

Seigaku tōzen to Chūgoku jijō: 'zassho sakki'

西学東漸と中国事情: 雑書札記

[The Eastern Spread of Western Learning and Conditions in China: Notes on "Various Books"] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1979), pp. 100-26.

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PART 5

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14. Kaigai shinwa 海外新話 by Mineta Fūkō 嶺田楓江 and Other Works

As noted earlier, I have in my collection of books a number of novelistic accounts of the Opium War that appeared in the bakumatsu period. These include: Kaigai shinwa [New Stories from Overseas]; Kaigai shinwa shūi 海外新話拾遺 [Gleanings from the New Stories from Overseas]; Kaigai yowa 海外余話 [Additional Stories from Overseas]; Kaigai jitsuroku 海外実録 [Veritable Records from Overseas], which is a rendering of the katakana text of the Kaigai yowa into hiragana and with the addition of illustrations; and Shin-Ei kinsei dan 清暎近世談 [Recent Tales of China and England]. All were published in the Kaei 嘉永 reign period (1848-54); only the retitled edition of the Kaigai jitsuroku appeared later in Ansei 安政 2 (1855).<sup>a</sup> Inasmuch as publication of the Ahen shimatsu was not permitted until the Shōwa period, it seems that these novelistic treatments of the Opium War were not widely published at the time of their composition.

Mineta Fūkō (1817-83), the author of Kaigai shinwa, the first of these to be published, was thrown in prison on the charge of having published this work without official consent. Even after he was released, he was deprived of the right to reside in Edo, Kyoto, or Ōsaka--known as the santo kamae 三都構へ or "triurban banishment"--and this treatment would seem to have influenced subsequent events as well. Shin-Ei kinsei dan has imprinted on its inside front cover: "Restricted to a binding in 200 copies, forbidden to sell or distribute."

On the inside cover of the Kaigai shinwa shūi as well, it reads: "Forbidden from sale." My edition of the Kaigai yowa has a blank inside cover, but at the very end it carries the sycophantish line:

"This is but a dream concocted in amused intoxication during the tedium of these rainy months." It is signed: "Suimu chijin" 醉夢痴人 [Crazy man in a drunken sleep]. The Kaigai jitsuroku which rewrites the Kaigai yowa in hiragana does, in fact, carry the note inside its front cover that the book is "forbidden from sale."

To explain the structure and shape of the first of these works, the Kaigai shinwa, we need first to describe the general form of this novelistic account took, because the other works all follow the form set down by it. So, let me now touch on the person of the author, Mineta Fūkō, and the punishment meted out to him.

The Kaigai shinwa is printed on Mino paper in five string-bound volumes. The "introductory remarks" at the beginning read:

Events recorded in this account are based upon the Yifei fanjing lu 夷匪犯境錄 [A Record of the Invasion of the Barbarians, J. Ihi hankyō roku]. However, the latter work is organized into a variety of sections by the memorials, political essays, and observations on the battles of the valiant warriors from the various provinces [of China]. Accordingly, the sequence of dates and times are based on the Shinpan jiryaku 侵犯事略 [Summary Account of the Invasion], and there are still a number of mistakes which have been corrected by reference to other works.

Later, it goes on and mentions several works upon which it is based:

The events chronicled in the Yifei fanjing lu commence with the British barbarians' invasion of Dinghai county on the second day of the seventh lunar month of Daoguang 20 [1840]. From it one learns of the widespread poison of opium, of Lin Zexu's 林則徐 operation strictly to ban it in Guangzhou, and thus ultimately of the root cause of the barbarian invasion. For a time now, I have been compiling a list of the various incidents related to uprisings, based on such works as the Jingshi wenbian 經世文編 [Collected Essays on Statecraft], the Yinyu lu 隱憂錄 [Chronicle of Furtive Gloom], the Zhapu jiyong 乍浦集詠 [Zhapu Collection], and the Qing wu ji 清武記 [sic., Sheng wu ji].

Generally, though, what afforded it great interest as a work to be read in its day were the reports on battles drawn from the Yifei fanjing lu and the anecdotal sections also found in that work.

Furthermore, in the "introductory remarks" to the text, we find: "The style of this work uses the conventional phraseology of military texts, such as the [Genji] seisui ki 源氏盛衰記 [Account of the Rise and Fall of Genji] and Taihei ki 太平記 [Account of Peace], long in use in our country from time immemorial, for even children-warriors could memorize them with but a single reading." It was

written in a simple style, interesting to read, and had Japanese syllabaries attached to all Chinese characters.

In addition, to assist readers' comprehension of the material, there was included in the first volume of the work a summary entitled "Ingirisu kokki ryaku" 英吉利国紀略 [Outline Account of England]. Though brief, it touches on English geography, history, products, trade, schools, customs, and military preparedness (namely, warships and guns). It concludes: "Warriors who have set their wills on maritime defense cannot belittle them as barbarians from a far-off secluded area in the West."

Next, the text discusses "Yochi ryakuzu" 輿地略図 or "Sketch Map of the World," and on it the English-held lands are indicated in red. These are followed by "Shinkoku ryakuzu" 清国略図 [Sketch map of China], and on this the names of Chinese prefectures and counties that have "come under barbarian invasion" are indicated with red dots. This is followed by "Eishō jūsō zu" 英將戎装図 [Picture of English commander in barbarian garb], "Hosotsu gunsō zenmen" 步卒軍装前面 [Frontal view of a foot soldier in military garb], "Hosotsu gunsō sokumen" 步卒軍装側面 [Side view of a foot soldier in military garb], "Eikoku taigunsen zu" 英國大軍船図 [Picture of a great English warship], and "Jōkisen zu" 蒸汽船図 [Picture of a steamship]. From that point the main text commences with "Ahen en ryūdoku, fuku Kō Shakushi jōsho ji" 鴉片煙流毒付黃爵茲上書事 [The spread of opium-smoking, Huang Juezi's memorial to the throne]. The fifth volume of the text ends with "Ryōgun waboku, fuku wayaku jōmoku" 兩軍和睦付和約條目 [Reconciliation between the two armies, articles of the peace treaty]. Here and there within the main body of the text are double-paged charts and pictures to enhance the reader's appreciation.

Books that came out after Kaigai shinwa and made good reading out of stories from the Opium War all inherited the pattern set by Kaigai shinwa. Only Kaigai shinwa shūi was woodblock-printed and composed in katakana, without frontispiece pictures or inserts. The Kaigai jitsuroku which rewrote it with hiragana did, though, follow the pattern of the Kaigai shinwa.

The author of the Kaigai shinwa, Mineta Fūkō, was punished for allegedly publishing this work without the prior approval of the Gakumonjo. Mineta was summoned and interrogated by the Edo Administrator, Tōyama Saemon no jō 遠山左衛門尉. His engraved woodblocks were incinerated, he was ordered to print no more copies of it, and he was imprisoned. As for information on this incident and the manner in which it was sanctioned, the correspondence between the Nishimaru steward (rusui 留守屋), Tsutsui Kii no kami 筒井紀伊

守, and Edo Administrator Tōyama cites the Kaihan shishin 開板指針 [Guide to Publishing], and it appears in Hikka shi 筆禍史 [History of Censorship] (Tokyo: Asakaya shoten, 1926; revised and enlarged edition published by Seikōkan) by Miyatake Gaikotsu 宮武外骨 (1867-1955). The charge against Mineta for which he was punished was failure to have his work inspected by the Gakumonjo, but in a letter from Tsutsui to Tōyama, we find the following:

Insofar as I have noted that the Kaigai shinwa is all a rewriting of the Yifei fanjing lu into a kana text, although the author recounts heretical and falacious ideas in place of the facts, as concerns differences with the aforementioned ordinary works [the text earlier mentioned Confucian, Buddhist, Shintō, medical, and poetic texts], this sort of work ought not be published in a mixed Sino-Japanese style. And, after carefully coming to a decision on the basis of consultation and deliberation, this work need be detained from publication...

