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“It [Shanghai] seems to be the most thriving place in the world.”

—Matsudaya Hankichi 松田屋伴吉, 1862¹

From the middle of the seventeenth century for over 200 years, it was illegal on pain of death for Japanese to travel outside the islands that comprised their archipelago. Indeed, travel even within the islands was tightly regulated.² Study of things Western developed here and there over the course of these two centuries via works in Dutch—largely, medical texts—that came into Japan through the port of Nagasaki. Study of things Chinese had a long history in Japan before the start of the Edo period (1600-1868) and as with Dutch Learning (Rangaku), although on a much larger scale, developed and expanded throughout the country, spawning a wide assortment of regional schools and textual affiliations. When the shogunal government lifted the ban on travel in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was no mad rush to visit Holland; some scholars—such as Nishi Amane 西周 (1829-97) and Tsuda Mamichi 津田真道 (1829-1903)—did study there, though in small numbers. By contrast, the much closer China became the objective of a wide variety of travelers.³

Why did Japanese want to go to China and, in particular, Shanghai? In trying to answer this broad question, it is extremely important to bear in mind that, from the perspective of the 1860s, it was not at all apparent that Japan’s industrialization and “modernization” would take off with dramatically greater speed and success later in the century than China’s. Indeed, until visiting China for the first time, it was not at all clear to many Japanese that these were even desirable routes for their country—or, at the time, it would be better to say their many domains either separately or collectively—to follow.

This essay examines three principal motivations spurring travel to China: commercial, military, and cultural. After a brief overview, it will examine travelers and their writings in each of these categories for the decade of the 1860s, compare their impressions of Shanghai, and try to assess the place of “the West” in their thinking. It will conclude with a look at one of the most intriguing travelers, Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香 (1833-1905), who came to Shanghai twice in the 1860s and many more times thereafter—and for all three reasons, often confused or overlapping in his own mind.

The Special Meaning of Travel to China

As I have argued in the past,⁴ travel to China for Japanese before the twentieth century—and, in certain quarters, probably through the Taishō period—was qualitatively different from traveling elsewhere, as it was qualitatively different from Westerners traveling in China. No educated Japanese alive in 1862, save a few shipwreck victims who acquired an education outside Japan, had ever been to China at that time, and yet visiting that large land was not like visiting a completely foreign place. It was both known and unknown—physically unknown, personally unseen, contemporarily unexperienced, but culturally it was deeply familiar terrain, or at least most Japanese so imagined. This was not simply because both countries had long used Chinese characters, as was so often claimed by Japanese and Chinese alike. It was because the basic cognitive knowledge of how the world was ordered and how one was to accommodate oneself to it derived from the same set of texts, read and reread, commented on and memorized in both countries for centuries. When Kumashiro Enchō 神代延長, an official dispatched at the end of the 1860s to Shanghai to encourage Japanese commercial ventures there, said the following as reported by his Chinese friend, Chen Qiyuan 陳其元, it was not just empty sloganeering: “My country reads Chinese books, writes Chinese characters, and practices Chinese rituals. We were originally one family.”⁵ By comparison, the knowledge of Dutch that a handful of Rangaku scholars acquired seems rice paper thin.

This familiarity meant that the cultural referents implicit in actual Sino-Japanese discourse were assumed and natural. The most obvious manifestation of this was that Chinese and Japanese in these years were immediately able to communicate, despite the lack of a common spoken tongue, through the medium of literary Chinese. There are countless poignant cases to substantiate this point, as the essay by Richard Lynn on Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905) and his Japanese acquaintances in this volume amply demonstrates, and it provided the fundament for Sino-Japanese interactions in these early years. Elite Chinese who were resident in Japan, by way of comparison, did not begin to learn to speak Japanese well until the Meiji period was in its final years—in part because of cultural snobbery, but mostly because there was no need to do so. This covers the generations from Huang Zunxian through (and including) Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929).⁶

Travel for Commercial Ends

Numerous Japanese who traveled specifically to Shanghai or whose ships called there en route elsewhere were taken with the extraordinary prosperity of commercial life

in that burgeoning city (see the opening epigraph above). They did not all like the large number of ships flying flags from around the globe, though most were thrilled by the experience of seeing them. For example, when the *Le Monge* arrived in Shanghai on February 15, 1864 en route to England and France where the leader of the thirty-four Japanese on board, Ikeda Chikugo no kami Chōhatsu 池田筑後守長發, was to carry out some negotiations, they found the proverbial “forest of masts” anchored there. Everyone in the group who left an account described a feeling of exhilaration.⁷ When the previous year, five Japanese passed through Shanghai en route to Europe, virtually to a man their *jōi* 攘夷 (expel the barbarians) views changed overnight to *kaikoku* 開國 (open the country). This was especially true for two of them, Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909) and Inoue Kaoru 井上馨 (1835-1915). Itō began to have serious doubts immediately that his hardened *jōi* ideas, formed in the hot house of Chōshū 長州 domain over the previous few years, would stand either his domain or Japan in good stead. It certainly seemed from the example of Shanghai that *kaikoku* was the policy to make Japan flourish, too. As Inoue’s biographer put it:

When he reached Shanghai, and saw from the deck of his ship the hundred or so warships, steamships, and sailing vessels in anchorage, and the busy scene of ships entering and leaving the harbor, he was completely taken aback. For the first time the Marquis [Inoue]...saw the full meaning of Sakuma Zōzan’s 佐久間象山 teachings [on the necessity of opening Japan up] and the inadequacy of simple exclusionist thought.⁸

In my earlier work, I have described in detail the first and second bakufu-sponsored group trips to Shanghai.⁹ Those vessels, the *Senzaimaru* 千歳丸 in 1862 and the *Kenjunmaru* 健順丸 in 1864, were charged by the Nagasaki Magistrate and the Hakodate Magistrate, respectively, with observing commercial conditions in Shanghai as Japan prepared to open itself up to international trade and take full part in it. While every one of the many Japanese aboard these two ships had his own personal aims in traveling to China, the stated objective of the bakufu in authorizing these trips was commercial.¹⁰ That, in part, explains why they voyaged to Shanghai and not elsewhere along the coast of the mainland. The two magistracies, particularly the one in Nagasaki, had learned from contacts with Chinese, British, Dutch, and American vessels that Shanghai was an immense commercial entrepôt and a window on the West.

