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Liu Jianhui 劉建輝. “Samuraitachi no Shanhai” サムライたちの上海 (Samurai in Shanghai). In *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no “kindai” taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Demon capital Shanghai: The "modern" experience of Japanese intellectuals), trans. Joshua A. Fogel (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), 27-46. *Sino-Japanese Studies* 16 (2009), article 4.

**Abstract:** In this chapter, Liu Jianhui explores the Shanghai experiences of delegations of Japanese samurai dispatched from 1858-1868, including their fascination with Western institutions, commercial practices, and the impact of the Western presence upon the existing Chinese “walled city” beyond the Concessions. Liu argues that the experiences and time spent by shogunal officials and samurai in Shanghai represent an important and formative part of the Japanese encounter with modernity and the West.

Demon Capital Shanghai:  
The “Modern” Experience of Japanese Intellectuals<sup>1</sup>  
Liu Jianhui 劉建輝

Translated by Joshua A Fogel

Chapter 1  
Samurai in Shanghai

The “Front Lines” of Capitalism: Samurai Experience the “West”

**“Beachhead”**

In mid-nineteenth-century East Asia, together with the growth of the Concessions as “modern nations,” a modern network emerged encompassing trade, transportation-communication, and information—all centered on Shanghai. While China was, of course, included within this network, so too was late-Edo period Japan across the sea.

This situation—that is to say, once Shanghai had become the “front lines” of the Western powers’ advance into East Asia and, at the same time, once China in a broader sense had been compelled to open her doors—meant that it might begin to play the role of “beachhead” leading Japan, their next objective, to “open its country” (*kaikoku* 開國). From the perspective of Japan, by contrast, Shanghai seemed before its very eyes to represent capitalist “modernity” itself. Although not the only way, it was the most modern “entry” into the West.

In other words, at the moment when Europe’s fixed shipping routes began at either Hong Kong or Shanghai, Japanese who contemplated going abroad would of necessity have to select one of these two sites. Imperfect though it may have been, what they saw and heard there became their initial experience of “modernity.”

Most Japanese travelers, when alighting onto Shanghai or Hong Kong soil, the “front lines” of capitalism and the “front lines” of Western colonialism, felt the “West” for the first time. Only afterward did they think of going to Europe, as if sailing upstream against the tide of the advance into East Asia of the powers. In this sense, the “Western experience” they had in every place beginning with Shanghai was extremely important. It not only cast a shadow over their entire perception of the West, but seems to have influenced their understanding of China, Asia, and even Japan itself into the distant future.

We shall omit Hong Kong from consideration here. Let us then take a look at the Shanghai experiences of the first Japanese travelers or, at least, the majority of them who were shogunal officials and samurai from various domains.

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<sup>1</sup> *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no “kindai” taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), pp. 27-46. See also the Chinese translation by Gan Huijie, *Modu Shanghai: Riben zhishiren de “jindai” tiyan* 魔都上海：日本知识人的“近代”体验 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), pp. 12-22.

## Half the Travelers Come to Shanghai

In the ten years from the “Ansei 安政 opening of the country” (1858) until the “Meiji Restoration” (1868), the Edo shogunate sent altogether seven delegations, large and small, to the West to cope with a battery of diplomatic issues.

In concrete terms, the first mission was dispatched to the United States in 1860 to ratify the U.S.-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce. The embassy was led by Shinmi Masaoki 新見正興 (1822-69) aboard the *Kanrinmaru* 咸臨丸. The second, led by Takeuchi Yasunori 竹内保徳 (1807-67), was sent in 1862 to the more important states of Europe with the task of negotiating the postponement of opening the cities and ports of Edo, Osaka, Hyōgo, and elsewhere. The third delegation was sent to France under the leadership of Ikeda Nagaoki 池田長發 (1837-79) in 1864 to negotiate diplomacy concerning the closed harbor of Yokohama. The fourth embassy was a group led by Shibata Takenaka 柴田剛中 (1823-77) sent to France and Great Britain in 1865; its primary business was preparation for construction of the Yokohama Ironworks. The fifth embassy, under Koide Hidemi 小出秀實 (1833-68), traveled via Europe to Russia to negotiate a provisional border agreement between Japan and Russia. The sixth mission was not diplomatic in nature but was a group led by Ono Tomogorō 小野友五郎 (1817-98) sent to the United States in 1867 to purchase a battleship and weaponry. And, the seventh and final embassy was dispatched the same year under the leadership of Tokugawa Akitake 徳川昭武 (1853-1910) to attend the Second Paris Exposition as representatives of Shogun Yoshinobu 慶喜 (1837-1913).