Such was the ruling on the basis of consultation and deliberation of the Shogunate. Although it is not too clear, it would seem that the author, in touching on the state of affairs at the time, was concerned with the influence this work would have on people's minds. Miyatake Gaikotsu writes: "Because of the aforementioned points, the author Mineta Ugorō 嶺田右五郎 [Fūkō] received a sentence of imprisonment, and the case was settled in the tenth lunar month of Kaei 3 [1850]." In the margin, one find the notation: "In a manuscript work entitled Shinai torishimari ruishū 市内取締類集 [Collection on City Management], this matter is also described. At the end of this work, it goes further to note that the woodblock printer Kuma Gorō had surrepticiously reissued this work [by Mineta] and was punished for his actions." Such actions would seem to endorse the notion that the demand for this work was not inconsiderable.

For information on Mineta Fūkō, we find mention in volume four of Jijitsu bunpen 事実文編 [Collection of Factual Essays] (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1911) by Gokyū Hisabumi 五弓久文 [or Sessō 雪窓, 1823-86] of a piece entitled "Fūkō Mineta ō juhimei" 楓江嶺田翁寿碑銘 [Epitaph for the Venerable Mineta Fūkō] which reveals Mineta as a man with quite an accomplished career.<sup>b</sup> Furthermore, in Kinsei Kangakusha denki chosaku daijiten 近世漢學者伝記著作大事典 [Encyclopedia of Biographies and Writings by Early Modern Sinologists] (Tokyo: Ida shoten, 1943) by Seki Giichirō 関川儀一郎 and Seki Yoshinao 関川義直, there is a short biography and brief mention of some of his writings, including Satō Issai to sono monjin 佐藤一斎とその門人 [Satō Issai and His Disciples] and Fūkō ibun 楓江

遺文 [The Posthumous Writings of {Mineta} Fūkō].

However, there is a more detailed biography of Mineta to be found in a work by one of his disciples, Akashi Kichigorō 明石吉五郎, Mineta Fūkō (Tokyo: "Chiba Yajiuma" 千葉弥次馬, 1919). While this book is not completely based upon a close investigation of historical documents, it is the work of a disciple, someone who knew Mineta personally, and it does incorporate memoirs and similar writings concerning Mineta. Hence, it does convey well the man's personality and appearance, indeed better than historical documents might be able to do.

As noted earlier, Miyatake Gaikotsu simply states that Mineta "received a sentence of imprisonment, and the case was settled." According to Akashi's Mineta Fūkō, though, we read:

Sensei spent two full years in prison... Eventually, in the spring of Kaei 4. [1851], he was pardoned and was completely cleared of all charges once again. At the time of his release, however, he was ordered into santo kamae, a form of detention. He was thoroughly unhappy with the shogunate's ordinance [against him], in which his slightest movement could incur its displeasure and harm be likely to afflict him... Around 1881 or 1882, in order to control more tightly the stalwarts advocating popular rights, the government at that time similarly put into effect a series of laws and ordinances concerning assembly and the preservation of peace.

Santo kamae was a law which deprived one of the right to reside in the three cities of Edo, Kyoto, or Ōsaka for a period, following release from prison, of three years.

Though this is not spelled out in the Hikka shi, at the point in Mineta Fūkō where it is elucidated the text goes on to note that, at the same time that Mineta was thrown in prison, the artist who at Mineta's request drew the illustrations for Kaigai shinwa was implicated and also went to prison. This artist, we are told, died in prison. Mineta was deeply troubled over his artist's death in prison, precisely because he had landed there on Mineta's behalf. As the author of Mineta Fūkō relates it: "Over the next few years, we were told this story by sensei from time to time, and every time all of the disciples quietly cried, and their tears dampened their sleeves."

For our perspective on the matter today, the penalty he suffered seems unimaginably harsh. In the war fought between Great Britain and Qing China, sad misfortunes were suffered as far away as a single Japanese commoner, one illustration artist. By the same token,

though, this fact has much to say about the extraordinary wariness, perhaps the tension, felt by the shogunal authorities in the face of the Opium War.

So, because of the santo kamae, Mineta left Edo, traveled to Bōsō 房総, and made it his place of residence. Thereafter, he did educational work in various places in Bōsō and was much admired by local residents. In 1883 at the age of 76, he died in Isumi-gun 夷隅郡 in Chiba prefecture. Akashi Kichigorō, author of Mineta Fūkō, was one of those he taught during these last years, and the volume Mineta Fūkō was written primarily to exalt the honor and deeds of Mineta as an educator.

For generations the Mineta family served as retainers to the Makino 牧野 family, feudal lords of the Tanabe 田辺 domain in Tango. Fūkō was the second son of Mineta Noritoshi 嶺田 矩俊, and he was born on the daimyō's estate at a time when his father was in service in Edo. Thus, it may have been precisely because he was born into a samurai family that he later became entangled in the public order regulations. Fūkō himself left the following notes concerning his career (all taken from Mineta Fūkō):

Kaei 2 [1849], 12th lunar month. On the publication of the Kaigai shinwa, the Edo Administrator, Tōyama Saemon no jō, called for the carrying out of an investigation. During the examination, I was compelled to remain under my parents' responsibility.

Kaei 3 [1850], 10th lunar month, 2nd day. Concerning the aforementioned matter, I was ordered into house arrest by a communiqué of Councillor of State Toda Yamashiro no kami 戸田山城守.

Kaei 4 [1851], 1st lunar month, 13th day. I was ordered released from house arrest.

Kaei 4, 4th lunar month, 13th day. Several years after having departed, my conduct remained dissipated and would not change, and I was permitted to present a request for separation from my family and disinheritance.

Ansei 2 [1855], 1st lunar month, 18th day. The separation has been allowed me to reform the depths of my heart and mind.

The santo kamae may have been part of his request for separation, but after it was approved, he again served in Tanabe domain and became an investigating official in the area of "military reforms." By "military" what was meant was, of course, primarily coastal defense, for

he had earlier acquired a fair amount of knowledge in this area.

In Mineta Fūkō Akashi cites a Kanbun text entitled Fūkō Gyochō Mineta shun shōden 楓江漁長嶺田萬小伝 [Brief Biography of the Great Mineta Fūkō] by Ono Kozan 小野湖山. In part that citation reads as follows: "In his youth, Shitoku 士徳. [Mineta Fūkō's style] studied swordsmanship, read works on military strategy,...and early in life acquired a mind indignantly concerned with maritime defense. Be it the production of cannons and great warships or theories of offensive and defensive military tactics, he was able to explain them rather clearly. He was in effect much like the Dutch Learning scholars."

