Aug. 12 1910

Japanese Affairs

My dear Mr. Robertson:—

I have just learned that the University of Chicago has authorized her team to go to Japan and to play the base ball with Japanese native team. I am exceeding glad to hear this, for I know what good the juniors of Washington and Wisconsin Universities made for the towards not only good understanding of the two universities in the both continents, but also of the two nations as general.

Mr. Kasai has been telling me for a long time how much his friends Mr. Shibata, who accompanied the Wisconsin team, and Mr. Susugi who accompanied the Washington team have done for introducing these universities ~~and~~ to Japanese students in Japan so that ~~they~~ the students over there could learn real student life in these universities. I have been wishing for a considerable time that Chicago would do the same thing. We have such a great institution here which we are so proud of, but very few Japanese students

know American Colleges besides Yale and Harvard. In spite of the facts that we have more than a dozen Japanese Ph.D, and Am from Chicago, the real "Chicago" ~~we~~ is not known to our Countrymen, only due to a single fact that none of the Japanese ever went back who had enjoyed the undergraduate life in here Chicago, the life we are most proud of and the life that we can never forget. And I believe this is a grand opportunity that we should put our best effort to introduce our beloved university to Japanese young men, and to public in general.

We Japanese "Chicago Students", feel responsible for any recognition of our Alma Mater in our ~~co~~ native land, and are very anxious to let them know that Chicagoans who will fill the seat beside the Eastern colleges with the best standings.

I hope whoever a Japanese student you are going to take with you, he will be the one who is royal Chicagoan and know real Chicago Undergradual life to take various traditions which characterize our Alma Mater.

If it were the case where we could suggest any name, I would like so much to have nominated a man like Mr. G. J. Kasai,

who is such an ardent Chicagoan, and whose friends (both personal) scored such successes with Wisconsin and Washington teams. And I believe he, too like his friends, can make Chicago team feel comfortable during the trip. I am writing this letter at the moment of my receipt of this good news and hoping that we could get the best out of this for making "Chicago" known to Japan, and for giving "Chicagoan" the best time in Japan. As I have sweet memory of several occasions when you took great interest in the Japanese affairs in Chicago, I thought I ask you to take a particular pain in choosing Japanese student to take with, for I realize this again and again as a great opportunity for introducing

the real ~~modern~~ letters of the the most modern University of the world to Japan; and to choose any person who would help for the cause of this relation is rather important matter for the Japanese Chicago alumni.

Believing you would do your best to the Cause of "Chicago Spirit", and ~~B~~ apologizing you for my bad writing and stationary and various Mistakes which I may be unconscious of.

I am your sincere student,

Shiro Tashiro

W. B. L.
Woods Hole,
Mass.

Keichi Yamasaki

Consul of Japan

Chicago

THE WORLD'S WORK
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY-PUBLISHERS
133-137 EAST SIXTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK

WALTER H. PAGE, EDITOR

7

May 10, 1910.

Dear Dr. Judson:

Mr. K. Yamasaki, who has for some time been Vice Consul-General of Japan in New York, now goes as Consul to Chicago for his Government, and I take great pleasure in giving him this note of introduction to you; for you will find Mr. Yamasaki a well-informed and most interesting gentleman. In the important Japanese colony here, as well as in the general life of the town, Mr. Yamasaki has played an important and interesting part during the years of his residence in New York. I bespeak for him your friendly consideration, and I am,

Most heartily yours,

Walter H. Page

Dr. Harry P. Judson, President,
The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

Takahashi, Katashi
Student

7

The University of Chicago

July 31, 1906

President Harry Pratt Judson:

Dear President:—

Prof. Whitman has shown me your note to him dated June 27th, 1906, before he has gone to Woodsholl. Since then I haven't heard from him about the matter of my appointment. I am very sorry to trouble you so many times, yet if I may ask you, could you write me whether you get a fund to Zoology Department for me from the Anatomy or not? If you kindly could arrange for me to move toward Zoology as an assistant, it would be my great pleasure. My work leads me great deal to Zoology and I feel the need of morphological training in Zoology very much.