In addition, on a number of occasions the shogunate and several powerful domains sent groups of overseas students to Western countries, the following six instances being the main ones. In 1862 the shogunate dispatched a group of nine young men—including Enomoto Takeaki 榎本武揚 (1836-1908), Akamatsu Noriyoshi 赤松則良 (1841-1920), Tsuda Mamichi 津田真道 (1829-1903), and Nishi Amane 西周 (1829-97)—to Holland. The following year, 1863, Chōshū 長州 domain secretly sent five students—including Inoue Kaoru 井上馨 (1836-1915) and Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1840-1909)—to Great Britain. The third group, altogether nineteen young men in all including Godai Tomoatsu 五代友厚 (1835-85), Terashima Munenori 寺島宗則 (1832-93), and Mori Arinori 森有禮 (1847-89), was sent by Satsuma 薩摩 domain in 1865 to Great Britain with the cooperation of Thomas Glover (1838-1911). That same year a fourth group—six men all told, including Ichikawa Kanehide 市川兼秀 (Bunkichi 文吉, d. 1927) and Yamanouchi Sakuzaemon 山内作左衛門—was dispatched by the shogunate to Russia. A fifth group of fourteen men—including Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832-91) and Kawaji Tarō 川路太郎 (1844-1927)—left the following year, 1866, also sent by the shogunate, to Britain. And, finally, the sixth group actually did double service on the aforementioned embassy led by Tokugawa Akitake; namely, once the tasks of the delegation were completed, the remaining men transformed themselves into students by prearrangement and stayed on to study in France.

We thus see that in the final decade of the Edo period a large number of shogunal and domainal officials in fact traveled to nations in the West. The actual travels of the seven embassies and six groups of overseas students may be clearer from the chart below. As it indicates, aside from cases in which they traveled on battleships or merchant vessels directly to the foreign countries involved, as a matter of course the great majority of embassies and student groups traveled to the West via Hong Kong or Shanghai—and five times it was Shanghai.

### Embassies and Overseas Students Dispatched to the West in the Late-Edo Period<sup>2</sup>

<b>EMBASSIES</b>				
Countries involved	Year sent	Objectives	Principal members	Notes
United States	1860	Exchange of ratification of U.S.-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce	Shinmi Masaoki, Ueno Tadayuki 上野忠順, Kimura Kaishū 木村芥舟	Traveled on the U.S. ship, <i>Powhatan</i> , called at Hong Kong on return
France, Britain, Holland, etc.	1862	negotiate delay in opening cities and ports	Takeuchi Yasunori, Fukuchi Gen'ichirō 福地源一郎, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉	Traveled on British battleship <i>Odin</i> , called at Hong Kong on both legs of trip
France	1864	Negotiate closed harbor of Yokohama	Ikeda Nagaoki, Tanabe Taichi 田辺太一, Sugiura Yuzuru 杉浦譲	Traveled on French battleship and mail ship, called at Shanghai on both legs of trip
France, Britain	1865	Invite technicians for Yokohama Ironworks	Shibata Takenaka, Fukuchi Gen'ichirō	Traveled on British mail ship via Shanghai
Russia	1866	Provisional border agreement with Russia	Koide Hidemi, Mitsukuri Shūhei 箕作秋坪	Traveled on French mail ship via Marseilles
U.S.	1867	Buy battleship, weapons	Ono Tomogorō, Matsumoto Judayū 松本寿太夫	
France	1867	Attend 2 <sup>nd</sup> Paris Expo	Tokugawa Akitake, Sugiura Yuzuru, Shibusawa Eiichi 渋沢栄一	Traveled on French mail ship via Shanghai

<sup>2</sup> This chart was prepared in consultation with Tomita Hitoshi 富田仁, ed., *Umi o koeta Nihon jinmei jiten* 海を越えた日本人名事典 (Biographical dictionary of Japanese who crossed the sea) (Tokyo: Nichigai asoshietsu, 1985); Ishizuki Minoru 石附実, *Kindai Nihon no kaigai ryūgaku shi* 近代日本の海外留学史 (History of modern Japanese overseas study) (Tokyo: Mineruva shobō, 1972); and other works.