Early on Mineta studied under Satō Issai, though later he studied with Hayashi Fukusai 林復斎 (or Hayashi Akira 林光章, 1800-59, daigaku no kami 大学頭 [a high official at the shogunal college in Edo]; later, at the time of the Perry's mission to Japan, he represented the shogunate in diplomatic negotiations with Perry). That Mineta was a fine scholar of Chinese learning is evidenced by the fact that he filled in for Fukusai as lecturer and frequently was compensated by a variety of domainal lords with gold as his lecture fees (according to conversations with Mineta as recorded in Mineta Fūkō).

He studied Chinese-style poetry (Kanshi 漢詩) with Yanagawa Seigan 梁川星巖 (1789-1858), and he was considered--together with Ōnuma Chinzan 大沼枕山 (1818-91), Ono Kozan, and Tōyama Unjo 遠山雲如 (1810-63)--one of the "four masters of Seigan's school." In Mineta Fūkō, Akashi cited numerous poems either written by Yanagawa Seigan and his other disciples to harmonize with Mineta's poetry or poems they wrote for him. All of this would indicate that he was undoubtedly a fine poet in the Kanshi style as well.

For a three-year period, from the first lunar month of Tenpō 10 [1839] through the twelfth lunar month of Tenpō 12 [1842], Akashi tells us that Mineta studied Dutch Learning with Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (1700-1863), and that by this time he had already devoted "concerted attention to [matters of] coastal defense" and was well versed in conditions overseas.

Thus, Mineta produced the Kaigai shinwa as a rewriting in the same genre and straightforward language of military tales such as the Yifei fanjing lu. This, it would seem, he did to enlighten [his countrymen] by giving utterance to his "devoted attention to coastal defense." He included a long poem at the start of Kaigai shinwa which effectively tells Japanese to look upon the defeat of the Chinese as a harbinger of what is to come in Japan. "That heaven has presented us with this foretelling is not without significance. It records these things out of solicitude, out of innermost sincerity.

Alas, the essential matters for a maritime nation require knowing these things. They depend on preparedness, strict discipline, and waiting." Perhaps such writing did in fact move the hearts and minds of men and may have been understood by the shogunal authorities as a sort of implicit criticism.

15. On the Shin Ei sen ki, as well as the Japanese edition of the Sheng wu ji and the Nagai Kafū's Shitaya sōwa

Though not a fictionalized account, one chronicle written in a combination of Japanese syllabaries and Chinese characters that traces the Opium War from its start through the concluding negotiations is Nagayama Nuki's 長山貫 Shin Ei sen ki 清英戦記 [Account of the War between China and Britain] (manuscript edition, four string-bound volumes). The work was apparently not published but circulated in manuscript form, and manuscript editions are now quite rare. The copy in my possession bears a stamp reading "seal of Imazeki Tenpō 今 辰 天 彭" (1884-1970).

Imazeki Tenpō passed away a few years ago, and was well known as a Chinese-style poet. In addition, many years ago he published a translation of Chinese dramatic works--Shina gikyoku shū 支那戯曲集 [Collection of Chinese Dramas] (Tokyo: Tōhō jironsha, 1917)--and among his other writings are Kindai Shina no gakugei 近代支那の学芸 [Belles-lettres in Modern China] (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1931) and Tōyō garon shūsei 東洋画論集成 [Collections of Essays on East Asian Painting] (Tokyo: Dokuga shoin, 1915-16; Tokyo reprint: Tokusho shoin, 1916). When I was a high school student, I particularly remember reading his Shina jinbun kōwa 支那人文講話 [Essays on Chinese Humanities] and learning a great deal from it as a kind of introductory text. I had the opportunity only twice to meet Mr. Imazeki, both times at the home of friends, and he wrote an introduction to a work of mine.

Shin Ei sen ki carries a preface at the very beginning, dated Kaei 1 [1848], by Asakawa Dōsai 朝川同斎 (1814-57), and it reads in part: "Recently, Nagayama, style Ho 甫, wrote the Shin Ei sen ki, and it chronicles the history of [the Opium War], altogether coming to two volumes (ken). Its aim is to make known the integrity of loyal ministers and righteous men, the crimes of corrupt and thieving officials, and the conditions surrounding the cruelty and craftiness of the British barbarians. It is an attempt to ring a tocsin and issue a warning."

Next is the author's own preface to his work, dated Kaei 2 [1849]:



The British have already seized Hong Kong, and wouldn't their occupation of the ports of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo, Fuzhou, and Shanghai be but lands of the skin of oxen [Masuda himself has no idea what this means--JAF]. I have read Western books, and I know that their rapacious greed is not satiated. At first, they came, humbly asking to engage in commerce, and once they had attained that end, they constructed forts and placed troops in them, waiting to take advantage of a breach. As can be seen in their annexations of the lands of the South Seas, every one of [the Western powers] follows this plan, and they are thus truly to be simultaneously feared and detested... Alas, China has already negotiated a peace settlement and obstructed their wicked avarice but a bit. Who knows how this may be used in the future? I am afraid that their violent blaze has not burnt out.

His tone was such that this should serve as a warning in Japan as well. We know from Asakawa's remarks in his preface--"It is an attempt to ring a tocsin and issue a warning"--that this was Nagayama's reason for composing the Shin Ei sen ki.

At the end of the text, we find a postface by Tōjō Kindai 東条琴台 (Kō 耕, 1795-1878), dated Kaei 2. In it are the following remarks: "My friend Nagayama Ho had studied the scholarship in the writings [ōbun 横文, lit. 'horizontal writings'] from the Far West (kyokusei 極西), and well does he know the circumstances prevailing between the Chinese and the barbarians. Thus, relying on documents from the 1840 war between China and Great Britain, he has evaluated what it can teach us." Thus, as he notes earlier: "Recently, everyone has been asking questions about coastal defense policies. Though this is correct, those who know something about these matters do not speak and those who speak do not know. There are no realistic proposals [lit., those with their feet on the ground] at all..." The implication seems to be that, by studying the horizontal writings of the Far West and this learning about conditions prevailing between China and Britain, Nagayama's book did have its feet on the ground.

Nagayama also wrote two works entitled Kaibō shigi 海防私議 [My Views on Coastal Defense] and Kaibō shigi hoi 海防私議補遺 [More of My Views on Coastal Defense]; these are said to be transcribed in Kaibō shiryō sōsho 海防史料叢書 [Collection of Historical Documents on Coastal Defense], but I have not seen it personally. Nonetheless, this book seems to have been written as a reference for maritime defense policy. Yet, while Tōjō's mention of his study of Western writings was meant to add force apparently to the content of his work, an examination of the Shin Ei sen ki now reveals nary a

single citation to a historical document from the West.

For example, he did not translated the Dutch (or English) documents that Bremer sent to the county magistrate at Dinghai. He simply translated from the Yifei fanjing lu, added kana syllabaries where appropriate, and wrote it down [into his own work]. At another point, he inserted Bremer's letters as they were in literary Chinese, precisely as they were to be found in Yifei fanjing lu.

In his own preface, Nagayama noted:

I have read the British barbarians' writings in the Shinpan jiryaku and the Yifei fanjing lu, which chronicle in general the afflictions surrounding the Chinese state. However, the documents of the officialdom at the time record only conversations among contemporaries and the general situation in their own estimations. Thus, the sequence of events are all in a jumble, and it is difficult to make sense of them. I have accordingly noted the dates of events and written in Japanese.