I want to know definitely about this matter before long, if I may: for I have to make my plan for next year.

Hoping to recieve your answer,

Very truely yours,

Katashi Takahashi.

Japanese Affairs + Students

December 28,1904

Mr.T.Iyenaga,
Hotel St.George,
Brooklyn Heights,New York.

(3)

My dear Sir:-

We have studied very carefully your letter of December 25th. There are many reasons why we should like exceedingly to comply with the suggestion which it contains, namely in reference to commissioning you to visit Japan and the East for three months. I am afraid that this would involve us in difficulties, however, even larger than the other proposition. After fully canvassing the proposition and going over it with the Committee, I am compelled to say that they do not favor the proposition, and consequently I am not able to indicate my approval of it. I sincerely hope that in spite of this fact you will consent to accept the last proposition made.

Yours very truly,

Brooklyn Heights, New York.

My dear Sir:

We have studied very carefully your letter of December 25th. There are many reasons why we should like exceedingly to comply with the suggestion which it contains, namely in reference to commencing you to visit Japan and the East for three months. I am afraid that this would involve us in difficulties, however, even larger than the other proposition. After fully canvassing the proposition and going over it with the Committee, I am compelled to say that they do not favor the proposition, and consequently I am not able to indicate my approval of it. I sincerely hope that in spite of this fact you will consent to accept the last proposition made.

Yours very truly,

C O P Y.

December 25th, 1904.

President W. R. Harper,

University of Chicago,

Chicago, Ill.

(3)

My dear President Harper:-

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your favour of December 23rd, with the letter of Mr. Payne enclosed.

Permit me to express my most sincere thanks for the kindness you are pleased to treat me. I fully appreciate the strength of Mr. Payne's statement that in deference to a number of able men of long connection with the University, you are not prepared to accord me a more generous treatment financially than ~~are~~ accorded to them. I can now understand the difficulty the University has to meet, though the argument of Mr. Payne will loose much of its force when the period of my engagement is considered.

However, fully appreciating the great honor you have been pleased to confer on me, I shall resist the temptation of accepting the more immediate and larger pecuniary inducement I have on hand, and shall be most happy to accept the second proposition recommended by Mr. Payne, namely, that between October 1st and June 23rd of each year the University shall have exclusive control of my time, with the annual salary of $3000.00. I beg, however, to attach to this acceptance the following reservation, to wit: That the University will commission me this year, or the next, to visit for the period of three months or so, Japan, Corea, and Manchuria in order to study the recent conditions therein, the University defraying the traveling expenses amounting to $666.00, payable at any time the University sees fit during the period of

As Mr. Payne has suggested, such a visit will add a great deal- at least in the eyes of the Amerieaan public- to the worth of my lectures. And it is, I believe, to the interest of the University, which secures my services, to do so.

The above sum is not sufficient to cover the expenses of the proposed travel. Moreover, I shall have to forego the receipt of such income as I may derive from my extra work during the said period, which is not small. But I shall be ready to sacrifice this and further to cover myself the expense that will exceed the above stated sum paid by the University.

If the University is disposed to send me to the Far East <u>this year</u>, the Spring engagements have to be cancelled, and I have to ask the permission of the Bureau with which I have made the Summer lecture contract, to limit my time to the latter part of July and to August.

I hope the University will see the wisdom of such an undertaking, and accord me the honor of the above commission. Paying the expenses to the amount of $666.00 by the University will not be exposed to the objection Mr. Payne has raised, which I have already quoted. For, it is the special commission and is undertaken for the interest of the University.

If the University will decide to do so it will have to communicate to me the matter as soon as possible, for I have to negotiate it with the aforesaid Bureau, before it is too late. I cannot be sure whether I can now succeed to persuade the Bureau, but I will try.