OVERSEAS STUDENTS				
Holland	1862	Sent by shogunate	Enomoto Takeaki, Akamatsu Noriyoshi, Nishi Amane	Traveled on Dutch merchant vessel <i>Calypso</i> via Java
Britain	1863	Sent by Chōshū domain	Inoue Kaoru, Itō Hirobumi	Traveled on British merchant vessel via Shanghai
Britain	1865	Sent by Satsuma domain	Godai Tomoatsu, Terashima Munenori, Mori Arinori	Traveled on British merchant and mail ships via Hong Kong
Russia	1865	Sent by shogunate	Ichikawa Kanehide, Yamamoto Sakuzaemon	Traveled on Russia battleship
Britain	1866	Sent by shogunate	Nakamura Masanao, Kawaji Tarō	Traveled on British mail ship via Shanghai
France	1867	Sent by shogunate	Tokugawa Akitake, Sugiura Jō, Shibusawa Eiichi	Traveled on French mail ship via Shanghai

While this provides evidence for the place of Shanghai as the “entryway” to the West, even more significant is the fact that nearly half of the travelers at this time experienced Shanghai, and it was a shocking experience at that.

### Dinner, Piano, Photograph: Encountering Western Things

What, then, did these delegations and students actually experience in Shanghai, and what sort of shock did they receive? Let us now follow some of their experiences in the city in more details. One of the members of the Ikeda embassy sent to France in 1864 was the shogunal official, Sugiura Yuzuru (1835-77), who described the scene in Shanghai at the time that they went on land there in his *Hōshi nikki* 奉使日記 (Diary of a diplomatic mission) as follows:<sup>3</sup>

Morning, the sixth, we reached the mouth of the Yangzi River. The river is broad without end, its blue waves boundless. We came to the Wusong River 吳淞江 at 3:00 (historical site at which Chen Huacheng 陳化成 died in battle [during the Opium War]). At 5:00 we reached Shanghai and dropped anchor. On the seventh we went on land and stayed at the British guesthouse.... The guesthouse looked out on the river with extraordinary scenic beauty. At a glance over a great distance, one could detect the smoke from masts. We observed flags and banners fluttering in the breeze and became aware of the bustling commerce going on. I have heard that Westerners and travelers from the south eat together and enjoy chatting and getting to know one another, and I sense that they are truly communicating. The water of the river is quite deep, sufficient for great ships to come right up to the shore. Vessels that drop anchor number, I am told, some 500 in all.

<sup>3</sup> In *Sugiura Yuzuru zenshū* 杉浦讓全集 (Collected works of Sugiura Yuzuru) (Tokyo: Sugiura Yuzuru zenshū kankōkai, 1978), vol. 1.

Away from Japan for the first time, Sugiura appears to have been extremely impressed by the “bustling commerce” and the genuine communication in Shanghai, twenty years after the opening of its port. That said, the “British guesthouse” at which his party stayed was the finest British-owned hotel in Shanghai at the time. From the guest rooms of this two-storey structure facing the Bund, one had a panoramic view of the lively activities at the port of Shanghai. This was the Astor House—Licha fansion 禮查飯店 in Chinese, built in 1852 and presently known as the Pujiang fansion 浦江飯店—and it was here that he and his colleagues would encounter all manner of “Western things.” For example, they enjoyed a full-course dinner with foods still unknown in Japan, listened to music performed on a *yōkin* 洋琴 (C. *yangqin*) as he dubbed the “piano,” and drank coffee after breakfast.



Astor House Hotel and Garden Bridge, Shanghai

Most intriguing of all to the entire group was the photography studio near the Astor House hotel. Not only did practically the entire group set out there to observe it in person, but it appears to have had a captivating impact on them as a new tool of civilization. They would later take numerous photos as their trip continued on its way.