Thus, one could see the West by making the three- or four-day trip to Shanghai and without going halfway around the world to Europe or crossing the Pacific Ocean to the United States. By 1862 the Western powers had been building business empires and semi-colonial enclaves—better known as concessions—for twenty years within the city of Shanghai and along the Huangpu River. By the time the Japanese arrived on the

scene, Shanghai was no longer a frontier outpost. As Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作 (1839-67), the young hothead from Chōshū domain, put it in his 1862 travelogue, “Shanghai may in fact belong to China, but one might as well call it British or French terrain.... The Chinese have become servants to the foreigners. Sovereignty may belong to China but in fact it’s no more than a colony of Great Britain and France.”¹¹

What sort of commerce did the Japanese have in mind? What did they have to sell that the Chinese might want or need? There is an amusing story that predates the first actual voyage of Japanese to Shanghai but illustrates a point to be made. On the very day that Hakodate, a port on the southern side of Hokkaidō, Japan’s northernmost island, was opened to trade with the outside world—the second day of the sixth lunar month of Ansei 6 or 1859—an American vessel, the *Moray*, and a British vessel, the *Eliza Mary*, arrived in port in the wee hours of the morning. The latter had on board a British merchant by the name of Aston and his Cantonese steward Chen Yusong 陳玉松. The two men proceeded to the shop of a local marine produce wholesaler, Yanagida Tōkichi 柳田藤吉, and Chen there asked brusquely, probably in writing: “Got any *haidai*?” Mr. Yanagida did not know what *haidai* 海帶 was, and the matter was only cleared up when a local scholar could be found who confirmed that *haidai* was what the Chinese called *konbu* 昆布, a widely consumed variety of seaweed or kelp. Yes, he had plenty and offered Chen and Aston fourteen or fifteen stalks which they brought back with them to Shanghai. The Sino-Japanese market for *konbu* would never be the same. Massive quantities of Hokkaidō *konbu* (as well as sea cucumbers and various creatures of the sea) were purchased by Chinese or other merchants for sale in China, causing the price to fall dramatically on Chinese markets. In short order, *haidai* was no longer just a luxury commodity for the elite but was being eaten by all social classes in Shanghai, even coolies.¹²

The bakufu did not allow individuals to travel abroad for business or study until 1866, although any number of Japanese had done just that over the previous three years. The pioneer Japanese enterprise in Shanghai dates to 1868, the first year of the Meiji era. It was known as the Tashiroya 田代屋, founded by Tomonari Genpei 友成源平, an adopted son of a well known Nagasaki ceramics dealer named Tashiro 田代, a surname Genpei took for himself as well. The Tashiroya sold Arita ware from Bizen 備前 domain and lacquerware to Chinese from a rented shop at the corner of Suzhou Street and Yuanmingyuan Street in the Hongkou area of the city. Hongkou was not then the thriving center that it would later become, one of the reasons the Japanese, late-comers to Shanghai, would settle there, as did sojourners from Guangdong. The Tashiroya also sold sundries for Japanese women in Shanghai, although the only Japanese women in Shanghai in 1868 were several prostitutes. Over the next year or so, the Tashiroya also

opened a Japanese-style inn or *ryokan* primarily for Japanese visitors to the city.¹³

Although the 1870s would witness the coming of many Japanese commercial concerns and branches of several major conglomerates, before 1870 the Tashiroya was the only Japanese business in Shanghai. In 1869 the young Meiji government sent a Japanese official to Shanghai to check on local conditions for prospective Japanese entrepreneurs who wanted to trade with the Chinese. This official, Shinagawa Tadamichi 品川忠道, was authorized the following year by the Gaimushō 外務省 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to establish the Kaitensha 開店社 or Office for Opening Shops. It was located next door to the Tashiroya, and several years later—after the official commencement of diplomatic relations between the two countries—it became the Japanese Mission, and Shinagawa became Japan's acting consul.¹⁴

Finally, in this vein, mention should be made of a French vessel carrying a large group of Japanese under the tutelage of Tokugawa Akitake 徳川昭武 (Minbu 民部) to the second international exposition in Paris. It departed Nagasaki in February 1867 and called first at the port of Shanghai. On board was a Shibusawa Eiichi 渋沢栄一 (1841-1931) who was then in his mid-twenties. In his account of the overall trip to Europe, *Kōsei nikki* 航西日記 (Diary of a Voyage to the West), Shibusawa mentioned the many things he observed in Shanghai—much of it related to business, as one would expect: the construction of bridges, the building of roads, and the laying of rail and telegraph lines. Indeed, the first telegraph lines in China were laid that very year.¹⁵ He also seems to have been genuinely saddened by the state to which China had descended:

The Europeans treat the natives like horses or oxen, striking them at will with sticks. Wherever we went, our passage was blocked by noisy crowds who swarmed about like ants. Now and again an English or French soldier would come along and chase them away, but back they would come like the surging tide.... China is a venerable country of renown. In size, population, richness of soil and products, it has no equal in Europe or Asia. Yet the country has been left behind by the advanced nations, for like a towering tree [vulnerable to the high winds], it considers itself superior to all other countries and is complacent and arrogant.... Clinging to outgrown policies, China becomes weaker by the day. This is truly regrettable.¹⁶

Who can say what impact this visit to Shanghai may have had in the career of Japan's most famous self-made businessman of the Meiji and Taishō eras.

It is probably not an exaggeration to say that in the *bakumatsu* era Shanghai rapidly replaced Nagasaki as the place from which Japan learned of conditions in the world at large. One group of Japanese who played an especially important role in this process were those who had been victims of shipwrecks, whose ships had drifted away

from Japanese waters and, often after years of working their way around the world, ended up in Shanghai. For reasons of time and space, they cannot figure in this essay with one exception, that of the extraordinary case of a man known only as Otokichi 音吉 (b. 1819). He, like other Japanese castaways, had sought to return to his homeland but was turned away because the infringement of the ban on overseas travel might entangle other Japanese in a situation for which only bad weather had been initially to blame. His story has been told in detail elsewhere.¹⁷

Travel for Military Ends

The period under study falls well before military conflict between China and Japan had become a serious issue. The context of travel by Japanese to Shanghai with military aims in mind refers to conflicts, or potential conflicts, back home in Japan either between domains or between certain domains and the shogunate. Shanghai provided a wealth of opportunities to purchase military hardware from European manufacturers. The city was relatively accessible, especially compared with traveling all the way to the West, and the prices were reasonable. It should be emphasized again that the individual Japanese purchasing or attempting to purchase weaponry or ships in Shanghai during the 1860s were not doing so on behalf of “Japan,” a political concept still in the making at that time. They were charged in their missions by their respective feudal domains, and all worked to hide their objectives for fear that the *bakufu* would find them out.