I hope the President will be good enough to grant this proposition which will go to enhance the value of my lectures before the people's eyes. And I trust the University will be properly compensated financially by the larger receipt of the income from my lectures so that the traveling expenses will not at all be wasted to the University.

Begging your kind consideration of the matter, and thanking once more for your goodness,

I am, Sir, Yours very respectfully
(Signed) T. Iyenaga.

I have written to Mr. Goodspeed, Judson, and MacLean in regard to the case. W.R.H.

November 19,1904

Mr.K.Takahasi,

175 Ocean Avenue,

Atlantic City, N.J.

My dear Sir:

President Harper desires me to express his warm interest in your letter of the 14th inst. He appreciates the situation and extends his sympathy. Furthermore, although he is unable to say anything more definite at the present time, he has directed me to see whether we can not find here some more congenial employment for you. If I am successful, I shall be happy to communicate with you further.

Yours very truly,

F. W. Shepardson
Secretary to the President

Dr. Harper

our arrangement.

As Mr. Payne has suggested, such a visit will add a great deal-
at least in the eyes of the American public- to the worth of my lectures.
And it is, I believe, to the interest of the University, which requires
my services, to do so.

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proposed travel. Moreover, I shall have to forego the receipt of such
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year, the foreing expenses have to be compelled, and I have to ask the
permission of the Bureau with which I have made the Summer lecture con-
tract, to limit my time to the latter part of July and to August.

I hope the University will see the wisdom of such an under-
taking, and accord me the honor of the above commission. Paying the
expenses to the amount of $800.00 by the University will not be exposed
to the objection Mr. Payne has raised, which I have already quoted. For,
it is the special commission and is undertaken for the interest of
the University.

If the University will decide to do so it will have to communi-
cate to me the matter as soon as possible, for I have to negotiate it
with the aforesaid Bureau, before it is too late. I cannot be sure whether
I can now succeed to persuade the Bureau, but I will try.

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eyes. And I trust the University will be properly compensated financially
by the larger receipt of the income from my lectures so that the travel-
ing expenses will not at all be wasted to the University.

Hoping your kind consideration of the matter, and thanking
once more for your goodness,

I am, Sir, Yours very respectfully
(Signed) T. Iyenaga.

Share written to the Boardwalk, Fisher, and Ocean Pier in regard to the see. W.C.

November 15, 1904

Mr. K. Takahasi,

175 Ocean Avenue,

Atlantic City, N.J.

My dear Sir:

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Yours very truly,

F. W. Shepardson
Secretary to the President

Japanese

See enclosure Mr Chandler

✓ November 21. 1904.

Dear Sir.

I have duly received your kind letter, for which I present my Best thanks, again offering my Warmest expression of gratitude to your kindness, and in the hope that, A man should never fail to attain his goal if he pursues his own way with faith and sense of honour, some day in future I shall succeed in my task and spread my glaring renown on whole the World which I deem it is the Best way of answering your generosity confered on me,

Your Very obedient humble Servant.

K. Takahashi

175. Ocean ave

President Harper Sir/ one can discern my mind, Atlantic City

N.J.

P.S. It is no easy task to detect the right end of the straight path to success

only thing I shall be now allowed to state to you is that my stay here is not a mere dependence upon a vain hope, But on a decided Will to become a great tradaman on the world.

Japanese Affairs

THE PERRY MONUMENT.

Forty-eight years ago, on the 8th of July in the 6th year of Kayei, an American envoy arrived in Japan, on a mission which was destined to become an epoch-making event in the history of Japan. This envoy was none other than Commodore Perry, U.S.N. who, by order of the President of the North American Republic, came to this country for the purpose of concluding a treaty of commerce and friendly intercourse between the two nations. On the 14th of the month above mentioned, the envoy landed at Kurihama, Miura-gori, in the province of Sagami, and there held conferences repeatedly with the officials of the Tokugawa Regency. The object of his mission successfully accomplished, the Commodore sailed home shortly after.