The Kaigai shinwa also claimed to be "based upon the Yifei fanjing lu," though "the sequence of dates and times are based on the Shinpan jiryaku." Both works relied upon the Yifei fanjing lu and the Shinpan jiryaku, and both described the events of the Opium War. Within his work, Nagayama inserted "Karinsen zu" 火輪船圖 [Picture of a steamship], "Enkai zu" 沿海圖 [Map of the coast], and "Teikai ken zu" 定海縣圖 [Map of Dinghai county], all in color.

Among Nagayama's other works in my possession are a one-volume work entitled Hōka shuchi 砲家須知 [Essentials of Artillery] (published Ansei 3 [1856]) and a four-volume work entitled Jūsen kidan 銃戰紀談 [Chronicle of Armed Warfare] (published Bunkyo 2 [1862]). They appear to be texts for students of guns and their use. The latter work, Jūsen kidan, contains a preface by Ōnuma Chinzan. It cites extensively from Japanese war accounts and miscellaneous notes and provides a study of Japanese wars that were fought with the use of guns. The former work, Hōka shuchi, describes in great detail, with the inclusion of diagrams, the way to mix gunpowder, as well as the casting and installation of cannons. In a translation from Dutch writings, the text notes: "Each and every item herein has been excerpted from Western books, and although not a single guess has been added to it, naturally this work--responding to the urgent needs of the times--eliminated superfluous verbiage, shortened the wording, and thus will be all the more convenient."

Nagayama used the pen name of Choen 櫻園, and he was said to have been a Confucian scholar, but a detailed biography of him is not available. In Kure Shūzō's 吳秀三 Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (Tokyo: Dai Nihon tosho, 1914; Kyoto reprint: Shibunkaku, 1971), when

describing Western histories written in the late Edo period, he mentions three works: Satō Nobuhiro's 佐藤信淵 Seiyō rekkoku shiryaku 西洋列國史略 [A Brief History of the Western Powers], Saitō Chikudō's 齋藤竹堂 Ban shi 蕃史 [History of Foreign Lands]--both mentioned above [in earlier segments of this translation--JAF]--and Nagayama's Seiyō shōshi 西洋小史 [Short History of the West]. Of the last of these, he notes: "A work in three thin string-bound volumes, the first two are a general survey history of Western lands, and the last is an account of the European nations' invasion of the East." He then goes on to say something about its author Nagayama: "His given name is Nuki and his style is Shiichi 子一. He is a grandson of Katayama Kenzan 片山兼山 (1730-82) and a nephew of Asakawa Zen'an 朝川善庵 (1781-1849), according to the Shoga kaisui 書畫薈粹 [Elegance and Luxuriance in Painting] which was published in Ansei 6 [1859]." I noted above the preface by Asakawa Dōsai for the Shin Ei sen ki; Dōsai was the adopted son of Zen'an, and there certainly may have been a relationship between Zen'an and Nagayama. Furthermore, Zen'an was the biological son of Katayama Kenzan, and if Nagayama was Kenzan's grandson, then he may have been the son of Zen'an's brother or sister.

I touched earlier on the Japanese reprinting of Wei Yuan's 魏源 Sheng wu ji 聖武記 [Record of August (Manchu) Military Achievements], which was a partial reprinting in any event. I now have three editions of it among my books. The first of these appears in a woodblock work in five string-bound volumes, bearing the title Tazan no ishi 他山之石 [Food for Thought]. The first two volumes of this work comprise the Sheng wu ji. In the first volume we find the sections: "Guochao fusui Xizang ji" 國朝撫綏西藏記 [Account of the Dynasty's Pacification of Tibet] (in two parts), "Xizang houji" 西藏後記 [Further Account of Tibet], "Kuoerke fuji" 廓爾喀附記 [Supplementary Account of the Gurkhas], and "Fulu Aomen yuebao" 附錄澳門月報 [Supplementary Monthly Report on Macao]. In volume two we find: "Kangxi Qianlong Eluosi mengping ji" 康熙乾隆俄羅盟聘記 [Account of the Russian Embassies to the Kangxi and Qianlong Courts], "Qianlong zheng Miandian ji" 乾隆征緬甸記 [Account of Qianlong's Expedition against Burma], "Ru Mian lucheng" 入緬路程 [Route of Entry into Burma], "Qianlong zhengfu Annan ji" 乾隆征撫安南記 [Account of Qianlong's Conquest of Vietnam], and "Jiaqing dongnan jinghai ji" 嘉慶東南靖海記 [Account of the Pacification of the Southeast Coast during the Jiaqing Reign].

Tazan no ishi is a woodblock edition and bears no punctuation marks; nor does it have any prefaces, and thus the name of the publisher remains unclear, and the year of publication is not recorded.

However, in a letter to his elder brother, dated Ansei 1 [1854], eleventh lunar month, 27th day, Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰 (1830-59) wrote: "I saw a copy of both Tazan no ishi and of Chigaku seisō 地学正宗 [Principles of Geography] on sale in the market."<sup>1</sup> This leads me to believe that Tazan no ishi was published probably in the Kaei reign period.

Looking at the various works that are included in Tazan no ishi, it would appear as though they were edited so as to contribute to knowledge about coastal defense; all are works that inform about conditions in foreign countries. In addition to Sheng wu ji, the Hai lu 海録 [Record of the Sea] of Yang Bingnan 楊炳南 (1765-1821) can be found in the third volume; Hongmaofan Yingjili kaolue 紅毛番喫吉利考略 [A Study of England of the Red-Haired Barbarians] of Wang Wentai 汪文泰, Dang kou ji 蕩寇記 [An Account of the Destruction of the Rebels] of Jiao Xun 焦循 (1763-1820), and Pao kao 礮考 [A Study of Artillery] of Xu Kun 徐鯤 can be found in volume four; and volume five contains Diqiu tu shuo 地球圖說 [Explanations of Maps of the World], translated by Jiang Youren 蔣友仁 [pen name of Michael Benoist] (with a preface by Ruan Yuan 阮元).

One further reprint is entitled the Sei bu ki furoku 聖武記附錄 [Sheng wu ji with Appendices]. It is comprised of four wood-block-printed, string-bound volumes and lacks punctuation. The volumes correspond to the last four juan of the original edition [of the Sheng wu ji, volumes 11-14]. Volume 11 of the text bears the title "Buji yoki (heisei heishō)" 武事余記兵制兵餉 [Notes on Military Affairs (Military Systems, Military Provisioning)]; volume 12 is "Buji yoki (shōko, kōshō)" 武事余記掌故考証 [Notes on Military Affairs (Historical Records, Corroborating Evidence)]; volume 13 is "Buji yoki (jikō, zatsujutsu)" 武事余記事功雜述 [Notes on Military Affairs (Successes, Various Accounts)]; and volume 14 is "Buji yoki (gibu gohen)" 武事余記議武五篇 [Notes on Military Affairs (Five Essays on the Military)]. [Regarding its composition,] the text carries only the phrase "Sei bu ki jo" 聖武記叙 [Introduction to the Sheng wu ji] of Wei Yuan; there is neither a preface by the reprinter nor a date of publication given, though it appears to be a work of the Kaei period. My copy of the work has a stamp on it reading: "Stamp of the Library Collection of the Meirinkan 明倫館 of Suō 周防."