The first record we have of a Japanese attempting to buy a vessel in Shanghai appears in 1862 when Takasugi Shinsaku learns to his amazement and jealousy that a deck hand aboard the *Senzaimaru*, who is actually Godai Tomoatsu 五代友厚 (1835-85) in disguise, has plans to look into such a purchase on behalf of Satsuma 薩摩 domain when they arrive in the Chinese port. These ships cost tens of thousands of dollars, and one can only wonder where a deck hand would have secreted such a quantity of money en route. The most Takasugi could muster was to buy a small hand gun. When the Japanese aboard the *Kenjunmaru* arrived in 1864, they were informed, perhaps by way of warning, of a group of three Japanese—Kobayashi Rokurō 小林六郎, Nagao Jisaku 長尾治策, and Ueno Kagenori 上野景範—who had recently come to Shanghai to buy weapons and had been sent home empty-handed because such business was deemed illegal.¹⁸

Several years later at the time of the second Chōshū war in 1866, Itō Hirobumi was sent by his lord to Shanghai to buy not one but two ships for the domain. He successfully purchased one American and one British vessel which were renamed the *Daini Heiinmaru* 第二丙寅丸 and the *Manjumarū* 満珠丸 for the domainal navy. Later that

year Gotō Shōjirō 後藤象二郎 (1838-97) of Tosa domain traveled to Shanghai and bought a gunboat for his lord. A considerably less well known fact was that at roughly the same time Saga 佐賀 domain sent its ship, the *Kōshimaru* 甲子丸, to Shanghai for repairs; as it entered the port of Shanghai, it was flying the Japanese flag. Saga had bought this vessel from the British in October 1864 for the large sum of \$120,000. Similarly, Takezoe Shin'ichirō 竹添進一郎 (1842-1917), the great sinologue, diplomat, and author of a penetrating travelogue of China in 1876, made his first trip to Shanghai in 1866 aboard Kumamoto domain's vessel, the *Banrimaru* 萬里丸, to seek repairs—to avoid undue suspicions, he claimed he was shipwrecked.¹⁹

Soga Yūjun 曾我祐準 from Yanagawa 柳川 domain was on a mission of observation in Shanghai (and later to Hong Kong, Singapore, and Calcutta) in 1866, and he bumped into Itō on the streets of Shanghai. Soga had been moved, as were many Japanese of his generation, by a sense of urgency to research foreign affairs. To that end, he had traveled to Nagasaki in the early 1860s where he studied British troop training before returning home. He traveled back to Nagasaki in June 1865 with the hope of boarding a foreign vessel to take him overseas, at a time when it was still technically illegal to do so. He met with a number of foreign merchants and eventually was able to ship out on a British commercial vessel owned by Glover and Company as some sort of aide, and off he went to Shanghai. His diary recounts the meeting with Itō and Itō's mission there, as well as encounters with other Japanese.²⁰

As the above paragraphs indicate, commercial and military objectives often overlapped. Ships might be used for offensive warfare, but they might also be put to pacific use moving people or goods from place to place. A number of Westerners had become wealthy plying the Nagasaki-Shanghai and Hakodate-Shanghai routes bringing Chinese and Western goods to Japan to trade. When the Japanese finally decided to buy their own vessel to sail to Shanghai in 1862, they had no choice but to retain the British captain and crew because no Japanese were seaworthy at that point in time. Within a few short years, that situation would quickly change.

The third Japanese-owned vessel to make the trip to Shanghai—after the *Senzaimaru* and the *Kenjunmaru*—was a steamship known as the *Cosmopolite* which left Nagasaki on October 13, 1867, arriving a few days later in Shanghai. It was manned entirely by Japanese, 108 of them—a captain, 24 officers, 60 crewmen, and 23 stokers. Originally a British ship, the *Cosmopolite* had been sold in 1864 to Higo 肥後 domain. While the *Cosmopolite* was a 600-ton cargo vessel, the fourth ocean-going ship bought by Japan which came to trade in Shanghai was the 400-ton *Dolphin*. Purchased by Hizen 肥前 domain in April 1866 from the British for \$23,000, it made a number of trips to Shanghai in the waning years of the Edo period.²¹

Travel for Cultural Ends

In this context, I use “culture” and “cultural” in a broad and simple sense. It is meant to convey the intentions of those Japanese travelers who came to Shanghai to meet Chinese artists, calligraphers, and scholars, to exchange brush conversations about various artistic and philosophical matters, and to visit sites of historical significance to all educated East Asians.

The first Japanese to make the trip to Shanghai and who actually took up residence there upon his arrival in 1864 was Yasuda Rōzan 安田老山 (Mamoru 養). He was born in 1833 in Takasu 高須 domain in Mino 美濃 into a family of samurai doctors. In addition to his medical training, Yasuda acquired an early and persistent interest in calligraphy. He eventually left his hometown and settled in Iida 飯田 village in nearby Shinano 信濃 domain where he put up a shingle. His next-door neighbor was a salt warehouse owner by the name of Ihara Shigebē 伊原重兵衛, and Yasuda married his daughter Kyū (usually written きふ)—an interesting match inasmuch as they were from opposite ends of the social ladder of Edo Japan. As his practice was not proving productive, Yasuda and his wife moved to Edo and later to Nagasaki, and there he worked for a prominent Zen monk by the name of Tetsuō 鐵翁, head priest of the Shuntoku 春徳 Temple, founded in 1630 and for many generations the site at which books brought from China were inspected by the temple head for violations of the strict *bakufu* regulations on interdicted texts. He also studied calligraphy with Tetsuō until he departed for Shanghai in 1864. There he worked for and studied painting and calligraphy with one of the best known and appreciated artists of the day, Hu Gongshou 胡公壽 (Yuan 遠 1823-86).²²

At least two other students of Tetsuō's made the trip to Shanghai as well, Nagai Unpyō 長井雲坪 (from Echigo 越後 domain, posthumously to become well known) and Ishikawa Kansens 石川潤川 (from Etchū 越中). All three Japanese became friends of the landscape painter Xu Yuting 徐雨亭, who had earlier visited Nagasaki, Wang Daozhi 王道之, and Lu Wangxiang 陸王祥. In Shanghai, Yasuda became known as Wushui 吳水 (waterway of China), Nagai as Wujiang 吳江 (river of China), and Ishikawa as Wushan 吳山 (mountain of China). When he returned to Japan years later, Yasuda propagated the style of painting he had learned from Hu Gongshou. This style was especially championed in Tokyo by Okuhara Seiko 奥原晴湖 and in Kyoto by Nakanishi Kōseki 中西耕石. Underscoring his contacts with Japanese artists as well as his fame, Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-97) included a poem about Hu Gongshou in his *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌 (Miscellanies by the Ocean), one line of which reads: “A piece [from his hand] is worth a city in Japan.”²³

When he traveled through Shanghai in 1872, Okada Kōsho 岡田篁所 noted in his diary, *Kogo nikki* 滬吳日記 (Diary of Shanghai and Jiangsu), that he had met with Yasuda and that the latter was still studying with Hu Gongshou. In his jottings about the sights and sounds of Shanghai in the 1880s, the author Huang Shiquan 黃式權 (1853-1924) mentions that “Mr. Yasu[da] Rōzan from Japan...has long lived in Shanghai and produced many works. He has done ink drawings of plum trees and landscapes.”