This visit of Commodore Perry was in a word the turning of the key which opened the doors of the Japanese Empire to friendly intercourse with the United States, and subsequently to the rest of the nations of Europe on similar terms, and may in truth be regarded as the most memorable event in our annals,—an event which paved the way for and accelerated the introduction of a new order of things, an event that enabled the country to enter upon the unprecendented era of national ascendency in which we are now living. There is a reason then—a strong reason—that this visit of Commodore Perry, no less than the spot where those memorable conferences took place should be perpetuated in the memory of the Japanese people.

True Japan has not forgotten—nor will she ever forget—that next to her reigning and most beloved Sovereign whose high virtues and great wisdom are above all praise, she owes, in no small degree, her present prosperity to the United States of America, in that the latter rendered her the great and lasting service, already referred to. After the lapse of these 48 years her people have, however, come to entertain but an uncertain memory of Kurihama, and yet it was there that Commodore Perry first trod on the soil of Japan and for the first time awoke the country from a slumberous seclusion of three centuries—there it was where first gleamed the light that has ever since, illumined Japan's way in her new career of progress. Even writers seldom mention the place now and the spot where the American envoy landed and which should forever be remembered in our history threatens to be forgotten altogether.

Last fall we had the pleasure of meeting Rear-Admiral Beardslee, U.S.N., who as a naval cadet and a member of the crew under Commodore Perry, landed at Kurihama on the historical occasion and who after these 48 years once more came back to pay a visit to this country. Beckoned by the memories of the past the Admiral went to Kurihama immediately after his arrival in Japan but he was only able to ascertain the spot where the envoy and his party had landed half a century ago, by the help of an old survivor of those by-gone days. We were greatly moved by his account of his second visit to Kurihama and we immediately set on foot a movement to erect a fitting monument which may perpetuate the place in question in the memory of our posterity. We have since made such progress with this movement that a site for the monument has already been selected. It is our determination to accomplish the end in view with all possible promptitude and to hold the ceremony of unveiling the monument on the coming anniversary of the landing of the American envoy at Kurihama, the 14th of July this year. We hope that those who are interested in the matter will favour us by endorsing our undertaking in a substantial manner.

BARON KENTARO KANEKO,
President, Bei-yu Kyo-kai,
(American Association of Japan).

Tokyo, January, 1901.

P.S.—Subscriptions should be send to the office of Bei-yu Kyo-kai, 12 Yamashiro-cho. Kyobashi-ku, Tokyo. Subscription list will be closed on the 30th ~~April~~ May, 1901.

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(10)

Japanese Students

Answered NOV 18 1904
Henry P. Chandler,
Secretary to the President.

November, 14. 1904.

Dear Sir.

Since I hear your very eminent name for a time, I venture to present this letter to you, although with a very much reserve and after much hesitation considering that this sort of application is not in accordance with the Japanese Manners and with your Benevolent permission I shall be glad to detail the reason of my writing this letter. I am a young Japanese student, from Japan, coming to America to acquire the scientific knowledge that is as yet very difficult to obtain at home, unfortunately, however, my father recently failed in his Business and under extreme a hardship on the way I was enabled to come over to this City, where hitherto I have been earning my scanty life By vending some Japanese Art objects which a few persons were kind enough to lend me, with the intention of thereby saving the means for advancing my studies in a long run. Nevertheless, as the institutional features of Atlantic City do not harmonize with me at all, it is very evident that such an insignificant employment in such an unfit place, can not Bestow on me any signs of hope that I can thus attain the object of my

aim; also to pass the time so invaluable to my youthful activity in such a condition is great a matter of pity; in my present state of life there being not a thread of knowing when I may go Back Asia attired in the glory of success, so grievously, disappointed, I am holding an earnest desire to move myself to your place, which I know well suits our people's characteristics, to decidedly promote myself as a Merchant Man; Begining myself in any situation and even as Valet or sweeper under your patronage. very impolite and very importune as it is to solicit your sincere attention to this sort of entreaty, yet in the very earnest and longing expectation of your sympathetic response to my request,

I have the honour of remaining
your very obedient humble servant.

