to return from this trip,  
I feel like Jing Ke when he left the Kingdom of Yan.10  
Do not say girls exaggerate the danger,  
My bravery will cut open a mountain.  
Do not say a person at my age cannot carry a sword,  
Only God and Satan know my determination.  
I left Spain ten years ago,  
Half of my relatives died and half are dispersed.  
It is only to strangers that I reveal my aspirations,  
it is only the moon that brightens my heart.  
A thousand miles shines silver under the moon,  
the golden ripples echo from afar in the breeze,  
the night expands boundless to infinity,  
how can I bear to see the view tonight aboard the ship?

I long for the one from the Eastern Sea,  
I long to see him but we are separated by seas and mountains.  
I envy you when you return to Japan having earned your name.

10 Jing Ke (?–227 B.C.) is a Chinese historical figure who lived to the end of the Warring States period (475 B.C.–221 B.C.). He was hired in 227 B.C. by the Prince of the Kingdom of Yan to assassinate Zheng (259 B.C.–210 B.C.), who was to unify China and become China’s first emperor in 221 B.C. While pretending to offer a map of the Kingdom of Yan to Zheng as a gift, Jing Ke took a dagger hidden in the map and attempted on Zheng’s life. The attempt was unsuccessful, and Jing Ke was executed. Fully aware of the danger of his mission, Jing Ke chanted a poem before his departure from the Kingdom of Yan, to the effect “the wind is cold and bleak and I shall not return from this trip.”
I regret that I have to venture into the tiger’s lair to catch its cubs.  
When shall I be able to return from this trip?  
I will shuttle between Europe and America in my dream.  
Where shall I be able to meet you again?  
In this world, or in the next?  
While boating on the Delaware last spring, 
we happened to meet, East and West.  
You held my hand in the moonlight,  
by the rippling water, on the fallen blossoms.  
There would be no sorrow tonight,  
had there never been that beautiful night...  
A thousand miles shines silver under the moon,  
the golden ripples echo from afar in the breeze,  
the night expands boundless to infinity,  
how can I bear to see the view tonight aboard the ship? 31

Koren also mentions a Hungarian woman on the ship who spoke of Sanshi and admired him as a Japanese patriot. But Sanshi cannot recall who she might be.

Eight days later, Koren continues, the party arrived in Spain and went immediately to Madrid. They learn that Yuran’s father is incarcerated in a jail to the west of the city, known for its tight security. Yuran becomes more anxious when she hears rumors that her father is ill, or that he will be executed. Then Hankei learns of the chief of the prison guards by the name of Ora. Ora speaks good English, but he is a licentious man. His wife had died recently and he is seeking a second mate. Hearing this about Ora, Koren decides to achieve their goal by playing “the badger game.” The following day, Koren dresses up. Walking back and forth along the road where she knows Ora’s carriage will pass, she pretends to be an American traveler who had lost her way. When Ora’s carriage finally appears, her eyes quickly catch his attention. Not only does he give her directions but he offers to drive her in his carriage to her hotel, where Koren introduces Yuran as an American friend. Koren convinces Ora that she is an unmarried

31 GNBZ. 121-122.
woman who is having difficulty managing a large fortune inherited from her father, the late governor of Pennsylvania. Being a greedy fellow, Óra quickly falls into her trap. Attracted by Kören’s charm and the story of her wealth, he tries to satisfy every request she makes. Soon he takes Kören and Yūran for a tour of the prison, and he even lets them visit the General’s cell. It is during this tour that Yūran passes word to her father of their plan to rescue him.

Thereafter, Óra’s visits to Kören’s hotel suddenly become less frequent. When asked why, he reveals that it is due to his need to attend to the General, the most important prisoner under his guard. Although the General was considered a traitor of the country, he had been a senior statesman, and as the most trusted general of Prince Don Carlos he enjoyed fame in the world. As such he is entitled to proper treatment. According to Óra, the General had not felt well and he claimed that his illness was caused by his long confinement. He demanded to be allowed to travel to the outskirts of the city to take some fresh air. Albeit reluctantly, the government grants his request on the condition that he travel every other day with the chief of the prison accompanying him in the same carriage. Knowing their plot is working smoothly, Kören proceeds to find out the route of General Yūran’s tour. To that end, Kören asks Óra to take her on the excursion to the outskirts of Madrid.

When Kören and Óra are riding by themselves the next day, Kören tricks jailer into telling her the route that he and the General normally take. Óra also tells Kören he does not enjoy the trip with the General because he is apprehensive that something may go wrong.

While accompanying a high-ranking conspirator about this remote wilderness, my nerves were racked, wondering what would happen if someone tried to rescue him. If it should happen, not only would my private life be endangered, but also, and more to the point, it would endanger our national security. My mind was completely occupied with such ideas. When we came close to a forest, I was afraid we might be ambushed; when we passed by a giant rock, I feared an assassin might jump out.
Because of that, although my body passed the gorgeous countryside physically, in my mind I was so nervous...that I could not enjoy the view.32

Then Óra expresses his sadness at having to experience the same agony the next day.

Today, I feel I am in a different world, holding the hand of a beautiful lady and driving through woods and meadows. The place that made me so nervous yesterday has become so pleasing to the eye; the sound that was so depressing to me yesterday has become soothing to the soul. My only regret is that tomorrow I will have to share the carriage with the old prisoner again and I will not be able to see you, my beautiful lady. The course of true love never runs smooth, as the saying goes.33

At this Koren decides she must make certain that the chief guard will travel along the same route the next day. Pretending to be jealous, Koren makes a display of her suspicions concerning Óra’s involvement with another woman.

I should not suspect a gentleman like you. But I am not certain whether you will drive here with the General tomorrow, as you claim you will, or whether you will drive here with another lady, as rumor has it. Before I am prepared to entrust the rest of my life to you, I must confirm you have told me truth. Therefore, I will come here tomorrow to see with my own eyes that it is indeed the General with whom you travel.34

In spite of his regret at having revealed a state secret to Koren, Óra gives in to Koren’s proposal out of fear that he may lose her.

The next day, Koren, Yūran and Hankei successfully ambush the carriage and rescue the General. The four of them then head northeast, intending to visit Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882), the Italian patriot and a supporter of the General and the Carlists. When they reach the Italian island Caprera, however, they find every house on the island flying flags at half-mast. As General Yūran guesses, the flags are in honor of Garibaldi who had just died. As is typical of Kajin no kigu, this coincidence is used promptly to insert a long digression in which we are

32 GNBZ., 129.
33 GNBZ., 129.
34 GNBZ., 129.
introduced to the life of the Italian patriot. Eventually, the four of them decide to go to Gambetta, the Prime Minister of France and another supporter of the General and the Carlists. While attempting to sail to France by the sea, a great storm blows up and strikes their ship. All four are thrown into the sea. Koren is rescued by a fisherman, but she believes that the other three are drowned. Sanshi is greatly distressed by Koren's news.

The episode of the rescue of Yuran's father from prison is undoubtedly the most coherent part in the whole novel. The plot is well designed. One event leads naturally to another, without digressions (except the one introducing Garibaldi) that too often interrupt the flow of the narrative in other volumes. It is not clear whether there is a direct model on which the episode is built. Although less lyrical when compared with earlier volumes, the author does not forget to include one long poem chanted by Yuran aboard the ship in moonlight. This episode has received virtually no critical attention, something that is ironic given all the criticism on the poor structure of the novel as a whole. The lack of attention to this episode results perhaps from the fact that the author's political enthusiasms are less directly revealed here. There is one exception, however, in the critical literature. Hiraoka Toshio, in his book *Nihon kindai bungaku no shuppatsu*, not only highly acclaims the literariness of this episode, but also acknowledges its political significance.

When it comes to literariness of the novel, the best is undoubtedly the episode that deals with Yuran's rescuing her father from prison... Generally speaking, the literariness as seen in this type of rescue scenes is far superior to those in the fabricated fictional scenes [as seen in gesaku fiction]. Rescue scenes like this carry the weight of historical facts that must have taken place repeatedly in the history of modern tyranny.  

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KOREN IN PARIS; YÚRAN IN EGYPT (6-7)

Koren’s story continues. A few days after Koren’s rescue at sea, she sets out for Paris where she meets Gambetta, the French Prime Minister, and reports to him what had happened to the General. The French Prime Minister expresses great sorrow at the news of General Yúran’s death. As there is a rumor circulating that the French Prime Minister will soon visit Japan, Koren asks him about his opinion of Japan. The Minister expresses openly his disappointment at Japan’s lack of courage to stand up for its national rights in dealing with Western nations. By contrast, he praises the fighting spirit of the Irish.

I hold the Irish people in highest respect. It is true you Irish tend to be radical, but the more setbacks you suffer, the more determined you become. No matter how adverse the condition you find yourselves in, you manage to take it calmly. Among all the peoples of the nations in the world, not a single one can compare with the Irish people as far as intrepidity is concerned. If the Irish are united in their struggle for independence, if you can appeal to the opinions of the Americans and the French, and if you can take advantage of the disputes among the English, then the day will not be far away for you to restore the sovereignty of Ireland, to win its independence and to save your people from the depths of the sea and the heat of the fire.⁴⁶

Similarly, Gambetta cites the struggle of the Haitian people for independence as another glorious example. Mention of a small, oppressed nation like Haiti, which is ever so characteristic of Kajin no kigū, triggers a long digression—inserted right into the middle of a sentence—on the life of the Haitian patriot Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803). In all likelihood, Louverture’s name would have been an unfamiliar chapter in world history for Meiji audiences, and Shiba uses the material to advance his argument on the suppression of weak nations in the

⁴⁶GNBZ. 138.
jakuniku kyōshoku (the weak becoming the prey of the strong) world of nineteenth century imperialism as well as on the need of weak nations to stand up and fight for their independence.

Kōren then turns to tell how Ōra, the chief of the prison guards in Madrid, pursues her even to Paris. One day, she goes to the opera. In the theater she notices a spectator who looks very much like Ōra, and he seems to have noticed her too. Kōren is shocked to learn the man is indeed Ōra, who not only has come to Paris to track down the General and his rescuers, but also is staying in the same hotel! After a hasty letter of farewell to Prime Minister Gambetta, Kōren secretly embarks on a ship bound for Philadelphia, where she is reunited in yet another "strange encounter" with Sanshi. Sanshi is deeply touched by the story of her travails.

Your story made me anxious one moment and happy at another. No matter how great the novel I read, or how great the play I see, I could not have been moved more... Oh, when we met on Delaware River, who would have expected we would dance and party? When we were chanting poems among the blossoms, who would have expected that you would go through such a terrible experience? God could not have anticipated your travels to Europe and your return to see me again here. Life is like a drama, and there is no telling when we will meet, or when we will part. 37

At this, Kōren presents her theory of poetics by quoting anonymous ancient sages: one must suffer before one's poetry excels. When Sanshi walks with her to the garden, Kōren recites a four-stanza kanshi poem that she composed on her voyage back to Philadelphia, a poem meant to be a reply to the one Yūran recited when she, Kōren and Hankei left for Spain. The four stanzas are on the subjects of the Irish independence movement, her homeland, her friendship with Yūran, and her own life. The stanza addressed to Yūran contains the following:

We shared the same ideals, we followed the same path, and we swore to devote our lives to our countries. Yet due to the disaster that has fallen on you from heaven, you died before you could realize your goal. When I think of this, I am choked with endless sorrow.

37 GNBZ., 142.
I can only raise my eyes and question Heaven.\textsuperscript{38}

After Sanshi’s reunion with Koren, he begins to pay regular visits to her in the house by the Delaware River. As he finds himself increasingly drawn to her, Sanshi cannot help but debate with himself whether or not he should marry her.

From then on, I would visit the Delaware house once a week. Each time I went there, Koren and I would either row the boat on the river, or climb on the rocks, or compose poems. It was a happy time...It had been a long time since my parting from Yuran, and it has been a long time since my association with Koren. A delicate feeling of romance gradually arose in me toward Koren. However, Koren seemed to be excessive in her daring, and there was no telling what she would do in the future. Moreover, even if we marry and join in the pleasure of sharing the same bed, Koren’s aspirations would be directed solely toward avenging her parents and obtaining Irish independence. For the time being, she will be able to stay in America, but surely she does not have the desire to go to Japan and make her home there. I, on the other hand, have no intention of moving permanently to a foreign country, even if I win a great beauty and make a fortune of ten thousand pieces of gold. That is why the saying goes, “The unreasoning passion of a single hour will only become the seeds of later unhappiness.”\textsuperscript{39}

However, Sanshi does not suffer long from this romantic dilemma because their relation is put to an abrupt end by news of a war that has broken out in Egypt. Led by the Egyptian General, Arabi Pasha, the Egyptians have gone to war to protect their national sovereignty from England. Sanshi and Koren learn about the war in Egypt from a newspaper which carries a declaration by Arabi Pasha appealing to the Egyptian people to take up arms and to the world community for support of Egypt’s cause. They also learn, to their great surprise, that among the advisors to General Arabi Pasha there is a Spanish general who is a leader of the Carlist faction and who has a beautiful daughter. Sanshi and Koren suspect that

\textsuperscript{38} GNBZ. 142.
\textsuperscript{39} GNBZ. 143.
the Spanish general must be Yūran’s father. It seems that the father and daughter have survived the shipwreck after all.

Kōren’s feelings turn complex when she learns of the news, and she wonders aloud at how Yūran will treat Sanshi, and how Sanshi will treat her, if in fact Yūran is alive. When she demands an answer from Sanshi, he is at a loss to know what to say. But just at that moment, the door opens and a woman in white dress and white veil enters. “Yūran is back!” shouts Sanshi. Kōren also turns pale. But Sanshi is mistaken. Kōren soon recognizes the veiled lady as the Hungarian woman aboard the ship with her and the others when they had sailed to Spain. Seeing that Kōren is on such intimate terms with Sanshi, the veiled lady launches into an attack on Kōren for her selfishness and disloyalty to her friend, Yūran.

I suppose you remember the days when we shared the trip to Spain. On that trip, did not I open my heart and talk to you about friendship and loyalty? When I was doing so, you made it appear that you could not care less. Did not I tell you about Japan and about Tokai Sanshi? When I was doing so, you first turned away and then you began talking about a different subject as if you did not know Tokai Sanshi at all. You and Yūran are sworn friends, are you not? Once you are separated from each other, you hide yourself in this hermitage, socialize with the gentleman you long for and care nothing about whether Yūran is alive or dead...Is this not selfishness and disloyalty?⁴⁰

Before Sanshi and Kōren finish their protests, the Hungarian lady notices the newspaper on the table which carries the news of General Yūran and his daughter in Egypt, an indication that Sanshi and Kōren are not only aware of Yūran’s being alive but also are concerned for her safety. The Hungarian lady realizes she has been too rash. Apologizing for her false accusations, she presents Sanshi with a gold ring, which Kōren immediately recognizes as the one Yūran was wearing at the time of the shipwreck on their way to France.

⁴⁰GNBZ., 149.
At the request of Sanshi and Koren, the lady begins to relate what brought her to Philadelphia with Yuran’s ring.

The Hungarian lady’s story begins with her arrival with the other characters in Spain. After she parted from Yuran, Koren and Hankei in Spain, she went to join her parents who were living in Italy although this fact is not specified until later in the novel. When the news spreads that Garibaldi is critically ill, her father, a close friend of the Italian patriot, takes her to Caprera Island to see the dying Italian leader. Unfortunately, they arrive too late even for the memorial service. Then her father stays on Caprera Island and sends his daughter home to an unspecified place in Italy. On the way home, the ship overturns in a storm and the lady was tossed into the ocean. When she comes to, she finds herself lying in a boat, having been rescued by an old man and his young daughter who turned out to be none other than Yuran and her father. Unbeknownst to the others, she had been aboard the same ship when the rescue party was on their way from Italy to France, and they were all involved in the same shipwreck. Soon the three of them were taken by a ship to Alexandria where Hungarian lady stays with Yuran and her father. It was at this point that the British government sent troops into Egypt to intervene in Egyptian affairs in the name of protecting the Suez Canal, and unrest ensues in Egypt. One day Arabi Pasha comes to visit General Yuran. He invites him to be his adviser, and the invitation is happily accepted. General Yuran immediately drafts a declaration for Arabi Pasha in which the English and French are accused of interfering in Egyptian affairs and an appeal is made to the Egyptian people to stand up and fight for their national sovereignty. This is the declaration that Sanshi and Koren had read in the newspaper.
Shortly after General Yūran joins Arabi Pasha’s army, however, he realizes he does not agree with Arabi Pasha’s other advisers on many important matters. First, he cannot agree with them that the war is “a holy war” to be fought between Muslims and Christians and that other Muslims must be rallied in the name of driving the Christians out of Egypt. General Yūran argues the day has long past for starting wars in the name of religion. Suffering under unspeakable oppression of the Europeans, Egypt should fight in the name of the noble cause of national sovereignty, not religion. Citing the example of Lord Byron’s sacrifice for the cause of independence of Greece, he tries to convince the Egyptians that they will gain support from the world only if their army raises the flag of political righteousness. If they insist on alienating all Christians, himself included, then surely Egypt will perish. Second, he cannot agree with them on matters of strategy. Arabi Pasha’s other advisers insist that major cities like Cairo and Alexandria must be fortified and used as strongholds. But General Yūran argues that the Egyptians should abandon cities and retreat inland so that their army can wait at leisure for the arrival of the exhausted English troops. Finally, he calls for a protracted war, for two reasons. First, England is far stronger than Egypt militarily, and direct confrontation would surely mean a disaster for the Egyptians. Second, and more important, is the issue of what he sees as the cruelly economic nature of colonial wars.

Economic interests were the driving force behind every war the Europeans started. In the world of the nineteenth century, the determining factor for war is not how many soldiers will die, but how much money will be spent in waging a war. Such being the case, how can England afford to keep its army in Egypt for an extended period of time at the cost of 10,000 pieces of gold and 1,000 soldiers a day? When England becomes bogged down in such a war, all parties can take advantage of the situation. Externally, its colonies around the world will rise up; Ireland will seek its independence; its neighbors that hold old grudges will pose new threats; and internally, the opposition party will attack the cabinet’s war policy. The English army sent to crusade in Egypt will soon find itself isolated with no reinforcements and no
supporting logistics, and it will be at a loss to know whether to advance or to retreat. Its morale will be greatly shaken, and it will be pushed to the point of collapse. At that time, our army can take advantage of the situation, wipe out the enemy in a single blow and achieve our noble goal of the integrity of national sovereignty and independence. 41

His opinion proves to be unpopular, however, and it is not adapted by Arabi Pasha. Nevertheless, the disappointed General decides to stay on and resign himself to fate. He tells Yūran to leave Egypt with the Hungarian woman. When Yūran makes it clear she will stay with her father no matter what, it is decided the Hungarian lady will go alone. Before her departure, Yūran asks two favors of her. First, to erect a tomb for Koren and Hankei on the shore where the shipwreck had taken place, for she assumes that they both had been drowned; second, she entrusts the gold ring she wears to the woman and asks her to give it to Tokai Sanshi, should she meet him. When, back in Italy, the Hungarian woman tells her father of Yūran’s request concerning Koren and Hankei, the father suggests she confirm Yūran’s assumption before taking action. This is what has brought her to the hermitage by the Delaware River in Philadelphia. Sanshi is greatly relieved to hear that Yūran is alive. He suspects that Hankei is also alive and hopes they will all be reunited someday.

The story in this section takes place in the summer of 1882. In reacting to Koren’s story of her trials and tribulations, a usually ardent Sanshi reveals a tender side. Albeit a rather pedestrian and cliched statement, Sanshi advances the idea of life as both dramatic and ironic. Here we can even see a sense of mono-no-aware. On the other hand, Sanshi’s contemplations on his relationship with Koren is nothing short of a psychological analysis because the whole passage describes what is going on in his mind. It is interesting that while the shared sympathy for the weak makes the patriots forget their national differences in the opening volumes,

41 GNBZ.. 155-156.
concerns over such domestic matters as where to make a home when they marry causes the
difference to surface between Sanshi and Koren. No doubt the same problem exists between
Sanshi and Yuran as well. A conflict between the “comrade-in-arms” love and down-to-earth
marriage arises here.

MARY KÖSSUTH ON HUNGARIAN HISTORY (8-9)

Sanshi wonders all along who the Hungarian woman might be. He does not know her,
but she knows him and she had even told Yuran and Koren about him on their trip to Spain.
From her account soon afterwards, he learns that she is the daughter of the gentleman who had
delivered an account of the history of Poland before Benjamin Franklin’s tomb. She was with
her father that day, and she had overheard the conversation between her father and Sanshi. She
had not greeted Sanshi because she was enjoying the cool of the shade under a tree near the
tomb. She says her name is Mary, and her father is no other than Louis Kossuth (1802–1894),
the famous Hungarian patriot.

After dinner, the autumn moon rises over the top of the hill, and silver shafts of light
filter through the sparse pine trees to fill the room. Sanshi proposes the three of them go
rowing on the Delaware in the moonlight and reveal their aspirations to each other so that they
will never forget this night. When Mary Kossuth is reluctant to join Sanshi and Koren saying
she has passed her prime as a woman, Koren insists women are at their most attractive at age
25, instead of 16, as is believed by Europeans. When the two women turn to Sanshi for a
man’s more objective opinion, Sanshi launches into a lengthy exposition on the question of
what constitutes beauty in a woman. "A beauty (bijin) is by no means determined by age."
declares Sanshi. Sanshi then proceeds to prove his point by citing a series of examples ranging
from Helen of the Troy to Cleopatra the Egyptian Queen.

Physical appearance does not define true beauty. A truly beautiful woman must
be someone who has a deep understanding of social customs, who is conversant with
literature and the arts and who can carry on a discussion on any subject concerning
social relations between men and women, the true meaning of love, romantic anecdotes
as well as poetry and music.  

Meanwhile, Kōren is amazed to learn that Mary Kossuth is the daughter of the famous
Hungarian patriot. She asks Mary to tell them about her father and Hungary. At the mere
mention of Hungary and her father, Mary becomes melancholy, and she chants a kanshi poem.

Do not speak of Hungary,
My homeland seems a dream....
The country has long been declining,
when will she rise up again?
My countrymen are given to effeminacy,
the way of warriors has long been abandoned.

Seeing Mary Kossuth despair over the future of her motherland, Kōren tells Mary how
the four patriots of Spain, Ireland, Japan and China had had their “strange encounter.” She
insists on adding Mary to their group and presses her to speak about Hungary and her father.
Mary’s account runs as follows.

The Hungarians are of Asian origin. For a long period in their history, Hungarians
suffered under the oppression of first the Turks and then the German Empire. Later it became
a part of Austria. When Prussia invaded Austria, Queen Maria Theresa escaped to Hungary,
and, holding her infant prince in arm, she appealed to the Hungarian Diet for the Hungarian

42 GNBZ., 159.
43 GNBZ., 161.
people to defend Austria-Hungary. The Hungarian people answered her appeal and defeated the Prussian invaders. But when her son Joseph II took the throne, he enacted a series of oppressive laws against the Hungarians. Regional autonomy was taken away, elected officials and judges were replaced by the ones appointed by Austria, the jury system was eliminated, and freedom of speech was banned. Worst of all, he issued an order forcing the Hungarians to abandon their national language and use German. National language is the blood and backbone of a country's independence. Who in his right mind, Mary asks, would force people to abandon their native language and to adopt a foreign tongue? People were angry at the new law and sent representatives to deliver an appeal to the government. Fearful of rebellion, the government was forced to revoke the bad laws. Thereafter, Metternich came to power. First as the Foreign Minister and then as the Prime Minister, he was in power for thirty-nine years and during these years, Austria-Hungary declined considerably. At this point Mary launches into a lengthy expose of the repressive and corrupt government that operated under Metterich.

Metternich is a treacherous minister with no integrity. Although he is good at the rhetoric of political jargon, he is ignorant of the fundamentals of statesmanship. As soon as he came to power, repression orders were issued and the roots of freedom were gradually eradicated... Thereafter, bribery became an open secret, sycophants filled government offices, and men of ability and loyalty were excluded from government circles.  

Mary then turns to an account of her father's role in fighting Metternich's bad government and in fighting for Hungarian independence. Louis Kossuth became a member of the Hungarian Diet at the age of thirty. Indignant at widespread oppression and corruption, he exposed the dark inner workings of the government by publishing the proceedings of the Diet. When the government issued a Press Law to prohibit the printing of such documents, he had

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44 GNBZ., 163.
the proceedings hand-copied and distributed among the people. For this he was imprisoned for four years. In 1846, he was elected leader of a campaign against the corrupt Metterich government. When he and his comrades arrived in Vienna, anti-Metterich sentiment was aroused so great that Metternich was forced to flee to England. Moreover, when Prince Joseph forced the Hungarians to abandon their national language and use German, Kossuth led a campaign that successfully forced the Diet to revoke the order and restored Hungarian as the official language. And, when French Revolution broke out, Louis Kossuth issued a five-point proposal to the emperor that called for expelling bad ministers from the government and allowing regional autonomy. Although the emperor had no choice but to approve his proposals, allies of Metternich raised an army to attack the reformers. Outwardly, the Austrian emperor condemned the attackers but secretly he encouraged them. Hearing this, Kossuth delivered a speech before the Hungarian Diet.

Ignoring the will of the country and people, the Austrian emperor has broken his promise. He encourages the brutal and assists the tyrannical, trying to deprive us of our freedom and turn us into slaves. Such being the case, we must recruit volunteers from Hungary to protect ourselves... At this the audience in the Diet answered with once voice: Give us liberty or give us death.45

As the Hungarian army won one victory after another over the Austrian army, the Austrian government sought help from Russia. Russia was only too happy to interfere because of its territory ambitions to the south. Determined to fight to death for their country, Hungarian patriots declared independence from Austria in 1849. But when the Hungarian army was defeated, Kossuth escaped first to Turkey and then went to America. Thereafter, Kossuth
travelled around the globe appealing to the people of the world for support to the cause of Hungarian independence.