In 1870 Yasuda returned to Japan to gather up his wife and bring her with him to share his life in Shanghai. Kyū changed her given name at this time to Ai, and she became known in her own right as a painter in Shanghai as Hongfeng Nūshi 紅楓女史 (Ms. Red Maple Tree). She died there in the summer of 1872 at the tender age of 26 *sui* (J. *sai*) and was buried to the west of the Longhua 龍華 pagoda; her remains were later removed to the Japanese cemetery which had not yet been founded at the time of her death. The stone inscription was prepared by none other than Hu Gongshou.²⁴

Although, unlike Yasuda, he never settled in Shanghai, Nagura Inata 名倉予何人 (some read it Anata; also known as Nagura Jūjirō 名倉重次郎 or Atsushi 敦) from Hamamatsu 浜松 domain first visited Shanghai earlier, altogether three times in the 1860s. Over the course of these trips, he established lasting friendships with well known Chinese scholars and painters. He first came to Shanghai in 1862, one of the 51 Japanese aboard the *Senzaimaru*.²⁵ His second trip was a brief stopover en route to Europe in 1864, while the third voyage was aboard the *Ganges* in 1867. The *Ganges* carried a total of nine Japanese to Shanghai, all of them concerned first and foremost with the pursuit of knowledge. In addition to Nagura, they were: Ōbayashi Toraji 大林虎次, Yagi Saiji 八木財次, Abe Yasutarō 安倍保太郎 (later, Abe Yasuta 安倍保太), Itō Jinshirō 伊東甚四郎, Kushibe Gozaemon 串戸五左衛門, Watanabe Shōnen 渡邊莊年, Kaburagi Tatemoto 鏑木立本, and Takahashi Inosuke 高橋伯之助 (later, Takahashi Yuichi 高橋由一).

The same day, February 15, that the *Ganges* left Yokohama, a French vessel, the *Alphée*, carrying a large Japanese delegation set sail from Yokohama as well. The group led by Tokugawa Akitake, younger brother of the shōgun, was set to attend the international exposition in Paris in an official capacity.²⁶ The two ships arrived in Shanghai at roughly the same time, and as the latter clearly bore men of higher social standing, the men of the *Ganges* who had planned to take rooms in the Astor House Hotel had perforce to spend the night elsewhere. Takahashi moved the next day to the large residence of a local businessman and art connoisseur by the name of Wang Renbo 王人伯 who supported Takahashi's painting pursuits for the several months the latter spent in Shanghai. In addition to a diary, Takahashi left a number of sketches of people and places in Shanghai at the time; he was later to become a renowned artist.

While on his 1862 trip, Nagura had made close contacts with the writer Chen Ruqin 陳汝欽 (Miansheng 勉生). On his third trip in 1867 he made friends with a broad range of *wenren* 文人: Wang Xuanfu 王亘甫 (whom he had met in 1864), Wang Weixiao 王維孝, Hou Tingzun 侯廷尊, Ping Zhai 平齋, Zhe Sheng 喆生, Zhang Xiuzhi 張秀芝, and Xu Xiqi 許錫祺 (1820-76), in addition to Wang Renbo whom he had met earlier. Of these men, Xu wrote the most about meeting with the Japanese who had come to Shanghai on the *Ganges*, including poems to Yagi and Kushibe. Xu's student, the local poet Yao Chengyan 姚承燕 (Qisun 芑孫), later composed a poem in Nagura's honor which appears in the *Siming suoji* 四溟瑣紀 (Fragmentary Writings of the Realm), a collection of writings by Shanghai-based authors. Another Chinese who frequented the Wang Renbo estate, Wang Zhen tai 王禎泰, took the entire *Ganges* group to performances of local theater on several occasions.

Mention should be made in passing of Nagura's 1864 trip to Europe that stopped in Shanghai on both legs of the journey, led by Ikeda Chikugo no kami and cited above. Nagura used the few days in Shanghai in February en route to make the acquaintances of several Chinese *wenren*, among them Wang Renbo, Hou Kang'an 侯康安, and Sun Yanfeng 孫硯峰; on the return trip in August he met with Liu Wenhui 劉文匯, Wang Weiqi 王維圻, Wang Renbo again, and Wang Xuanfu.²⁷

Nagura left Shanghai following his third trip in May of 1867. His stated aim in making this last trip was the pursuit of knowledge, but there were obvious ancillary reasons as well. His trips afforded him the opportunity to get to know China and Chinese men of letters, to exchange thoughts and poems via literary Chinese, and to introduce his Chinese hosts to Japan. These trips also gave him a chance to see the outside world through the microcosm of Shanghai.

There were several other Japanese who had taken up residence in Shanghai in the waning years of the Tokugawa regime, though their motivations for doing so remain more obscure. Yabe (or Yae) Kisaburō 八戸喜三郎 (Hiromitsu 弘光, Junshuku 順叔) had already been to London and San Francisco and was allegedly fluent in English—perhaps indicating that he was earlier a shipwreck victim—when he found himself in Hong Kong at the time that the Japanese aboard the *Ganges* arrived in Shanghai; he apparently first arrived in Shanghai in 1866. He then made his way to Shanghai to join this group on a tour led by a Chinese official as far as Suzhou, Zhenjiang, and Nanjing. The Chinese knew Yabe as Hongguang 宏光, a variant of his studio name Hiromitsu, and the very fact that he had several names and elite Chinese contacts would lead one to believe that he, too, was a man of letters. Indeed, in his *Wengyou yutan* 甕牖餘談 (Chats from the mouth of a jar), Wang Tao highly praised “Ribei Hongguang” 日本宏光 who, he claimed, had traveled widely, knew many Chinese *wenren*, and had a fine

calligraphic hand. When Wang traveled to Japan in 1879, he asked many people about Yabe, but no one knew anything about him. By contrast, Tani Kanjō 谷干城 (1837-1911), the high-ranking Tosa official, met Yabe in Shanghai in 1867 and reported in his travelogue that the man was exceedingly full of flattery and conceit.²⁸ One final Japanese scholar resident in Shanghai in these years about whom even less is known was Sone Tsunenosuke 曾根常之助 (Shōun 嘯雲). He hailed from Uwajima 宇和島, is mentioned in several contemporary accounts, and was living in the city by 1866.²⁹

Although it is clearly difficult to distinguish the various Japanese travelers to Shanghai in these years in the somewhat artificial manner that I have chosen, nonetheless several things do suggest themselves. Unlike those who went for commercial or military reasons, the cultural travelers all but completely ignored the West that was so important to the others. No Westerners had anything of substance to contribute culturally to the interactions they sought in Shanghai, and aside for a utilitarian knowledge of English acquired during peregrinations prior to his settling in Shanghai, even Yabe Kisaburō seems to have had no contacts with things Western. The West was simply not on their spiritual radar screens. By contrast, it would not be too great an exaggeration to say that men such as Itō Hirobumi and others traveled to Shanghai with little or no interest in the native population whatsoever. In the life and experiences of Kishida Ginkō in the 1860s, however, we find all three objectives combined—usually not discretely separated one from the next, but all present nonetheless.