K. Takahashi
175. Ocean Ave.
Atlantic City
N. J.
U. S. A.

Prof. Harper.

The Imperial Japanese Commission

Japanese Pavilion, World's Fair Grounds

Telephone Nos.
Office, Bell . . 38
Residence, Forest, 880

St. Louis, Sept. 29th, 1904

Hon. William R. Harper,

President, Chicago University,

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:-

Allow me to thank you most heartily for your presence in the insignificant affair in the West Pavilion the other evening.

In regard to the Japanese art collection in your city, which has been embodied in your conversation that evening, I have given due consideration. Concurring with you in that the Japanese Government at present is in no favorable position to undertake any step toward the line of your suggestion, may I venture to suggest that there are quite a number of masterpieces of arts placed on exhibition in the Palace of Fine Arts of this World's Fair, and that I will do all I can in securing those masterpieces of arts at lowest price possible by consulting with their exhibitors, if the proposition of establishing a museum in such a manner meet your approval?

For your reference, I am sending you, under separate cover by express, a copy of "The Official Catalogue of Japanese Exhibits" and another of "Illustrated Catalogue of the Fine Arts Exhibits." By consulting the marked portions of those books, you will get a fair view of the specimen of arts I have refered to.

Respectfully yours,

S Tejima

Commissioner-General for Japan.

Japanese Affairs

October 4th, 1904.

Mr. S. Tyime,

Commissioner-General for Japan,

St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Sir:-

I have your letter of Sept.29th. I am very much obliged to you for the full statement which it makes concerning the Japanese art collection. Permit me to say that I had something in mind larger than an art collection. My thought is that there should be in Chicago, as the central city of the United States, an exhibit which would represent everything relating to Japanese life and thought- a national museum; and I am hoping that in time the Japanese government will see its way to co-operate in something of this kind. Meanwhile, I thank you for your kind letter and the information which it contains.

Yours very truly,

Octobr- 4th, 1904.

Mr. S. Tyime,

Commissioner-General for Japan,

St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Sir:-

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Yours very truly,

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST

A Course of Illustrated Lectures
by

ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST

A Course of Illustrated Lectures by ***ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA***

1. Japanese Life and Scenery as the Background of Japanese Culture. *Lantern*
2. The First Period of Japanese Art: Derivation from Assyrian, Greek, Indian, Chinese, and Korean Art. Religious Sculpture. *Lantern*
3. The Second Period of Japanese Art: Derivation from Chinese Art of the Tang Dynasty. Religious Painting. *Lantern*
4. The Third Period of Japanese Art: Rise of the Feudal System. Historical Painting and Portrait Sculpture. *Lantern*
5. The Fourth Period of Japanese Art: Derivation from Chinese Art of the Sung Dynasty. Poetic Idealization of Nature. *Lantern*
6. The Fifth Period of Japanese Art: Rise of the Industrial Classes. Impressionism, Realism, and Genre. *Lantern*
7. The Natural Poetry of Language, illustrated by the Chinese written character. *Lantern or Blackboard*
8. The Landscape Motive in Mediæval Chinese Poetry and Painting. *Lantern and Translations*
9. The Early Poetic Drama of the Japanese. *Lantern and Translations*
10. Chinese and Japanese Buddhism in Art and Life. *Lantern*
11. The Structural Basis of Art. *Lantern*
12. Summary of the History of European Art. *Lantern*
13. European and Asiatic Art Face to Face: First Part. *Two Lanterns*
14. European and Asiatic Art Face to Face: Second Part. *Two Lanterns*
15. Principles of Line Construction, with Application to Educational Problems: Elementary. *Two Lanterns*
16. Principles of Line Construction, with Application to Educational Problems: Advanced. *Two Lanterns*
17. Principles of Dark-and-Light Construction, with Application to Educational Problems: Elementary. *Two Lanterns*
18. Principles of Dark-and-Light Construction, with Application to Educational Problems: Advanced. *Two Lanterns*
19. Principles of Color Construction, with Application to Educational Problems. *Projectoscope*
20. Contribution of the Far-Oriental Mind to World Culture. *No Lantern*
21. America's Responsibility in the Far East. *No Lantern*
22. The Christianization of Asia. *No Lantern*
23. The Influence of the Far-Orient upon English Literature. *No Lantern*
24. The Social Value and Spiritual Meaning of Art. *No Lantern*