Sanshi and Koren are deeply moved by Mary’s account. Koren is reminded of an anecdote that reveals the way Kossuth was admired by young people in Europe.

Some years ago, a hat of an unusual design was popular among young people in European countries. It was a design modeled on the hat Mr. Kossuth wore and it is still called the Kossuth Hat. I heard that those who did not wear the hat at the time were regarded as not being able to tell right from wrong. From this single fact, we know how much impact your father’s patriotism exerted on young people.⁴⁶

Mary’s account of Hungarian history appears for the most part in Volume Eight of Kajin no kigu published in March 1888. As we have seen from the previous chapter, Shiba Shiro’s patron Tani Kanjō came to disagree with Satchō government policies, especially with regard to treaty revision and Westernization. He resigned his position as a minister in protest. Shiba, who shared Tani’s political views, resigned with him. As is pointed out by some Japanese scholars, the vehement criticism of Austrian emperor’s order for the Hungarians to abandon their native language in favor of a foreign tongue, and of the corruption of Metternich government, is in fact a veiled attack directed more at what was happening in Japan than what had happened in Hungarian history.⁴⁷

SANSHT’S RETURN TO JAPAN (9)

The chirping of the birds along the riverbank tells Mary, Koren and Sanshi that it is already dawn, and they row back to the hermitage. As they are share breakfast, the white

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⁴⁶ GNBZ., 173.
⁴⁷ SSK., 408-409.
parrot in the cage repeatedly breaks into cries: “My love, do not abandon me! My love, do not abandon me!” Reminded of Yūran by the cry of the parrot, Sanshi recites a poem he had composed earlier on the subject of the parrot. It includes the following lines.

You lament the separation of mothers and children, husbands and wives...
Those who hear your cry will feel sorrowful those who see your pallid look will shed tears...
Now is Yūran well, resigning her life to the battlefield?
I have no way of knowing. 48

Kōren decides to leave for Egypt to join Yūran in the fight against the English, and by doing so she hopes to contribute to the Irish independence movement as well. Mary indicates she will accompany Kōren to Europe now that she has found her alive and well and she has fulfilled her obligation to pass on Yūran’s ring to Sanshi. Sanshi debates with himself as to whether he should go to Egypt with Kōren to help Yūran.

Kōren cherishes her friendship with Yūran, and she is determined to place at risk the weak body of a woman and march through the rain of bullets and the smoke of gunpowder to help Yūran. By contrast, I, a five-foot tall Japanese man, do not have the courage to join her, and remain merely a by-stander. Is this not a lack of manly integrity? Does not this make me look shameful in front of women? I should stand up today and leave everything behind and go to Egypt with Kōren. On the other hand, I am merely a poor student studying in a foreign land ten thousand miles from home. Where can I gather the funds needed for such an expedition? Besides, I have an old white-haired father in my homeland, who, raising his hand to his eyes and peering at the horizon, waits anxiously day and night for his son’s return to Japan. Therefore, I cannot commit myself to others simply. Thinking of these matters, I feel as though my mind is turning over like summer clouds. 49

In his debate Sanshi weighs the respective merits of friendship, male chivalry and pride versus the traditional duty of a Japanese son to be filial. Clearly, filial piety wins out both as a moral and as a mundane consideration. A peculiar or contradictory conservatism is seen here in

48 GNBZ., 173.
49 GNBZ., 174.
a character who is so devoted to the new and modern causes of national liberation, and it is perhaps indicative of the conservatism that runs through so much of Shiba Shiro’s thinking. Filial piety is, of course, also a rationale that would be acceptable to his Japanese audience.

Sanshi ends up staying behind in Philadelphia. After the two women depart for Europe, Sanshi tries to find comfort in reading the newspapers, in hopes of finding information about Yūran. One day, he sees an article reporting that a Spanish beauty of age eighteen or nineteen is working as a volunteer nurse with the Egyptian army in Cairo, where the wounded soldiers regard her as a “Nightingale.” Sanshi becomes very excited at the news, but later, an extra edition appears that reports the Egyptian army has been defeated and Arabi Pasha captured by the English. The bad news sends Sanshi to his sickbed. Several days later, a letter arrives from Koren. In the letter, Koren explains she could not reach Egypt because sea traffic was cut off by the war. Stranded in Europe, she was once again harassed by Ora, the prison warden from Madrid. While in Paris, she meets Gambetta, the Prime Minister of France, who once expresses to her his support to weak nations that will rise up and fight for their national rights. But this meeting with Gambetta leaves Koren angry because during the meeting the Prime Minister not only rejects Koren’s request for French aid to the Egyptians, but he also reveals it is French policy to take advantage of the situation by expanding French interests in the area. Sanshi, who has been worried about Yūran, is now anxious for Koren’s welfare as well.

Two years pass. We are brought to the autumn of 1884. One day, Sanshi receives a telegraph from Japan telling him the sad news of his father’s death. All sorts of feelings well up in his mind.

When I was young, the disaster of Aizu Civil War fell on my home domain and on my family. As my father and my brothers were detained at various places after the
disaster, we never enjoyed the pleasure of the family being together as a whole. I served by my father’s side only when he was exiled in the northern wilderness after the Boshin Civil War, and even that was only for a brief period. Afterwards, I drifted east and west...enduring the hardships of studying for ten years and never fulfilling even for a single day my duty of filial piety to my father. It has been four years since my arrival in America, and throughout the four years it has been my wish to return to Japan after graduation to be at my father’s side...and make him happy...But now I have received this sad news. My mother died under the sword and in the rain of bullets. Now my father is gone while I am ten thousand miles from home. Oh, why is it that I am not blessed with a way to serve my parents?^{50}

Several days of mourning restore his courage, and Sanshi decides that he is in a better position to devote himself to the “country and society” now that he no longer needs to worry about attending to his family.

Sanshi surveys the situation in the world in order to find a way to serve Japan, or what he calls “country and society.” As he surveys the international scene, he feels keenly the danger posed by the expansion of Western imperialism, especially vis-a-vis East Asian countries. When he reveals his thoughts to a Japanese Buddhist monk he happens to meet in New York, a monk who is on a world tour, he finds his views are shared by the monk.^{51} Sanshi then leaves Philadelphia and visits Mexico. In Mexico, he meets Santa, a Mexican journalist and a patriot.

In December 1884, Sanshi leaves San Francisco and after a month’s voyage across the Pacific, he sees Mt. Fuji once again in January 1885.

^{50} GBZ., 175.
^{51} The monk is not identified in Kajin no kigu. But according to Yanagida Izumi, it is modeled on Kitabatake Doryu (1828-1907), a famous Buddhist monk from Honganji Temple in Kyoto. Kitabatake Doryu visited the United States in May 1883. See SSK., 420.
Sanshi returns to Japan at a time when the relationship between Japan and China had reached crisis proportions over the issue of Korea. When Sanshi asks his friend what has brought the two countries to the brink of war, the friend, who is identified only as a koyū (old friend) or a kyaku (guest), in a manner typical of the way minor characters are referred to in *Kajin no kīgu*, traces the background of the Korean issue. From the early days of the Meiji era, a debate had broken out in Japan over whether it should conquer Korea. The debate then became so intense that it eventually split the Japanese government. Champions of intervention, Saigo Takamori, Itagaki Taisuke and Eto Shimpei resigned their government positions. A series of protests and disturbances against the central government soon followed and culminated in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. When peace was finally restored, the Japanese government began to move ahead with active implementation of its Korean policy. "For the purpose of maintaining peace in East Asia and thereby to check the powerful Europeans and Americans, which harbor the greedy ambition of invading and swallowing East Asian countries," the friend says, the Japanese government sought to persuade Korea to abandon its policy of national seclusion by convincing it of the dangers of isolation. Citing its own example, Japan told Korea that the relationship between the two countries was not unlike that between America and Japan at the end of Edo period. If Japan did not guide Korea, then Russian armies would surely drive southward across Mt. Changbai and the twin-headed eagles

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52 GNBZ., 180.
of the Czarist flag would soon fly over the skies of Pusan. A Russian occupation of the Korean peninsula would also be a threat to the security of Japan. Or, if Japan did not guide Korea, Chinese armies would cross the Yalu River and the flags of the Yellow Dragon would dominate the peninsula. In that case, the Chinese would surely take revenge on Japan for its losses in Taiwan and the Ryukyus. Even if war was avoided with China or Russia, major economic changes would surely ensue once the Siberian railway was completed. It is for these reasons, the friend adds, that Japan is attempting to help Korea become an independent country. The friend then advances the theory of Social Darwinism, according to which it is a law of nature that the weak are the prey of the strong. Ancient lands in Asia and Africa have perished one after another for this reason, and in all likelihood China and Korea will be soon carved up by the Western powers. Therefore, the argument goes, Japan must avoid associating with its neighbors, abandon its Asian customs and join the ranks of the Western nations by expanding its territory and taking land from other Asian countries. This is the means for Japan to maintain its independence.

The immediate cause of the crisis between Japan and China is, the friend goes on to explain, the Kapsin Political Coup of 1884 in Seoul. Caught between two larger powers, the Koreans are divided as to how to survive as a nation. Two political parties have formed. One is the pro-Japanese Progressive Party; the other, the pro-Chinese Conservative Party. In December 1884, at the height of the competition between the two parties, the pro-Japanese party launched a coup d'état in an attempt to eliminate the pro-Chinese forces in the government. In the chaos that ensued, the Korean King asked the Japanese legation in Seoul to send forces to protect the imperial palace. However, a joint force of Chinese soldiers and the
pro-Chinese party began to besiege the palace. In the ensuing battle, the Japanese forces were defeated, the Japanese legation attacked and many pro-Japanese Korean cabinet ministers killed. As both Japan and China were directly involved in the incident in Korea, negotiations between Japan and China followed.

Several days later an anonymous letter reaches Sanshi. The sender of the letter, who is identified only as "a friend from Mt. White Clouds," is apparently Hankei, one of the four patriots from Philadelphia, because Sanshi knows that Mt. White Clouds (Baiyun shan) is a well-known landmark outside Canton, China. In the letter, Hankei sets forth three proposals regarding how Japan should best deal with China. The first two are military, the last is more peaceful and diplomatic.

Negotiations between Japan and China result in a peaceful withdrawal of both countries from Korea. Ito Hirobumi, the Japanese representative to the negotiations, is hailed as a hero in Japan, and his success celebrated. But Sanshi's close friends are not happy with the results. At a gathering in Tokyo, a friend by the name of Seikyō Koji expresses his disappointment. He is afraid that by agreeing to mutual withdrawal, Japan may make itself appear weak before a world where the weak are prey to the strong.

After the failure of the Kapsin Political Coup, a group of fifteen or sixteen leaders of the Korean Progressive Party sought political asylum in Japan. One day, Sanshi visits Kim Okkyun, leader of the party. Kim tells him that many of his comrades and relatives were killed in the failed coup. That he did not take responsibility and end his own life, he says, is not because he fears death, but because he wants to advance the cause of his country so that the souls of the dead can be comforted. Sympathizing with Kim, Sanshi says that he too is a person
who had lost his domain, and a man whose relatives and family members had died in a civil war. He further encourages Kim by pointing out the common cause of all East Asian countries: "If something happens to East Asian countries in the future, let us stand up together and hold hands in the expedition westward." At this point, Sanshi tells Kim that while he was studying in the United States, he met patriots from West hemisphere whose have lost their countries and they revealed to each other their political aspirations. Now that he meets Kim he proposes to add Kim to his group of fellow patriots. But the Korean leaders immediate object to this proposal. "It is fine to write me into your strange encounters. But never let my motherland perish." [Underlining original]

What follows is Kim's account of his own life and of the various political events in Korea that led to the coup. He was born to a distinguished family. At age eighteen, he traveled around Korea and was struck by the fact that his motherland was rich in natural resources but her people suffered in poverty and the country was in a decline. He believed bad politics was one reason for these woes. and he decided to commit himself to the reformation of Korean politics.

For a long time, the internal problem that dominated the political scene in Korea was the rivalry between the Taewon'gun, the regent to the throne, and the faction supporting Queen Min. At first power was in the hands of the regent. But the Taewon'gun was an old-style Confucianist who was ill-informed about changes in world and was opposed to opening Korea to the world. Fortunately, the king supported reform, and he concluded a treaty of friendship with Japan in 1876. In spite of the liberal sympathies of the king, however, the

[^53] GNBZ., 187.  
[^54] GNBZ., 187.
power lay in the hands of Min faction, and the suggestions Kim made to reform the country were not adopted. When the Imo Mutiny took place in 1882—a revolt of Korean soldiers against the government due to the cutbacks in their rice rations—the regent artfully directed the revolt against the Queen Min and her faction. Many pro-Min officials were killed, and the queen narrowly escaped death. In the ensuing chaos, the soldiers attacked the Japanese legation. The Taewon’gun seized the government and for a few days enjoyed full power. At the time Kim Okkyun was studying in Japan. Upon hearing of the mutiny, he hurried back to Inchon. When other Koreans suggested the use Chinese forces to kidnap the Taewon’gun and take him to Tientsin, Kim opposed them saying that inviting foreign forces to interfere in Korean affairs would mean selling the country. But his views proved to be unpopular. Chinese forces intervened, and the Taewon’gun was abducted to China. With the regent out of the way, Queen Min, reentered the capital and palace, and the star of the Mins was once again in the ascendant. Kim Okkyun travelled to Japan again trying to promote reform, to the distress of the pro-Chinese Min faction. Kim therefore started to plot a coup, with Japanese support, to eliminate the conservative forces from the government, but it ended in failure in the December 1884 coup, as we have already been told.

Here in Volume Ten, Shiba is so preoccupied with addressing the Korean issue that he totally forgets the other characters. Compared with earlier volumes, the narrative here is based largely on history and it has very little that could be identified as a literary treatment of the materials. Moreover, the Korean issue as presented in this volume is highly interpretative. For example, the treaty concluded in 1876 between Japan and Korea, which came to be known in history as the Treaty of Kanghwa, is not a “treaty of friendship” at all. Before the conclusion
of the treaty, Japan threatened that “Korea might well face an invasion if it did not sign a treaty with Japan.”55 The treaty is clearly an “unequal treaty” which “granted the Japanese many of the same privileges in Korea that were regarded as an affront to ‘national dignity’ at home,” including the right of extraterritoriality.56

SANSHI’S OFFICIAL TOUR ABROAD AND REUNION WITH HANKEI, YURAN AND KOREN (11-15)

Toward the end of 1885, a letter comes from General Tani Kanjō (appearing in the novel as General Kainan Kokyō), an old and respected of Sanshi, who has become the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce as the result of recent government reforms. Though it is not made explicit in the text, we know from the author’s biographical information the letter offers to appoint Sanshi as secretary to the Minister and it invites him to accompany Tani on an official tour of Europe and America the following spring. Having no intention of becoming a government official, Sanshi leans toward declining the invitation, but a friend, again unidentified as always the case for minor characters in Kajin no kigū, reprimands him.

You always criticize the government for its being too oppressive internally and too submissive externally, for its nepotism, excess, and overexpenditures. Now the government has reformed its offices and promulgated new employment regulations. Thanks to the new regulations, responsibilities have been made clear, expenditures have been reduced and the size of the government has shrunk. Is that not what you have always wanted to see? It would be a shame to those who hold high aspirations if you do not stop your empty theorizing and assume responsibility by becoming part of the government. 57

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56 Ibid.
57 GNBZ, 190.
Seeing the friend’s point, Sanshi decides to accept Tani’s. But what also helps Sanshi reach his decision is an element of personal interest, or perhaps more to the point here, of romantic interest and plot construction. By accepting the appointment, he says, “maybe I will be able to tour Egypt and meet my loved one.” Now, Sanshi is off on his official tour of the world in company of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. The time is March 1886. At different times and places in the course of his global tour, Sanshi is able to rendezvous with the other three patriots he had met in Philadelphia.

When their ship reaches Hong Kong, Sanshi unexpectedly encounters Hankei, the Ming Chinese patriot. Hankei confirms that the secret three-strategy proposal was indeed sent by him. Sanshi tells Hankei his proposals were rejected by the Japanese government in spite of his own strong endorsement. When Sanshi congratulates Hankei on his—as well as on the two ladies’—survival of the shipwreck, Hankei, who has assumed that Kōren and Yūran had drowned, is astonished. Sanshi assures Hankei that both ladies had been rescued. Although he is uncertain as to their current situation, he believes that, judging from past experience, fate is not unkind, and he assures Hankei he will be able to see them again someday. Sanshi then tells Hankei about his reunited with Kōren in front of Fannie Parnell’s grave, of how Mary Kossuth visited the hermitage by the Delaware River, and of how he and Kōren learned about Yūran and her father’s serving in Arabi Pasha’s army in Egypt. Sanshi also tells Hankei how Yuran had asked Mary Kossuth to erect a gravestone for him and Kōren, assuming that both had died in the storm. Deeply touched by Yūran’s friendship, Hankei tells Sanshi how he had been rescued by a French warship heading for Egypt, how he worked aboard the ship as a cook until he reached China, and how he plans to organize forces to achieve his goal of restoring the
Ming Dynasty to China. Hankei expresses regret had he known Yuran, her father and Mary Kossuth were in Alexandria when the Egyptian war broke out, he might have met them, as he too was in Alexandria aboard the French warship.

While heading for Tonkin, the French warship passed off the waters of Liberia and Madagascar, and the mention of the two weak nations leads to an account of their respective histories. Though known as “the only new republic on the continent of Africa,” Liberia is on the brink of disaster due to the country’s endless internal rivalry for power and its huge foreign debt resulting from blind imitation of the European life-style. When Hankei finishes his account of Liberian history, Sanshi observes that the tragedy “should serve as a lesson to East Asian countries, too.” Madagascar’s case is still worse than Liberia’s. While the world’s third largest island had once been an independent kingdom, now it is part of French territory, a disaster resulting from its wholesale acceptance of Western religion and its worship of things European.

Hankei’s tale continues. The mission of the French warship, he says, was to reinforce French forces in Tonkin. When the warship arrived in Tonkin, Hankei was sent as a spy to find out about the Black Flag Army, the Chinese army fighting against the French. He was captured, which enabled him to meet the commander of the Black Flag Army, an old friend. Hankei proposed that in order to bring about the restoration of Ming Dynasty, the Black Flag Army provoked the Manchu government into dispatching troops to fight the French or the Japanese. The Black Flag Army can then fight a weakened enemy to achieve its own goal. Sure enough, the Black Flag Army wins some victories, but as the international situation does not develop as expected, Hankei departs for Fujian to wait for better opportunities.
On his world tour, Sanshi also meets famous foreign patriots. In Ceylon, he accompanies Tani Kanjo on a visit to Arabi Pasha, the Egyptian general who was defeated in the war against England in Egypt, and who has since been sent into exile on this island. Arabi Pasha warns Japan against the European powers by quoting the painful lessons Egypt has learned. European powers may talk about how equal all peoples are before God, how mutually beneficial foreign trade is, how foreign loans are conducive to the development of poor nations, or how international law is fair in governing in the world, but once a nation makes the mistake of borrowing money and then having difficulty repaying it, they will forget all the teachings of Christianity and ignore the prohibitions of international law to send troops to loot your country.

The next stop is Cairo. One day Sanshi receives yet another anonymous letter addressed to him at his hotel. It is a love letter, and it reminds him of a lady wearing a veil whom he happened to see aboard a passing train earlier in the day. Somehow he feels the woman is Yuran, and he decides to search for her. One night, from the second floor of a mansion on an island in the Nile upstream from Cairo, Sanshi hears a woman playing a concertina and reciting poetry. Even from he is still far away and it is in the darkness, from the content of the poem he can tell immediately it is Yuran.

Longing for you, I cannot fall asleep at midnight.
Seeing the bright moon in the sky reflected on the river
I wish my tears, having dropped into the water,
will change to rain and be carried to your side.58

Ecstatic at his discovery and forgetting that he is trespassing on private property, Sanshi finds himself bursting in a poetic reply, or a poem that he had chanted at the party by the Delaware River with the three patriots.

58 GNBZ., 206.
In the house by the river at the foot of a hill
there is a Japanese studying in a foreign land....

Before he can finish, he is clubbed from behind and loses his consciousness. When he
comes to, he finds himself lying in bed with Yūran by his side. The two lovers are thus reunited
after a separation of four years. Yūran tells Sanshi how her father's strategies were not adopted
and how this led to the defeat of Egyptian army and the exile of Arabi Pasha. After that,
General Yūran went to Sudan to help the anti-English forces there. He told his daughter to
return to Philadelphia, but before she could do so, she was kidnapped and put in prison by a
group of Egyptian thugs. Soon she found herself the target of an unwanted overtures from an
Egyptian prince who had her released from the prison. As Yūran resisted the prince's amorous
advances, he confined her to a room in his palace. Fortunately, she has escaped and is in hiding
in the mansion on the island, thanks to the help of a lady-in-waiting in the palace, who is also a
Christian. She says she too had seen Sanshi on the train, and the passing glimpse prompted her
into writing the anonymous letter. Because she is in hiding, security is tight. That is why a
servant in the mansion, who took Sanshi for the prince's spy, hit the trespasser over the head.

When Yūran catches sight of the ring Sanshi is wearing, she remarks on its similarity to
one she had entrusted to a certain Hungarian lady. Sanshi assures her that the ring was safely
delivered by Mary Kossuth and that Koren and Hankei also survived the storm. For a moment,
Yūran is suspicious of the relationship between Sanshi and Koren; but Sanshi convinces her
that jealousy is unwarranted. Otherwise, he would not have risked his life to search for her.

One might suppose that the romance would be consumed at this point, but nothing of the kind

59 GNBZ., 206.
happens. To the contrary, once again their reunion ends in a sad parting, as is seen in Sanshi's
cold-hearted farewell to Yūran.

Were I not a body bound by official duties, I would surely take you from here
and have you go to Europe with me. This is the one thing for which I have a thousand,
ten thousand of regrets. Now I will give you every penny I have to cover your travel
expenses. Please seek the earliest opportunity to escape to Philadelphia and wait for me
there. Heaven has a way to reward us, and surely the day will come when I shall hold
your hand again.60

After Yūran jots a quick letter for Sanshi to deliver to Kōren, the Wanderer and the Kajin part
once more.

Sanshi's tour of many lands continues. In Turin, Italy, he is able to visit Louis Kossuth,
whom he met in front of Benjamin Franklin's tomb in Philadelphia and whose daughter Mary
delivered the gold ring from Yūran. At Sanshi's request, Kossuth delivers a long lecture on
diplomacy concerning France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain and Russia. He predicts that none
of the European powers can afford a war in the Far East. Now is the time, he says, for Japan to
seek the redress of the unequal treaties. After a brief stay in London, Sanshi and company head
for the United States.

On the way to America, he meets Kōren who is headed for Canada to continue the
Irish independence movement. Kōren relates what has happened to her since she parted from
Sanshi in Philadelphia for the second time. She was arrested in Paris, she says, because of Ōra's
accusations, but she proved herself innocent by showing the police that she is an Irish patriot
and a friend of Prime Minister Gambetta. The Spanish prison warden was at first extradited to
Spain and put in prison, but because of his blandishments and bribes, he has been appointed
Viceroy of Luzon in the Philippines, a colony of Spain. Sanshi tells Koren about his unexpected

60 GNBZ., 211.
meetings with Hankei in Hong Kong, and with Yuran in Egypt. Sanshi then delivers the promised letter from Yuran.

Koren opened the letter and began to read it slowly. As she read, sometimes she opened her eyes wide as if she was angry. Sometimes she lowered her head as if she was sad. Finally she was in tears, which spilled to her dress.

"Why are you crying? What did Yuran write that makes you cry?" Sanshi asked.

Koren waved her hand. "Please, do not ask me. You will know eventually. Yuran confided her secret to me, and how can I betray her? My friend is currently hiding in tiger’s den and in the pool of alligators. Why is it you did not take her out of the jaws of death? Had I known her situation while I was still in England, surely I would have managed to take her out of harm’s way and bring her back with me."

Sanshi struggles to find an excuse. "My desire is no less strong than yours to show sympathy for Yuran and to rescue her from water and fire. However, I was afraid of letting private emotions get in the way of public duties. At any rate, the day should not be too far away when Yuran brings herself to Europe."61

When Sanshi returns to Japan with Tani Kanjo from the United States, they find that Japan is actively engaged in seeking revision of the unequal treaties with the Western powers.

To their great disappointment, it is doing so in accordance with the terms of foreign governments. Among other things, the Japanese will be required to hire foreign judges. Upset at what is happening in Japan, soon after his return to Japan Tani presents a five-point proposal to the government expressing his views on the current situation and proposing measures for the government to adopt concerning domestic issues and foreign relations. The proposal is rejected, and the indignant Tani resigns as minister. Sharing Tani’s political views, Sanshi also resigns as his secretary and moves from Tokyo. The time is July 1887. Aside from the fictional reunion with the patriots, Sanshi’s activities during the world tour and after his return to Japan are largely based on the author’s personal experiences, as we have seen in Chapter Two.

61 GNBZ. 233.
SINO-JAPANESE WAR AND THE ASSASSINATION OF QUEEN MIN (16)

Seven years have passed since Sanshi’s resignation. When the narration resumes, it is already 1894. One day Sanshi receives at his home a guest, a Chinese sent to him by Niu Shuping, a close friend and Chinese patriot. Through this messenger, Niu Shuping solicits Sanshi’s help in gaining Japanese support for a coup that he has started in China against the advice of Hankei. Disturbed at the rash behavior of the young Chinese patriots, Sanshi dispatches a friend to China, who returns subsequently with word that the coup ended in total failure and Niu Shuping has been executed.