Like subsequent delegations and student groups, they experienced the “West” for the first time in Shanghai. For example, when the Shibata delegation sent to France and Britain in 1865 called at Shanghai on its outward journey, despite only three days spent in port, it enjoyed a proper Western meal at the hotel, rode about the city in a horse-drawn carriage, and observed that Shanghai “is rather more lively a city than Yokohama.”<sup>4</sup> Similarly, it would appear that the group of students sent by the shogunate to study in Britain in 1866 all went for a haircut soon after coming on land in Shanghai, and cutting a fine figure made their way to a photo studio to have a commemorative photograph taken.

<sup>4</sup> Shibata Takenaka, “Futsu-Ei kō” 仏英行 (A trip to France and Great Britain), in *Seiyō kenbunshū* 西洋見聞集 (Collection of travelogues of the West) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1974). Yet, there were several members in this group who had already traveled to the West.

## Interest in the Roots of Western Culture

Among the many and sundry “West”s to be found in Shanghai, the Japanese samurai evinced most interest in various modern institutions, such as a number of printing houses run by missionaries. We shall discuss this topic in more detail below, because their publications had spread widely in various forms through Japan, but many of these Japanese visitors to Shanghai were already well acquainted with these facilities. The London Missionary Society Press (Mohai shuguan 墨海書館), which had earlier distributed large quantities of Chinese translations of Western writings, by the mid-1860s had ceased publishing works printed by movable type. Possibly because the people who escorted the Japanese delegations and groups of overseas students were all British and French, they appear not to have had any opportunity to visit the American Presbyterian Mission Press (Mei-Hua shuguan 美華書館) under the Presbyterian Church which was then experiencing rapid growth.

Even under these circumstances, however, members of the Shibata embassy to France managed to buy up works by Walter Medhurst (1796-1857) and James Legge (1815-97) published by these printing houses. They then sent these writings to the shogunate’s “Army Office.” Similarly, Shibusawa Eiichi (1840-1931), a participant in the mission to France under Tokugawa Akitake, keenly observed these facilities while his party remained briefly in Shanghai:

Here [i.e., Shanghai] French missionaries dressed up in the Chinese fashion opened a lecture hall to attract people to their religious message. Furthermore, to study Sinology, the Europeans have erected academies, in which all students are Europeans engaged in Asian studies. Their teachers use the origins of the religious faith of their countries as materials to work from and thus try to develop their religious ideals. The students pay their educational fees with missionary funds.<sup>5</sup>

The “lecture hall” opened by “French missionaries” was probably the former Catholic church of the Jesuits rebuilt in 1851 in Xujiahui 徐家匯 in the western suburbs of Shanghai. When he noted that they study “Sinology” and have “academies” to spread “the religious faith of their countries,” he was surely referring to the Protestant institutions of the London Missionary Society Press and the American Presbyterian Mission Press. It is unclear to what extent Shibusawa understood at that time the difference between the two, but insofar as he did know something of their existence beforehand, their feelings standing before the real thing must have been that much stronger. Later, at the next port of call, Hong Kong, Shibusawa paid a visit to the Anglo-Chinese School (Ying-Hua shuguan 英華書館) where Legge was serving as headmaster, and he praised the many “great works” of this school which were to become famous in Japan as well by virtue of such texts as *Xia'er guanjian* 遐邇貫珍 (A string of gems from far and near).

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<sup>5</sup> Shibusawa Eiichi, “Kō-Sei nikki” 航西日記 (Diary of a trip to the West), in Ōtsuka Takematsu 大塚武松, ed. *Shibusawa Eiichi tai-Futsu nikki* 澁澤榮一滯佛日記 (Shibusawa Eiichi’s diary of his time spent in France) (Tokyo: Nihon shiseki kyōkai, 1928).

Even before this group, the delegation sent to Europe under Takeuchi Yasunori, which sailed directly from Japan to Hong Kong in 1862 (Bunkyū 文久 2), and the delegation to France under Ikeda Nagaoka which sailed in 1864 (Genji 元治 1) and the student group sent by the shogunate to Britain in 1866 (Keiō 慶應 2), neither of which ultimately had an opportunity to observe the London Missionary Society Press or the American Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai, all soon after arriving in Hong Kong paid a visit to the Anglo-Chinese School, and each group communicated with Legge in written form using literary Chinese.<sup>6</sup> In addition, they learned from Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-97), who had taken refuge in Hong Kong from Shanghai after his secret communications with the Taipings became public and who will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, the “general contours” of the “[Anglo-Chinese] School since its erection.”<sup>7</sup> They saw a printing press that “printed 1,000 pages every day,”<sup>8</sup> and were highly impressed by these many activities at the foundations of Western culture.<sup>9</sup>