Kishida Ginkō and His Wide Range of Activities in Shanghai

Even before he made his first trip to Shanghai, Kishida Ginkō had already lived several lives. He was highly educated in Chinese learning, came from a samurai family, had worked as a farmer and as a merchant, and knew more than a smattering of English. In his early thirties, he found himself suffering from a serious eye affliction which made it impossible for him to read. The year was 1864 and no cure seemed available. Then, his friend and well known legal scholar Mitsukuri Rinshō 箕作麟祥 (1846-97) encouraged him to visit the clinic of the missionary Dr. James C. Hepburn (1815-1911) in Yokohama. Hepburn's treatment cured him and a lasting friendship ensued.

A graduate of Princeton College and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, Hepburn thought there were simply too many doctors and too much competition among them in the United States. It was best, he believed, to move to a country with few doctors where his services would genuinely be needed. Many such lands existed at the time, as they still do, and thus Hepburn decided to select a country that not only lacked doctors but also was, in his estimation, ignorant of the Christian God. He spent five

years in the Shanghai and Xiamen areas of China, returned to the United States for a number of years, and then settled in the Yokohama area of Japan, after the opening of that port city, for most of the rest of the nineteenth century.

When Kishida met Hepburn in the mid-1860s, the doctor was beginning to prepare the first Japanese-English dictionary. Hepburn found in Kishida a man whose training in Kangaku as well as his varied past made available to him for his dictionary an extraordinary array of vocabulary registers of the Japanese language. In June of 1865 Kishida moved in with the Hepburns to work full-time on the dictionary project. When a draft was completed in the late summer of 1866, Hepburn realized that he would be unable to print his dictionary satisfactorily in Japan. At this time Japan had no moveable type, only woodblock printing. They thus set sail for Shanghai aboard the *Cadiz* on October 27, 1866. Printing of the dictionary took place at the American Presbyterian Mission Press (Hua-Mei shuguan 華美書館) then run by William Gamble. As a missionary enterprise in China, they had access to Chinese characters and the Roman alphabet in moveable type, but what about *kana*? As it turns out, they in fact had had the capacity to print *kana* since 1861, perhaps aided in this way by Kyūkichī 久吉, brother of Otokichi and another Japanese shipwreck victim resident in Shanghai, who had been involved in the world of Shanghai printing.³⁰

Shortly after their arrival in Shanghai, Hepburn and his wife became ill and returned to Japan, leaving the difficult job of overseeing and proofreading the printing of the dictionary to his Japanese assistant. Kishida worked long hours for minimal wages for the next seven or eight months, seeing this task to fruition, and in May of 1867 the printing of the *Wa-Ei gorin shūsei* 和英語林集成 (Japanese-English dictionary) finally came to an end. The story of Hepburn's dictionary is legendary, for it canonized the Hepburn romanization system which we still use in modified form today. Kishida is usually portrayed as an underfed and unhappy coolie, but a look at his diary, the *Ūsun nikki* 吳淞日記 (Wusong Diary), reveals much, much more going on.

In fact, Kishida investigated and established such extensive contacts in the world of Chinese scholarship and art that one might be led to assume that this was, in fact, the far more compelling reason for him to make the trip to China. He maintained the friendships made on this trip for the next thirty years over the course of at least a dozen more trips. He was also actively studying commercial conditions in Shanghai for a highly successful venture he would start in a few years' time. These concerns seem far more important to him from the perspective of his diary.

Before leaving for Shanghai, Kishida had made the acquaintance of Ishii Tankō 石井潭香 (d. 1870) when both were studying in Edo. Ishii had earlier studied calligraphy with a Chinese master in Nagasaki. Kishida took several examples of Tankō's cal-

igraphy with him to Shanghai to show to Chinese interlocutors. Here is an entry from his diary for the nineteenth day of the first lunar month (late February) of Keiō 3 (1867):

Ding Jiesheng 丁介生 and Sun Renpu 孫仁圃 came to visit. Renpu is a man of extraordinary etiquette. We exchanged some brush talk that day as well. Tankō had done four pieces of calligraphy [which Kishida had brought to China]. Upon seeing Tankō's characters, their faces took on a strange hue, and both Jiesheng and Renpu looked closely at the seals, twisted the paper in their fingers, and asked the nationality of the man who had drawn these characters. I replied [in *kanbun*]: "This is a mere scrap composed by my friend Han Huiyan 韓徽言 [or Kan Kigen in Japanese, Tankō's pen name] for your visual amusement." At that, Jiesheng said in English: "Japan man." When I said, "Yes," he said: "China man." I replied: "No, Japan man." Renpu wrote: "I believe Mr. Han is a friend of yours from Japan..." This was very high praise, indeed. Jiesheng seemed incapable of believing that these were all from the hand of a Japanese. Furthermore, [Tankō's] work was praised by all Chinese.³¹

Many other Chinese continued to doubt that such marvelous work could have been the product of a Japanese hand.

In addition to the many Chinese with whom he made contact in Shanghai, Kishida also met up with several of the Japanese who had arrived in 1867 aboard the *Ganges*, in particular the painter Takahashi Yuichi and Kaburagi Tatemoto, both from Saga domain, and Yagi Saiji. When they made their trip to Nanjing, he planned to joined them, but was unable to do so.³² But, it was the Chinese painters and calligraphers with whom Kishida spent much time and who were much taken with him. In a letter to his friend Kawakami Tōgai 川上冬崖, dated the fifteenth day of the first lunar month of 1867, he described the artistic scene in Shanghai, and one can clearly see his commercial inclinations rising to the surface as well.

There appear to be some great painters in Shanghai, but I've been so busy from day to day [with the dictionary project] that I haven't had a moment to meet or speak with them yet. In calligraphy, Song Xiaocheng 宋小城 and Sun Renpu are very good; in painting, Hu Gongshou, Yu Qianyun 余倩雲, Ling Ziyu 凌子與, and Chen Shimei 陳嗜梅 are said to be well known at present. I'd like to have one piece by each of them by the time I return home. As always, though, money is a serious problem. A painter by the name of Ling Susheng 凌蘇生 who paints only marsh geese is a very easy-going man. I've shown him the work of many Japanese painters, but he had reserved his praise solely for your work. He said: "Tōgai's flowers and grass are executed most subtly." I've kept the wastepaper from our brush talks, so I'll bring it home with me to show you. That'll prove

that this is neither a lie nor flattery on my part. For calligraphy I would most extol Tan Weng 潭翁 [Master Tan?]. As soon as you get this letter, please send me one or two scrolls, so I can show your paintings to Hu Gongshou and Yu Qianyun. I'll also ask them to do some painting and get them to put your name on it which I can bring back home with me. Is it okay if I do this on your behalf?³³

Without knowing more about this specific case, though, Kishida's objectives are not at all transparent.