Once again, the story turns to the Korean issue. As contention between Japan and China over Korea has continued to develop, activities of various Korean factions have also intensified. While Kim Okkyun supports the pro-Japanese independence movement from Japan, conservative forces, represented by Queen Min, regard him as a threat. Finally, the conservatives succeed in having Kim Okkyun assassinated in Shanghai in 1894. But the troubles facing the Korean court are far greater than those posed by progressive leaders such as Kim Okkyun. Since the previous year, unrest had begun to spread among the peasantry in Korea. Because farmers faced destitution due to heavy taxes, the intrusion of foreign-made cotton textiles, and usurious loan rates, they were drawn in larger and larger numbers to a new religious sect, the Tonghaks, or the East Learning Party, which promised sweeping social change. By early 1894, Tonghak rebel troops overwhelm government forces in places throughout Korea, and soon the domestic uprising turned into what is known to history as the Tonghak Rebellion. The very existence of the Yi Dynasty is threatened. When in desperation
the Korean court appealed to China for military support to suppress the rebellion, and obtained it, the Japanese immediately dispatched troops to Korea. For more than a decade, Japan and China had been vying for paramount influence in Korea, each considering control of Korea vital to its national security. When both countries sent troops to Korea in 1894, an uneasy balance was finally upset and the Sino-Japanese War ensued. Although many Japanese despaired about the outcome of the war, Japan won a quick and decisive victory. With the total defeat of China, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was concluded between Japan and China.

According to the treaty, China was to cede Liaotung Peninsula and Taiwan to Japan in addition to making payment of an exorbitant sum of 200 million taels as war indemnity. As a result of the war, "Japan's military might is made known to the eight corners of the world."62 But in only a matter of several days after the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, a victory-intoxicated Japan was forced to return Liaotung Peninsula to China due to the intervention of the Tripartite powers, Russia, France and Germany. The Japanese felt humiliated and a heated national debate ensued as how Japan should react.

Meanwhile, when the Koreans saw that Japan has been forced to return the Liaotung Peninsula, they begin to show contempt for Japan. Queen Min in particular regarded Japan as Korea's enemy.

Queen Min says to her ladies-in-waiting: "The Japanese treat my relatives as the enemy but my opponents as their friends. They also change our language and clothing and make us adopt the customs and styles of the barbarians. I swear revenge on them, even if I have to cede the land we inherit from our ancestors to one or two powers."63

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62 GNBZ., 245.
63 GNBZ., 249.
Moreover, Russia also accuses Japan of interfering in Korean internal affairs. As a matter of fact, Japan has been trying to persuade the Koreans to draw a distinction between government and royalty in order to check Queen Min’s influence over government policy. Faced with Russian accusation, the Japanese government suddenly reverses its anti-Min policy and tries to seek favor with Queen Min. Thereafter the Koreans begin to jeer at Japan’s capriciousness. Furthermore, due to the change in Japanese policy, Queen Min strengthened her influence in Korean state affairs and showed a more openly pro-Russian and anti-Japanese attitude.

At this juncture, the Japanese government decides to send Juba Koji as the new Japanese minister to Korea. The character Juba Koji is based on Miura Goro, an army general and close friend of Sanshi. Shortly after Juba takes office, Queen Min is assassinated on October 8, 1895. Because of accusations by the Western powers of Japanese involvement in the assassination, Sanshi—along with other Japanese in Korea accused of being assassination conspirators— is called back to Japan and imprisoned in Hiroshima.

The narrative, which has now run to sixteen volumes, ends with a lengthy passage describing Sanshi’s dream in his prison cell. One night, as he drifts off to sleep, he imagines that two Koreans have come to visit him. One of them is Yi Pungwong who was charged with the assassination of Queen Min and has been executed for the crime. He gives an account of the assassination. Speaking in ambiguous terms, Yi suggests that the assassination was not a planned action and that it was initiated by the Koreans. This account, of course, only represents the story the author wants his readers to believe. The other visitor is Kim Okkyun, the progressive leader who was assassinated in Shanghai the year before. After Yi’s account of the
assassination of the Queen, Kim states that everything—from the Queen's assassination to his own, and even the imprisonment of a wise man such as Tokai Sanshi—has been destined by fate and there is little human beings can do to avert it. His only hope is that Korea, his motherland, will last eternally. Sanshi awakens and realizes that he has been dreaming. In the darkness of the night, he hears only the boots of the prison guards pacing in the hall. Outside, a snow storm howls.
CHAPTER 4

PATRIOTISM IN KAJIN NO KIGU

As this chapter examines patriotism in Kajin no kigu, the term “patriotism” requires some explanation. It has been pointed out in our survey of the critical history of Kajin no kigu that the novel has been acclaimed by many Japanese critics as a masterpiece of patriotism. The word used for patriotism is “yukoku.” For example, the phrase that Yanagida Izumi uses to characterize the mood of Kajin no kigu is “junsui na mujoken na yukokuteki kibun” (a pure, unconditional patriotic feeling), and Tokai Sanshi is described as a “yukoku seinen” (patriotic youth). Similarly, Enomoto Takashi characterizes Kajin no kigu as “sekai no bokoku no rekishi o haikai ni shinagara kiki no Nihon o toraeta yukoku no seiji shosetsu” (a patriotic political novel that captures the crisis faced by Japan against the background of nations of the world falling victims to imperialism). The word “yukoku” is defined in Kojien as “kokka no koto o ureeomou koto. Kokka no an’i o shimpaisuru koto“ (being anxious or concerned about one’s country, or being worried about the safety of one’s country). Strictly speaking, therefore, the English word “patriotism,” which is defined in Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary as “love for and devotion to one’s country,” is not an exact equivalent of the Japanese word.

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1 Kojien.
2 SSK, 482.
3 Kojien, second edition, 2246.
4 Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, 863.

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“yūkoku,” because it lacks the latter’s connotation that the country is faced with decline or danger, which is the cause of the anxiety or concern. For want of a better word in English to convey the nuance of “yūkoku,” the word “patriotism” is used in this dissertation to refer to Shiba Shiro’s sympathy toward the weak nations of the world, his hatred of the imperialist powers, and in particular his deep concern over the future of Japan.⁵

By virtue of its title, From Patriotism to Imperialism, this dissertation implies that Kajin no kigu was a work that evolved over time: it originally started as a patriotic political novel, but the political stance of the author shifted during the thirteen years from 1885 to 1897 when it was written, and eventually it became a work with a highly pronounced imperialistic agenda. Given the implications of the title, an investigation of evidence showing the author’s initial intentions is a good place to begin our examination of the political content of Kajin no kigu. It will then be followed by a consideration of the various ways in which his patriotism is expressed in the novel.

First, let us turn to the internal evidence. The initial purpose of the novel is spelled out in the Introduction to fascicle one by Tani Kanjū, the respected friend and patron of Shiba Shiro and Cabinet Minister of Agriculture and Commerce (1885-1887) with whom Shiba travelled on a 15-month tour overseas shortly after he returned to Japan after six years in

⁵Mishima Yukio has a short story entitled “Yūkoku,” which has also been translated as “Patriotism” by Geoffrey Sargent. See Death in Mid summer and Other Stories by Yukio Mishima (New York: New Direction, 1966), 93-118.
America. The following is a partial translation of Tani Kanjo’s Introduction, which is written in Chinese.

The author has sought to appeal to Heaven about his deep concern for Japan, but Heaven does not respond; he has also sought to talk to the people, but no one listens. He is therefore obliged to employ the writing brush instead of the tongue, ink instead of tears, characters instead of spoken language, to express his patriotic enthusiasm (yūkoku no shi). How sad a fact this is! The author is from the Aizu domain, and he grew up amidst great hardships. Returning lately from the United States of America after many years of study abroad, he is well informed of the situation overseas and he knows the importance of repairing the roof at home before it rains. However, what he sees happening in Japan makes him so worried that he has become unceasing in informing the public of his concern over the future of Japan. This book is the result of his effort to make these concerns known.6

To Shiba’s contemporaries, expressions such as “deep concern over the future of Japan” and “the importance of repairing the roof before it rains” carry specific implications. Japan was in danger of falling victim to Western imperialism, and the author, who knew this fact only too well due to his experiences overseas, seeks to warn his countrymen. Thus, Tani’s Introduction informs the reader, in very succinct terms, of the patriotic nature of the author’s initial conception of the work.

Similarly, the motivation and circumstances in writing the novel are also explained in the author’s Preface to Volume One.

When I was young, I experienced the turmoil of the Boshin Civil War in which my family suffered indescribable loss. After that, at times I drifted east and west; at other times I threw away the writing brush and fought as a soldier. Never did I have the leisure to spare for literary pursuits. Then I found myself registered as a student overseas, and I devoted myself to the study of pragmatic skills. As I was busily taking classes on economics, trade law, industry and other subjects, my attention was attracted more and more to the development of economy and trade and less and less to the topics of blossoms and moonlight, for above all, I had not the leisure to recite poetry or polish a composition. However, while abroad for many years, I was

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6 MSSS., 3.
constantly worried about the future of Japan. Separated from my motherland by thousands of miles of land and sea, I wrote down my feelings whenever they were triggered by things I saw or heard. These notes have accumulated to more than ten volumes. All of these notes are the result of my scribbling in the little time I could snatch from my daily duties. Consequently, they are not unified in style or language, some of them being written in Japanese, some in kambun and some even in English. I was at Atami Hot Springs to recuperate from an ailment earlier this year after my return from aboard, and enjoyed about two months of leisure. I used these two months to edit these notes and put them into contemporary Japanese. I decided to call the result of my labor Kaiin no kigu. 7

The author tells us the novel originated from the notes he kept while he was studying in the United States. It is only because he was “constantly concerned about the future of Japan” that what he “saw and heard” abroad could have triggered these feelings. Like Tani Kanjo’s Preface, the author also testifies to the patriotic intent of the novel when it was started.

As a matter of fact, the author’s concern over the future of Japan can be traced back to the days even before he left for America. In Chapter Two, we have seen that in 1876, Shiba published a highly allegorical story in a newspaper entitled Tôyô bijin no tan (Lamentation for the Japanese Beauty). The story begins in the following way.

Who says there have been no beautiful women in Japan? There was one whose name was Seiwa. 8 Her face was like the flowers of the peach and plum trees and her appearance was like that of Senken (Chan Juan in Chinese), 9 the ancient Chinese beauty. 10

The name Seiwa is the abbreviated form of the two words Akitsushima 11 and Yamato, 12 both of which are used as names for Japan in the Nihon shoki (720), one of the two

7 Ibid.
8 靖和.
9 嬪娟.
10 Tokyo mainichishimbun. November 24, 1876.
11 鬱岐洲.
12 大和.
oldest extant histories of Japan written by the Japanese. Clearly, Seiwa is meant to stand here for Japan. In a thinly disguised manner, this newspaper allegory traces Japan’s recent history and explains why she is about to fall into the danger of becoming victim to Western imperialism: The beautiful princess of Japan attracts the attention of her Western neighbors. The neighbors disrupt the seclusion of her household and cheat her into associating with them. Though Seiwa had disliked Western civilization, once the door of the country is opened, she gradually becomes intoxicated with the West and tries to copy it in every way possible. As a result, the wealth of her household flows into the hands of her Western neighbors. The spirit of Japan is more and more eroded. A loyal subject, presented as Seiwa’s wet nurse, foresees the danger and tries to persuade her to stop worshipping the West and change the way in which she deals with her Western neighbors. But Seiwa has changed so much that not only does she turn a deaf ear to a loyal subject but she even reprimands the wet nurse for her candor. As a result, the wealth of Seiwa’s household is about to be exhausted, and it faces imminent disaster. At the end of the tale, the narrator, who is revealed as none other than Shiba Shirō, appears to present the moral of the allegory.

As I was pondering this, I found tears trickling down my face and I was choked with sadness. Then I woke and realized the whole affair was a dream. But the sadness still remains within me, and I decided to write it down and call it "The Lamentation for Japanese Beauty." I hope my record of the dream also carries a lesson with it.\(^{13}\)

There is something surprisingly similar between this lamentation for Seiwa and Tani Kanjo’s Introduction to Kajin no kigu: Both testify to the author’s concern for Japan and his unrecognized loyalty. It is believed that this short allegory became the germ of ideas out of

\(^{13}\)Tokyo mainichi shimbun. November 24, 1876.
which Kaiin no kigu grew nine years later. Indeed there are similarities between the two works. Both use beautiful women to represent weak nation(s) or victims of Western aggression and both end in the author’s dream. If we agree with this view, then it is no wonder that Kaiin no kigu should have begun as a patriotic novel. The novel started as no more than an expression of the author’s on-going concern for the future of Japan, a concern that originated from much earlier and was only intensified by the author’s experience overseas.

While evidence from the novel itself is indisputable, stronger evidence is to be found in external sources—namely in a curious lawsuit that surrounds the appearance of a popular version of Kaiin no kigu. As explained in the Preface, Kaiin no kigu was published in installments. It consists of eight fascicles which are further divided into two volumes each, and the sixteen-volume work was written over a period of thirteen years from 1885 to 1897. Soon after the publication of fascicle one in 1885, there appeared an adaptation of the novel entitled Tsuzoku Kaiin no kigu (Strange Encounters with Beautiful Women: The Popular Version, 1886) by Hattori Seichi. According to the advertisement attached to the colophon of Hattori’s adaptation, Shiba Shiro’s Kaiin no kigu had a limited readership, in spite of its popularity, because the language employed in the novel was too difficult and "beyond the

14 SSK., 367.
15 Hattori Seichi, Tsuzoku Kaiin no kigu (Tokyo: Domei shoten, 1886). See page 149 for more on the background of Hattori Seichi. There is another novel entitled Tsuzoku Kaiin no kigu, which was published in 1887. It was written by Sekishin Tetchoshi. It tells a story totally unrelated to Shiba Shiro’s bestseller and is therefore out of the scope of this dissertation. But the adoption of Shiba’s title serves as good indication of how popular Kaiin no kigu was at the time.
comprehension of beginners. To make it accessible to a wider range of readers, Hattori Seiichi wrote a popular version which he claimed "even women and children can understand easily and is a new novel of truly educational value."

Many political novels published during early and mid-Meiji were highly acclaimed but accessible only to better educated readers due to the difficulty of their kambun style. It was therefore a fairly common practice at the time for novels to be adapted into tsuzoku or "vulgarized" texts written in simplified language to meet the demands of a general readership for political novels. Examples of adaptations of highly acclaimed but stylistically difficult political novels include Oda Jun'ichirō's vernacular translation Tsuru karyū shunwa (A Springtime Tale of Blossoms and Willows: The Popular Version, 1883-1884), an adaptation of his own Karyū shunwa (1879), which was a translation of Bulwer-Lytton's novel Ernest Maltravers (1837) into the kambun style; Ozaki Yukio's Tsuzoku keisei igun (The Outstanding Statesmen: The Popular Version, 1887), an adaptation of his own Keisei igun, published one year earlier. It would seem the same relationship holds true for Kajin no kigu and Tsuzoku kajin no kigu except that the two works were by different authors and published by different publishers. However, the situation turned into something quite different.

16 See advertisement attached to the colophon of the novel.
17 Ibid.
On April 14, 1889, Shiba Shiro sued Hattori Seiichi for violating his copyright privileges and for pirating ideas from his best-selling political novel.\(^{21}\) A series of trials ensued. In the first trial, Hattori was found innocent by the Tokyo Court of Misdemeanors.\(^{22}\) Shiba Shiro then took his case to the Tokyo Court of Appeals. This time around, on July 10, Hattori and his publisher were found guilty of having violated the newly promulgated Copyright Regulations.\(^{23}\) It was then Hattori's turn to appeal, and he did not once but three times. Finally, on May 29 1890, the case went before Japanese Supreme Court, and Hattori was found guilty. As punishment, Hattori and his publisher, Shionoya Yoshibe, were each fined twenty yen; the unsold 61 copies of the book, along with the printing woodblocks, were confiscated and a compensation of 435 yen, plus the cost of lawsuit, was to be paid to the plaintiff Shiba Shiro. The suit thus came to an end.\(^{24}\)

In his article Seiji shōsetsu to taishū ("Political Novels and the Masses"), Echi Haruo examines the relationship between Kajin no kigō and Tsuzoku Kajin no kigō in general terms. The conclusion he reaches is that the popular version lacks the persistent exploration of the economic and political issues of the original, and that the adaptation introduced changes in not only language style but also political content.\(^{25}\) In other words, the change in the political ideals


\(^{22}\) See Tokyo asahi shimbun, May 22 to May 23, 1889.

\(^{23}\) Ibid., July 14, 1889.


\(^{25}\) Echi Haruo, "Seiji shōsetsu to taishū." Bungaku 32 (May 1964), 63.
in the popular version of *Kajin no kigu* was the inevitable, and/or accidental result of the popularization process.

But Kanro Junki challenges this view on the relationship between the two novels in his article *Mo hitotsu no Kajin no kigu* (*Another Version of Strange Encounters with Beautiful Women*). The question Kanro raises is that, if we are to accept Echi Haruo's view, we cannot explain why Shiba Shiro forbade the publication of *Tsuzoku kajin no kigu* and went so far as to sue Hattori for violating the copyright. Kanro's question originates from the assumption that the purpose of a political novel is to propagandize an author's political views, and as such the author of a political novel is expected to welcome any effort to make his book accessible to a wider audience. His conclusion is that although the popular version follows the general story line of the original, it distorted its political theme by reversing the relationship between the issue of national independence and that of the freedom of the people within Japan. The adaptation was marked instead by a pronounced shift in favor of the ideology of the "freedom and people's rights" (*jiyu minken*), a shift that makes the popular version a work decidedly different from the original. It was Shiba's perception of this distortion and reversal that prompted him to take legal action against the publication of the popular version.

To weigh Kanro's argument, let us look at the story as it appears in Hattori's popular version. The novel begins on a Fourth of July when Daito Hyoshi, or the Wanderer from Japan, pays a visit to Independence Hall in Philadelphia. As he reminisces about the heroic

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27 大東萍士.
struggle of the American people, he notices three young female visitors who are recounting the War of Independence in great detail. The women notice the presence of Hyōshi toward the end of their conversation, but they leave the hall without exchanging greetings. About three months past before Hyōshi meets them again when he is riding horse-back along the Schuylkill River outside Philadelphia in order to enjoy the autumn leaves. Subsequently he is invited to their secluded house by the river. In the course of their self-introductions, Hyōshi learns that the three women are ardent patriots, each having experienced hardships and having come to America to carry on the struggle to make their respective countries free, independent and strong. Maria is from Spain. She and her father have fought for the cause of making Spain a constitutional monarchy, but they have incurred the hatred of hothead republicans, and Maria has escaped to the United States after her father was imprisoned by the republicans. Meanwhile, Alice is from Ireland, and she is an activist in the Irish independence movement. Finally, Salice is from Persia. Her father was put in prison for his anti-Russian activities by a government that was oblivious to the danger posed by Russia. Hyōshi is then introduced to two servants in the house, a black young man called Boto, who once served in the army of the Egyptian general Arabi Pasha in fighting the British army, and a Chinese by the name of Gen Gisen²⁸ (Ruan Yiquan in Chinese), who is a descendent of a distinguished Chinese family of the Ming Dynasty and who has come to America to carry on his struggle to overthrow the alien Manchus. The two men, followed by Hyōshi, deliver accounts of how their homelands have perished and of how they plan to win freedom for their peoples. The men and women are

²⁸ 阮義詔.
amazed at how the six of them, from different parts of the world, all happen to meet in America and tell similar stories about their homelands. The entire story ends in a party in which the characters sing songs celebrating freedom and people’s rights.

By the time Hattori’s Tszukok Kajin no kigu was granted its copyright in December 1886, as many as five volumes of Shiba Shiro’s Kajin no kigu had appeared. But as one sees from the above summary, the popular version is an adaptation of only the first two volumes of the original, and it involves several modifications. For example, even though the name of the protagonist is changed from Tokai Sanshi to Daito Hyoshi, the basic meaning remains unchanged with both meaning “the Wanderer from Japan.” In stead of two female characters as in the original, the number has expanded to three and includes a nationality (Persia) not found in the original. Similarly, one more male character has been added to the story. A comparison of the popular version and the original reveals similarities between the two. The most obvious lies in the fact that the story line of the popular version follows that of the original. Like the original, the popular version also begins with the protagonist’s visit to Independence Hall, which is followed by a chance meeting with the principal characters and their self-introductions. It also ends with a party in which the characters sing songs to reveal their political aspirations.

Given his background, Hattori Seiichi (1841-1908) would seem to be a likely candidate to write an adaptation of Kajin no kigu.29 He was born into a samurai family of the

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29 Hattori Seiichi is sometimes cited in the literature by his literary name. Hattori Busho服部撫松. Among his disciples was the liberal democratic critic and political commentator Yoshino Sakuzo (1878-1933).
Nihonmatsu domain (in the northeast corner of present-day Fukushima Prefecture), which had joined Aizu in fighting the army of the Meiji government. Like Shiba Shiro, he too had known the meaning of defeat at the hand of the Satsuma-Choshu forces during the Boshin Civil War. After the abolition of all feudal domains in 1871, Hattori created a kambun-gesaku newspaper, Tokyo shinshi, that was popular in its day but often suppressed because of its erotic or satirical nature. He also established himself as a writer of gesaku fiction and as a political novelist. His most popular gesaku fiction, Tokyo shin hanjo ki (An Account of the New City Life in Tokyo, 1875), sold more than 15,000 copies and his political novels, such as Nijusannen kokkai miraiki (A Vision of the Establishment of the National Diet in 1890; 1886), also enjoyed popularity. Other than lacking the experience of studying abroad, Hattori Seiichi's formative years overlap those of Shiba Shiro and this fact is reflected in both works. For example, in the original Kajin no kigū, when Sanshi tells the other characters that he is also one who "has lost his country" and recounts how Aizu was vanquished by government troops during the Boshin Civil War, we have the following passage.

The whole Aizu domain was mobilized for the defense of the castle. From spring to autumn, the armed forces of the domain fought the government troops single-handedly until their swords were broken and their arrows exhausted. Finally, the enemy pushed to the foot of the castle. In the ensuing battle, countless officers and soldiers of the domain died, and their bodies were piled one on top of another. The injured soldiers continued to fight the enemy with their bare hands, and those whose arms or legs were broken still sought to block the advance of the enemy. Even when heads or legs were separated from bodies and so much blood was shed that it could carry a pestle in its flow, without exception, the men were still positioned as if ready to continue the battle with the enemy... An isolated army fell into a tight circle. The smoke of gunpowder covering the sky was so thick that even the sun lost its brilliance. The piercing snow storm was cold, and food was exhausted. Everyday, more and more soldiers died or were wounded, and there was no hope for reinforcements. After
fighting the government troops for a whole month in this way, we finally surrendered. 30

We are given a similar account in Tsūzoku Kajin no kigū when Daitō Hyōshi speaks of his own background.

Our forces were less than one percent of the enemy’s number. Though we tried our best to defend the castle, the disproportionately smaller number of soldiers on our side made it very difficult for us to continue to resist. Before we knew it, another three hundred soldiers had been killed. That day, soldiers were fighting away from the castle at Shirakawa River, and they could not get back to render assistance… So, our castle finally fell into the hands of the enemy. Most of my relatives and friends were killed in the battle, and the head of our domain narrowly escaped to the outside of the castle and survived. 31

Hattori’s account of the battle is far less poetic and, it appears, that he does not wish to identify himself with Tokai Sanshi. Doubtless this ambivalence arises from his unhappiness about the way Aizu came to be known as the only anti-government hero of the Boshin Civil War. The following is taken from Daitō Hyōshi’s account of his own experience in the war, which is woven into the text of the adaptation.

Our domain was located in a place that controlled the only passage leading to Wakamatsu, the site of Aizu Castle. As long as our domain did not fall to the enemy, the enemy would have no access to the neighboring Aizu domain. Therefore, the government troops gathered all of their forces and moved on to our domain like storm clouds on July 28, 1868… The soldiers sent as reinforcements from Aizu and from Sendai were very few indeed… [Still] the world applauds Aizu for its heroic battle to defend the castle and calls Aizu the great star of the pro-Shogunate League of the Northern Honshu Domain in the Boshin Civil War… 32

30 GNBZ., 101.
31 Hattori Seichi. Tsūzoku Kajin no kigū (Tokyo: Domei shobo, 1886), 152.
32 Ibid., 152-155.
A far more significant difference between the two writers, moreover, lies in the decidedly different ways in which their shared experience as defeated pro-shogunate samurai influenced their subsequent political views. In the case of Shiba Shirō, the experience led him to a deep concern for the future of Japan in the face of rampant Western imperialism. For Hattori Seiichi, on the other hand, it led him to an anti-government position and the advocacy of people's rights' movement. This different political orientation is readily apparent when one contrasts Tsūzoku Kajin no kigū with its model, the first two volumes of Kajin no kigū.

First, let us look at the political themes introduced in the first two volumes of Kajin no kigū. Shiba Shirō's political ideals in these volumes are best expressed in his interpretation of the American War of Independence, his view on the relationship between national independence and individual freedom and on the strategies Japan should take to win national independence and maintain it. At the beginning of Volume One of Kajin no kigū, for example, we are given a survey of the American War of Independence by Yūran and Koren.

This hall [Carpenter Hall] is the place where in 1774 statesmen from the thirteen colonies met for the first time to discuss the future of the country. At the time, the tyrannical King of England ignored the constitution and imposed unbearably heavy taxes on the American people whose freedom was reduced to nothing. They wished to appeal, but there was nowhere to turn; they wanted to speak of their misery, but there was no one who would listen. The minds of the people were therefore agitated, and an armed conflict was about to ensue. Gravely concerned about the situation, statesmen from the thirteen colonies held a meeting in this hall to find a way to help the people out of their difficulty and to wipe out the root of all of their misery. It is here that Patrick Henry delivered the famous speech declaring "we must kill the English King, and we must build a republic"...