There is another Japanese reprint work in three string-bound volumes entitled Sei bu ki saiyō 聖武記採要 [The Essentials of the Sheng wu ji]. A newer edition of it was printed in Kaei 3 [1850] with the note: "Library of Sekiyōrō" 夕陽樓藏梓.<sup>c</sup> This person, unlike those in the previous two cases, punctuated the text and signed his name as: "Edited by Washizu Kan of Owari" 尾張鷺津監校.

and before Wei Yuan's original preface to the Sheng wu ji in the first volume of the work, Washizu inserted his own preface under the name "Sekiyōrō mujindokoro" 夕陽樓無人所 [Pavillion of the Setting Sun, where there is no one present]. It is known that it was he, Washizu Kan (Kidō 穀堂, 1825-82), who provided the punctuation and published the text.

In content, he added punctuation solely to "Buji yoki (gibu gohen)," which comprised the fourth string-bound volume of the aforementioned woodblock-printed work Sei bu ki furoku, and divided the text into three string-bound volumes: the first includes "Jōshu hen" 城守篇 [On City Garrisoning] and "Suishu hen" 水守篇 [On the Protection of Waterways]; the second includes "Bōbyō hen" 防苗篇 [On Defending the Fields], "Gunsei hen" 軍政篇 [On Military Administration], and "Guncho hen" 軍儲篇 [On Military Provisioning]; and the third continues the last of these, "Guncho hen." In a preface at the beginning of the text, we find: "Sunzi 孫子 offered an inferior plan for a fire attack, but nowadays we must not ignore the fire attack as a technique for defending against the British barbarians." He then went on to add:

I recently borrowed the Sheng wu ji from an esteemed individual and read it. Altogether it has fourteen juan and is the work of the Chinese Wei Yuan... In all probability Wei Yuan himself encountered the opium calamity (ahen no hen 鴉片之變) of the renyin 壬寅 year [1842] of the Daoguang 道光 reign, and hence gained access to understanding the successes and failures of Chinese military administration as well as the situation surrounding the British barbarians' invasion. He used the opportunity to prepare a detailed depiction of the circumstances. Thus, for policies concerning coastal defense, there is nothing better than this work. I have accordingly excerpted from it and printed it with woodblocks. I have entitled it Sei bu ki saiyō and offer it to the public.

In other words, he is saying here that it is the work of Wei Yuan who personally experienced the Opium War and that it is the best reference work for coastal defense policy which was then being widely debated. However, an incident arose whereby the Sei bu ki saiyō was at first unable, it would seem, to gain official approval for publication, was suppressed, and then came out in a woodblock edition. In the Hikka shi of Miyatake Gaikotsu as well, the Sei bu ki saiyō is listed as one of twelve "works whose date of publication is uncertain... They were suppressed works and are either not yet out or, if they did appear, the date of publication remains unclear."

In the first volume of the Ishin shiryō kōyō 維新史料綱要

[Essentials of the Historical Materials on the Meiji Restoration] (Tokyo: Ishin shiryō hensan jimukyoku, 1937), we see for the fifth month of Kaei 3 [1851]: "The shogunate admonished several persons in the office of coastal defense and warned them against the disclosure of affairs of state. Subsequently, it banned the spread of false reports concerning coastal defense matters around the city." It would seem that the suppression of the Sei bu ki saiyō was a result of its confrontation with shogunal policy.

The Shitaya sōwa 下谷叢話 [Collected Stories of Shitaya] (Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1926) by Nagai Kafū 永井荷風 (1879-1859) is a work describing the Chinese-style poets who lived in the Shitaya area of Edo at the end of the Tokugawa period. In it he offers a detailed portrayal of Washizu Kidō.

Despairing over military preparedness along the coast, Washizu Kidō published a work entitled Sei bu ki saiyō. This work is comprised of selected excerpts from the fourteen juan of the Sheng wu ji by Wei Yuan, a drafter in the Grand Secretariat, of Daoguang 26 [1846]. I have searched the used book stores of the city for Washizu's Saiyō, but have been unable to obtain it. I have thus looked through the original, Sheng wu ji... The Sheng wu ji was first completed in Daoguang 22 [1842], but two years later he replenished it, and subsequent to that he revised it further in Daoguang 26. That corresponds to the third year of the Kōka reign in our [country]. At that time it was the freshest of all the new books that came [to Japan from China] by ship.

In this way, he describes the Sheng wu ji, and then he goes on to depict the ban enacted by the shogunate on Washizu's Sei bu ki saiyō.

Washizu's publication of his selection of excerpts from the Sheng wu ji incurred the displeasure of shogunal authorities. In May of that year, the bakufu ultimately banned indiscriminate discussion by the public of coastal defense for the troubling effects it had on people's minds. In order to avoid interrogation at the office of the Edo Magistrate, Washizu left Edo for Bōshū 房州, and for a time he remained in hiding at the Tōyō gyosha 東洋漁舎 of Suzuki shōtō 鈴木松塘.

Kafū goes on to note that he "obtained several volumes of the Unko shinbun ki 温古新聞記 [Account of the Newspapers of Unko], a work personally compiled by a man by the name of Kanamori Shintoku 金森慎徳 in the used books stores of the city." Among these volumes, he claimed to have discovered an article concerning Washizu, and he

introduced the article. In general, it contained the following information.

The case of the Sei bu ki saiyō was summoned before the office of the northern urban magistracy on the seventeenth day of the twelfth lunar month of last year (Kaei 3). It was published by its author, a masterless samurai by the name of Washizu Ikutarō 鷺津郁太郎 (Kidō's penname) who lived at the Shōgen Temple in Teramachi 寺町, Ushigome-dōri 牛込通. The woodblock printing was carried out at the home of Nakajirō 半次郎 in Shōei-chō 松永町, Kanda 神田. As the aforementioned text gradually became more problematic and the investigation became more severe, Ikutarō did not pay Nakajirō the printing costs, left the woodblocks in his care, and fled. Nakajirō thus took the woodblock printed texts to the authorities. After an investigation, Ikutarō's actions were not at all understood. At the end of last year, Nakajirō was officially summoned three times, and this spring as well he has been summoned three times. Today (fourteenth day of the second lunar month) the case was resolved with "a correctional fine of three kan 貫 being imposed on the woodblock printer Nakajirō." As Washizu concealed his actions so that a full investigation could not be carried out, only the woodblock printer came under repeated inquiry, and in the final analysis the matter came to the end with the imposition of a fine.

Why did Nagai Kafū undertake such a thorough investigation of his own and write in such detail about Washizu's case? Kafū's mother, Tsune 恒, was the eldest daughter of Washizu, and thus Washizu was Kafū's maternal grandfather. Also, Kafū's father, Nagai Nogihara 永井禾原, was a disciple of Washizu.

In the third year of the Keiō [1867], Washizu became the educational superintendant of Owari domain and served in the educational administration there. At the same time, he assisted the former daimyō Tokugawa Yoshikatsu 徳川慶勝 and planned on behalf of the Meiji Restoration. In the Meiji period, he worked as a magistrate in a prefecture in the northern part of Honshū, and later he changed fields to the juridical profession and became a judge. He also became a member of the Gakushikai 学士会. These matters are detailed in Kafū's book.

Shitaya sōwa appeared in a reprint edition (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1939). In it Washizu's literary Chinese preface to the Sei bu ki saiyō is rendered in a mixed character and katakana syllabary form; also mention is made of Mineta Fūkō's Kaikai shinwa and the calamities that befell the author, neither of which were to be found in the original edition of Kafū's work.