### Inoue Kaoru's Awakening

A number of those who encountered the “West” in numerous forms in Shanghai and quickly sensed from this “confrontation” the futility of their “xenophobia” (*jōi* 攘夷, expel the barbarians) realized the folly of their position. Such an instance can be found in the case of Tanaba Taichi 田邊太一 (1831-1915), on the Ikeda mission to France, who was primarily responsible for negotiations over the port of Yokohama. The most typical case was that of Inoue Kaoru and Itō Hirobumi who surreptitiously slipped out of Japan in 1863.

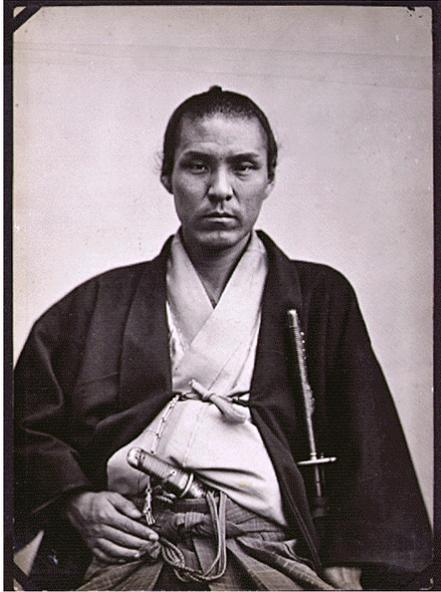
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<sup>6</sup> See Takashima Yūkei 高島祐啓, *Ō-Sei kōki* 歐西行記 (Account of a trip to Western Europe). Translator's note. This rare work is also known as *Ō-Sei kikō* 歐西紀行 (n.p.: Seikyūdō, 1867); copies of it are held in the Waseda University Library and the Tenri University Library.

<sup>7</sup> Sahara Morizumi 佐原盛純, *Kōkai nichiroku* 航海日録 (Diary of a trip overseas).

<sup>8</sup> Kawaji Tarō, *Eikō nichiroku* 英航日録 (Diary of a trip to Britain).

<sup>9</sup> Concerning the experiences of these embassies and student groups in Hong Kong, more details can be found in Matsuzawa Hiroaki 松沢弘陽, *Kindai Nihon no keisei to Seiyō keiken* 近代日本の形成と西洋経験 (The formation of modern Japan and the experience of the West) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993). Citations from a number of these travel diaries (often unpublished) are taken from this work.



Tanabe Taichi



Chōshū students in Britain, 1863; Itō Hirobumi upper right, Inoue Kaoru lower left

Upon leaving Japan, Itō sang: “This trip on which I bear the shame of heroism I do for the sake of my sacred land of Japan.” While indeed recognizing the “shame” of this necessary trip, Itō noted: “We are all looking out over the harbor [of Shanghai] from board ship. There is no end to the great profusion of battleships, steamships, and sailships from many lands. On the shore stand magnificent Western buildings all lined up. We all took in this bustling spectacle and more.”<sup>10</sup> By the time they had arrived in Shanghai, they had already begun to realize the need to reassess their perceptions of things. For his part, Inoue, too, noted: “When we reached Shanghai and I saw the actual situation there,... I was awakened suddenly from my past illusions.” He said that he quickly dispensed with his “fallacious xenophobia” and began advocating a “direction toward opening the nation.”<sup>11</sup>

In any event, as we see from all these cases, perhaps because the attendants and guides for the embassies and student groups at this time were Westerners from each of the countries concerned, what they “confronted” in Shanghai and Hong Kong was always hotels, commercial houses, and printers—all installations of those countries themselves—and thus our samurai all experienced “Western modernity” for the first there and received a powerful “shock” by the overpowering “bustling spectacle.” This was to be the point of departure for a new perception of the West on their part and a new point of departure for their subsequent words and deeds. In this sense, it is by no means an exaggeration to say that the “awakening” of Inoue and others in Shanghai symbolized an “awakening” itself for modern Japan in this regard.