33 For a specific analysis on this, see Matsui Sachiko, Seiji shosetsu no ron (Tokyo: Ofusha, 1979), 112.

[When the War of Independence began and the Declaration of Independence was issued,] Americans from even the most remote parts abandoned their plows and gathered together. They took up arms and decided to fight. Weaving girls cut their cloth to make banners; fathers brought out food and drink to reward the soldiers; mothers, while shedding tears, sent their sons to battle; wives urged their husbands to report to their units immediately so they might not be late. The Americans would not yield even if run through by the sword or blown up by cannon fire. They did not regret even if they died on the battlefield...Oh, as human beings, who would prefer death to life? But buttressed by their patriotic enthusiasm, the American people devoted themselves to overcoming the difficulties of their country, and put aside consideration for themselves in serving their country [underlining mine].

From these passages, it is clear that to Shiba Shirō the American War of Independence is a war between two separate countries, one colonizer, the other in search of its independence. This is why the phrase “their country” appear three times in the above quote. "Freedom for the American people" is first and foremost the freedom of America as a nation. When the freedom of the nation is “reduced to nothing,” the issue of freedom of the individual American is simply out of the question. To win individual freedom, first the freedom of the country must be secured.

Moreover, in the following passage, we see Shiba Shirō's interpretation of how the American people maintained their national freedom that was won at great cost.

Externally, [Americans] resisted European expansionism by holding to the rule of confronting the aggressors and protecting the bullied. Internally, they built schools...encouraged industry and trade and imposed taxes on agriculture and sericulture and thereby have built a country that is rich and strong. It is one where people can enjoy freedom and extol peace.36

35 Ibid., 89.
36 Ibid.
Here again, Shiba Shirō is advocating that in order for people to enjoy freedom and extol peace, the country must first of all “resist European expansionism” and “confront aggressors” externally and develop economy at home.

But the above political themes are presented in a radically different light in the popular version of the novel. Here is how the American War of Independence is introduced in **Tsuzoku Kajin no kigū**.

In September 1774, representatives from the eleven [sic] colonies met for the first time in Philadelphia. The reason for the meeting was that preceding it, the British government frequently imposed heavy taxes on its colonies in America and was sucking the blood of the colonists to the last drop. The people in the colonies felt that if they pay money to their own government, as ordered by the government, then they should be granted the same rights as other citizens of the country and they should be allowed to send representatives to the Parliament in London and participate in the deliberation of state affairs. But no matter how hard people in the colonies appealed to the British government, it would not allow the colonies to send representatives to the Parliament saying that the colonies did not have the right to do so... At this, the American people became truly angry. They expressed their indignation by cursing: “The British government that makes us Americans suffer so much is not a government that protects us. It is our enemy...”[underlining mine]

Even though the same historical event is being introduced to a Japanese audience, the nature of the American War of Independence is characterized here in a very different light.

Instead of a war between two countries in which “the American people devoted themselves to overcome the difficulties of the country and put aside consideration of themselves in serving their country” as presented in **Kajin no kigū**, it is painted in Hattori’s account as strife within the same country between “their own government” and the people over the issue of people’s

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37 Hattori Seichi, **Tsuzoku Kajin no kigū**, 11-12.
rights to participate in the politics of the country. This point is made clear by commentary added to the above passage in the annotation.

When a government tries to hold the people in place and sucks their blood, no people will resign themselves meekly to such a government, not the least the American people who are known for being energetic and steadfast. It is no wonder that government troops should have shed blood that turned the prairie red [in America]. People in government circles must learn a lesson from this. It is easy to write laws, but it is not easy to bind the people by them. So what good does it do for a government to keep instituting strict laws? Is it not the case that cruel laws not only do not achieve their desired effect but they also serve to create trouble for the government?  

Whether or not the commentary is by Hattori Seiichi or another hand, it represents the sort of message Hattori seeks to convey to his readers. Here the struggle of one country against another for national independence is nowhere to be seen. What stands out is a critique of repressive government. The criticism of government repression is further developed in the popular version. For example, there follows an episode after Daito Hyoshi finishes his self-introduction in which Maria, the Irish beauty-patriot, inquires about Japanese domestic politics. In particular, she asks whether the Japanese government is as oppressive to its people as the British government is toward Ireland.

"I heard Japanese politicians follow the example of [Western] parliament system. I hope they do not carry out malicious policies the way the British government does in Ireland. But what is the truth about the Japanese situation?"

When Hyoshi was urged by the ladies in this way, he felt pressed to say something. But as if there were things he could not bear to say, he kept heaving deep sighs, and, to the end, said nothing.

...[The passage is followed by omission marks as long as seven whole lines].  

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38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., 163-164.
Significantly, a commentary is again added in the annotation to tell the reader what is omitted and why.

There is a good reason why the ladies ask these questions [about Japanese domestic politics,] and there is a good reason why Hyoshi falls silent. Even I, as a commentator, do not know the answers to these questions. —No. It is not that I do not know. Rather, it is that I dare not tell them.\textsuperscript{40}

In his book Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State, Jay Rubin traces the development of the government censorship system in the Meiji period.

The Meiji government became seriously interested in controlling the content of literature only after the literature itself had become a serious art form after some four decades of experimentation. Long before those decades had run their course, the government had perfected its censorship system, primarily for the control of political criticism. Successive regimes contributed to an increasingly detailed and sophisticated series of regulations which evolved into a relatively mature system as early as 1883...The libel and press regulation of June 1875 made it nearly impossible to criticize the government or government officials—or the regulations themselves—without fear of persecution...Another twelve years of revising and adjusting resulted in the mature system of submission of finished books seen in the Publication Regulations of 1887.\textsuperscript{41}

Rubin's description can help us understand the target of Hattori's criticism. To contemporary readers in Meiji, the meaning of the political themes in Hattori's popular version must have unmistakable: the government was too oppressive, and people did not have the freedom to criticize it. Clearly, from his account of the American War of Independence, Hattori derived a political agenda drastically different from that of Shiba Shiro's.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.
The issue of national rights vis-a-vis Western powers and people's rights vis-a-vis the
government is also developed in contrasting ways in the original and its adaptation. Shiba Shiro makes his position clear in the oft-quoted declaration in Volume Two of the original:

As far as Sanshi is concerned, the most urgent business at hand for us Japanese is not to win a yard of freedom domestically. Rather, it is to extend national rights externally by a foot.*^ In the popular version, however, the priority is reversed, as we can see in Alice's comment to Hyōshi on the approach the Japanese people ought to adopt to make their country strong.

"It is true it is difficult for you Japanese to win freedom, but as long as you keep trying, who says you will not obtain it? As long as the Japanese people win freedom, all undertakings will automatically thrive. When all undertakings thrive, it follows that the economy of the country will develop and the country will become rich and strong."^^

Hattori advocates here that the first and foremost task of the Japanese people is to win their individual freedom, because only then, "all undertakings will automatically thrive and it follows that the economy of the country will develop and the country will become rich and strong." This is a political agenda quite the opposite of that in Shiba Shiro's Kajin no kigū.

There is evidence that the changes in the political theme in the popular version is not at all accidental. Rather, it reflects the political convictions Hattori Seiichi had held consistently. Hattori worked as the editor-in-chief for several political magazines and newspapers, including the Chūgai komon shimpo (Domestic and International News). The January 13 1880 issue of

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*^ GNBZ., 102.
^^ Ibid., 161-162.
the newspaper carries an editorial, entitled "To Expand People's Rights Is the Ultimate Way to Expand National Rights," which argues for the priority of people's rights over national rights.

Human rights are the roots of trees while national rights are the branches and leaves. Human rights are the foundation while national rights are the house. National rights are nothing more than the total sum of the human rights of its people.

Nowadays, the national-rightists advocate many, many things as our top priorities, saying that we must develop our navy, we must select the most talented people to be our diplomats, we must increase our foreign trade, we must multiply our products, and so on and so forth. They can be as garrulous as they want, but as far as I am concerned, they are like someone who only shows a desire for the exuberance of the branches and leaves but at the same time utterly ignores the importance of cultivating the roots.

A comparison of the editorial and Alice's comment quoted earlier indicates an unmistakable connection. Both passages argue for the priority of people's rights over national rights.

From the above analysis, we can see that although the popular version followed the story line of the original with only minor adjustments, it presents a decidedly different interpretation of American War of Independence, reverses the relationship between national rights and individual freedom, and proposes a political agenda quite opposite to that of the original Kajin no kigū. This is the reason why, according to Kanro, Shiba Shiro could not tolerate its publication and went so far as to sue Hattori for violating his copyright. Thus, the lawsuit concerning the popular version of Kajin no kigū provides us with compelling evidence that the original text was one that from its initial passages embraced a patriotic theme.

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44 Chiugai komon shimpo 8, January 13, 1880. This editorial was unsigned and therefore it is not known whether it was by Hattori. But as is pointed out by some Japanese scholars, putting priority on individual freedom was a consistent view of all the magazines and newspapers where Hattori served as editor-in-chief. See Ōbinata Sumio, "Naigai seito ii ji ni miru shisei hihan," in Jiyū minken undo to rikken kaishinto (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1991).
The patriotic theme is developed much more fully later in the novel. Now let us turn to the various other ways in which the author's patriotism is expressed. First, the story evolves around the romantic relationship between Tokai Sanshi and the two beautiful women he meets in Philadelphia. But their romance is predicated on the basis of their shared ideals of justice and freedom and their antagonism against Western imperialism. A good illustration of this is to be found, for example, in a letter Yūran writes to Sanshi before she departs for Madrid to rescue her father.

Under the banner of freedom and justice, you must take arms and fight the Europeans for Japan's national rights. If you are wounded in battle, I will be there by your bedside and serve you medicine. If I fail to come to your side at that time, then it must be that my own life has already been sacrificed to my country...45 [underlining mine]

As the romantic relationship between Sanshi and the two women does not lead to a thrilling love story, George Sansom criticizes the novel for “disappointing the reader of his hope for a passionate climax.” But one wonders whether a passionate climax was what Shiba Shiro set out to do in the first place. Commenting on the relationships between politics and romantic love, Hiraoka Toshio argues that Sanshi and Yūran's love is “a union of comrade-in-arms seeking the independence of small and weak nations.” The value of such a love lies in the fact that what binds Sanshi and Yūran together is “their political ideals”—a type of romantic love unprecedented in Japanese literature.46

45 GNBZ., 107-108.
An important way in which the author expresses his patriotic enthusiasms is to speak of the miserable conditions to which weak nations have been reduced by the imperialist powers. In doing so, he hopes to warn his fellow Japanese of the danger faced by Japan.

Koren's account of Ireland under English oppression is an example. In Volume One, there is a scene in which the two beauties tell Sanshi about themselves with Koren's story following Yuran's. After giving an account of her family history, Koren turns to the political situation in Ireland.

At first, the Queen of England tricked our king and our people. In words, the British promised to help us, but in reality, they annexed Ireland. In name, our union is called United Kingdom, but in reality Ireland is reduced to nothing more than being a subject to England. Since then, England and Scotland grouped together, jealous of the wealth and prosperity of Ireland, tried every means at their disposal to hamper the development of our industry, our manufacturing and our foreign trade. They banned our right of association, deprived us of freedom of speech and religious beliefs. Because of the tyrannical rule of England, our industry declined, our foreign trade was bankrupted and the life of common Irish people has become very difficult. On the other hand, the government officials took advantage of the situation and took away the land from the farmers. The landowners, most of whom are English aristocrats, imposed heavy taxes on the people... The blood of the people is already drained but the heartless landowners still keep sucking. Their greed is more poisonous than vipers and more ferocious than tigers. When there is a crop failure, the bodies of those who died of hunger are be piled along the roads [underlying mine]...

Taking advantage of our lacking strong support, the wicked Queen of England and the vicious and greedy Englishmen bought our farm lands at a low price... and then rent it to the poor at a rate of interest several times higher than usual. More than eight hundred thousand Irish people died of hunger because they could not bear the burden of this high interest. There is a saying that if an animal kills the young of its species, then a kirin would not come close to its territory; if a bird breaks the nests and destroys the eggs of other birds, then a phoenix would not fly to its neighborhood. This saying teaches us how inhuman it is to harm the same species. If birds and animals know enough to avoid harming their species, how much better human beings too should know it? But the English people look on what is happening to us and make no effort to help us. What is more, they even created a theory saying that all Ireland's problems originate from overpopulation and that unless disasters befall Ireland and the Irish
people die one after another it can never hope to become rich and strong [underline mine].

Though Shiba Shiro does not make it clear in the novel, the hunger and the starved bodies in Koren’s tale most certainly allude to Ireland’s Great Potato Famine of 1845 to 1851. The “crop failure” refers to a failure of potato crops caused by a plant disease. The disease first struck, unevenly, in the autumn of 1845, as if testing its strength. It returned, as a devastation, the following summer. Overnight whole fields turned totally rotten, the stink of pestilential tubers fouling the air. Completely dependent on the potato, one of nature’s most versatile foods, the Irish peasantry began to starve. In the course of three years the famine wrecked havoc on Ireland. Though it is impossible to know the exact figure, historians tend to agree that about a million people died of starvation and sickness. One historian’s description of famine testifies to the accuracy of Shiba Shiro’s characterization of the disaster through his mouthpiece, the character Koren.

In six terrible years between 1845 to 1851, over a million Irish men, women and children died from the effects of prolonged hunger and disease. They died in the hovels where they lived, in the workhouses and fever hospitals, in the streets of the towns and in the ditches and bogs of the countryside. They died of starvation, of dysentery, of typhus and relapsing fever, of hypothermia brought on by exposure to wind and rain. The corpses in some places were so numerous that they were loaded on to carts and dumped into pits without being put into coffins. In remoter areas the dead were never buried; their bodies rotted into the earth or were torn to pieces by dogs.

Although Ireland had become an integral part of the United Kingdom in 1801, in practice it remained a colony to England that was consistently bullied and exploited by its more

47 GNBZ., 95.
powerful neighbor. The feudal structure of the country with its many great estates owned by Anglo-Irish landlords was the result of this historical background. Moreover, the English considered the Irish feckless, improvident, and inherently untrustworthy. The most shameful and appalling fact is that, when the potato blight hit and persisted, there was a massive willingness on the part of the government and people of England to believe that the Irish had brought it upon themselves and they should be helped as little as possible.

Accompanying Korens' account is an illustration with the caption "The Misery of Ireland." (See Illustration 1) In the illustration, a group of English soldiers are shown looting Irish farming houses. While some Irish women and elderly men cling to their possessions and refuse to let go, one English soldier, holding a sword in one hand, snatches a blanket from a woman, and another soldier beats an old man with his rifle butt. As is mentioned in Chapter Two, Kajin no kigû was the earliest of all Meiji publications to introduce Ireland to Japan and the historical and economic information regarding Ireland was the newest at the time. That Ireland should have been first introduced to Japan as a nation suffering such misery under English oppression must have buttressed the author's warning to his fellow Japanese concerning the danger of British or Western imperialism.

One of the narrative techniques used in Kajin no kigû is that quite often the same historical or political event is presented in the novel in alternative versions. One gets the impression that, through the use of repetition, the author is attempting to bring home to the reader the political message he intends to send. One example of this technique is the story of

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Illustration 1. The Misery of Ireland

(From Volume One of Kajin no kigū)
the Irish people living under English oppression. In Volume Three, when Sanshi visits Fannie Parnell, the leader of Irish independent movement in America, he is given a second account of the woes of the Irish people, this time by Fannie Parnell. The second version, however, is by no means mere repetition of the first. For example, while Kōren's account took the form of prose, Fannie's version not only takes the form of kanshi poem but it is also set to music. Therefore the impression created by the first account is reinforced and intensified through this replay. And at the same time, the reader is bored by a similar story.

During his visit, Sanshi tells Fannie that everywhere he goes in America he hears people singing "Ireland My Mother," an Irish patriotic song created by her. "The words are full of grief and indignation and the melody is solemn and stirring." His admiration for the patriotic enthusiasm of the composer and song-writer then prompts him to express the wish that Fannie pluck the banjo and sing the song for him. Thereupon she picks up the banjo and begins to sing "Ireland My Motherland."

The ocean may be overturned and the mountains may be removed,
but the sorrow should never be forgotten, we who lost our country.
Look at how dilapidated our homeland has become, the view of it I cannot bear to see
What used to be the palaces of the Irish aristocrats are now overgrown with weeds...
Since the death of our nation, even the royalty is reduced to lonely shepherds,
bare-footed, looking for their way.
But the most pitiful are the commoners living in the crowded low huts
who barely cling to life with some potatoes.
Since the tyrannical England incorporated our territory into its map,
our national strength drained away...
Heavy tax has been imposed and the blood of our people has been exhausted.
Before our people, there is an iron chain,
behind them, the whips are raised high.
The tyranny is more ferocious than a tiger.
There is no limit to the greed of the English rulers
our farmers are left with no choice but to sell their land and leave their homes. Children are parted from their parents and wives are separated from their husbands. They roam far from their homes, knowing not when the family can be reunited...

Starved corpses piled along the roads, nowhere one can hear a rooster crowing or a dog barking. The mountains and rivers are lamenting under the dark clouds, the trees and grasses are mourning against the weeping wind. Oh, our nation is as miserable as this we must fight to save it as a real man should. I would rather die to become a ghost, or to be broken as jade than to live on as a slave of the English...  

When Fannie Parnell finishes the song, Sanshi says that although he does not know much about music, he cannot help but feel deeply touched by the song. Fannie replies that it is not her song that is moving but the reality in Ireland is truly lamentable. "The reality in Ireland is truly lamentable." This is precisely the message Shiba Shiro wished to send to his fellow Japanese. If the devastation could happen to Ireland, it could also happen to Japan.

Another way in which the author expresses his patriotic enthusiasm is to show the cruel treatment of weak nations by the Western powers. The story of the situation in Egypt in volume six is an example. As we have seen in the synopsis of the novel, just as Sanshi falls into a romantic dilemma over whether or not to marry Kōren, they learn about the outbreak of a war in Egypt against England. They first learn about the war in a newspaper which carries a powerful appeal to the Egyptians by Arabi Pasha, the Egyptian general and the leader of the independence war. (We are told later by Mary Kossuth that the appeal was actually drafted by

50 GNBZ., 115.
General Yuran.) The appeal explains how Egypt has been treated by England and France and why the Egyptians must stand up. Part of the appeal goes as follows:

Our former Khedive Ismail was indignant at the arrogance of the foreigners and concerned about the hardships of our people. He tried to stop the interference of other countries and to restore our national sovereignty. He also tried to help the common people by lowering taxes. Before he could put his plans into practice, however, he was forced by England and France to abdicate the throne and flee the country. Our former Minister of Finance was a patriot and a person with integrity. But he, too, was framed by England and France and has been exiled to the scorching desert thousands of miles across. Oh, our Khedive takes refuge in another country and our loyal minister is wandering in the desert. Our heart is broken to pieces and our tears pour down like a stream when we think of it. Now, the situation in Egypt is that foreigners hold the power of our government domestically, and in foreign relations, again, it is the foreigners who make decisions and refuse to adopt any resolution we pass. Our people appealed to them but they turn a deaf ear to us. So where is our national sovereignty?... My fellow Egyptians, open your eyes and look. Whose country has Egypt become?...  

As in the case of the story of Ireland, the story of Egypt is told twice in Kajin no kigū. A much more detailed account of what England did to Egypt, and therefore a much more powerful condemnation of England, is presented later in the same volume. We learn from the novel that seeing what is happening in Egypt from the newspaper, Sanshi seems puzzled for a moment about why England adopts such an aggressive policy toward Egypt since at the time the English government was in the hands of the Liberal Party, a party that supposedly advocates justice and peace. Kōren, who knows the nature of English government from personal experience, tells Sanshi that is only the facade of the Liberal Party. The bottom line of English diplomacy is to serve the self-interest of England, and there is no difference between the Conservative or the Liberal Parties. She cites history to support her point.

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*GNBZ.* 143-144.
Since Queen Elizabeth ascended to her throne, Britain has fought twenty-five foreign wars, twenty of which were fought when the Liberal Party was in power. Therefore, we cannot tell the nature of the British government by only looking at the name of the party in power.\textsuperscript{52}

To help Sanshi understand the true nature of England, Koren recommends Spoiling Egyptians: A Tale of Shame, a history of England’s exploitation and oppression of Egypt written by the English historian Seymour Keay, and based on official English Parliament papers. This book is not fictional. It was published in 1882, and it numbers among the books in Shiba Shiro’s private collection. In a sarcastic tone, Keay characterizes his book:

The present disclosures are...drawn entirely from Official documents; which moreover, it must be remembered, do not, in a case like this, divulge all the facts that they could reveal, but only what their compilers cannot conceal.\textsuperscript{53}

Nevertheless, the greed of the English speculators in Egypt, the base means by which they achieved their goals, the cruelty with which they treated the Egyptian king and government ministers, and the way in which economic aggression is backed by military intervention, is simply appalling. Sanshi is so shocked by what Keay writes that he finishes reading the book in one sitting. When he finishes, “indignation so filled his mind that it seemed about to explode. He closed the book and kept heaving deep sighs.”\textsuperscript{54} It is no wonder that Shiba Shiro translated the title of Keay’s book as Ejiputo sanjo shi (A History of the Misery of Egypt).\textsuperscript{55}

Keay’s book is introduced in adapted form in Kajin no kigū, and it emphasizes the cruel treatment of the Egyptian Financial Minister Ismael Sadyk Pasha and Khedive Ismail. Albeit

\textsuperscript{52} GNBZ., 144.
\textsuperscript{54} GNBZ., 148.
\textsuperscript{55} GNBZ., 144.
too long—as is the case with many of the numerous historical digressions in Shiba’s novel—the adaptation of Keay’s book is worth introducing at least in part because it is good indication of Shiba Shō’s sympathy toward weak nations and his hatred for Western imperialism. The adaptation begins with an exposure of the hypocrisy of England.

Great Britain often claims that it is the father of the Constitutional Monarchy system in the world and it is recognized as such. But when Egypt tries to establish its constitutional monarchy system, why is it that England spares no dirty means to prevent it from happening? The reason is that England fears that if constitutional monarchy system is established in Egypt and their policies are made according to public opinion, the outrageous unequal treaties between England and Egypt will no longer be honoured. The notorious hypocrisy of England in this case should be forever recorded in history books.56

Then it traces the origin of the trouble for Egypt, stressing the danger of blind Westernization. The parallelism between Egypt and Japan becomes clear if we recall that Volume Six was published in 1887, when Japan’s Westernization reached the most feverish levels in the so-called Rokumeikan period.

Khedive Ismail was intoxicated by things European and hired Europeans as his advisors for every office. He tried to imitate European styles in every way, from cultural activities to government institutions, from food and clothing. In doing so...the national treasury was almost exhausted. Seeing what is happening in Egypt, speculators from England and France...gathered three hundred and sixty million pounds of idle money and lent it all of it to Egypt to reap for staggering money. The interest rate for their money was as high as thirty percent... [The disastrous result of it is that] at present, the annual revenue of Egypt is only four hundred million pounds, but the interest of foreign debts Egypt has to pay is as high as three hundred million! Oh, throughout history has there ever been a country with its treasury in such a mess?57

With their treasury almost empty, the Egyptians could not pay the interest over the foreign debt, and the Europeans tried to wrest control of the country’s finance from the

56 GNBZ., 144-145.
57 GNBZ., 145.
Egyptians on the ground that the Egyptians were too corrupted and did not have the expertise to manage their money. They met tenacious resistance, however, from Ismael Sadyk Pasha, the Egyptian Minister of Finance, who flatly refused to cooperate.

...Turning over the control of our finance to foreign hands means turning over our national rights to foreigners....As long as I am the Minister of Finance, the power to control the finance of Egypt will remain in the hands of Egypt.**

A few days later, the Europeans arrested the minister and sentenced him to exile for life in the desert, a sentence that “is equivalent to death, as few prisoners ever return from the White Nile.”^59

But the Englishmen were still not satisfied, because payments to the foreigners hired in Egypt were delayed. When the English Consul-General questioned Khedive Ismail, Ismail told him angrily:

Our financial difficulties are all the result of policies proposed by the Europeans and the result of your cheating me into leading our country astray... You Europeans have been advocating that...if one stays in a country and receives protection from the government, one should pay tax to the government. This is an international... However, look at what the Europeans are doing in Egypt about this international law. There are hundreds of thousands of Europeans living in Egypt. But with all kinds of excuses they refuse to pay any tax... What is more, even if an European violates our law, the Egyptians cannot do anything about him due to the principle of extraterritoriality. Taking advantages of this principle, the Europeans smuggle goods in and out of Egypt and our Customs cannot punish them by Egyptian regulations. In this way, most of our annual revenue is sucked out by you Europeans...®

Seeing that England could not get ahead on its own, the English Consul-General called for an international conference. At the conference, the Europeans proposed that the private

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58 GNBZ. 145.
59 Seymour Keay, op. cit. 9.
60 GNBZ. 146.

property of the Egyptian royal family be seized as payment for the national debt. The Egyptian people were furious when they learned of this ridiculous proposal.

Oh, however arrogant the Europeans may be, they should at least know the distinction between public property and private property. They should at least tell right from wrong. The reason for their confusion of right and wrong is very simply: they know that Egypt cannot do anything about them. If Egypt were prosperous and had a strong army, would it be as meek as to swallow the injustice done to them by the Europeans? ... Here is a nation with no wealth, here is an army with no power, being forced to give in to the rapacity of the Europeans...\(^\text{61}\)

Nonetheless, the properties of the Egyptian royal family, from the furniture in the palace to its land, cattle and sheep, were all plundered.