## 16. Unnan shinwa and Novelizations of the Taiping Rebellion

We have seen to this point a number of fictionalized treatments in late-Edo Japan of the Opium War, and I have inserted a simple commentary to the discussion, but one work which I did not bring up at that time and which is also concerned with the Opium War I would now like to add. This work did not deal with the Opium War as its main or central theme, but was written as a daily chronicle of the subsequent anti-Qing revolution known as the "Taiping Heavenly Kingdom." It was a piece of fiction in which the story line went as follows: Seeing that the ferocity of the Taiping military force would not in the end succumb to the Qing armies alone, the British--Qing trading partners ever since the Opium War--dispatch a great armed force to aid the Qing court "unaware as it is of their [i.e., British] their ulterior motives," and the joint Qing-British army destroys the Taipings.

The text is in one string-bound volume, entitled Unnan shinwa 雲南新話 [New Stories from Yunnan], printed on half-sized Mino paper. At the very beginning is a color-printed map of Qing China, and throughout the text lightly colored illustrations have been inserted. To the side of the book's title on the cover--Unnan shinwa--is added in small characters: "Ichimei haiya no hanashi" 一名はいやのはなし [The Story of an Ashman]. Also, on the inside of the front cover, we find the subtitle, "Ichimei Tōdo haiya no hanashi" 一名唐土はいやのはなし [The Story of an Ashman from China], with woodblocks newly cut in Kaei 7 (1854).

The reason for this expression "haiya no hanashi" is apparently that in reports of the time it was circulated that the leader of the Taiping movement was a lime merchant by the name of Zhu Hua 朱華 (or Zhu Yuanhua 朱元華, Zhu Tiande 朱天德). Stories of how this lime merchant was a descendent of the Ming court and was leading an immense peasant military force against the Qing to restore the Ming dynasty spread as far as Japan. In the text of the Unnan shinwa, the expression "haiya no hanashi" appears nowhere, but we know this information from reports of this sort then current.

In the initial section of this work, the author chronicles how the Chinese lost the Opium War, the decline of the nation's fortunes, and the spreading dominance of traitors and villainous officials selfishly running rampant and causing the peasants untold misery. At this point, the peasant masses rise in rebellion against the officialdom, taking as their leader one whom villagers had for successive generations revered, the lineal descendent of the Ming dynasty, Zhu 朱 (a kana pronunciation of "Gin" is given in the text, though the 朱彰)



character appears to be in error). With this beginning, Zhu ? is eventually named as the King of [the Chinese province of] Yunnan. In addition, two groups of bandits offer him their support, and gradually the strength of the rebels grows great.

The Qing then raises a large army and attacks them, but is routed. Taking advantage of his victory, the army of the King of Yunnan attacks and conquers the two provinces of Guangxi and Guizhou. He then enters Sichuan and after that Jiangxi, but where he aims there is no enemy to be found. "A number of years pass, and the six provinces of Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Sichuan, Huguang, and Jiangxi -- all the land for several thousand li--falls under the jurisdiction of the King of Yunnan." At that point, "he sets forth to attack the city of Nanjing."

At this time, "England, having fought China in Daoguang 21 [1841] and defeated her handily, ended up occupying the strategic ports in Fujian, Ningbo, Jiangzhe [probably an error for Zhejiang--JAF], and Guangdong, seized several pieces of terrain, and engaged in trade. Now, however, [England] saw that the army of the Later Ming (Hou-Ming 後明) was winning successive victories, and that the Qing was at the end of its tether... Though their ulterior motives remained concealed," England brought help to the Qing, "which arrived [in the form of] over 70 warships and over 80,000 mounted troops, calling them all reinforcements."

Be that as it may, the army of the King of Yunnan took Nanjing. Suddenly having brought the panic-stricken British force to its knees, he cut them down right there. Without taking so much as a brief pause, he continued the onslaught... And so, the enemy, abandoning several thousand artillery pieces and without a leg to stand on, was attacked and scattered. Unable to endure in Fujian as well, they set off at once for a port city from which to try to withdraw to their home country. In no time at all, however, they found they could not get there, as Fan Wenhui 范文虎 [lit., Fan, the literary tiger], the fierce commander of the Later Ming, aligned several thousand warships at the harbor and attacked with fire the British warships there. As a result the British war fleet, renowned as a castle town at sea, was all but completely decimated, and the remaining few vessels scurried home [to Britain] in defeat.

At this point the novel comes to an end.

At the end of the work, there is an appendix by the author, and it reads:

The foregoing work, Unnan shinwa, I initially wrote and published in one string-bound volume. It covers the attack

on the Qing dynasty by the rising of the last descendent of Ming emperors, the assistance rendered the Qing by a large army commanded by the British barbarians, and through the crushing defeat of both the Qing and the British forces at Nanjing. Who shall attain that eternal victory, the Qing or the Ming? On this, I have written in detail for subsequent publication and prepared a summary here. By Master Wen Haotang .

"Master Wen Haotang" was the pen name of the author of this work, but whether the subsequent publication mentioned here ever appeared is unknown. It would seem, though, that since the Taipings entered Nanjing in March 1853 and this work was published in 1854, that only reports (unreliable at best) roughly through the period that the Taiping army had brought the city of Nanjing down reached Japan at the time. He apparently stopped at that point with plans to write a second part.

In this novel, the author wrote that the British aided the Qing military and engaged the Taiping forces in the field. There may have been reports to this effect, but at the time reports of entirely the opposite sort were also being circulated. I have several manuscript works that chronicle the rumors and forms of responses at the time of Admiral Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853. Amid the three sorts of such documents, one reads: "Reports have it that a Ming descendent had risen in rebellion in China and is in the midst of a battle with the Qing. The English are helping the Ming in major fighting, while the United States is about to lay hands on Japan." This was conveyed by one Higuchi Tatarō 樋口多太郎, the police chief with the receiving party for the American minister at Uraga. This should be sufficient to indicate the many and varied rumors and conjectures that caused considerable agitation, especially spurred by the arrival of American warships at this time in Japan.

In addition to the Unnan shinwa, a number of other fictional accounts, dating from the late-Edo period, treat the theme of the Taiping Rebellion. However, in none of these do we encounter either the name of the movement, "Taiping Heavenly Kingdom" (Taiping tianguo 太平天国) or the name of its leader, Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (sometimes given as 洪秀泉). The leader's surname is always given as Zhu, that of the emperors of the Ming dynasty. Accordingly, these accounts never mention the fact that Christianity formed the framework for this rebellious group. All of these novelizations recount that a Mr. Zhu, last descendent of the Ming house, rose in rebellion, unfurled his anti-Qing banner, and set off with his rebel forces to restore the Ming dynasty; and they confronted and engaged the Qing

military in various places. These accounts are military tales first and foremost, stories centering on battles fought.

The fictional accounts seem to have been based for the most part on reports conveyed by Chinese vessels from Fujian and elsewhere, or from Korea, to Nagasaki during the Kaei period. I have in my possession a number of manuscript reports of this sort under the title, Shinchō jōran fūsetsugaki 清朝擾乱風説書 [Reports on the Uprising in China]: two are dated the second lunar month of Kaei 6 [1853], two are dated the fourth lunar month of that year, and one is dated the sixth month of the same year. The last of these is an item in which a Sō 宗 family retainer from the domain of Tsushima reports to the shogunate on what he has heard from Korean interpreters. It is a generally accurate, though somewhat simplified, report in which a number of other accounts were transcribed. The others, however, are little more than tales of rumor, full of strange exaggerations; they are consistent in one area, as noted above, that all name a Mr. Zhu, last descendent of the Ming dynasty, as the leader who is the head of a rebellious band intent on restoring the Ming. Only the report from the sixth month gives the leader as someone "surnamed Hong," but it too says that he sought a revived Ming dynasty.