<sup>10</sup> Junbokō tsuishōkai 春畝公追頌會, ed., *Itō Hirobumi den, jōkan* 伊藤博文傳、上卷 (Biography of Itō Hirobumi, vol. 1) (Tokyo: Genseisha, 1943).

<sup>11</sup> Inoue Kaoru kō denki hensankai 井上馨侯傳記編纂會, *Seigai Inoue kō den, dai ikkan* 世外井上傳・第一卷 (Biography of Count Inoue Kaoru, vol. 1) (Tokyo: Naigai shoseki, 1933).

## The Shock Experienced by Takasugi Shinsaku and Others

### Dispatching of Young Samurai Abroad

The importance of Shanghai as an “entryway” to the West did not solely function as a stopover on the voyage to Europe as we have seen above. Enormous concern and interest was poured into it from a host of directions in Japan in its very existence as a “base” for all manner of West operations with modern “functions.” Coming to Shanghai and assessing local conditions was, in a word, a kind of “exploration” of “circumstances in the West.” News itself of this place as “a semi-colony” was utterly necessary for both the shogunate and anti-shogunal samurai who were searching along two paths: “opening the country” and “expelling the barbarians.”

In this sense, then, about the same time as the embassies to Europe and the United States, the shogunate and a number of domains on four occasions sent delegations specifically to Shanghai, actions carried out effectively in response to the demands of the time. The “intelligence” garnered at this site later actually played a great role in the tumult of the late Edo years. Let us now briefly take a look at certain of the details of these four delegations to Shanghai.

The first of these missions dispatched to Shanghai, the largest in scale, was that of the *Senzaimaru* 千歳萬, a trading vessel sent by the shogunate. The shogunate hoped to have “foreign commercial ways” investigated and to understand conditions there so as to conclude a commercial treaty with China. The Nagasaki Magistrate (*bugyō* 奉行) was to come up with a plan which came to fruition in April 1862. Among the passengers on board were such men as Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作 (1839-67), Nakamuda Kuranosuke 中牟田倉之助 (1837-1916), and Godai Tomoatsu 五代友厚 (1835-85), all later active in the Meiji Restoration, and in this sense this experience did signify the role Shanghai played for Japan.



Takasugi Shinsaku



Nakamuda Kuranosuke



Godai Tomoatsu

The second delegation, following the *Senzaimaru*, was that of the Hakodate official vessel, *Kenjunmaru* 健順丸, sent to Shanghai. Upon receiving instructions from the Hakodate Magistrate, this voyage's mandate, too, as it set sail in March 1864, to "investigate" commercial conditions in Shanghai. With these initial plans, Hakodate bureaucrats made up the bulk of the passenger list. The group's investigative report, the *Kōho shi* 黃浦誌 (Chronicle of the Huangpu River), remains extant, and one can verify in it their numerous "experiences" in Shanghai. As it turns out, they stayed at the same Astor House, and it was here that they hosted a banquet to which they invited "distinguished Dutchmen" (*Oranda kokushi* 和蘭國士).

The third group sent to Shanghai was of a much smaller scale, only three men. Chōshū domain, then in opposition to the shogunate, went to sell the *Jinjutsuamaru* 壬戌丸, a vessel owned by the domain, in Shanghai without the shogunate's approval; in return they purchased a large quantity of Gewehr rifles among other hardware. When the shogunate learned of this, it sent three officials to the scene to investigate, one of whom was Sugiura Yuzuru, who appeared in our discussion above. They were in Shanghai for a period of only ten days, April 20-30, 1865.

The final group sent to Shanghai went aboard the *Ganges*, a steamship belonging to the Yokohama branch of the Jardine-Matheson Company (known in China as Yihe yanghang 怡和洋行). Unlike the previous three voyages, this group was not sent by the shogunate but was independently dispatched by the two domains of Hamamatsu 濱松 and Sakura 佐倉 with the objective of investigating conditions overseas. Among the members of the group which left port in February 1867 were Nagura Inato 名倉予何人 (or Nakura Anato) of Hamamatsu who had been aboard the *Senzaimaru* and Takahashi Sakunosuke 高橋作之助, later known as Takahashi Yuichi 高橋由一 (1828-94), who was to become a leading figure in Meiji-era Western-style painting. A bit unlike the previous three groups, this group not only visited Shanghai but went on as far as Nanjing.