Later, when the Khedive fired two European ministers from the Egyptian government in response to appeals from the Egyptian people, once again he incurred the anger of the English. The Consul-General decided to forcibly dethrone the Khedive. Shiiba’s depiction of the dethronement of the Khedive is accompanied by an illustration the caption of which reads “The Dethroned King of Egypt Leaving the Palace.” (See Illustration 2).

With the imperial robe and crown taken away by the Europeans, the Khedive swallowed tears as he walked out of the Palace. He passed through the nine gates of the palace and was driven out of the place where his ancestors are buried. Finally, he was sent to wander in other lands...\(^\text{62}\)

The adaptation ends with the exclamation “Oh, this is how benevolent the government of Great Britain is under the rule of Queen Victoria! This is how just and fair the policies of the English Liberal Party!”\(^\text{63}\)

\(^{61}\) GNBZ., 146.
\(^{62}\) GNBZ., 147-148.
\(^{63}\) GNBZ., 145-148.
Illustration 2. The Dethroned King of Egypt Leaving the Palace

(From Volume Six of Kajin no kigu)
Although largely based on Keay's book, Shiba's adaptation is not faithful to the original. For example, in Keay's book, the dethronement of the Khedive is presented only briefly: "He [the Khedive] was asked to abdicate...but he stoutly refused to do so. The Powers then asked the Porte [the government of the Ottoman Empire, as Egypt was still nominally under Turkish rule] to depose him and it did so." But the unfaithfulness is the point. For Shiba Shiro's purpose in telling the story of Egypt is to warn his fellow Japanese of the consequence of Westernization, and of the cruelty of Western powers, rather than a rigorous presentation of historical fact.

While many examples are cited of weak nations either suffering under or perishing to Western expansion, the author does has not lose himself entirely to telling the woeful stories of the oppressed. From time to time, we are also given tales of weak nations that rise against their oppressors. This is only natural since Sanshi's ultimate purpose is to waken his compatriots to the dangers faced by Japan, and thereby urge them to take action so that the disasters that have befallen other weak nations do not befall Japan. In the admiration shown to the nations that rise up against Western imperialism, we also see Shiba Shiro's patriotic enthusiasms.

The best example of a weak nation that stands up to fight for its freedom and independence is, of course, the case of the heroic struggles of the American people in the War of Independence, which the author extols in Volume One. It is by no means accidental that the story should open with a scene set at Independence Hall. But there are numerous other stories of the same nature. One of these tells how Mexico stood up to protect its national interests

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64 Seymour Keay, op. cit., 44.
against England and France. In Volume Nine, we are told that before his return to Japan from the United States, Sanshi visits Mexico where he meets with Santa, a Mexican journalist and a patriot. In their conversation, Santa asks Sanshi about the consequences of European colonialist policies on Japan. Sanshi informs him that the most damaging consequence is the unequal treaties that exist between Japan and the Western Powers and that remain unrevised. As Santa indicates he is unfamiliar with Japanese issues, Sanshi delivers a historical retrospective.

These are the treaties concluded between Japan and the European countries more than thirty years ago. These treaties are no longer appropriate given the situation today and they do much harm to Japanese interests. We are therefore exercising our national rights and seeking to have them revised for our mutual benefit. The most urgent revision that we want to accomplish is the revision of the Treaty of Conventional Tariffs.\(^{65}\) There are so far, however, no results because the greedy European powers, with unreasonable excuses, are opposed to any revision...\(^{66}\)

Santa seems puzzled. "Why don't you hold onto the integrity and sovereignty authorized to each country by international law? If the European countries use unreasonable excuses and reject your proposal, just ignore their excuses...and denounce the treaties."\(^{67}\)

Sanshi then points out why an otherwise simple goal has become so difficult to obtain—"Right now the people in power in our government are scared of the Europeans. It is as if they thought of them as tigers."\(^{68}\) This leads to a reply by Santa, which, constitutes the most

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\(^{65}\) By this treaty, a fixed customs levy is set at approximately 5 percent on all goods imported to Japan, a levy that could be altered only with the consent of both parties to the treaty.

\(^{66}\) GNBZ., 178.

\(^{67}\) GNBZ., 178.

\(^{68}\) GNBZ., 178.
important political message Shiba tries to convey to his readers in introducing the example of Mexico.

But what is it about the Europeans that one is to be scared of? Isn't Japan's population and territory comparable to that of the powerful European countries? Look at what our President did?... The most important measure he took to fix Mexican finances was to have the Congress pass resolutions to sharply increase customs tariffs and to delay foreign debts for two years due to finance difficulties that Mexico had. European countries tried by every means possible to prevent these resolutions from passing, by complaining and protesting. Our President held firmly to our national rights, rejected all opposition and succeeded in having the resolutions passed in the Congress. Then England, France and Spain allied with each other and sent an army of several ten thousand men and a fleet of dozens of warships to our ports. Our diplomats accepted the challenge of the difficult situation, exercised their diplomatic talents and finally succeeded in talking England and Spain into withdrawing their troops... Now, if Mexico can do this, [how much more can Japan do] since your country is wealthier and stronger than Mexico?69 [underlining mine]70

"If Mexico can do this, how much more can Japan do?" This is a question Shiba Shiro places before every Japanese reader.

In contrast to his admiration to people of weak nations who have dared to stand up, such as the American and Mexican peoples, the author repeatedly criticizes the current state of Japan. In Volume Two, after giving us an account of the tragedy of his home domain and family, Sanshi presents an observation on international politics.

The north of Asia is occupied by Russia, while the south of Asia where India is has become a colony of England. Vietnam belongs to France. Turkey and China are declining so much that we can see signs of perish in their countries. Oh, the devils are kicking open ocean waves and going on the rampage in East Asia, the wolves are peeping out of their dens seeking for food. Seeing all these examples, how can I help but be worried about the fate of Japan?71

69 GNBZ., 177-178.

70 GNBZ., 178.

71 GNBZ., 102.
If what he observes from abroad makes him anxious about the future of Japan, what he sees happening in Japan makes him ever more worried.

When I look at my country, I feel our people lack vision. Most of them...are satisfied with stealing one day of a peaceful life, and preoccupied with singing and dancing, playing the game of go, performing the tea ceremony, or dealing with ancient calligraphy, painting and antiques. Their only goal is to seek favor from people of one or two big domains. For the sake of private grudges, they will ignore public justice; for the sake of private ties, they will hire a mediocre person... They do not realize [while they are so preoccupied], Japan's national rights are being violated by the Europeans and the profits of our industry are being taken away by foreign merchants... Compared with the way the American people sacrificed their personal considerations...to devote themselves to the country, the difference is greater than that between heaven and earth... That is what worries me day and night concerning the future of my country. 72

And, as if his own criticism of Japan’s current state of affairs is not enough, Shiba Shiro sometimes enlists the help of his foreign characters to deliver his message. For example, in volume Six, when Koren finishes her story about the shipwreck and her survival, she goes on to tell how she goes to Paris and meets Gambetta, the French Prime Minister. As their conversation turns to the topic of Japan, Koren mentions a rumor she has heard about Gambetta’s plan to visit Japan. She predicts the positive impact of French support on Japan.

The French people have a tradition of supporting the cause of justice. In the past, you supported the Americans in their struggle against England; more recently, you have encouraged the independence of Ireland. Today, you plan to support Japan. From now on, Japan will shake itself free of the yoke of the Europeans; it will not subject itself to unjust oppression; it will ban the principle of extraterritoriality, and the Japanese people will finally see the bright day of freedom... 73

Koren’s encomium is interrupted by Gambetta, however, who angrily tells her to “stop your share nonsense.” “Currently, it is really a time of great national difficulty for France...
What time do I have to waste and go to a small and weak nation like Japan? The Prime Minister, however, quickly adds his view of Japan can change under certain conditions:

It will be a different matter if the Japanese people are united as one and show a genuine lamentation at their national rights being violated, a genuine indignation at the arrogance of the foreigners. Then I will admire their patriotism and will not hesitate to lend them my support. If the Japanese show their patriotism the way the Americans did during their War of Independence, the way the Haitian people did in their fighting for independence, the way the Irish people did in their resistance against the English government, undaunted by all the setbacks and keep fighting with more and more determination, then I will admire their patriotism and will not hesitate to lend them my support.

As none of his conditions is met, given the situation in Japan, he then launches into an enumeration of the reasons why Japan does not deserve French support.

But nothing of the kind is happening in Japan. I do not hear that the Japanese people are indignant at the failure of the effort to have the unequal treatises corrected, or anyone who of himself pressures the government to take action about it. I do not hear any desire to increase the number of fortresses along the coast to protect Japan from possible foreign attack. Even though heavy taxes and labor are imposed on the people and the money obtained thereby are used to buy warships and weapons, these are used exclusively to suppress 'internal violence.' I do not hear that the Japanese government and the Japanese people join forces in their effort to restore their national rights... I do not hear that there are Japanese celebrities outside of the government who volunteered to travel to Europe and America and to appeal to the kings and prime ministers of these countries to correct the unequal treaties. I do not hear that there are Japanese patriots or politicians who travel to France to publish articles in newspapers and deliver speeches to French public and thereby gain public support of Japanese efforts. I do not hear that Japan is selecting good diplomats to deliver letter to the parliament of the treaty countries and demand the correction of the unequal treatises. The Japanese are weakening the very national strength needed to maintain the independence of their country, they are losing the control of the self-government. They hang on the smiles of foreigners and are afraid of threat from other countries.

74 GNBZ., 139.
75 It is at the mention of Haitian people that a lengthy digression is inserted in mid-sentence to introduce what is largely the biography of Toussaint-Louverture (1743-1803), leader of the Haitian independence movement during the French Revolution. Incidentally, Haiti is referred to in Kajin no kigō as Santo Domingo.
76 GNBZ., 139-140.
77 GNBZ., 140-141.
In his concluding remarks, the Prime Minister makes no effort to hide his contempt for Japan, a view which, of course, reflects the author's criticism of the current state of Japan.

The thirty million Japanese, from government officials to the common people, do not know what is shame and what is humiliation. They forget the overall strategy to be united internally in order to compete externally... So, I won't let my mind be bothered by what is right and what is wrong in that tiny island of Japan."

Severe as it is, Shiba's criticism of the current state of affairs in Japan is conceived out of his concern for his country. In other words, it is reflection of his patriotism.

The original edition of the novel contains two or three illustrations inserted in each volume. The best expression of Shiba Shirō's patriotism is perhaps found in one of the illustrations in Volume Nine. It is a map of the world, the caption of which reads: "A Map of the Alarming Encroachment of European Powers." The whole map is shrouded in gloom with large blocks of dark clouds hanging over the world as if a storm is imminent. All of the lands in the world are painted black except for two or three areas that correspond to Japan, China and part of West Asia. (See Illustration 3) Obviously, the lands painted black are meant to be the places that have fallen into the hands of the Western powers while those that remain white are places where independence is maintained. The map is accompanied by the following text.

Sanshi examined the current situation East and West, and discovered, as clear as crystal, the alarming encroachment of European powers to East Asia. European countries, realizing that military confrontation among themselves only led to mutual detriment while peaceful competition could bring mutual benefits, have turned their devils' talons to East and South Asia. They nibble and gobble the lands in these areas... and are seeking to incorporate them into their territories. Namely, England is extending its hand from Egypt to South Asia, France from Madagascar to Annam, Germany
Illustration 3. A Map of the Alarming Encroachment of European Powers

(From Volume Nine of Kajin no kigu)
from South America to South Asia. On the other hand, Russia not only stretches its hand from Northern Turkey to West of China but also covets Northern Korea. This means that East Asian countries currently are sitting on a pile of firewood with the seeds of fire lying beneath them.78

Due to the volumes of translated materials that appeared in the Meiji period, Japan was well-informed of the world. But it was rare to see Japan situated so explicitly and graphically in the middle of the nineteenth century world. It is not hard to imagine how powerful a signal the map must have sent to its readers of the danger that Japan faced.

Many more examples could be given, but the ones above should be enough to suggest the ways in which the author expresses his sympathy toward the oppressed nations, his hatred against Western imperialism and, in particular, his deep concern over the fate his motherland Japan.

78 GNBZ., 175-176.
CHAPTER 5

FROM PATRIOTISM TO IMPERIALISM

While the author's patriotism is considered genuine and duly acclaimed, it must be pointed out that the novel also carries an unmistakably imperialistic message. Therefore, it is inaccurate and misleading to characterize Kaijin no kigū as a work of "pure patriotism." This chapter will begin with an examination of the ways in which the message of imperialism is overtly and covertly conveyed in the novel; this will then be followed by an exploration of the transition in the author's political stance from one of a patriot to that of an imperialist. Finally, it will be argued that the shift in Shiba Shiro's political ideals reflects and forms a part of a much broader tendency among Meiji intellectuals toward advocacy of expansionism.

The first clear indication of the author's imperialistic stance is seen in Volume Ten of the novel. In this volume, we are told that in the midst of the heated debate among the Japanese as to how Japan ought to deal with China over the issue of Korea, Sanshi receives an anonymous letter. Although the sender of the letter identifies himself only as "a friend from Mt. White Cloud," Sanshi believes it is a letter from Hankei because Mt. White Cloud is a famous landmark in Canton China. His belief is soon confirmed when he reunites with Hankei in Hong Kong on his official tour to Europe and America. In the letter, three alternative strategies are proposed for Japan. The letter begins with a claim that the strategies proposed are based on a careful analysis of the international power structure.
I have been observing international politics closely and comparing military powers of different nations. The result of my observation has been summarized into three alternative strategies for Japan which I hereby present to you. These proposals are crystallized from my long-time observations and deliberations, so please do not take them lightly as though they are worthless. It would be a great source of pleasure for me if you could forward them to the decision makers of your military headquarters.

Then, quoting ancient Chinese military strategy books, the letter continues to present the three strategies in the order of desirability in very specific terms.

*The Book of the Art of War* says that good army is one that takes speedy action. Japan should dispatch crack troops, double their marching speed and have them deliver a sudden attack on the enemy when the enemy is totally unprepared. Specifically, Japan must, with such crack troops, take Pusan first, and then push up to Tongnae...other Korean cities will surrender at the sight of such a force. At that time, the main army will move directly towards Inchon, launch an attack on Seoul, the capital of Korea, and capture the five battalions of Chinese troops stationed there...After that, you should take control of strategic spots along the coast and in mountain passes and make it clear that the Japanese army will be stationed there for a long time to come. At the same time, you can flex your military muscle while keeping heavily armored warships constantly on alert for attacks from the enemy. Furthermore, you can declare that Japan has allied with France in a secret agreement between the two countries. If Japan can hold negotiations with China and Korea at this stage with all the above-mentioned preparations, then it will be able to gain the most with the minimum cost. This is the best strategy, and the one I most strongly recommend...

The second strategy hinges to no less degree on Japan’s military power.

Next is the second best strategy. In this strategy, Japan should blockade Inchon and Seoul and exert pressure on the Chinese government. In the meantime, Japan can make outrageous demands of China. If China does not accept the terms of the demands, then Japan can send one or two cruisers to navigate along the coast near Guangdong and Fujian and to terrorize the coastal cities with attacks. This will tire out the Chinese army by keeping it constantly on the run. At the same time, Japan can send troops to go upstream along the Taedong River to Pyongyang, send other troops to maneuver along the coast from the mouth of Yalu River down to Niuzhuang, and make it appear that it will attack Shenyang. This way the whole country of China, to both the south and north of the Yangtzu River, will be shaken, and all coastal cities of China will be disturbed. The Chinese will guess at many possible actions that Japan may take, but they can never be sure which to prepare for. Finding themselves in such a

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situation, even men of wisdom will not be able to come up with a proper strategy, and
even brave soldiers will not know where to fight. With the Chinese in such total
confusion, Japan can send to China its troops whose soldiers and officers have had a
hard time in the past more than twenty years during which they exercised all the time
but had no battles to fight. It is in this battle that Japan will be able, by destroying Fort
Dagu and attacking Tientsin, to force China to surrender... By fondling Korea on the
one hand and smashing China on the other, the song of Japan's triumph will reverberate
throughout the five continents and the valor of Japanese soldiers will make the four
seas tremble. Then and only then, Japan will hold the power as the head of the East Asian
Confederation and the key to revitalize Asia...3

At this point, the writer of the letter expresses his hope that Japan will adopt at least
the second best strategy. But if for some reason Japan can take neither of the first two
proposals, he has a third and peaceful alternative to recommend, namely, to form a Japan-
China alliance.

Japan and China are brothers in the first place and both benefit from their
mutual dependence. The recent rampage of French military in Tonkin is a deplorable
matter to China. China will definitely be grateful to Japan if Japan can take the security
of East Asia as its own responsibility, forget about its selfish goals and put aside its past
grudge against China and conclude with China a security treaty which would make
Europeans the public enemy of East Asian countries. Based on this treaty, Japan and
China can create a joint force to break the blockade of Taiwan Strait by the French
navy, chase French cruisers and take back Vietnam. With this joint force, Japan and
China can protect Korea from a Russian invasion... This is also a way to make Asia
strong.4

In the first two proposals—through the character of the Chinese patriot and in
unequivocal terms—the author of Kajin no kigü advocates Japanese domination of East Asia by
military force. There is a follow-up to Hankei's proposals later in Volume Sixteen, when the
author expresses his exhilaration at the outcome of the Sino-Japanese War.

The War ends with the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki by which
China is to make payment of 200 million Chinese taels to Japan as a war indemnity in

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3 GNBZ., 184-185.
4 GNBZ., 184-185.
addition to ceding Liaotung Peninsula and Taiwan to Japan. Japan’s military might is
thereby made known to the eight corners of the world... There have been many
occasions since the ancient times when Japan sent troops to fight overseas, but no
battle has been so well calculated, no victory has been won in such sweeping scale. But
when I sit down and think about it, I realize that the war has turned out exactly the way
Hankei predicted 14 years ago. We must say that this is something miraculous.  

Although the author chooses to be ambiguous about which of Hankei’s three proposals
he refers to, it is clear that he implies strategies of proposals one or two. The Shiba Shiro who
earlier in the novel was so anxious about “the alarming encroachment of the European powers”
on East Asia has disappeared. In his place, we see a man who is eager to make “Japan’s
military might” known to “the eight corners of the world” and who gloats over Japan’s own
military victory overseas at the expense of other Asian countries.

The author’s imperialistic views are also revealed in the way he has his characters
speak in ways that are totally out of character. Hankei, as one of the patriots Tokai Sanshi
encountered in Philadelphia, is a case in point. Hankei is first introduced to the reader not only
as someone who has lost his country to the alien Manchus and is trying to restore Ming
dynasty, but also as a personal victim of history who lost his father in the Opium War (1839-
1842) between China and Great Britain and who holds strong hatred for Western imperialism.
Wherever he appears in the last volumes of Kajin no kigu, Hankei is presented as a person
quite different from the one introduced at the beginning of the novel. For example, a large
portion of Volume Eleven is devoted to the account of the reunion of Sanshi and Hankei in
Hong Kong. When Hankei tells Sanshi how he was rescued by a French cruiser and how he
worked on the ship as a cook, he makes the following remarks on the French mission.

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5 GNBZ., 245.
Several days later, the French cruiser pulled anchor and headed towards the Suez Canal, telling me that it was going to Madagascar. Hearing this I thought that France really was equal to its reputation [as an imperial power] and had plenty of people with insight. To me, there were two agendas operating in France’s dispatching this cruiser to the Suez Canal. To the world France said that it was going to inspect the situation in Egypt. But behind closed doors in a hidden agenda, it was seeking opportunities to land in Alexandria, and from there drive straight to occupy Cairo, which was totally unprepared and unprotected. In addition, if France were to send more troops to Egypt from Algeria, there would be nothing that England could do to stop it. But that turned out to be my overestimation of France which, while preoccupied in its internal struggles and doing nothing when English warships navigated the Nile, missed a golden opportunity to expand French territories from Algeria eastward. Oh, nothing is to be more regretted than this! [underlining mine]

Here, Hankei sounds more like an adviser for an imperial power than a patriot from an oppressed country. Of course, Hankei, like so many other characters in the novel, is only Shiba Shiro's alter ego and serves as his mouthpiece. The author’s sympathy for the Egyptian people, expressed so warmly in earlier volumes, is nowhere to see in this passage. Instead, we have only the cold-blooded global strategy of the imperialist powers.

An example of similar nature is to be found in Volumes Thirteen and Fourteen. Among other things, these two volumes tell of Sanshi’s meeting with Louis Kossuth in Turin, Italy, during his official tour of Europe. As we recall from the synopsis of the novel, Louis Kossuth is the Hungarian patriot whom Sanshi first meets in front of Benjamin Franklin’s grave in Philadelphia (without knowing his identity at the time), and whose patriotic activities Sanshi later hears of from Mary Kossuth, Kossuth’s daughter. In this second meeting, Kossuth delivers a lengthy lecture on the East Asian policies of the European powers, country by country, from France, Great Britain, Germany to Italy and Spain. Predicting that none of them, given their domestic problems, can afford a war in Asia, Kossuth provides the following

\[ GNBZ. 193. \]
analysis about the future of Spain and Japan. But once again it is a passage that does not fit his character as a life-long fighter for independence.

Spain has colonies in East Asia and therefore there is a potential conflict of interest between Spain and Japan. However, the power of Spain is like an arrow at the end of its flight, and it cannot run through even a piece of cloth. Domestically, the malady of a totalitarian regime still afflicts Spain, and heavy taxes are still imposed on its people; in foreign relations, its overseas colonies, one after another, either have declared independence, or have become the colonies of other powers. In such a situation in which Spain finds it very hard to deal even with its own problems, how can it send troops to East Asia? Moreover, the Spanish colonies are located in areas where little conflict of interest or historical complication is involved with other European powers. Therefore in the future when the day comes when Japan has become rich and strong and has built a superior navy, the present Spanish colonies will all be a good target for Japanese competition and good territory to be incorporated into Japan.^[underlining original]

Again, Kossuth sounds more like an adviser to a would-be Japanese Empire than a liberator who expressed great indignation at the Russian and Prussian invasion of Poland or who fought forty years for the independence of Hungary. Just as Hankei’s “regret” over France’s failure opportunity to expand its territory, Kossuth’s encouragement of Japanese colonialism reflects the author’s inverted interpretation of international politics of the day.

The most blatant example of imperialism in the novel is Shiba’s account of the appointment of a new Japanese minister to Korea after the Tripartite Intervention and the subsequent assassination of Queen Min after Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. To introduce this example, it is necessary to have a brief review of the historical background behind this important episode in the novel. The declaration of war against China was announced in Tokyo on August 1 1894 by Emperor Meiji, and the war ended nine months later on April 17 1895 with the Treaty of Shimonoseki in which China not only ceded land to

^[underlining original]

7 GNBZ., 222.
Japan but also made payment of a massive sum of money as a war indemnity. However, on April 23, or less than a week after the conclusion of the treaty, a victory-intoxicated Japan was forced to return the Liaotung Peninsula to China due to the tripartite intervention of Russia, Germany and France. The Japanese felt humiliated. On the other hand, when the Koreans saw that Japan had been forced to return Liaotung Peninsula, they began to show contempt for Japan, and Queen Min in particular regarded Japan as Korea’s enemy. She is allegedly to have said to her ladies-in-waiting: “The Japanese treat my relatives as the enemy but my opponents as their friends. They also change our language and clothing and make us adopt the customs and styles of the barbarians. I swear revenge on them, even if I have to cede the land we inherit from our ancestors to one or another powerful countries (ichin kyōkoku).” In the meantime, Russia also accused Japan of interfering in Korean internal affairs. Indeed, Japan had been trying to persuade the Koreans to make the government independent of royalty, and to check Queen Min’s influences over government policies. With the Russian accusations, however, the Japanese government suddenly reversed its anti-Min policy and tried to seek favor with Queen Min. Thereafter, the Korean public began to jeer at Japan’s caprice. Moreover, due to the changes in Japanese policy, Queen Min strengthened her influence over Korean state affairs, and she showed a more openly pro-Russian and anti-Japanese attitude. Japanese influence on the peninsula declined as a result.

To cope with the new situation the Japanese government decided to send Miura Goro as the new minister to Korea. A conservative general and jingoist, Miura Gorō (1846-1926) was hardly an apt candidate for dealing with the complex and sensitive situation in Korea.

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8 GNBZ., 249.
he was recommended by Tani Kanjō, an influential retired general and an old ally of Miura.

Miura was officially appointed the new minister to Korea on August 27, 1895. Before his departure, Miura outlined three alternative policies and asked the government for instructions as to which one he should follow as the new minister. The first was a policy of recognizing Korea as an independent monarchy allied to Japan, which would undertake responsibility to defend and reform Korea. The second policy suggests Japan suppress its ambition to protect and occupy Korea and seek instead cooperation with “fair-minded” Western powers to make Korea an independent country under their joint protection. The third was a policy of partitioning Korea with another power as a dispute will sooner or later break out between Japan and one or another powerful countries (ichinichi kyōkoku).9 As he waited and waited and no word came from the government, he secluded himself at Atami hot springs and threatened to resign the office he had not taken. At this Yamagata Aritomo was sent to pursued Miura to change his mind: “The three policies are matters of consequence and require more deliberation. Once a decision is made, you will be informed. In the meantime, please go to Korea as soon as possible.”10 Such being the case, Miura took it to mean that he had the freedom to respond to the situation as he saw fit. And he was not without his own opinions. On the eve of his departure in early September Miura told the press, “The post of Japanese Minister is one of great difficulty but I believe it is a fit place to test my own theory of diplomatic methods.” Just what these methods might be were to be revealed within a month of his taking office.