The Taiping armed forces took Nanjing in March of 1853, though none of the reports in my possession make any mention of the establishment of a capital city at Nanjing. It would thus appear that these reports are based on subsequent information, though Mr. Zhu of the Later Ming takes Nanjing in the Unnan shinwa, and the other novelizations also touch on this theme.

These fictional accounts all mention a Mr. Zhu of the Later Ming who rises in rebellion and engages the Qing military in battle, but the layout of the plot line, the development of the plot, and the characters who appear in the story are all based on arbitrary structures with no relationship whatsoever to historical fact. Yet, we find recorded in most of these fictional accounts that a general with the robust-sounding name of Hong Wulong 洪武龍 [lit. Hong, the martial dragon] led the armies of the Later Ming to victory against the Qing. This must have been drawn from the aforementioned report in which the leader is given as "surnamed Hong"; it was adopted and tailored with the fierce given name of Wulong. In this instance, though, a Mr. Zhu (here with the given name Tiande), descendent of the Ming, is the leader, the emperor, and Hong Wulong is the name of the general who assists him. There is one further character, a woman by the name of Li Boyu 李伯玉 who can perform sorcery. She too is a courageous general for the forces of the Later Ming who crushingly defeat the Qing armies. In addition to Commander-in-Chief Zhu, both Hong Wulong and Li Boyu appear in such fictional accounts as Shin Min

gundan 清明軍談 [Military Tales of the Qing vs. Ming], Dattan shōhai ki 韃靼日勝敗記 [Chronicle of the Battles with the Tatars], Gaihō taihei ki 外邦太平記 [Chronicle of Peace against the Foreigners], and all appear to have been based on the same source.

Let us now turn to the publication data on the fictional accounts in my possession. Aside from the Unnan shinwa (1853), we have the Shin Min gundan (five string-bound volumes on Mino paper, preface dated 1854),<sup>d</sup> Dattan shōhai ki (five string-bound volumes on Mino paper; no date of publication given, though it appears to be the latter portion of some work), Shinsetsu Min Shin kassen ki 新說明清合戰記 [New Account of the Battle between the Ming and Qing] (five string-bound volumes on Mino paper, published 1854), Gaihō taihei ki (five string-bound volumes on Mino paper, preface dated 1854), Man-Shin kiji 滿清紀事 [Chronicle of the Manchus] (five string-bound volumes on Mino paper, preface by "Mumei Sanjin" 無名散人 [Anonymous Good-for-Nothing], undated), and Shin zoku ibun 清賊異聞 [Reports of the Qing Bandits] (undated, with a postscript by Aoe Sanjin 青衛山人).<sup>e</sup>

All of these works follow a pattern familiar from the fictionalized tales concerning the Opium War. At the beginning we find maps and portraits of the principal personages of the story; double-paged charts are inserted here and there in the texts; and hiragana syllabaries are attached to the Chinese characters. Let us look among these at the "introductory remarks" at the very beginning of Shin Min gundan in which we find the following:

\*. This work is based on written reports coming out of China. They speak of a Mr. Zhu, given name Hua, style Yuanhua, a lime merchant from Sichuan, who took the reign name of Tiande, and amassed an army in the locales of Guangdong province. An enchantress, surnamed Li, from Zhejiang province joined him at the head of the troops.

...

\*. From intelligence gathered from the Sō domain [of Tsushima, we know that] Commander-in-Chief Zhu has given himself the imperial title of the Tiande Emperor, and assisting him is one Hong Wulong who has a fort in Langshan 郎山, Guangzhou...

\*. We have chronicled the public order and the rebellions of the three reigns of Qianlong, Jiaqing, and Daoguang prior to the [rise of the] lime merchant, and thus the rebellion of Mr. Zhu did not just happen over night.

In fact, the above line--"We have chronicled the public order and the rebellions of the three reigns"--was not composed "prior to the [rise of the] lime merchant." In the third volume of this work,

the Opium War of the Daoguang reign is described in a completed separate section, entitled "Shin Ei kassen no koto" 清英合戦の事 [On the Sino-British War], from its eruption through the peace negotiations.

The Datsudan shōhai ki, just as was the case with the Unnan shinwa, describes how the Qing military sought help from the British, and not just the British military forces stationed at ports along the coast but reinforcements arrived from Great Britain as well, all of whom were defeated and dispersed.

Furthermore, it seems that while Hong Wulong and Li Boyu were characters concocted by Japanese novelists, a certain measure of authenticity appears to have been derived from the "reports" of the second lunar month of 1853, conveyed on Chinese trading ships that came to Nagasaki. In those documents, one finds statements such as: "The bandits' fort was known as Langshan"; and "Among the leaders of these bandits there is one woman and one person from Shamian who practices sorcery."

At the very end of the Shin Min gundan, Zhu Yuanhua attacks and captures Nanjing with Generalissimo Hong Wulong and second in command Li Boyu. He makes it his royal capital and takes the name of the Tiande Emperor. It then ends: "He transformed the customs and clothing of the Manchu Qing dynasty, and returned to the regime of the Ming... [Thus,] in one fell swoop, China was divided in two, and the chaos among the people disappeared." This is then followed by a paragraph which serves as a publication advertisement:

After this, the Tatars also rose in rebellion in the north, descended on the cities of Manchuria, the former homeland of the great Qing, attacking as far as Ningguta 寧古塔 and the Amur River which fell under the control of the Tiande Emperor. Once again Great Britain came to the aid of the Qing, and although they fought, they succumbed to the Later Ming through the wisdom of Wulong and fear of the sorcery of Li Boyu. The Qing leader at the time was Xianfeng, and he himself picked up a battle ax and several times fought great battles, but in the end it was useless, and the imperial capital at Beijing fell. A variety of interesting reports and strange ideas, tales of loyal ministers and chaste women, and the efficaciousness of the deities--all these have never leaked out of China till now. They are recorded and published here as a sequel.

So, acting in concert with the Tiande Army in Nanjing, the Tatars in the north (the Mongols?) arose in rebellion and attacked Manchuria, homeland of the Qing, and England surrendered to the Later Ming.

This too seems to have been taken directly from the report submitted at Nagasaki in 1853 (in Kanbun):

Zhu Yuanhua was installed as their new king. The British barbarians in the various ports again submitted to them. In the eighth lunar month of the fall, the Qing ruler Xianfeng personally led an expedition, but it failed to overcome them. The Tatars then rose again in the north, declared their support for Mr. Zhu, descended on the former homeland of the Qing, and seized it. They advanced as far as Ninggudao 寧古島 [as recorded in Shinchō jōran fūsetsugaki].

The Datsudan shōhai ki conveys the gist of this Kanbun report, with a bit of exaggeration here and there and the addition of some complexity to the story. Conjecturing from what was appended to the end of Shin Min gundan, this text may in fact be its sequel.