Thus, unlike the first embassy sent to Europe, these groups aimed only at going to Shanghai. Compared to the embassies to Europe, these Shanghai travelers were not only able to "investigate" both Shanghais in greater depth, but they seem to have been able to recognize better as well the structure of "pressure" existing between the two. Their responses after coming to this recognition, of course, differed one from the next. Some were "supportive" of "Concessions" Shanghai, and some more "supportive" of the Chinese "walled city" of Shanghai.

Soon after returning to Japan, Takasugi Shinsaku participated in the burning of the British Legation, while Godai Tomoatsu, at the time of the Satsuma-Britain War, attempted to prevent foolish anti-foreign policies in his domain to the point of being taken prisoner by the British army. Nagura, who spent his entire life working for Japanese solidarity with China, later worked for a time as an advisor to the Taiwan Governor-General's office; his subsequent activities may be seen as adopting a subtle position between Takasugi and Godai. It might be a bit hasty to presume that the differences in their varying points of view are all attributable to their "Shanghai experiences," as there were likely to have been other factors at work as well. When pressed to support one side over another, however, this "Shanghai experience" became an extremely important "memory."

Although I shall not necessarily be searching for an answer to this question, let us take a closer look now at the numerous “discoveries” in Shanghai primarily with data drawn from the passengers aboard the *Senzaimaru*.

### “I Would Quietly Be Overjoyed”

The total number of people aboard the *Senzaimaru* bound for Shanghai, including sailors, was fifty-one. They left Nagasaki on May 27, 1862 (Bunkyū 2/4/29), sailed for a week all told, and arrived in Shanghai on June 2 (5/5). No sooner had they set foot on Shanghai soil than the samurai, each with his own mission to accomplish, set out immediately on his appointed “task” and began to “observe” the “front lines” of the West from many and sundry perspectives.

At the time of their arrival, Shanghai had just then been surrounded by the peasant armies of the Taiping Rebellion, and the government forces and Taipings had joined intense fighting in the outskirts of the city. Perhaps because of this, the first thing in which the samurai expressed interest upon coming on land was the scene of the hostilities between the two armies and the overall appearance of the government’s armed forces; in particular, they wanted to see what the British and French forces sent to aid the Qing government troops looked like. For example, on the third day following their arrival, Takasugi Shinsaku promptly wrote in his diary: “5/7 [June 4, 1862]. At dawn I heard the firing of small arms on land. Everyone said it was the sound of fighting between the Long-Haired Bandits [Taiping rebels] and the Chinese. I think that, if these words are accurate, I would quietly be overjoyed.”<sup>12</sup> This notion was not limited to Takasugi’s diary, but similar notes can be found in the diary accounts of other samurai during their sojourn in Shanghai. At the same time, we may see here both the professional interest of Japanese warriors and a real concern with modern warfare in which the armies of Britain and France were taking part.

### On the Scene Investigations

While in Shanghai, the samurai appear to have been most consumed by meeting Westerners and amassing information from a variety of sources. On four occasions, Takasugi Shinsaku, together with Nakamuda Kuranosuke and Godai Tomoatsu, visited William Muirhead (1822-1900, called in Chinese Mu Weilian 慕維廉), who was also known in Japan; on two occasions he was not in. They inquired of him about the West and Shanghai and sought a number of Chinese translations of Western works, to be introduced in subsequent chapters. In addition, Nakamuda went twice to Dent & Co. in an effort to meet Otokichi 音吉 (1818-67), a shipwreck victim who was working there, but unfortunately he was then on vacation in Singapore, and they ultimately were unable to meet with him while in the city.

While they were attempting to meet with “Westerners,” the samurai had numerous contacts with Chinese as well. They paid calls on many occasions to book

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<sup>12</sup> Takasugi Shinsaku, “Shanghai enryū nichiroku” 上海掩留日録 (Daily account while residing in Shanghai), in *Takasugi Shinsaku zenshū* 高杉晋作全集 (Collected writings of Takasugi Shinsaku) (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1974).