As soon as he arrived in Seoul, the new minister confirmed with his own eyes what he had feared. Queen Min’s comeback augured a deterioration of Japanese influence. The Min faction had been consistently hostile to the Japanese, and it seemed apparent that it would turn to the Russians for help. Miura decided to put to practice his “theory of diplomatic methods” immediately—namely the assassination of Queen Min. In plotting the assassination, he obtained help from an unexpected source, the Taewon’gun, or the regent to the Korean king. The Taewon’gun, who had been eased out of power by Miura’s predecessor the previous year, continued to fulminate against his old rival Queen Min. As relations between the court and the Japanese legation deteriorated, the regent saw a new opportunity to strike back. The new Japanese minister was only too glad that the Taewon’gun was willing to serve as a front man, since in that case, Miura could easily create the impression that the assassination was a purely Korean matter and the result of the long and well-known rival between the Taewon’gun and Queen Min. Plotting along these lines, at first Miura decided to use the hulloyondae, or the Japanese-trained Korea military unit, as his main force. The only Japanese involved were to be Okamoto Ryunosuke, a Japanese masterless samurai or “ronin” hired as an adviser in the Korean government, who was to escort the Taewon’gun to the palace when the coup took place, as well as the Japanese interpreters attached to the hulloyondae. But as Miura worked out the details of the coup, he had second thoughts about entrusting the task to the Koreans. He decided, instead, to use Japanese police stationed in Seoul as his main force and use the hulloyondae as reinforcements. In addition to these two forces, he mobilized Japanese legation officials, legation guards, and Japanese residents in Seoul, or what Peter Duus calls “civilian toughs” (soshi). Originally, October 10 was picked up as the date for the coup. But the plan
was disrupted unexpectedly when, on the morning of October 7, Korean War Minister An Kyong-su brought Miura news that the king planned to dissolve the *hullvondae*. The news was confirmed soon after by the Korean commander of the *hullvondae*. Miura had never counted on the *hullvondae* as a military force—he had already mobilized Japanese forces—but without the *hullvondae* he would have no way to camouflage Japanese involvement in the plot. This unexpected turn of things made Miura decide to advance the time of the coup to before dawn the following morning—before the *hullvondae* was actually dissolved.

When the coup finally took place early October 8, the Taewon’gun regent was escorted from his villa in Kongdok-Ni to the palace by members of the Japanese legation guard as well as *hullvondae* troops. Japanese policemen dressed in Korean police uniforms scaled the walls to open the palace gate, and the attack party that rushed into the palace included several Japanese civilian toughs. In the melee that followed, the minister of the royal household, Yi Kyong-sik, was killed, and a party of Japanese burst into the queen’s chamber, where they stabbed to death the queen and two of her ladies-in-waiting. As nobody had ever seen the forty-four-year old queen before—Korean tradition forbid the queen to show her face to foreigners—at first the assassins were not certain the queen numbered among the three women they had murdered, for all of the three women looked young. So they “checked the breasts of the women and found that one of them, though looking young, was actually advanced in age.”

They also “did a local medical check-up (kyokubu kensa) on the naked queen.” With the queen’s identity confirmed, her corpse was immediately dragged into the nearby garden, dumped atop a pile of fire-wood, doused with kerosene, and cremated. The queen, who had

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11 Tsunoda Fusako, op. cit., 400.
successfully maneuvered among diplomats from the three big neighboring countries of China, Russia and Japan, and who had been forbidden by Korean tradition even to show her face to foreigners, had thus died at the hands of a party of foreigners and her body was abused.

The Japanese intruders and their assassination of the queen were witnessed by not only other court ladies but also some Americans. One of the Americans who witnessed the assassination was General William Dye, an American military adviser to the Korean palace guard who happened to be in the palace compound that morning. When the intruders told General Dye to leave the site, he replied “I am an American. I do not act according to Japanese orders.” Perhaps sensing the risk by showing defiance to the Japanese, General Dye left the site momentarily. But soon he reappeared to watch the ongoing murder.13 Another American witness was Horace Allen, an American diplomat. On his way to the palace that morning, Allen encountered a group of thirty “evil-looking Japanese with disordered clothes, long swords, and sword canes” running away from the palace.14

When Uchida Sadatsuchi, the Japanese Consul to Korea, visited Miura shortly after the coup the same morning, the minister told him with evident satisfaction, “Well, Korea is finally in Japan’s hands [Nihon no mono ni natta]. I am relieved.”15 At the same time, Miura attempted to conceal truth. He sent false reports to the Japanese government, pressured the terrified Korean government into conforming to his version of the incident and ordered the Japanese involved to keep their mouths shut. When a reporter of The New York Herald tried to send a news dispatch based on William Dye’s account of what he had witnessed, Miura even

13 See Tsunoda Fusako, op. cit., 397. Also see Peter Duus, The Abacus and the Sword (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 111.
14 Peter Duus, op. cit., 111.
15 Cited in Peter Duus, 111.
pressed the post office to destroy the telegraph. When the story of the American witnesses spread, the Japanese legation informed the confronting foreign diplomatic community that "the murders were committed by Koreans dressed as Japanese in European clothes." Horace Allen, one of the American eye-witnesses, dismissed the claim as a "statement too absurd to need contradiction."17

Within a few days, when the truth became known to the international community as well as Tokyo, Miura was dismissed and shipped back to Japan, where he and some forty other Japanese suspected of collusion in the queen’s murder were arrested and jailed in a Hiroshima prison for questioning.

The above is, in a nutshell, the historical background for the appointment of Miura Goro as the new Japanese minister to Korea and the assassination of Queen Min. As is pointed out by historians, this event was purely the outcome of Miura’s own “diplomatic methods” and not the result of the direction of the Japanese government.18 Nevertheless, it remains true that the crudely conceived and brutally executed event was intended by the participants, both Japanese legation officials and civilians, to promote Japan’s imperialist expansion into Korea.

Let us look for a moment at how the above historical event is presented in Kajin no kigu. Toward the end of Volume Sixteen, Sanshi expresses his anger at the Min faction, laments the decline of Japanese influence in Korea after the Tripartite Intervention, and blames the Japanese government for the deteriorating situation. It is in this context that the appointment of a new Japanese minister to Korea is introduced. Miura Goro appears as Juba

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16 Tsunoda Fujisako, op. cit., 412-413.
18 Peter Duus, op. cit., 111.
Koji (a Buddhist layman who has led a military life) in the novel. We are told that Jūba Koji is called from his secluded life and appointed the new Japanese minister to Korea in order to cope with the situation. Like Miura Gorō, he presents three alternative policies, and he asks the Japanese government for instructions as to which policy he ought to take as the next Japanese minister.

One, Japan should follow faithfully the Declaration of War on China, regard Korea as an independent country and take exclusive responsibility for it. According to this policy, Japan must pay for the reform and national defense of Korea.

Two, Japan must suppress for the time being its ambition to protect and occupy Korea and choose one country from among the European powers that is fair and form an alliance with it. It should then turn Korea into an independent country under the protection of the alliance.

Three, since Japan will sooner or later confront one or two powers over the issue of Korea, we should take decisive action before real trouble takes place.\(^ {19}\)

Jūba Koji’s three policies in Kaijin no kigu are largely based on the three policies proposed by the historical Miura Gorō. Two things are noticeable about the policies presented in the novel. In introducing the second policy, which proposes cooperation with a “fair-minded” Western power to make Korea an independent country under a joint protectorate, Kaijin no kigu emphasizes the need for Japan to “suppress for the time being its ambition to protect and occupy Korea.” Inclusion of this clause in the novel reveals not only the author's admission that Japan has imperialistic designs on Korea, but also his approval of them. The second noticeable thing concerns a subtle difference between the historical version of the third policy and its fictional counterpart. While Miura’s third policy calls specifically for a partition of Korea with another power since a dispute will sooner or later break out between Japan and one or another power, the third policy in the novel is vague—it calls for “a decisive action (yūdan su

\(^ {19}\) GNBZ., 249.
before real trouble takes place.” One wonders why the author of Kajin no kigu does not present Miura’s third policy faithfully and what he means by “decisive action.” A natural answer to the first question is that he is not happy about the concept of partitioning Korea with Russia as Russia is one of the three European powers that humiliated Japan in forcing it to return Liaotung Peninsula. As for the second question, the “decisive action” could refer to only one thing to readers of 1897 when Volume Sixteen appeared—namely the assassination of Queen Min who is portrayed as the root of Japan’s trouble in Korea.

The novel is elliptical following the three policies. When it comes to the assassination, it narrates the incident with only one sentence: “Shortly thereafter, the October 8 Incident took place.” “The October 8 Incident” was what the assassination incident was called in Japan. Reading this part of the novel, one cannot but be struck by the contrast between the terse treatment of the assassination of the Korean queen and the repeated and almost rambling accounts of the dethronement of Khedive Ismail, the Egyptian king, by England. The Tokai Sanshi who spares no effort to expose the cruel treatment of Egypt royalty by England has disappeared. In his place, we have a Wanderer who remains strangely reticent about the hideous assassination of the queen of a neighboring country whose independence he claims he had been fighting for.

Tokai Sanshi’s reticence is not surprising, perhaps, because as we are told in the novel he himself is charged with being involved in the assassination, and, he too has been put in prison in Hiroshima. But he does not fail to defend himself and the Japanese who participated in the atrocious deed. The entire novel ends in Tokai Sanshi’s dream in a prison cell in

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20 GNBZ., 249.
Hiroshima. One night, as Tokai Sanshi drifts off to sleep, the ghosts of two Koreans come to visit him in the prison. One is that of Kim Okkyun, the progressive leader who was assassinated in Shanghai the year before. The other is that of Yi Pungwong, who was charged with the assassination of Queen Min and has been executed. On seeing the two, Sanshi complains to Kim Okkyun that he has been framed and charged with an act that he did not commit. When Kim asks for details of the incident, Yi Pungwong relates an account of the assassination which, needless to say, represents only Shiba Shiro's version of the event. The account first tells the reader that the coup was plotted by Koreans opposed to the Min faction, and not by Japanese.

Ever since it came to power again, Queen Min's faction did a series of bad things. First, they dissolved the hallyondae under Japanese training, then they attempted to poison the Taewon'gun to death, and to kill tens of pro-Japanese government officials including Prime Minister Kim Hong-jip. Moreover, they plan to cede our land to the Russians in return for their protection. It is due to these reasons that my party decided to start a secret plot...

When the account continues and speaks of the coup, it implies that no assassination had even been intended.

It was about two or three o'clock in the morning. Seven or eight of our comrades [namely Koreans] and fifteen or sixteen Japanese entered the Taewon'gun's villa in Kondok-Ni and informed him of the urgency of the matter. Then together we took the Taewon'gun to the palace in a sedan. That night the moon was bright, the stars were twinkling. The shadow of the willow trees was cast on the ground like daytime. All was quiet and no noise was heard from human or horse. Just at that moment, when we raised our heads and looked at the moon, drifting clouds suddenly appeared, the moon lost its radiance and the North Star hung low in the sky and golden dew filled the air. The day had yet to break, but our goal had already been achieved. Who had expected that Queen Min should have died that night? From now on, it is time to ponder the future of the country.  

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21 GNBZ., 250.  
22 GNBZ., 250.
Yi Pungwong finishes his account with a rhetorical question: “My heart of loyalty is as red as blood, and my integrity is as pure as snow. If people do not recognize it, what can I do?”23 “My heart of loyalty is as red as blood, and my integrity is as pure as snow.” One can almost hear the echo of Tokai Sanshi’s voice here insisting on his loyalty to Japan in participating in the incident.

From the examples cited above, we can see that instead of a work of “pure patriotism” as is claimed by many Japanese scholars, *Kajin no kigu* is a work that also contains unmistakable imperialistic messages. Comparing the author’s patriotic enthusiasms with these messages, one cannot fail to see a definite shift in the author’s political ideals from patriotism to imperialism. In the examples cited in the last chapter, we see an author who condemns Western imperialism, shows sympathy to oppressed peoples, and who is anxious about the future of Japan; yet in the examples cited above, we see an author who sounds like an adviser to the imperial powers in interpreting international politics, who is eager to see Japan dominate Asia by military force, and who is strangely silent about the assassination of the queen of a neighboring country.

The change of the author’s political ideals is not abrupt, however. While examples of the author’s imperialistic views cited above are all taken from volumes ten and thereafter, it is a fact that his advocacy of Japanese expansion can be traced back to earlier volumes. The earliest sign of imperialism is found in as early as Volume Two of *Kajin no kigu*. In this volume, we have a scene in which Sanshi is moved to tears when listening to the misfortunes of the homelands of the other patriots. Seeing this, Yūran apologizes to Sanshi for telling sad stories.

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23 GNBZ., 250.
on a beautiful day and making Sanshi sad. At the same time, she is also puzzled by Sanshi's emotional reaction to the sorrowful stories of their nations. To her, Sanshi is from an energetic country with a bright future, and there is no reason why he should be so easily touched by the lamentable stories of weak nations. It is in this apology that Yuran presents a picture of Japan as a leader of Asian countries. Part of her apology goes as follows:

Now that your country has reformed its government and, by taking from Europe and America what is useful and rejecting what is only superficial, is increasing month by month in wealth and strength, the eyes and ears of the world are astonished by your success. As the sun climbs in the eastern skies, so is your country rising in the East. Your August Sovereign has granted political liberty to the people, and the people have sworn to follow the Imperial leadership. So the time has come when, domestic strife having ceased, all classes will be happy in their occupations. Korea will send envoys and the Ryukyu Islands will submit to your governance. Then will the occasion arise for great enterprises in East Asia. Japan will take the lead and preside over a confederation of Asia. The peoples of the East will no longer be in danger. In the West, you will restrain the rampanty of England and France. In the South you will check the corruption of China. In the North you will thwart the designs of Russia. You will resist the policy of European states, which is to treat Asian peoples with contempt, to interfere with their domestic affairs and to reduce them to servitude. Thus it is Japan and no other country that can bring the taste of self-government and independence into the life of millions for the first time, and so spread the light of civilization.

"It is Japan and no other country...that can take the lead and preside over a confederation of Asia." This phrase certainly reminds one of "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," the slogan used by the Japanese military government to rationalize its expansional ambitions in Asia during World War II. "It evidently set forth the author’s view of the international scene and of the destiny of his own country...a conviction that it is Japan’s birthright to succeed to the empire of Asia."  

24 GNBZ. 98-99.

25 George Sansom. op. cit., 415.
While the similarity is striking between “the confederation of Asia” in Yuran’s encomium of Japan and the slogan of “the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere” adopted by the Japanese military government in World War II, we must be cautious about equating the two. The latter is a concept the military government enunciated to define the sphere already under Japanese domination in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the former is Shiba Shiro’s abstract vision of the possible future role for Japan at a time when he is genuinely anxious about what he believed to be the real danger of Japan’s falling a victim to Western imperialism. The proposal of Japan’s role as a leader of Asian countries may well be the author’s sincere hope to see a union of Asian countries and it stands in sharp contrast to the open advocacy of Japanese expansion that one sees in later volumes, especially in Volumes Ten and Sixteen. It is in this contrast we see a shift in the author’s political views toward imperialism.

The change in the author’s political stance from patriotism to imperialism is best seen in his different attitudes toward the ideal of Asian solidarity. The ideal of Asian solidarity against Western imperialism is expressed most fully in Volume Nine of Kajin no kigu. In this volume, we are told that before his return to Japan, Sanshi writes a letter to a Japanese Buddhist monk who happens to be in New York on his world tour. In this lengthy letter, he proposes the Union of Asian Countries against the European powers. First, he stresses the need for such solidarity and proposes ways to achieve it.

Eastern countries must unite to confront the Western powers. With this solidarity, Egypt can hold the key point of the Suez Isthmus, a place of strategic importance; India can proceed to occupy Aden and form a defense line for Egypt; Turkey can move northward from the Black Sea and thereby contain the Russia flank. On the other hand, we should sow dissension between England and France and make the Europeans fight among themselves. Furthermore, Japan and China must ally with each other, and together we must lead the smaller nations and support them. 26

26 GNBZ... 176.
On the other hand, he cannot help lamenting the current situation in these regions.

...Japan has a population of 37 million, China 300 million, Korea 10 million, India 250 million, Turkey and Egypt together 40 million. But all of these nations, with our heads lowered, we only resign ourselves to fate and allow the Europeans to bully us with contempt. All these nations are dragging out an ignoble existence without a great nation or a great hero that dares to stand up and appeal to all the peoples under the sky to condemn the tyranny and to stop the atrocity, to change the filthy into the clean, to turn danger to security and to help the weak nations out of this suffering. How shameful it is! Oh, why is it that East Asia has declined like this?...

Finally, he paints a bright picture of the future if the Eastern countries can proceed as he proposes.

[If there is a nation or a hero that does appeal to the weak nations to stand up against the powers], then the day will come when Eastern countries will form an alliance. This alliance will be able to help India win its independence, stop the interference of England and France in Egypt and Madagascar, and protect the independence of Korea. With China joining the alliance, the expansion of Russia will be checked, and Asians will no longer have to depend on the Europeans like slaves.

In contrast to this great yearning for Asian solidarity that is expressed repeatedly early in the novel, in Hankei’s proposals in Volume Ten, alliance with China against the Western powers has become the least desirable option for Japan. In its place, we have Hankei’s proposal that military action ought to be the first choice in dealing with China and that Japan should declare an alliance with France in doing so; we have the encouragement of expansionism by the Chinese and Hungarian “patriots;” we have Jōba Koji’s call for “decisive action” against Korea; and finally we have the author’s celebration of Japanese military might “made known to the world.” It is in these places that we see the shift in the author’s political ideals from patriotism to imperialism.

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27 GNBZ., 176-177.
28 GNBZ., 177.
Now let us turn to our next question—how do we account for the change? On this issue, Rinbara Sumio's article "The Change of Political Views in Kajin no kigu" is the only study that not only points to the change of the political ideals of the novel but also discusses the reasons for it.29

The change [of political views] in Kajin no kigu takes place in fascicle four [that is, volumes seven and eight]. The reason for the change can be found in none other than the author's tour to Europe and America and his becoming a Diet member, for due to these two events Tokai Sanshi acquired the political jargon of the inner circle of the Japanese government... What used to be confrontational criticism against the Satcho government within the world of the novel has now become a report from inside the world of the Satchō government and emperor system... The once global viewpoint of Kajin no kigu has therefore been narrowed to the political scene of Japan... Through the changes from the first fascicle to the last, Kajin no kigu has reached a place where there is no longer any difference between the author's political views and the policies of the Japanese government... The once confrontational attitude of Kajin no kigu towards the Western powers has now been replaced by a total acceptance of the theories of the Japanese government...30 [underlining mine]

Rinbara is arguing here that it is the Japanese government that was guilty of the imperialistic policies and the author of Kajin no kigu, due to his tour abroad and his becoming a Diet member, abandoned his original political ideals and came to embrace the policies of the Japanese government. In other words, he is saying that the change is personal and accidental: had Shiba Shirō not gone on the official tour or had he not become a Diet member, then he would probably have maintained his political ideals.

One finds it very hard to agree with this view, however, for it fails to see the broad social background for the change. In the following, by quoting extensively from Shiba Shirō's contemporaries, I will argue that the transition of political ideals in Kajin no kigu reflects and

30 Ibid., 4-9.
forms part of a much broader trend towards advocacy of Japanese expansionism among Meiji intellectuals.

That there was a strong tendency among Japanese intellectuals towards advocacy of Japanese expansionism can probably be best seen in an essay entitled Datsu’a ron ("Departure from Asia," 1885) by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1837-1901), the spiritual leader of Japan’s enlightenment and civilization movement. After an analysis of the eastward expansion of Western “civilization” in the nineteenth century, the essay compares the way Japan responded to the spread of “enlightenment” with the way China and Korea responded.

Although the land of Japan lies in the east of Asia, the mind of its people has already become free of the fogyism of other Asian countries, and in its place it acquired Western civilization. Unfortunately, we still have Asian countries as our neighbors. One is called China, and one is called Korea. Since ancient times, the peoples of these two countries have developed a religious tradition and social customs that are not different from those of Japan. But in the ways the three peoples have responded to the trend toward enlightenment, China and Korea are very similar to each other and both very different from Japan. This is perhaps because the Japanese are descendants of different racial origin from the Chinese and the Korean. Or perhaps it is because there is something in our heredity and educational system that makes us different, in spite of the same racial origin of the three peoples. What these two countries have in common is that they do not know the need for enlightenment...

Then it goes on to makes an ominous prediction about the future of China and Korea.

As far as I am concerned, it is not possible for these two countries to maintain their independence as civilization spreads eastward...There is no doubt that in not too many years from now both of these countries will perish and their land be carved up by the civilized countries of the world...

The essay laments the fact that Japan is located geographically close to China and Korea, because, due to this proximity, Western countries are likely to confuse Japan with China and Korea and will remain unsympathetic toward Japan’s desire to be treated as an equal.

There is a saying that neighbors should rely on each other and help each other as the lips and teeth do. But today's China and Korea are of no assistance whatsoever
to Japan. Moreover, in the eyes of the civilized peoples of the West, due to the geographical proximity of the three countries, Japan is sometimes viewed as of no difference from China and Korea. The effect of this actually surfaces, and quite often it becomes an indirect, negative factor in our foreign relations. We have to say this is a terrible misfortune to Japan.

Finally, it calls upon Japan not to wait any longer for its Asian neighbors to accept Western “civilization” and become enlightened. Instead, it suggests, Japan must treat its Asian neighbors in the same manner as Western imperialist nations do.

Given this situation, for the future of Japan, we cannot afford to wait for our neighbors to become enlightened and then to join hands with them to bring about the development of Asia. Instead, we should part company with our Asian neighbors and join the group of the civilized countries of the West. In dealing with China and Korea, we should not give any special consideration to them because they are our neighbors. Rather, we should deal with them in exactly the same way in which Westerners have been treating them.31

Fukuzawa’s call was certainly answered, Japan’s treatment of Korea being a case in point. It is believed that the advance of Western imperialism in East Asia went through three stages. It began with the stage of the “imperialism of free trade,” in which a “friendly trade treaty” was forced upon an East Asian country. The second is the stage of “protectorate imperialism,” in which the imperialist state promised to guarantee the security of a dominated state. The last stage is direct colonial control.32 Japan went through all of the three stages before it finally annexed Korea in 1910. Moreover, the advance of Japanese imperialism in Korea was made in conscious imitation of Western imperialism. This is best seen in a proposal to “Egyptianize” Korea made by Inoue Kaoru when he was a legation minister to Seoul in 1895.

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32 Peter Duus. op. cit., 8-11.
How was it that the British had an excuse to intervene in Egypt? Was it not that the British had established its position of interest by providing Egypt with capital?... If our country wishes to firmly establish its position in Korea and to provide a basis for intervention in its internal affairs, then it is most urgent that we strengthen our position in terms of real rights, whether railroads or financial loans, and prepare the way to move from intervention in financial relations to other relations.33

Japanese leaders had emulated “free trade imperialism” in 1870s and forced Korea into signing the unequal “Treaty of Kanghwa.” They were pursuing the second stage of their imperialistic expansion in Korea when Inoue advanced the above proposal in 1895. As is pointed out by Peter Duus, Japan’s model at this stage was no longer Commodore Perry, whose gunboats had forced an “unequal treaty” on Japan, but Lord Cromer, whose manipulation of Egypt’s finances had turned it into a protectorate.34

It is almost certain that Shiba Shirō was aware of Fukuzawa’s essay because in volume ten of Kajin no kigu, when a friend briefs Sanshi on the situation in Korea, a theory of social Darwinism is advanced that is very similar to that advanced in Fukuzawa’s “Departure from Asia.” As the story in the novel reads, Sanshi is opposed to the theory: “That is the strategy of the treacherous Europeans. There is no real hero in Japan today.”35 But a comparison of the account of how Egypt was treated by England and the account of how Korea was treated by Japan in Kajin no kigu indicates that Shiba Shirō not only accepted the theory but he also put the theory in practice.

33 Quoted in Peter Duus, op. cit., 134-135.
34 Ibid., 134.
35 GNBZ., 181.
The trend of advocating Japanese expansion was a phenomenon seen in other works of literature as well. Many political novels were written in the Meiji period in which, in different ways, the vision of a Japanese Empire is portrayed. Here we limit ourselves to the analysis of two novels.

The first novel to be considered is entitled *Nanyō no daiharan* (Great Wavetides of the South Seas, 1891) by Suehiro Tetchō (1849-1896). Though it evolves around a romantic relationship between Takayama, a young Filipino and an independence leader, and Takigawa Okiyo, the daughter of a wealthy Filipino merchant and a patriot, *Great Wavetides of the South Seas* tells the story of how Takayama leads the Philippine movement for independence from Spain to victory. Later in the novel, it turns out that both Takayama and Okiyo are Japanese descendants. The coincidence is a creation by the author based on the historical fact that a Japanese Christian Daimyo by the name of Takayama Ukon (1552-1615) was exiled to Manila and died there in the early Edo period. It is significant that the movement for Philippine independence portrayed in the novel ends up in the country’s being incorporated into Japan.

The last chapter of the novel tells what happens after the victory of the Philippines over Spain.

It occurred to Takayama when he was in London that his ancestor might have come to the Philippines from Japan. As soon as he returned home to Manila, he pulled out his family tree and asked some Japanese to examine it. The result of the examination indicated that it was prepared by the hand of Takayama Ukon, the Japanese Christian Daimyo who was exiled to Manila from Japan two hundred and fifty years ago. As it is also recorded in the family tree that Takayama Ukon once gave to a certain Takigawa, his chief retainer, a masterpiece sword which had been handed down in the family from his ancestors, Takayama was even more convinced that the Takigawa family was also of Japanese descent.