Prior to his departure for Shanghai, Kishida had met in Edo the extraordinary figure of Hamada Hikozaō 濱田彦藏 (1837-97), better known as Joseph Heco, a shipwreck victim of 1850 whose peregrinations had taken him for the better part of a decade to California where he acquired American citizenship. Back in Japan in the early 1860s, he explained to Kishida, who was studying English with him, just what a newspaper was. Kishida had never heard of such a thing, but, extraordinarily enterprising man that he was, he was willing to go in on such a venture with Heco—who knew English well but still had the untamed Japanese of a young fisherman—and another friend, Honma Senzō 本間潛藏. The result was Japan's first newspaper, *Kaigai shinbun* 海外新聞 (Overseas news), whose inaugural issue appeared in the spring of 1864. On June 1, 1868 Heco and Kishida inaugurated another newspaper, *Yokohama shinpō moshioogusa* 横濱新報もしほ草 (Yokohama press miscellany), and later still Kishida was a staff writer for the *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun* 東京日日新聞 (Tokyo daily news), covering among other things the Japanese assault on Taiwan in 1874.³⁴

Kishida made his second trip to Shanghai in February of 1868 allegedly to purchase a steamship. The details on this roughly two-month voyage and its background remain murky at best; we still do not know who was funding such an expensive venture or why. The *Yokohama shinpō moshioogusa* for Keiō 4 (1868) /5/13 carried a note from Kishida which read as follows: "In a letter received from Shanghai, China on the tenth, we are informed that there are now 100 Japanese in Shanghai [an exaggeration]. They say someone was there buying a steamship which is coming to Japan." This cannot have been a reference to his own efforts, for he was unable to locate an appropriate vessel in Shanghai and thus no deal ever materialized.³⁵

Nonetheless, he used the opportunity of being in Shanghai to set up agencies to market the product that would make him rich in years to come. The product was a miraculous eye wash called Seikisui 精錡水 with which Dr. Hepburn had cured him several years earlier. He had only just begun producing Seikisui in August 1867, and only six months later, in February 1868, he was ready to begin selling it in China. Two shops in Shanghai, the Ruixinghao 瑞興號 and the Wanxianghao 萬祥號, agreed to be agen-

cies to sell Dr. Hepburn's treatment, and each bore the placard: "On sale here, the eye medicine Jingqishui [Seikisui], expertly produced by Mr. Kishida Ginkō of Japan."³⁶ In the newly renamed capital of Tokyo, he soon opened an apothecary shop on the Ginza to market Seikisui, and advertisements for this product appeared in such newspapers as the *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun* in the early Meiji years.³⁷

Kishida was clearly a *bakumatsu*-Meiji jack-of-all-trades. While engaged in all of his many and sundry ventures, he still managed to keep his cultural associations alive in Shanghai. In a Chinese painting reproduced in an 1897 collection, he is centrally located and clearly the senior member of the group. Among Chinese scholars he had earned the extraordinary honorific appellation, "Dongyang zhi xianke" 東洋之仙客 (the immortal of Japan). In fact, Kishida may have temporarily acquired wealth but he never saved his money or enjoyed its fruits, at least in the conventional way. Rather, he devoted himself to a variety of projects in China, such as spreading information throughout China on the evils of opium and by establishing rehabilitation clinics for drug users. Sino-Japanese friendship was apparently more important to him than personal wealth. Indeed, his business practices were ironically dubbed "Kishida no kata bōeki" 岸田の片貿易 (Kishida's one-way trade) by his contemporaries.³⁸ His influence in the creation of a number of important Japanese institutions in China aimed at Sino-Japanese amity falls outside the scope of this essay.

Conclusions

At this time, I can do little more than indicate some of the central themes that I see at work among the objectives of Japanese travelers to Shanghai in the 1860s. The 1860s was a critical decade in both countries. The Qing dynasty was, with British help, finally able to quell the greatest rebellion in its history—Kishida claimed in fact to have seen Taiping remnants in the streets of Shanghai in 1866, though that seems doubtful. In its aftermath, the government launched a massive restoration campaign to bring the country back onto its feet, and this program involved hiring Western experts in manufacturing and military science. Japan was undergoing the waning years of its last shogunate, and many of the youngbloods that became important players in the new Meiji regime from 1868 had visited Shanghai or passed through it en route elsewhere, an experience that frequently played a significant role in their understanding of Japan's new place in the world.

As noted above, Shanghai was in this decade—and for many decades thereafter—to replace Nagasaki as Japan's window onto the world. Whereas in the past one would go to Nagasaki to meet a Chinese or Dutch person, now one could go to Shanghai

to meet many Chinese and all manner of Europeans. Shanghai, though, could teach a multiplicity of sometimes contradictory lessons. Yes, it demonstrated that opening ports would lead to prosperity, but, as Takasugi Shinsaku noted during Japan's first mission to Shanghai, that prosperity did not necessarily fall to the ones who opened their own ports. Japan would have to retain firm control over the opening of its own ports. There were crowds of people, forests of ship masts, and hustle-bustle beyond the very imaginations of Japanese visitors—things one can still experience in Shanghai—but that clearly did not portend a uniformly positive future for the Chinese.

For the cultural travelers, though, Shanghai provided something it is all too easy now for us on the other side of “modernity” to ignore. From the mid-1860s, the very fact that Japanese could actually visit China meant that these men who were trained, as generations of their antecedents had been before them, in the same texts and traditions as their Chinese hosts, would be able to meet real, living, breathing Chinese men of letters. Not only had no one among them ever had that privilege; no one they had ever known could have enjoyed such an honor. On the whole the Chinese who came to Nagasaki were merchants and seaman who were for the most part illiterate. Before the Meiji government launched its breakneck Westernization plans, before China was a place to be “gotten out of” (*datsu-A* 脱亜), and before the Chinese themselves began the wholesale ravagings of their own ancient culture throughout the twentieth century, this reuniting of cultural cousins was a momentous event. And *kanbun* 漢文 provided the key link enabling discourse at many different registers to be carried on. That would all sadly be lost over the following decades, particularly as the gruesome twentieth century commenced.