stalls on the street, and to the extent possible hunted down information and books concerned with the West and with conditions in China in its present war-torn state. Takasugi and Nagura, for example, proactively went out and met with a Chinese soldier on the scene and on several occasions visited a low-level official by the name of Chen Ruqin 陳汝欽. By means of brush conversations, they exchanged views on the situation in “China and abroad” with Chen. Among the books they bought in Shanghai were such famed works as *Dili quanzhi* 地理全志 (Complete gazetteer of geography), *Da Yingguo zhi* 大英國志 (History of Great Britain), *Lianbang zhilüe* 連邦志略 (Brief survey of the United States of America), and *Shuxue qimeng* 數學啟蒙 (Introduction to mathematics). They also included the literary Chinese magazine *Liuhe congpan* 六合叢談 (Stories from around the world), the newspaper *Shanghai xinbao* 上海新報 (Shanghai news) which was being published in the 1860s, and such works on diplomacy as *Qingguo Yingguo tiaoyueshu* 清國英國條約書 (Text of the treaty between the Qing and Great Britain).

As one further “task,” the *Senzaimaru* group while in Shanghai carried out a detailed investigation of the commercial and trade scene in the city. This was not only accomplished by the shogunal officials directly questioning the Shanghai circuit intendant and the various consulates beginning with the Dutch, and thus acquiring details on the procedures and methods used there. In addition the samurai paid calls in person on commercial houses of various countries in the Concessions and carried out a form of “site investigations.”

Godai, Nakamuda, and Takasugi, for example, visited Concession businesses over and over, exhibiting considerable interest in modern business practices. Godai in particular, it was reported, had face-to-face meetings with these businesses and succeeded in purchasing for \$125,000 *The George Grey*, a German steamship whose selling price had been \$300,000, on behalf of his domain of Satsuma, an event which shocked just about everyone in Japan.

### From Localism to Nationalism

The *Senzaimaru* group remained in Shanghai for about two months. During that time, they made great strides in amassing information of the sort described above and in investigating “foreign conditions.” What the samurai gained possession of in these two months, however, was not at all solely “intelligence” about advanced Western civilization. Together with the “advanced” nature of the “Concessions,” they discovered as well the colonialism of the modern West in terms of the “pressures” it exerted on the “walled city” hidden in its background. The internal nature of “the West” was not something easily ascertainable, and precisely because of Shanghai as a semi-colony with its two “faces,” this was another quality of the modern West visible before them. The discovery of the dual meaning of the modern West may have been the most important accomplishment of their stay in Shanghai.

It seems that this gave rise in these samurai to a major intellectual shift in consciousness. Takasugi, for example, soon after coming ashore in Shanghai, located between Westerners and Chinese a master-servant relationship. As he wrote in his diary: “Although the land of Shanghai may belong to China, in fact it is subservient to Britain and France. Three hundred *ri* from here lies Beijing, and there the spirit of China must

surely exist. If what we have here were to be extended there, I would sorely regret it. I am reminded of what Lü Mengzheng 呂蒙正 [944-1011] said in remonstrating with Emperor Taizong of the Song dynasty 宋太宗 [r. 976-97] not to extend afar what was near at hand. Isn't it indeed just this way? Although we are Japanese, we must be concerned by this and not become like China."<sup>13</sup>

Of symbolic significance was the fact that, after returning to Japan, Takasugi established the Kiheitai 騎兵隊 (Irregular militia), an organization with the character of a "national army" which broke down the status-based system of the military. From this period he probably was coming to the realization that, in response to the increasing pressure from the powerful modern West, Japan's only path was to defend itself with all its "national" might and not to adopt the "disastrous policy" (*fukutetsu* 覆轍, follow in the footsteps of one's predecessors' failures) of China.

From the regret—"Although we are Japanese, we must be concerned by this and not become like China"—a small "sprout" of recognition may be read. This small "sprout" grew and blossomed, giving rise eventually to a shift of consciousness among many Restoration-era samurai, beginning with Takasugi, from the "localism" of the domains to a "nationalism" of Japan. Indeed, not that much time passed before the concept of the modern "nation-state" had taken firm root among them.<sup>14</sup> The final opening, of course, transpired six years later with the Meiji Restoration.

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<sup>13</sup> Takasugi Shinsaki, "Shanghai enryū nichiroku."

<sup>14</sup> The formation of the concept of the "nation-state" in Takasugi Shinsaku and others is discussed in detail in, for example, Matsumoto Ken'ichi 松本健一, *Kaikoku no katashi* 開国のかたち (Forms of opening the state) (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1994).