At the end of the "introductory remarks" at the start of the Shin Min gundan, it reads "by Ao Shujin 青衛主人," and on the inside front cover is the line, "Collection of Ao Academy." Also, in the final remarks at the end of the work, there is the preliminary announcement of a sequel to be published, and the Datsudan shōhai ki was written as if to continue this work. Hence, the Datsudan shōhai ki may be seen as a continuation of the Shin Min gundan, though at the very end of the "postscript" to the aforementioned Shin zoku ibun too we find the phrase, "by Ao Sanjin." Thus, Shin zoku ibun is doubtless the second sequel to Shin Min gundan. Only the identity of this Ao Shujin (or Ao Sanjin) remains unclear to us, though I shall offer some conjectures about him.

Unlike the other novels described above, the Shin zoku ibun ends with the ultimate victory and pacification by the Qing military over the Taipings. Mr. Zhu's base at Nanjing finally falls in a ferocious attack by the Qing forces, and "the Qing dynasty once again attains peace." There is a table of contents at the very beginning of this work, and a note just after it reads: "The Later Ming lasted for about five years from the rebellion of Zhu Tiande (the emperor) until its destruction. The Qing dynasty pacified it." So saying, the text then continues:

However, a band of ruffians known as the Small Sword Society (Xiaodaohui 小刀會) still runs rampant over various parts of the terrain of that country [hido 彼土, i.e., China]. Though many of them have been pursued and captured, they have not been completely suppressed as yet. Thus, when we hear that peace and tranquillity do not reign within the four seas, might this not be attributed to the weakness of Chinese officials? Furthermore, the bravery and magnanimity of these bandits are still not known in great detail. The

feelings and customs of people from overseas we can only read about in books. Having never been to China, neither I nor others are in any position to observe it in depth. We can only offer evaluations. By Aoe Sanjin.

Mention of about five years passing from the rise of the Taipings to their collapse is way off; in fact, about fifteen or sixteen years passed before the Taipings were put down. The late Kaei or early Ansei years, when this novel seems to have been written, corresponds to the early period of the establishment of a capital in Nanjing by the Taipings.

The author notes that the Small Sword Society ran rampant over portions of Chinese terrain, and this point we find in none of the other novels.

The Small Sword Society is usually considered a branch of the Heaven and Earth Society (or Triads), an anti-Qing organization that lay dormant among the people from the fall of the Ming dynasty forward. Though it did not profess belief in Christianity, it did make common cause with the Taipings in a shared opposition to the Qing dynasty. It is thought that early in the period of the Taiping uprising, the Taiping military absorbed this anti-Qing organizational affiliate of the Heaven and Earth Society, and when the Taipings invaded Zhejiang and Jiangsu, the Small Sword Society--having gathered in Shanghai from a variety of localities in Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang--coalesced with secret societies of the same place. Shortly after the Taipings seized Nanjing, the Small Swords responded by occupying the county seat at Shanghai; it was the eighth lunar month of 1853.<sup>2</sup> Their leader was Liu Lichuan 劉麗川, a man from Chaozhou, Guangdong province. They planned to link up with and assist the Taipings in Nanjing, but a secret messenger of theirs was captured en route and never reached his destination; the army of occupation was isolated, and seventeen months later it collapsed. This rebellion of the Small Swords Society in league with the anti-Qing revolution of the Taiping rebels was felt in the local areas closest to them, and apparently a great shock was felt back in Japan at the time as well.<sup>3</sup> The Man-Shin kiji, which I shall discuss in the next chapter, carries the subtitle, "Shōtōkai hanashi" 小刀会話 [Story of the Small Sword Society].

There is a detailed description of the Small Swords' occupation of the city of Shanghai in the Tongzhi Shanghai xian zhi 同治上海縣志, [County Gazetteer of Shanghai of the Tongzhi Period] (juan eleven, a section entitled "Lidai bingshi" 歷代兵事 [Military Affairs through the Ages]). An accurate portrayal as well is the account of an eyewitness, Huang Quan 黃詮, who put his observations

together in "Xiaolin xiaoshi" 梟林小史 [A Short History of Xiaolin] (in Shanghai zhanggu congshu 上海掌故叢書 [Collection of Records of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai tongshe, 1935).

Among recent works that I have seen, I think one well-done essay is that of Xu Weinan 徐蔚南, "Shanghai Xiaodaohui luanshi de shimo" 上海小刀會亂事的始末 [A Full History of the Small Sword Society Uprising in Shanghai], Yi jing 逸經 2.6 (March 1937).<sup>4</sup> Also Jian Youwen 簡又文 has translated, for the same issue of the journal Yi jing, two contemporaneous accounts from the North China Herald: Yates (Yan Matai 晏瑪太), "Xiaodaohui zhanju Shanghai muji ji" 小刀會佔拠上海目擊記 [Eyewitness Account of the Small Sword Society's Occupation of Shanghai] (September 10, 1853); and Issachar J. Roberts (Luo Xiaoquan 羅孝全), "Xiaodaohui shouling Liu Lichuan fangwen ji" 小刀會首領劉麗川訪問記 [Account of a Visit with Liu Lichuan, Leader of the Small Sword Society] (October 1, 1853).

#### Notes

[\* As this issue of SJS was going to press, I received from Bob Wakabayashi a copy of his article, "Opium, Expulsion, Sovereignty: China's Lessons for Bakumatsu Japan," Monumenta Nipponica 47.1 (Spring 1992), pp. 1-25, which offers a penetrating analysis of Mineta Fūkō's work.]

a. The following can all be found in the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library: Kaigai shinwa (Edo: n.p., 1849); Shusai ō 種菜翁, Kaigai shinwa shūi (Edo: n.p., 1849); Kaigai jitsuroku, (Edo: 榎原屋 茂兵衛, 1954), five volumes, with other editions published under the title Kaigai jitsuwa 海外実話 [True Stories from Overseas]; and Kaigai yowa (n.p.: Kōyodō zōshi 行餘堂蔵梓, 1855).

b. Copy in Harvard-Yenching Library and in the collection of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1910-11), five volumes.

1. See "Shotoku zasshū" 書牘雜輯 [Collections of Letters], in Yoshida Kurazō 吉田庫三, ed., Shōin sensei icho 松陰先生遺著 [The Posthumous Works of Yoshida Shōin] (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1909).

c. A copy of this edition can be found in the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library.



d. A copy of this edition of Shin Min gundan can be found at Harvard-Yenching Library.

e. A copy of these editions of both the Man-Shin kiji and the Shin zoku ibun may be found in the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library.

2. They took the Susong Circuit Intendant Wu Jianzhang 吳健彰 prisoner and put to death the Shanghai County Magistrate Yuan Shide 袁視德.

3. They seized and occupied in rapid succession the county of Shanghai and five more in its immediate vicinity: Jiading, Baoshan, Nanhui, Chuansha, and Qingpu. They then proceeded to the west and attacked nearby Taicang.

4. In addition, historical material on the Small Sword Society has been gathered from many directions (including documents of foreigners, such as the articles in the North China Herald) and published in Shanghai Xiaodaohui qiyi shiliao huibian 上海小刀會起義史料匯編 [Collection of Historical Materials on the Uprising of the Small Sword Society in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1954). This work is in excess of 1000 pages, but its third volume, entitled "Shanghai Xiaodaohui qiyi zongxu" 上海小刀會起義綜叙 [General Account of the uprising of the Small Sword Society in Shanghai], provides a comprehensive discussion of the activities of the Small Sword Society and its historical background.