NOTES

- 1 As cited in Kawashima Genjirō 川島源次郎, *Nankoku shiwa* 南國史話 (Historical Tales from Southern Lands) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1926), p. 148.
- 2 See Constantine Vaporis's fine book, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1994).
- 3 Joshua A. Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).
- 4 Fogel, *The Literature of Travel*, pp. 43-46, and elsewhere along similar lines.
- 5 Chen Qiyuan, *Yongxian zhai biji* 庸閒齋筆記 (Notes from the Retreat of Simple Leisure), *juan* 3, as cited in Yonezawa Hideo 米澤秀夫, *Shanghai shiwa* 上海史話 (Stories from Shanghai History) (Tokyo: Bōbō shobō, 1942), pp. 168-69.

- 6 On Liang's knowledge of Japanese, see Saitō Mareshi, "Liang Qichao's Consciousness of Language," paper presented at a conference on Liang Qichao and Japan, Santa Barbara, California, September 1998; and Saitō Mareshi 齋藤希史, "Kindai bungaku kannen keiseiki ni okeru Ryō Keichō" 近代文学観念形成期における梁啓超 (Liang Qichao in the formative period of the concept of modern literature), in *Kyōdō kenkyū, Ryō Keichō: Seiyō kindai shisō juyō to Meiji Nihon* 共同研究、梁啓超：西洋近代思想受容と明治日本 (Joint Research on Liang Qichao: The Reception of Modern Western Thought and Meiji Japan), ed. Hazama Naoki 狭間直樹 (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1999), pp. 296-33.
- 7 Numata Jirō 沼田次郎, "Bakumatsu no kengai shisetsu ni tsuite: Man'en gannen no ken-Bei shisetsu yori Keiō gannen no ken-Futsu shisetsu made" 幕末の遣外使節について：万延元年の遣米使節より慶応元年の遣仏使節まで (On diplomatic missions abroad in the late-Edo period, from the mission to the United States in 1860 to the mission to France in 1864), in *Seiyō kenbun shū* 西洋見聞集 (Collection of Travelogues to the West), Nihon shisō taikai series, vol. 66, ed. Numata Jirō and Matsuzawa Hiroaki 松沢弘陽 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1974), pp. 612-13; Okita Hajime 沖田一, *Nihon to Shanhai* 日本と上海 (Japan and Shanghai) (Shanghai: Tairiku shinpōsha, 1943), pp. 233-36, 242.
- 8 Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanhai*, pp. 231-33; Etō Shinkichi 衛藤藩吉, "Nihonjin no Chūgokukan: Takasugi Shinsaku ra no baai" 日本人の中国観：高杉晋作らのばあい (Japanese views of China: The case of Takasugi Shinsaku and others), in *Niida Noboru hakase tsuitō ronbunshū, daisankan: Nihon hō to Ajia* 仁井田陸博士追悼論文集、第三卷：日本法とアジア (Essays in Memory of Professor Niida Noboru, vol. 3: Japanese Law and Asia), ed. Fukushima Masao 福島正夫 (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1970), p. 57; citation from Marius Jansen, "Japan and the Chinese Revolution of 1911," in *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 11, *Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911*, ed. John K. Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 342, n. 5, with several emended spellings.
- 9 Fogel, *The Literature of Travel*, pp. 46-61. In that book I followed a source that erroneously transcribed the second character of the name *Kenjunmaru*. I have since discovered a number of new sources that confirm this reading.
- 10 These materials have most recently been studied by Liu Jianhui 劉建輝, *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no "kindai" taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Shanghai, Demon Capital: The "Modern" Experience of Japanese Intellectuals) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000).
- 11 Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作, *Yū-Shin goroku* 遊清五録 (Five Records of a Trip to China), in *Takasugi Shinsaku zenshū* 高杉晋作全集 (Collected Works of Takasugi

- Shinsaku), ed. Hori Tetsusaburō 堀哲三郎 (Tokyo: Shin jinbutsu ōraisha, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 159-60, 185.
- 12 Yonezawa Hideo 米澤秀夫 “Shanghai hōjin hatten shi (ichi)” 上海邦人發展史 (一) (A history of the development of Japanese in Shanghai, part 1), *Tō-A keizai kenkyū* 東亞經濟研究 3 (July 1938), pp. 55-56; Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, pp. 86-88. The term “*konbu*” interestingly appears in the *Hewen Han dufa* (How to Read Japanese the Chinese way), that all-important and little known text that aided Liang Qichao and others of his generation in rapidly acquiring some reading fluency in Japanese: “*kunbu* (J. *konbu* ‘kelp’): a belt-shaped vegetable from the sea.” It was probably published in the 1890s, certainly before 1899, which means that even at this point, some thirty years after the first *konbu* arrived in China, the term had not entered everyday Chinese parlance. See *Hewen Han dufa* (no publication information, copy held in the Kyoto University Library), p. 62.
- 13 Yonezawa, *Shanghai shiwa*, pp. 91-92; Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, pp. 260-62; Okita Hajime 沖田一, *Kojō shidan: Shanghai ni kansuru shiteki zuihitsu* 滬上史談：上海に關する史的隨筆 (Tales from the History of Shanghai: Historical Notes about Shanghai) (Shanghai: Tairiku shinpōsha, 1942), p. 79; Okita Hajime 沖田一, “Shanghai shiwa” 上海史話 (Historical tales of Shanghai), *Shanghai kenkyū* 上海研究 1 (February 1942), p. 61.
- 14 Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, pp. 262-67.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 189-90; Okita Hajime, *Kojō shidan*, pp. 30-31.
- 16 See *The Autobiography of Shibusawa Eiichi: From Peasant to Entrepreneur*, transl. Teruko Craig (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1994), p. 154.
- 17 Haruna Akira 春名徹, *Nippon Otokichi hyōryūki* 日本音吉漂流記 (An Account of the Castaway Otokichi of Japan) (Tokyo: Shōbunsha, 1979) is the fullest account of his life and a wonderful read. See also the painstaking research of Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, pp. 43-70. Most recently, Liu Jianhui has added an interesting interpretation to the literature in his *Mato Shanghai*, pp. 128-37.
- 18 Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, p. 155.
- 19 Okita Hajime, *Kojō shidan*, pp. 31-33; Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, p. 156; Yonezawa Hideo, “Shanghai hōjin hatten shi (ichi),” *Tō-A keizai kenkyū* 3 (July 1938), p. 58.
- 20 As cited in Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, pp. 249-50.
- 21 M. Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868* (Kobe, 1930; New York reprint: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1968), p. 223; Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, pp. 228-30.
- 22 Hu Gongshou hailed from Jiangsu province and was renowned in his day as a poet,