Takayama is of a contemplative nature and after the victory over the Spanish army he started pondering the future of the country. Here is how his logic goes: "This time we took over the Philippine islands from the Spanish government. But when the
war in Europe comes to an end and peace is restored there, Spain will for sure send a large army and navy and start another war in the Philippines. Our country has been ruled for three hundred years by Spain and it would be very hard for our people to stand up against the Spanish army. [We therefore must think of a way to deal with that situation.] In recent years, Japan has grown in strength like the rising morning sun. Even in our victory this time over the Spanish army, we owe greatly to the help of Japan. Since our ancestors were Japanese, why don't we take this opportunity and turn the Philippines into a subject country of Japan and receive Japanese protection?

He talked to his wife about this idea and obtained her consent. Then they turned this proposal to the people for their opinion and the result was that the majority showed their support. Thereupon, Takayama sent Matsumoto, one of his comrades who is well-informed about Japan, to Tokyo with other Japanese. Matsumoto’s mission was to deliver a letter from Takayama to the Japanese emperor and empress. The two majesties gladly approved the proposal to add the Philippines to Japanese territory and turned the proposal to the Diet for deliberation. The two houses approved the proposal by an overwhelming majority. Then it was decided to promote Takayama to the status of an aristocrat and appoint him as lifelong viceroy to Manila... The Spanish government also decided to yield the South Sea Islands to Japan by peace talks, perhaps because it realized the risk involved in fighting a war against Japan and Manila. Thereupon, the great wave-tides of the South Seas quieted down completely and Japanese national flag flies high over the sky of the old capital.

The portrayal of the Philippines being incorporated into Japan in Great Wave-tides of the South Seas was only a part of widespread advocacy of Japanese expansion in the South Seas in the mid-Meiji period, or the “South Sea fever” (nanshin netsu) as it was called in Japan at the time. For example, in 1886 Sugiura Jugo— one of the founders of the Seikyosha, an ultrananalstic organization— suggested that the traditionally outcast Burakumin class establish a colony in the South Pacific. Since the Restoration the Burakumin had gained legal equality with other Japanese, but old attitudes persisted. The best way for them to improve their lot, wrote Sugiura, was by settling in a new land. He suggested that 90,000 able-bodied Burakumin be sent with their families to the Philippines to establish a Japanese colony. By leading a revolt

36 MSSS., 320-321.
of the oppressed natives against their Spanish masters, the Burakumin would improve their own livelihood, escape old stigmas, and bring new glory to Japan.\textsuperscript{37}

Similarly, Miyake Setsurei, another leader of the Seikyōsha, expressed enthusiastic support for Japanese expansion in the South Seas. He was once permitted aboard a navy drill ship on a six-month training mission in the southern Pacific in 1891. “At the time,” he wrote later, “the desire for colonies, especially in the South Pacific, was strong...We felt Japan had to acquire territory.”\textsuperscript{38}

Recall how in Volume Fourteen of \textit{Kajin no kigu}, published in 1897, Sanshi meets with Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, on his official tour of Europe. As is mentioned earlier in this chapter, when Kossuth talks about the future of Spain and Japan, he encourages Japan to build a strong navy with which to compete with the declining Spain for territories in the South Seas. In reading the ending of \textit{Great Wavetides of the South Seas}, Sugiura Jūgo’s suggestions and Miyake’s reminiscence, one cannot help but be reminded of Kossuth’s prediction in \textit{Kajin no kigu}. The ending of \textit{Great Wavetides of the South Seas} and Sugiura’s suggestions can be said to be different projections of Kossuth’s prediction. If so many intellectuals in Meiji Japan were preoccupied with suggesting and painting the future Japanese Empire, the transition of political ideals in \textit{Kajin no kigu} is hardly an accidental personal phenomenon. It resides in a much broader social background.

If the incorporation of the Philippines into Japan is peaceful in \textit{Great Wavetides of the South Seas}, far more militant means are advocated in \textit{Ukishiro monogatari} (The Tale of the


\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 159.
Floating Castle, 1890) by Yano Ryūkei (1850-1931). This novel tells the story of how two Japanese, Sakura Yoshibumi and Tachibana Katsutake (Sakura symbolizes Japan and Katsutake domination by military force), organize a group of "patriots" and attempt to realize their ambition of "trampling the world" and conquering new territories for Japan. We are told in Chapter Six of the novel, subtitled "the Great Enterprise" (daijigyo), how the two leaders reveal their ambitious secret plan to their followers before their departure from Japan. Sakura, the leader of the group speaks:

You have probably guessed what our great project is about. For various reasons, until now I could not reveal to you the details of our enterprise. Today, I will explain it to you...

I have given careful deliberation to the matter and have decided that since we were born on this earth, we should have the freedom to dominate it. Who says the world of our activities are confined to Japan only because we were born in Japan? Look! The ocean that extends before us is the road Heaven (ten) created for us to employ in dominating the world. Throughout the five continents, which place is there that we are not allowed to trample? Since we were born on this earth, we should, as a matter of course, use the whole earth as the stage to perform our unprecedented enterprise, instead of limiting ourselves only to the sphere of Japan...

Westerners establish themselves all over the world. But we Japanese have been trying to establish ourselves only in Japan! How lamentable this is! It is said that in ancient times, Emperor Jimmu conquered foreign lands. But that is a story enshrined in myth. Then Toyotomi Hideyoshi led an army overseas and fought battles there. But he never added one inch of land to our territory. Oh, how cowardly we Japanese people have been since ancient times! I feel ashamed whenever I think of the numerous Westerners who have accomplished glory outside their own countries. I must say that among Japanese heroes throughout our history, Toyotomi Hideyoshi was the only one who seems to understand me. All others were cowards not worthy of mention. Now it is the time for us to trample the world and storm the uninhabited lands and to open territories tens of times bigger than Japan and to offer them to His Majesty our Emperor...

In the past, Westerners merely put the flag of their country on the uninhabited land and would made the claim that "this is our land." Or if only a Westerner happened to have travelled and set foot on a place without ever actually building a village there, he would make the claim that "this is our territory." How arrogant they were! Given what the Westerners have done, why is it that we cannot take the land of the uninhabited places and conquer nations which are too weak to protect themselves and

39作良義文, 立花勝武
Illustration 4. A Map of "The New Territories"

(From Chapter Seven of The Tale of the Floating Castle)
stand independent? INTERNATIONAL LAWS ARE RHETORIC, NOT BINDING RULES. If it is the case whoever takes a land first should therefore have the right to possess it, then there are places which we can take first; if it is the case that whoever has the military power to protect a land should therefore have the right to own it, then there are lands which our military power is strong enough to protect... [Capitalization and underlining mine]

Chapter Seven of The Tale of the Floating Castle, subtitled “New Territories” (shin hanto) has a map charting the “new territories” of the Japanese Empire outlined in “the Enterprise” of the “patriots.” Indeed it illustrates an area “tens of times the size of Japan” that they plan to conquer. It includes a small island in the South Seas, the whole island of Madagascar, and about a quarter of Africa (more than three million square kilometers). (See Illustration 5)

All the above examples are by Shiba Shiro’s contemporaries. From these examples, we can see that the change of political ideals in Kajin no kigu is by no means isolated or personal. Rather, it reflects and forms part of a broad social background among Japanese intellectuals of the Meiji period who advocated Japanese expansionism. The contrast between Shiba Shirō’s map of the “Alarming Encroachment of the European Powers” and Yano Ryūkei’s map of “New Territories” speaks eloquently the existence of such a social background.

In fact, the broad trend of expansionism among Meiji intellectuals is to be found in Kajin no kigu as well in the portrayal of some anonymous minor characters. These characters, sometimes referred to by the general term shishi, or sometimes introduced by pseudonyms, are depicted as patriotic heroes sharing the protagonist’s concern for the fate of Japan. For example, we are told in Volume Ten of the novel that, following prolonged negotiations, the

The Tientsin Convention is signed in 1885 between Japan and China and both sides agree to withdraw troops from Korea. When the news is published, Sanshi and "three or four shishi" comrades gather in his lodgings and talk about the outcome of the negotiations. One of the group, "the respected friend Seikyō Koji," expresses his indignation at the government's weakness in dealing with China and Korea. He advocates a hardline.

I am not happy about the result of the negotiations. Why is it that we station our troops in Korea? There is good reason why. Some years ago, Japan was the first in the world to recognize the independence of Korea. We conveyed our goodwill to the Koreans by setting up diplomatic offices and by sending business people there. But the bigoted Koreans were simply blind to the universal principles of the world, taking our good will as cherishing some covetous ambition and thinking that they would lose if they did business with us. They therefore abused our national flag and harassed our people. We were really forced to send our troops to Korea in order to protect the dignity of our country and the life and property of our people. When I observe world politics carefully, I come to see how the law of jungle prevails. Those who are aggressive are for sure to become more and more prosperous; those who are weak and submissive are bound to decline and perish. This is true particularly in East Asia.  

Though the speech is quoted as from Seikyō Koji, the law of jungle underlying Seikyō Koji's hardline also reflects Shiba Shiro's philosophy of international politics, a philosophy not seen until Volume Ten when the novel turns to deal with the Korean issue.

Similarly, in Volume Sixteen, when Japan is forced to return Liaotung Peninsula to China due to the Tripartite Intervention, again some ten of Sanshi's friends gather to exchange views. We are told that "one evening, some ten of my friends set out a table with wine and, while enjoying the moonlight, talked about recent international politics. Their righteousness is underscored by their eloquence." Eight of the "some ten" friends are quoted at length as:

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41 GNBZ., 186.
42 GNBZ., 245.
expressing their mortification at the loss of Liaotung Peninsula. One of them, Kofunshi (The Lonely Lamenting shishū), begins his speech by pointing out the importance of the Peninsula to Japanese interests:

Liaotung Peninsula is of strategic importance in East Asia. To China, it is like a fence in front of the house; to Russia, it is like a barrier at the rear door; to Japan and Korea, it is like a dam holding back a river. Therefore, if Russia has the Peninsula, it can compel Japan and China to submit; if Japan has the Peninsula, on the other hand, Japan can check Russia's advance southward and dominate East Asia. One may argue that the Peninsula is a barren place with scarce population; the climate is foul and the sea is dangerous. We will not gain much even if we possess it, and we will not lose much even if we lose it. My view, however, is diametrically the opposite. To me, Dalian is situated as a center of transportation leading in all directions. During the winter when the sea to the north is frozen, the Bo Hai Sea will be the only passage by sea where ships can come and go freely. So, if Japan possesses the Peninsula, we can extend the railway all the way to Shanhai Pass of China on the one hand and to the great Russian railway system on the other. If we build a port there to facilitate trade, then, it will become a commercial center in the region to the north of Peking where the winter lasts half a year. When that day comes, there is no telling what great profit we can make, to say nothing of the rich mineral resources in the Liaotung region...

Then he goes on to criticize the Japanese government for failing to properly the matter which led to the tripartite intervention and Japanese humiliation.

I only regret that on the day when China ceded the Peninsula to us, our government officials blundered [and as a consequence we were forced to return it to China]... The purpose of our conquering China was to help Korea win its independence. Therefore we should have forced China to return the land to Korea and let Korea benefit from its resources. If Japan takes the land, it runs against our name and obligation. However, as the Koreans always have trouble ruling this land, Japan could have claimed to govern and manage the land on behalf of Korea for the time being. Only in that way foreign countries would not have been able to find excuses to interfere with our occupation of Liaotung... 

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43 GNBZ., 247.
44 GNBZ., 247-R.
The logic in this speech is confused. At one moment Kofunshi champions Japan's support of Korea's independence and calls for the return of the Peninsula to Korea; the next moment, he talks about the need for Japan to rule the Peninsula because the Koreans "always have trouble ruling their land." But the expansionist message is clear enough: Liaotung Peninsula is strategically important and Japan ought to possess it.

If Kofunshi is trying to justify Japanese occupation of Liaotung Peninsula, another shishi, Kikyosei (The Eccentric), is blatant in insisting on Japan's military occupation of Korea. Citing the Taewon'gun's "betrayal" of Japanese support by secretly allying with the Chinese just before the start of the Sino-Japanese War, he argues that the Japanese government could have used "betrayal" of the Taewon'gun as a pretext to occupy Korea.

Is [the Taewon'gun's betrayal] not a golden opportunity that Heaven (koten) gave us? After his betrayal, we should have charged the Korean court with a sword in the right hand and with evidence in the left. Even if we had terminated the five-hundred-year old Yi Dynasty with this charge, what could they have said to stop us? As the saying goes, to establish a virtue, one must make sure it spreads; to eliminate an evil, one must make sure it is eradicated. But unfortunately, [the government] was too indecisive to check the arrogance of the Taewon'gun and to detect the plots of the Koreans, and we missed a golden opportunity. How can I help but deplore such mistakes?45

According to a study by Inoue Hiroshi, the "patriots" in Volume Sixteen of Kajin no kigii are loosely modeled on real life political activists (shishi) who were directly or indirectly involved in the assassination of Queen Min.46 The broad social background for the shift of political ideals of Kajin no kigii is also seen in the activities of these shishi.

One of the shishi is Kobayagawa Hideo. Recall for a moment that some Japanese civilian toughs participated in the assassination of Queen Min. Kobayagawa was one of them.

45 GNBZ., 246.
He was from Kumamoto Prefecture, and he was the chief editor of the Kanjo shimpō, a newspaper published by Japanese in Seoul. In a memoir he wrote later, he describes what motivated him and other Japanese into undertaking such a hideous coup.

All of our trouble in Korea originated from a single person, Queen Min. As long as she was alive and well, the problems in Korea could not be solved even if we tried a hundred ways, or a thousand ways. It is like seeking the clean flow of a stream without making sure the fountain head is not muddy... Minister Miura was insightful and resolute. He knew where the problem was from the beginning and was determined to lay his ax at the root of the trouble. My comrades and I, too, believed that there were no alternative ways to solve the problem. Therefore, we made up our mind to assist the minister in this heroic deed (kaikyo)... When we heard his plan, we could not help feeling deeply touched by his patriotic ardor. [underlining mine]

Commenting on the psychology of these shishi who participated in the assassination, Tsunoda Fusako points out that these shishi surely knew that murder was a crime, to say nothing of the regicide of the queen of a neighboring country. But they must have thought that if it was “for the sake of the Japanese Empire,” then it must be done. As long as it was for the sake of Japan, anything was permissible and to do so becomes evidence of true bravery. To these minds, murder becomes a “heroic deed.”

Tsunoda’s remarks catches the frame of mind of these shishi, as represented by Kobayagawa Hideo’s words. After revealing that the participants in the assassination cherished a ray of hope that Japanese government would give due consideration to their patriotism (yüoku no shinju) and treat them leniently, Kobayagawa adds that they were prepared for the worst.

Even if the government does not give consideration to our patriotic devotion (yüoku no shisei), and punish us according to the law, we will not regret. Because if we

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48 Tsunoda Fusako. op. cit., 380.
successfully eliminate Queen Min, the Japanese-Korean relationship will turn around and we can expect a bright future and our patriotic aspiration (hokoku no shi) will have been rewarded...?49

In Kobayagawa's mind, there is no difference between patriotism and imperialism as long as it is "for the sake of Japan." One feels that this is also true of Tokai Sanshi in the last volumes of Kajin no kigï.

Another shishi is Yosano Tekkan (1873-1935), who has often been credited with creating modern tanka poetry.50 Though later in his career Tekkan turned to the writing of love poetry, his early poems, especially the ones he wrote on Korean issues are highly martial and jingoistic. For example, in May 1894, shortly before the breakout of the Sino-Japanese War, Tekkan wrote the following tanka poem advocating a hardline toward China.

Why do we keep talking of useless things? The matter can be solved only by means of swords!
Only by means of swords!51

The prefatory note attached to the tanka reads: "Composed in May 1894 when the tension was building between Japan and China over the issue of Korea."52

In April 1895, when Japan's victory over China was certain in the Sino-Japanese War, Tekkan went to Korea to teach Japanese in a school in Seoul. He wrote a tanka celebrating the opening of the school. Following a prefatory note which explains how the school was established, the tanka reads:

49 Ibid., 381.
51 Cited in Inoue Hiroshi, op. cit., 239.
52 Ibid.
On the mountains of Korea
we planted trees of cherry blossoms.
And the people of Korea
we made them sing songs
of men of Yamato.\(^53\)

In summer 1895, Tekkan contracted typhoid fever and was hospitalized in Seoul.

While lying in the hospital, he wrote ten tanka poems with an identical opening refrain (kara ni
shite / ikade ka shinamu, Why should I die in Korea). They include the following.

Why should I die in Korea?
If I should die here,
the songs of Yamato men will be forgotten.

Why should I die in Korea?
If I should die in vain,
the treasured sword, my family heirloom will cry for me.

Why should I die in Korea?
—I have made a vow
with my like-minded friends.

Why should I die in Korea?
If I should die here,
The world will remember me merely as a man of elegant taste.

Why should I die in Korea?
If I should die here,
there will be no appropriate mountain to bury the body of a manly man.\(^54\)

After the Tripartite Intervention, the Min faction ascended in power and Japanese
influence in Korea waned. Tekkan lamented the situation and threatened to take action. His
feelings are recorded in two tanka poems he wrote in autumn 1895. After a prefatory note
which tells how Queen Min was imperious and how Japanese influence was declining, the
tanka reads.

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\(^54\) *Gendai tanka zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1980), 16.
The autumn wind blows through the mountains of Korea,
I am stroking my sword and thinking.
The ideas turning over my mind are not to be slighted.

From the mountains of Korea,
no roaring of tigers can be heard.
Instead, only the chilly autumn wind is blowing.55

According to a chronology of Yosano Tekkan’s life, he was involved in planning the assassination of Queen Min and his name was on the list of Japanese civilians to participate. However, due to the unexpected change of the scheduled date, he was not in Seoul on October 8, 1895 when the assassination took place.56 Nevertheless, his murderous intent is obvious in the above tanka.

After Japanese involvement in the assassination of Queen Min became known, the Japanese government dismissed Miura and called him back with some forty other Japanese suspected of collusion in the queen’s murder. As soon as their ship arrived in Japan, they were arrested and jailed in Hiroshima for questioning. Yosano Tekkan was among the Japanese civilians recalled to Japan. On his way back to home, he wrote a tanka.

We refrain from laughter,
afraid how the world will take it.
We have scruples about crying too,
wondering how people would reproach us for it.57

Tekkan was released after questioning. But most of the Japanese recalled from Korea were put in prison for further questioning. Tekkan wrote the following tanka insisting on the innocence of his “friends in the Hiroshima prison.”

How refined (furuyu) it is
to be put in prison without committing any crime!

I wonder what it is like to see the moon shining bright
in the prison cells.\footnote{58}

Not all of Tekkan’s poems are equally jingoistic. But the calling for the use of the
“sword” in dealing with China and Korea, the threat to take action against Queen Min and the
readiness to participate in the assassination as seen in these poems is suggestive of the mental
state of the \textit{shishi} depicted in \textit{Kajin no kigu}.

If opinion leaders such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, and novelists such as Suehiro Tetchō and
Yano Ryūkei were advocates of Japanese expansion, \textit{shishi} activists such as Kobayagawa and
Tekkan were not only supporters of Japanese expansion, but they also put it into practice. Here
lies the broad social background for the expansionism found in the later volumes of \textit{Kajin no
kigu}.

I close this chapter with the ultimate evidence for the shift in the author’s political
stance from patriotism to imperialism, namely his own involvement in the assassination of
Queen Min. As is mentioned earlier in this chapter, the author, through the mouth of his
protagonist, insists on his innocence in the last scene of the novel. There is evidence, however,
that indicates otherwise. A secret report that Uchida Sadatsuchi, a Consul to Seoul at the time
of the assassination, submitted to Japanese Foreign Minister on November 5 1895 contains
numerous passages that reveal the extent to which Shiba Shirō was involved in the incident.
For example, one part of the report reads: “\textit{Shiba Shirō was considered Minister Miura’s right-
hand man. He not only participated in all of the planning, but he was also in charge of the}
civilian touchishments (sōshi).”

Uchida’s report is supported by other sources. For example, in Kobayagawa’s memoir, he notes that on October 7, 1895, Miura called Shiba Shīrō and others to the legation and discussed specific plans. Oya Masao was another shishi who, like Yosano Tekkan, had been on the list of civilians to participate in the assassination but missed the opportunity due to the sudden change in date of action. His autobiography contains a section on the assassination which also supports Uchida’s secret report. Among other things, the section notes that one of the items in Miura’s action plan reads “The selection of sōshi is entrusted to Shiba Shīrō.”

Another part of Uchida’s secret report tells of Shiba Shīrō’s role in concealing the truth after the incident when it was about to become an international issue. The report continues:

“When I [Uchida] asked Minister [Miura] what I should do if [the numerous Japanese involved in the incident] leak facts to foreigners, he said to me: ‘Tell those indirectly involved in the incident to make sure the secret is well kept, to say nothing of those who were directly involved.’ Therefore, reporters working for local newspapers all received instructions from the Minister to meet in Shiba Shīrō’s hotel room and discuss ways to cover up the issue at hand.”

In spite of their efforts to conceal the truth, it soon became public knowledge that the incident had been masterminded and carried out by the Japanese. When it was decided that the Japanese involved in the incident were to be investigated in front of foreigners and a list was

60 Ibid., 14.
prepared, Shiba Shirō managed to obtain money to give to those to be investigated in order to have their cooperation in covering up the truth. The following is also from Uchida’s secret report to Japanese Foreign Ministry.

Shiba Shirō talked to all those to be investigated and told them to make the same testimony when questioned. Moreover, foreseeing that after the police investigation, they would either be ordered to leave Korea, or be subject to punishment, Shiba Shiro arranged to obtain 6,000 yen from the Taewon'gun to be distributed to them.  

On October 21 1895, Shiba Shirō was shipped back to Japan, along with other Japanese legation officials and civilians involved in the incident. As soon as they arrived in Japan, they were all handcuffed and put in a Hiroshima prison. On January 20 1896, the result of the investigation was announced at Hiroshima local court: all were acquitted. Shiba Shirō’s name was among the forty-eight acquitted. Following his name is the result of the investigation of his case. It reads: the evidence is not sufficient to prove the accused guilty of the charge.

On March 5, 1896, shortly after his release, Shiba Shirō published an article on Nihonjin (The Japanese), a magazine published by the ultranationalist organization, the Seikyōsha. Entitled Taikan shiken (My View of the Korean Issue), the article claims that Japan’s weak-willed Korean policy was responsible for the incident, and it criticizes the government for the unjust treatment of those charged with the queen’s murder. The last part of the article contains the following:

Things having reached that stage [in Korea], there was virtually no alternative but to resort to that [namely assassination] to remedy the situation. But [the government] would rather listen to foreigners than to listen to our own diplomats, and this caused the unjust imprisonment in Hiroshima... Those who only took preventive measures in order to disseminate the glory of the Empire were charged with crime and put into prison. It is no wonder that the tragedy should have taken place.

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63 Ibid.
64 Nihonjin, 17 (March 3 1896): 13.
"There was no alternative but to resort to assassination," and the assassination was only "preventive measures in order to disseminate the glory of the Empire." This is exactly the logic underlying the motivation of a soshi like Kobayagawa, for example, in participating in the assassination. From remarks like these, we can see how far the author of Kajin no kigai has traveled down the treacherous road from patriotism to imperialism.
In 1910, fifteen years after the Sino-Japanese War, Korea was annexed by Japan. On March 8 of that year, when the Japanese Diet was examining the Imperial Ordinance to annex Korea, Shiba Shiro, as a Diet member, delivered a long speech in support of the annexation.

...Since the founding of Japan, numerous wise emperors, loyal ministers, famous generals and patriots have devoted their energy and lives to the issue of Korea and could still not reach a consent on it. More recently, with the Korean issue as the root of the trouble, Okubo Toshimichi, Saigō Takamori, Itō Hirobumi and others all died an unnatural death. Today, however, in this august reign of our Emperor, we are to achieve the goal of annexing Korea. As a member of the Diet, I am at a loss as to how to express my happiness about this. I am even considering turning this day into a national holiday so that we can celebrate.¹

An author who once expressed deep sympathy for the oppressed peoples of the world and who claimed to be a supporter of Korean independence now gloats over Korea's dissolution before Japan's military might. The process of shifting from patriotism to imperialism has finally completed its full course with this speech, a process that, ironically, started when Shiba Shiro's alter ego, Ōkai Sanshi, stood before the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia and extolled the virtues of freedom and independence.

It is believed among some Japanese scholars that *Kajin no kieu* is an incomplete work.\(^2\) But one wonders how Shiba Shiro would have continued even had he been so inclined. Recall that in Volume Ten of *Kajin no kieu* Sanshi proposes, during a visit to Kim Okkyun, to number the Korean independence leader in his account of the strange encounters of patriots who have lost their homelands. But before Sanshi finishes his proposal, the startled Korean leader interrupts and lodges an immediate objection: "It is fine to add me as a character in your strange encounters, but never let my motherland perish."\(^3\) Then in Volume Sixteen, when the ghost of the assassinated Korean leader appears in Sanshi's dream as he sleeps in a Hiroshima prison cell, Kim again prays that his motherland will last as an independent country.\(^4\) If the novel were to continue and the characters remain as is, surely Kim Okkyun's ghost would take arms and join the ranks of anti-Japanese forces. Surely the fair Yūran, who had assisted the Egyptians in their war of independence against England, would come to the assistance of the Korean people in their anti-Japanese resistance movement. Similarly, Koren, who was angry at Prime Minister Gambetta's volte-face from being sympathetic to weak nations such as Ireland to being covetous of Egyptian territory, would feel equally repulsed by Sanshi's shift from patriot to imperialist. Were the novel to continue, perhaps an account of the strange encounters with the *kajin* would become an account of the revolt of the *kajin*.