- calligrapher, and artist. He came to Shanghai in 1861, where he earned his living by selling his own art work, to avoid the Taipings and there established contacts with such painters as Hu Bishan 胡鼻山, Li Renshu 李壬叔, and Xugu 虛谷 (1823-96). Shanghai was then becoming a refuge point for many from the long civil war, and among them a number of the painters, such as Hu, forged a new “Shanghai style.” Hu gained great fame in his day, acquiring even Japanese students of the Nanga School of painting, among his disciples. See Tsuruta Takeyoshi 鶴田武良, *Kindai Chūgoku kaiga* 近代中国絵画 (Modern Chinese Painting) (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1974), p. 25.
- 23 (Taipei reprint: Guangwen, 1969), cited in Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire 1796-1911* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), p. 126. In a recent study, Jonathan Hay also offers some fascinating tidbits of the Shanghai-Japan ties in the world of painting (and book exchange). See his “Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai,” in *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, ed. Ju-hsi Chou (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 166-68, 187.
- 24 Okita Hajime, “Shanghai shiwa,” *Shanghai kenkyū* 1 (February 1942), pp. 63-64; Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, pp. 252-53; Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* 淞南夢影錄 (Account of Dream Images from Shanghai), reprinted in *Shanghai tan yu Shanghai ren* 上海灘與上海人 (The Shanghai Bund and Shanghai People) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), p. 102; Okita Hajime, *Kojō shidan*, pp. 76, 102-03; Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, pp. 90-91, 159; Yonezawa Hideo, “Shanghai hōjin hatten shi (ichi),” *Tō-A keizai kenkyū* 3 (July 1938), p. 58. In the Japanese cemetery, Kyū's gravestone carried the following inscriptions on front: “Grave of Hongfeng Nūshi from Japan, inscribed by Hu Gongshou from Huating.” The back reads: “Hongfeng Nūshi of Japan was surnamed Ihara 伊原, had the given name Ai 愛, and was also known as Teisha 停車. She was the wife of Yasuda Rōzan (Mamoru). She painted orchids and bamboo beautifully. She had a fine hand for calligraphy and was a lovely woman. She met Rōzan in Tongzhi 9 [1870] and came to live with him in Shanghai. She died on the 23rd day of the seventh lunar month of Tongzhi 11 [1872]. She was 26 [*sui*]. Rōzan brought the coffin and she was buried on the western side of the Longhua Temple. This was written when the stone went up.” Cited in Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, pp. 166-67. They had actually met and married prior to 1870, as noted earlier. Information on the Shuntoku temple from Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, *Edo jidai no Nit-Chū hiwa* 江戸時代の日中秘話 (Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period) (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1980), pp. 46-47.
- 25 He wrote two accounts from this voyage. Nagura Inata, “Shina kenbun roku” 支那

見聞録 (Travel observations of China), reprinted in Tanaka Masatoshi 田中正俊, “Nagura Inata ‘(Bunkyū ninen) Shina kenbun roku’ ni tsuite” 名倉予何人「(文久二年) 支那見聞録」について (On Nagura Inata’s [1862] travel observations of China), in *Yamamoto hakase kanreki kinen Tōyō shi ronsō* 山本博士還暦記念東洋史論叢 (Essays in Asian History, Commemorating the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Yamamoto [Tatsurō]), ed. Yamamoto hakase kanreki kinen Tōyō shi ronsō hensan iinkai (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1972), pp. 291-304; and Nagura, “Kaigai nichiroku” 海外日録 (Daily account overseas), in Tazaki Tetsurō 田崎哲郎, “Shiryō shōkai: Nagura Inata ‘Kaigai nichiroku,’ Bunkyū ninen Senzaimaru kankei shiryō” 資料紹介：名倉予何人「海外日録」文久二年千才丸関係資料 (Introduction of sources: Nagura Inata’s “Daily account overseas,” a document concerning the *Senzaimaru* of 1862), *Aichi daigaku kokusai mondai kenkyūjo kiyō* 愛知大学国際問題研究所紀要 (December 1986), pp. 91-118.

- 26 There are mentions made of this trip, though not of the stopover in Shanghai, in W. G. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travellers in America and Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 114-17; and Masao Miyoshi, *As We Saw Them: The First Japanese Embassy to the United States (1860)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 175.
- 27 Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, pp. 157, 158; Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, pp. 185-90, 207-14, 233-36, 242, 248-49; Okita Hajime, *Kojō shidan*, p. 103.
- 28 Okita Hajime, *Kojō shidan*, pp. 30-31; Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, pp. 159-60, 164; the citation from Wang Tao, *Wengyou yutan*, *juan* 2, can be found in Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, p. 195-96, 198.
- 29 Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, pp. 159-60; Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, p. 203.
- 30 Sugiura Tadashi 杉浦正, *Kishida Ginkō, shiryō kara mita sono isshō* 岸田吟香、資料から見たその一生 (Kishida Ginkō: A Life Seen through Documents) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1996), pp. 148-9, 151-52, 155, 156-57; Okita Hajime, *Kojō shidan*, pp. 24-25; Yonezawa Hideo, *Shanghai shiwa*, pp. 97-98; Yonezawa Hideo, “Shanghai hōjin hatten shi (ichi),” *Tō-A keizai kenkyū* 3 (July 1938), p. 61; Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, pp. 71-72; *The Mission Press in China, being a Jubilee Retrospect of the American Presbyterian Mission Press* (Shanghai, 1895). *Shanghai jinbutsu shi* 上海人物志 (Accounts of Shanghai People), ed. Nihon Shanghai shi kenkyūkai 日本上海史研究会 (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1997), p. 82, gives “September 10, 1866” as the dated of their departure from Yokohama, but I think this is an error for the tenth day of the ninth month according to the lunar calendar.
- 31 Cited in Sugiura Tadashi, *Kishida Ginkō*, pp. 143-45.

- 32 Sugiura Tadashi, *Kishida Ginkō*, p. 160; Okita Hajime, *Kojō shidan*, p. 29.
- 33 Cited in Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanhai*, pp. 206-07.
- 34 Sugiura Tadashi, *Kishida Ginkō*, p. 165; James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 30-31, 37-38, 95.
- 35 Sugiura Tadashi, *Kishida Ginkō*, p. 260; Yonezawa Hideo, “Shanhai hōjin hatten shi (ichi),” *Tō-A keizai kenkyū* 3 (July 1938), p. 62; *Moshiogusa* article cited in Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanhai*, p. 257.
- 36 In Chinese: “Dongyang Antian Yinxiang xiansheng jianzhi yanyao Jingqishui jimai” 東洋岸田吟香先生鑿製眼藥精錡水寄賣. See Sugiura Tadashi, *Kishida Ginkō*, pp. 260-62.
- 37 See the advertisement reproduced in Yamamoto Taketoshi 山本武利, *Kōkoku no shakai shi* 広告の社会史 (A Social History of Advertising) (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppanyoku, 1984), p. 11.
- 38 *Dianshi zhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (1897), *erji* 二集 (Guangdong reprint: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1983) with special thanks to Meng Yue 孟悅 for not only bringing this to my attention but copying and sending it to me; *Shanhai jinbutsu shi*, pp. 84-85.