While the author's transition from patriotism to imperialism has been completed, there are issues remaining for us to consider about the novel. The first is how to characterize the

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\(^2\) MSSS., 483.
\(^3\) GNBZ., 187.
\(^4\) GNBZ., 251.
political ideals of *Kajin no kigū*. As the preceding chapters demonstrate, though the author's patriotism is genuine in the opening volumes of *Kajin no kigū*, there are undeniable messages of imperialism, especially in Volumes Ten and Sixteen when the novel turns to the Korean issue. Therefore it is inaccurate and misleading to call *Kajin no kigū* a work of "pure patriotism." It would be more appropriate to regard it as one that shows how the political ideals of a Meiji novelist shifted from patriotism to imperialism.

A related issue concerns the classification of the novel. Not only has *Kajin no kigū* often been called a work of patriotism, but that characterization is often couched in ambiguous language. For example, along with other Meiji political novels including *The Tale of the Floating Castle* and *The Great Wavetides of the South Seas*, *Kajin no kigū* has been classified by Yanagida Izumi as a "kokken shōsetsu," or a novel of national rights. The modifier "kokken" is an ambiguous term that needs more careful scrutiny. Let us look at how the term is used in Yanagida's study of political novels. In explaining Shiba Shiro's motivation in writing *Kajin no kigū*, Yanagida writes:

> When he was studying in the Untied States, Sanshi saw with his own eyes how Western powers were encroaching relentlessly on Eastern countries, and how the weak had become prey to the strong of the world. He returned to Japan anxious about his newly rising motherland. But he was indignant to see the madness of [Westernization in Japan in the name of treaty revision], and he published *Kajin no kigū* to warn of the danger faced by Japan. [underlining mine]

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5 MSSS.. 449-454.
6 MSSS.. 478.
Yanagida emphasizes repeatedly Shiba Shiro’s sympathy for weak nations and his concern over Japan’s falling victim to Western imperialism. For example, the following is from his essay “Kaiin no kigu to Tokai Sanshi.”

The author has had the experience of losing his domain. So his feelings for the weak nations of the world that have perished also come from the bottom of his heart. He does not think of the misfortunes of these nations as merely matters in other countries... Therefore, his anxiety over whether Japan will perish [before the Western powers], or whether there are ways to spare Asia from misfortune also comes from the bottom of his heart.7

In particular Yanagida is extravagant in his praise of Shiba Shiro’s views regarding the revision of the unequal treaties forced upon Japan by the Western powers. Calling the weak-willed treaty revision negotiations of the Japanese government “a national disgrace,”8 Yanagida cites the following from Volume Fifteen of Kaiin no kigu, a passage based on Tani Kanjo’s proposal.

We must carry out negotiations of the treaty revisions according to the public opinion of our people. Moreover, we must, by means of news media, public speech and wisdom of diplomacy, appeal to the public opinion of European countries and America. If the treaty countries still do not listen to our request and behave unreasonably, then we must, based on the principles of justice and righteousness, take resolute action and cut off diplomatic relations with those countries.9

Yanagida’s logic goes as follows: the Western powers were encroaching relentlessly upon Eastern countries. Japanese national rights were threatened. Seeing this first hand due to his experience in the United States, the author was anxious about the future of Japan and he wrote the novel to warn his fellow Japanese who, as far as the author could see, were unaware

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7 SSK., 397.
8 SSK., 403.
9 SSK., 403
of the danger. Moreover, Japanese sovereignty is violated by the unequal treaties and these treaties must be brought into conformity with public opinion in Japan. In Yanagida’s analysis of Kajin no kigō, the author’s assertion of Japanese “kokken” or national rights is prompted by the threat of Western powers and by the violation of Japanese sovereignty by the unequal treaties. Used in this sense, the term “kokken” is obviously synonymous with patriotism, or “yukoku,” as the Japanese expression for “lament for the nation” has it.

Yet Yanagida also uses the term in a completely different sense. For example, in explaining the themes of early “kokken shōsetsu” in the Meiji period, he makes the following statement:

In these early “kokken shōsetsu,” the idea [of expanding Japanese national rights] vis-a-vis Western countries is not yet presented clearly. It can only be sensed indirectly. However, things are different with Korea and China. These countries are the direct targets of expanding [Japan’s] national rights. The ideals of these early political novels are for Japan to outstrip these countries and seek hegemony in East Asia.¹⁰

Needless to say, the modifier “kokken” as used here means something totally different from what it meant in the earlier examples. Here the assertion of Japan’s “kokken” is prompted by neither external threats to Japanese independence nor violation of Japanese sovereignty. Rather, Japan’s “kokken” vis-a-vis Korea and China is asserted for the purpose of “seeking hegemony in East Asia.” Used in this sense, the term “kokken” is equivalent to imperialism.

The imperialist connotation of the term “kokken” becomes unmistakable when some of the Meiji political novels classified as “kokken shōsetsu” by Yanagida Izumi were “rediscovered” and highly acclaimed during Japan’s “fifteen-year period” of war from 1931 to

¹⁰ MSSS. 449.
1945. Yano Ryukei’s The Tale of the Floating Castle, the expansionist nature of which we have touched on in the preceding chapter, is a case in point. In 1940, when The Tale of the Floating Castle was published in paperback, Yanagida wrote an introduction to the novel in which he shared his admiration for Yano Ryukei as a prophet of the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies.

The Tale of the Floating Castle tells of a group of ardent Japanese patriots who, determined to devote themselves to the country’s future, navigate to the South Seas to expand Japanese territory and check the Netherlands and England... [When the novel first appeared in the 1890s], Japan did not yet have any deep involvement with the so-called Dutch East Indies, which form the setting of this novel. But today, our relationship with the Dutch East Indies is different, and the novel has become one that is closely related to the current situation... Fifty years ago, the author already had such a clear vision of the future of Japan. We have to say that Ryukei was a person of exceedingly deep insight. 11

In case readers fail to grasp the point, Yanagida highlights what he considers the most important point of the novel.

The essence of the novel is Sakura’s [the “President” of the patriots] speech delivered in the two chapters of “the Enterprise” and “the New Territories”... The speech is an outline of the strategic plan for action by the group, and it is announced by Sakura in order to reaffirm the determination of the members of the group. Therefore, the rest of the novel can be regarded as an implementation of the plans outlined in the speech. But it is also something more. The author Ryukei uses Sakura as his mouthpiece to appeal to all Japanese for the need to embark on great ventures abroad (kaigai yūhi)... Until then, Westerners used the whole earth as the stage on which to establish themselves, while we Japanese confined ourselves only to our own country. But the earth was not created only for Westerners to make their names. We Japanese... also have the right to trample the whole earth. 12

11 Yano Ryukei, Ukishiro monogatari (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1940), 255.

12 Ibid., 258.
Commenting on the original intent of the unfinished novel, he says the following about the motivation of Yano Ryūkei in writing *The Tale of the Floating Castle*:

Rally all the colored races and the downtrodden peoples of the world under the banner of Great Japan, start a big salvation campaign, halt the rampage of the white race to realize the ideal of the so-called hakko ichiu, or “the eight corners of the world under one roof.” That is probably the original intent of the author.¹³

“Eight corners of the world under one roof” was one of the slogans used by the military government to characterize the “holy mission” of Japanese Empire during the Asia and Pacific wars. Interpreting a Meiji period “kokken shōsetsu” in terms of the “holy mission” of the military government during the war makes the imperialistic nature of the term “kokken” unmistakable.

*The Tale of the Floating Castle* was not the only Meiji political novel to have been “rediscovered” during the war. *Kajin no kigu*, another of what Yanagida calls “kokken shōsetsu” and the focus of this dissertation, received the same treatment. Though widely condemned for its artistic shortcomings, it was collected in an anthology of “classic Japanese literature” summarized in English. Compiled in 1940, the anthology puts *Kajin no kigu* among such Japanese classics as *The Man'yoshu*, *The Tale of Genji*, and *The Tale of the Heike*.¹⁴ According to the compilers of the anthology, *Kajin no kigu* is the most powerfully written of the many political novels that appeared in the Meiji period, and its influence has been deep and wide. The most important accomplishment of the novel is not literary, however, but

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¹³ Ibid., 257.
[the author’s] revelatory portrayal...of Japan’s place in the international sphere...and his ardent prophetic utterances, based on apt examples supplied by history, which brought about a general awakening among the Japanese people of their sense of a national destiny.\(^\text{15}\)

It is almost certain the “national destiny” highly acclaimed here does not refer to the image of Japan as portrayed in the opening volumes of Kaiin no kigu because in those initial volumes “Japan was by no means a first-class or a second-class country. It belonged to the group of small nations”\(^\text{16}\) that were vulnerable to “the alarming encroachment of European powers.”\(^\text{17}\) Rather it must refer to the image of Japan whose “military might is made known to the eight corners of the world” as portrayed in Volume Sixteen of the novel because Japan in 1940 was attempting to bring the “eight corners of the world under one roof (hakkō ichiu),” to borrow the slogan of the day.

Clearly the word “kokken” is ambiguous between two diametrically different meanings depending on the context. It is synonymous with patriotism if the assertion is made at a time when national independence is threatened or national sovereignty violated. At the same time, it is equivalent to imperialism if the assertion advocates expansionism and invasion of other sovereign countries. A distinction must be drawn between the two notions if we are to accurately capture the political nature of Kaiin no kigu.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 371.
\(^{17}\) This phrase is the caption to the third and last illustration in Volume Nine of Kaiin no kigii.
Finally, let us consider the implications of this study for modern Japanese literature. In his article "The Impact of Japanese Literary Trends on Modern Chinese Writers," Ching-mao Cheng compares modern Japanese literature and modern Chinese literature as follows:

[While the Chinese writers] were preoccupied with down-to-earth worries over the fate of endangered dawo\(^\text{18}\) (the big self, nationhood) in their struggle to enlighten their people and save their country...the Japanese writers were absorbed in discovering the meaning of literature and seeking emancipation, assertion, and perfection of jiga\(^\text{19}\) (selfhood) at an abstract level.\(^\text{20}\)

Cheng’s view is shared by some Japanese scholars, as we see in a similar statement made by Suzuki Shuji in his book Chugoku bungaku to Nihon bungaku (Chinese Literature and Japanese Literature).

The literary sensibility of modern Chinese intellectuals from Liang Qichao to Lu Xun is surely somehow fundamentally different from that of Japanese. Where does the difference come from? To put it frankly, it originates from the different views they hold on the relationship between politics and literature. In the Chinese tradition, there is a strong tendency to believe that desirable literature should deal with political matters as well. By contrast, in the world of Japanese literature, we have an entirely different tendency. Here, it is the concept of mono-no-aware that is the key to literary refinement. If politics is allowed to be involved, literature will only be made vulgar.\(^\text{21}\)

Generalizations such as these remind one of Earl Miner’s remarks on Japanese court poetry.

Throughout recorded time Japanese have been patriotic and conscious of their national identity, but patriotism has not provided their poets with a literary option they cared to take up... There is a story, truer in spirit than in fact, that during World War II someone in the Japanese government conceived the notion of having distinguished Japanese scholars prepare a “Patriotic Collection of Single Poems of a Hundred Poets” on the model of the very popular thirteenth century anthology, Hyakunin Isshu, or Single

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\(^\text{18}\) 大我
\(^\text{19}\) 自我
Poems of a Hundred Poets. After painstaking effort the scholars supposedly reported that they were sorry, but from the thousands and thousands of extant poems they could not produce a hundred patriotic poems from classical poetry.  

It is not clear what the source is of Miner's anecdote about the Patriotic Collection in World War II, but his remarks prove to be mistaken, as is demonstrated by the publication in May 1943 of Aikoku hyakunin isshu (Patriotic Poems by One Hundred Poets) by a group of scholars belonging to Patriotic Association of Japanese Literature (Nihon bungaku hōkokukai). This collection contains waka poems composed by poets ranging from the Nara period to the end of the Edo period. That this collection represents only a small portion of a much larger body of patriotic poems throughout Japanese history is indicated by the fact that "over 120,000 tanka were submitted, including duplicates," during the time when candidate poems for the patriotic anthology were gathered.

The truth of Miner's remarks aside, there seems to be a tendency among scholars to deemphasize the political aspect of modern Japanese literature. However, even a cursory review of modern Japanese history—the forcible opening of the country by Western gunboats in 1853, Japan's own subsequent colonial expansion into the continent, fifteen years of war resulting in utter defeat and its first and only foreign occupation, the postwar economic miracle and the current ambitious program of "internationalization"—should be sufficient to remind us that Japan has undergone dramatic vicissitudes in its modern history. It would be extremely strange indeed if these vicissitudes failed to interest Japanese writers and were not reflected in Japanese literature. The analysis of the political ideals of Kajin no kigai presented in this

dissertation is intended to demonstrate that there is another dimension to modern Japanese literature, and it must be revisited if we are to develop a comprehensive view.

One final episode from the history of Kaiin no kigu sheds an interesting and revealing light on the final, larger issue raised above. That is because any study of the political ideals of Kaiin no kigu would be incomplete without noting the existence of a Chinese translation of the novel entitled Jiaren qiyu by Liang Qichao (1873-1929), the most influential Chinese intellectual leader of the first decade of the twentieth century and one of the forerunners of modern Chinese literature. A few most salient aspects of his translation will be touched on as a coda to the dissertation.

Although two different versions of Kaiin no kigu in Chinese translation have appeared, the earlier and by far the better known is the translation by Liang Qichao. Unlike the original Kaiin no kigu which took Shiba Shirō thirteen years to write, in less than a year after the publication of the last volumes of the novel in 1897, Liang’s translation of the novel began to be serialized in Qingyi bao (The China Discussion), a journal in Chinese published in Yokohama starting in 1898. In 1941 it was collected in

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24 佳人奇遇.
25 木恭超.
26 The other version was published by Shanghai Zhonghua Shuju. According to Chūyaku nichbunsho mokuroku (a bibliography of Japanese books that have been translated into Chinese), a bibliography compiled by Sanefuji Yasuhide in 1945, this translation was published after 1911 and the translator is unknown. For a comparative study of this translation and Liang Qichao’s translation, see Hsu Ch’an-an. “Shanghai chugoku shokyoku inko to Shingiho yakusai no Kaiin no kigu o hikaku shite: tokuni tono meiyaku to goshoku teisei” Kokushikan daigaku bungakubu jimhugakkaj kiyo 10 (1978): 133-166.
Liang's translation has the honor of ranking among many "firsts." It was his first attempt at translation; it was the first piece of modern Japanese literature to be introduced to China; and it was the first political novel available in Chinese. When the translation appeared, it was acclaimed by Japanese scholars as "superior even to the original." Moreover, this "superior-to-the-original" translation was produced when Liang Qichao had yet to study Japanese.

When China was defeated by Japan in the first Sino-Japanese War, many Chinese intellectuals were shocked into a realization of how successful Japan had been in modernizing itself by adopting Western science and technology. In Japan's success, they saw an example for China to follow. A movement of Constitutional Reform and Modernization was started by a group of intellectuals headed by Kang Youwei and his disciples including Liang Qichao and Tan Citong. In their repeated appeals to the Chinese emperor, they called upon him to learn from Japan and start a top-down political reform, a proposal that was adopted in June 1898 by the emperor. Moderate as these reform

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27 The serialization of Liang's translation in *The China Discussion* was discontinued after Issue 35. The last installment of the translation that appeared covers only up to the beginning of Volume Twelve of the sixteen-volume original *Kajin no kigû*. It is not known why the translation was discontinued. When Liang's translation was republished in 1941 by Shanghai Zhonghua Shuju, it is a complete translation. Other than the fact that the former is not complete while the latter is, the two editions have only minor differences. According to the editors of the 1941 edition, they obtained their text from "an old book store." See Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi heji zhuanji*, vol., 19 (Shanghai: Shanghai zhonghua shuju, 1941), 220.

28 Hsu Ch' an-an, op. cit., 133.

29 SSK., 381.

measures were, they incurred the anger of the conservatives in the court. In September 1898, a coup d’etat took place and the reform movement was suppressed. In the ensuing crack-down and arrest of the reformers, Liang Qichao managed to escape to the Japanese legation in Peking. From there, he was escorted to the Japanese Consulate in Tientsin. When he was put aboard a junk to sail to a Japanese cargo ship in order to seek political asylum in Japan, a steam-driven motorboat of the Chinese government came chasing after him. In the face of this emergency it was decided he should seek protection aboard the Oshima, a Japanese warship berthed in Tientsin. So it was that, quite by chance, Liang became a passenger aboard a Japanese navy vessel. On board the ship the captain presented the unexpected passenger with a copy of Kajin no kigu for him to read during the voyage. In this way Liang Qichao came across the Japanese bestseller—which in itself quite a strange encounter. In a chronology of the life of Liang Qichao, Ding Wenjiang and Zhao Fengtian thus describes the circumstances.

In September 1898, Liang Qichao escaped to Japan on a Japanese warship. He brought nothing with him. The captain of the ship presented him with a Japanese novel entitled Kajin no kigu for him to entertain himself. Liang began to translate the novel as he read.\(^{31}\)

But evidence indicates that Liang had never studied Japanese prior to that time. For example, when he escaped to the Japanese legation in Peking, he had to “pen-talk” in kanji to Japanese legation officials.\(^{32}\) Errors found in his translation involving the use of

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31 Ding Wenjiang and Zhao Fengtian, *Laiq Qichao nianpu changbian* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chupanshe, 1983), 158.
common Japanese particles and other language items also testify to the same effect. Several factors, however, enabled Liang not only to attempt the project but also to create the legend of having produced a translation “superior to the original” without having ever studied the language. First, from what he had read about Japan before his escape from China, Liang had come to believe that “a Chinese can understand the Japanese language without studying it” because “the syllabary takes about 30 percent of a Japanese writing” and “Chinese characters fill 60 to 70 percent.” Second, the kambun kakikudashi style of Kajin no kigū is such that the kanji/kana ratio in the novel fits Liang’s perception of Japanese and makes the task of translation largely a matter of rearranging characters according to Chinese syntax. Nevertheless, it is amazing Liang not only rendered the text into superb Chinese but was also able to correct many of the typos in the original some of which have remained uncorrected even to this day in the most recent reprintings of the novel in Japan.

If the language style of the original makes it technically possible for Liang to translate the novel, we still have to answer the question of what it was about Kajin no kigū that inspired him to translate it at a time when literature seemed to be of least concern to him: after all he

33 For a detailed study of this, see Hsu Ch’an-an, “Ching-i-pao tosai no Kajin no kigū ni tsuite: tokuni sono yakusha” The Kambun gakkai kaihō 30 (1971): 39-53.
was a wanted man who had just narrowly escaped the crackdown of the Chinese conservatives and who had come across the novel only by chance. The answer to this question lies, no doubt, in the political nature of the novel. First of all, the story of the characters in the novel, especially in the opening volumes, is similar to the plight of Liang Qichao himself. The four main characters, Sanshi, Yuran, Koren and Hankei, all lament the misfortunes that have befallen their respective countries, and they all vow to fight to make their homelands independent and strong. The two ladies and Hankei even risk their lives to rescue Yuran's father who is put in prison on account of his plans to reform the politics of Spain, an agenda that closely resembles that of the reformers in China. All these made *Kajin no kigu* a timely solace to the agitated mind of the young reformer on the run. Secondly, Shiba Shiro's motivation in writing the novel must also have impressed Liang Qichao. As is mentioned in Chapter Four of this dissertation, that motivation is spelt out clearly in the preface to the novel by Tani Kanjō:

The author has tried to appeal to Heaven about his deep concern for Japan, but Heaven does not respond; he has also tried to talk to the people, but no one listens. He is therefore obliged to employ the writing brush instead of the tongue, ink instead of tears, characters instead of spoken language to express his patriotic enthusiasm.\(^\text{36}\)

We have reason to believe Liang easily identified himself with Shiba Shiro, because the proposals of the Chinese reformers to save China from further decline, although adopted by the emperor, only incurred severe persecution from the conservatives. Finally, the literary theory of *Kajin no kigu*, as expressed in some of the prefaces and postscripts, must also have earned

\(^{36}\) MSSS.. 3.
Liang’s consent. A more extended expression the theory is found in the preface to Volume Five of Kajin no kigu:

The goal of a novelist should not be limited to the polishing of techniques and depicting the social customs and human psychology. Rather, it should lie beyond words in illustrating, by means of the techniques and depiction, the high ideals and principles to the readers in such a way that the readers can easily understand and accept them... The social function of the novel is really not to be diminished... By means of their writing brush, the novelists can manipulate the world; without moving their bodies, they can hold the power of a country; the novelists can achieve what those in the high positions of the government cannot. We must say that the power of a novel is great indeed.37

That Liang shared the above view can be seen in his much quoted "Preface to the Translation of Political Novels" which appears before the first installment of his translation of Kajin no kigu. Here he tells his own motivation in introducing political novels to Chinese readers.

The genre of political novels originated in the West... At the beginning of any reform or revolution in European countries in the past, their leaders, wise men, as well as people of virtue and principle record their experience and express their political views on novels... Indeed, political novels should be given the highest credit for the daily progress of political systems in such countries as America, Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Italy and Japan. A celebrated English scholar once said, "Fiction is the soul of the people." How true! How true! We therefore have chosen novels by famous foreign writers that have a close bearing on today’s situation in China, and we publish them in translation in this journal so that patriots can read them.38

It is clear that for Liang Qichao translating Kajin no kigu is not only a matter of making information encoded in Japanese available in Chinese, but it is also a positive act for disseminating his own political views. Seen in this light, it is not surprising that Liang’s

37 This preface was contributed by Masujima Rokuichirō under the penname of Hokien Shujin. It captures, nevertheless, the important points concerning the orientation of a political novel. It appears at the beginning of Volume Five, which tells of the rescue of Yuran’s father by the badger game. See MSSS., 45, and GNBZ., 127.

translation, while faithful to the original for the most part, reveals discrepancies from the original that include deletion, adaptation, and even rewriting of the text. It is true that some of the discrepancies helped to improve the stylistic quality of the translation, but many are unmistakably prompted by political reasons; namely the translator makes changes when the political views of the text are not acceptable to him.\(^\text{39}\) Crucially, the latter changes help us see the shift of the political ideals of *Kajin no kigu* from a different perspective. It is not necessary to cite examples of how the patriotism of the original is conveyed in the translation, of which there are too many. Suffice it to say that Liang is faithful in translating those parts that speak of the woes of the weak nations, the danger of Western imperialism and the need for Asian solidarity to confront the West. But when it comes the account before and after the Sino-Japanese War in the last volume, Liang lays his axes heavily to the text. All the passages criticizing China for violating the Tientsin Convention, or for Chinese involvement in the assassination of Kim Okkyun, are deleted. But the most radical change Liang makes in translating *Kajin no kigu* involves the last two-thirds of Volume Sixteen.\(^\text{40}\) As we have seen in Chapter Three of this dissertation, the last half of Volume Sixteen of the original justifies Japan's position vis a vis China over Korea; it tells of Japan's glorious victory over China and of the indignation of Japanese *shishi* at the Tripartite Intervention; and it insists that Tokai Sanshi is not guilty of the assassination of Queen Min of Korea. All these appear to be


\(^{40}\)In the Kodansha version this represents a cut of six and half pages out of ten and half pages. See *GNBZ*. 240-251.
unacceptable to Liang, for he simply deletes the entire two-thirds of the volume. In its place, he adds a long passage of his own creation.

Korea was originally a Chinese protectorate. As such, whenever there was a disturbance in Korea, China would take responsibility and help restore peace and order in Korea. At that time [before the Sino-Japanese War], Korea found itself afflicted by both domestic turmoil and foreign threats. When a request reached China from Korea for military support, China, obliged by the cardinal principle of the responsibility of a big nation, responded by sending troops to Korea. Meanwhile, after the Meiji Restoration, Japan was ascending in power and influence and seeking to flex its muscles in East Asia. Seeing that the Chinese court was weak and the Koreans were naive, Japan began to provoke China on the pretext of helping Korea win its independence. Ignorant of the changes that had happened in Japan, the Chinese court assumed that Japan was still what it used to be and therefore decided to "punish" Japan lest it would make trouble in the future in East Asia. There is a proverb saying that only when things become rotten themselves will worms breed in them. Likewise, only when a country itself declines will it be bullied by others. After three hundred years of peace, China has become an old, big sick country, corrupt inside and uninformed of the world situation. Its officers became rusty in the art of war, and its soldiers no longer know how to carry out commands. For such a country to confront ferocious Japan, a country rising in the world armed with new civilization, whether in terms of force or wisdom, the disparity of the match was too great. Therefore, China was first defeated in Korea, then it lost Liaotung Peninsula, ceded Taiwan and paid large sums of indemnity. We Japanese are ambitious and are still not satisfied with the result of the war with China. Unexpectedly, however, the three big powers of Russia, Germany and France intervened. Japan gave in to their demands due to its misgivings. Given the circumstances, it is only natural that the Japanese government did give in. But many young people and shishi criticize the government for it. They do not seem to understand the predicament of the government. 41 [underlining mine]

Note the shifting point of view in this passage. From such expressions as “the responsibilities of a big nation” and China’s decision “to punish” Japan lest it would make trouble in East Asian in the future,” it appears that the narrator is a Chinese, perhaps Liang himself. However, when it comes to “we Japanese are ambitious...” it is clear the narrator is a Japanese, supposedly Tokai Sanshi again. To replace the last part of Volume Sixteen at

cost of a changed point of view—this indicates the extent to which the political views of the original was unacceptable to Liang Qichao.

As is pointed out by some scholars, Liang regarded Korea as a protectorate of China, just as many in the Chinese government at the time. In that sense, his views on the issue of Korea, other than being pro-Chinese, differs very little from those of Shiba Shūō in his patriotic and imperialistic orientations. Nevertheless, his rewriting of the original Volume Sixteen does serve to demonstrate his sensitive reaction to the shift in political ideals from patriotism to imperialism of Kaigin no kigu that has been the principal tenet of this dissertation.

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