944 East-57th St.
Chicago. Aug-15th-1904.

Reference

President Harper-
The University of Chicago-

My Dear Dr. Harper-

The matter I wished to speak to you about is a course of lectures arranged by Mr. Fenollosa representing the results of his artistic research in the East, and the comparative study of Art of all periods. If there

the lectures.

The course Mr. Fendlosa gave this Summer has aroused a very enthusiastic interest. It seems as if Mr. Fendlosa had discovered the principles of artistic development - and may be able to inspire and stimulate both the creative and appreciate faculties which are so dulled and hamstrung in even the most-cultivated and promising American minds.

Mr. Fendlosa desires to give the course under the auspices of a University - on account - of its educational purpose - and its application to modern educational methods. I expect to leave the city at the end of this week - and am hoping to have some encouragement or assurance from you that this may be arranged - that I may pass on to others who are willing and eager to assist in making it possible -

Very truly yours -
Eva Watson Schütze -

is any way that the course may be given out by the University - preferably in the late Fall; I can assure you of a sufficiently large support - and interest to justify it. So many people are interested, and anxious for the opportunity to hear the series, that sufficient subscriptions can be brought in to insure the payment of the lecturer's fees, if the University can provide the place to give

The University of Chicago

113

7—

Japanese Student

5488 Ellis av., Chicago,
Sept. 18, '01.

Wm. R. Harper Esq.,
My dear President,

I duly received your kind letter dated Aug. 31st in answer to my request made last month. I am so thankful that you have taken trouble to see to the matter and arrange the work for me, which I am always willing to take. I am however, obliged to make a further request, not knowing to go for it to any other person than you. You could hardly imagine me in my straitened circumstances, but I am now left almost without any fund for the coming school year. I hate to disclose such things but have done so thinking it better to be frank with you than not. And so if some proper arrangement is not made for it I can not well take up the new quarter's work. My request for this is that some extra work will be assigned me, that will bring $5 or so per week. There are two works that I think of just now. (1) I can operate on a typewriter. You must have good deal of manuscript for university magazines or others to be typewritten, part of which work I desire you to let me do for 15 cent per sheet. I shall then work on it two hours every morning including Saturdays. (2) I shall be glad to be made a librarian (English Library) for the last two hours every day and whole Saturday afternoon.

I don't know what kind of work you give me in lieu of tuition fee but if this & that which I now ask can cover the above

his kinds, I shall be very glad. This may be quite hard on me but I feel much happier if for that I can devote myself to my study without any worry about the expenses. I feel sometimes I had better go home if I cannot continue my studies in some way. But believing that there is some possibility which our Father always provides for His honest children, I apply this to you.

Hoping you will consider favorably of my request,

I am,

Your obedient student,

Sakae Shioya.

September 24, 1901

Mr. Sakae Shivya,

5488 Ellis Avenue,

Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Sir:-

I have your letter of the seventeenth. I regret that it would not be possible to provide the work which would bring you in the extra five dollars per week. It is possible that Mr. McLean, who has charge of the Employment Bureau could find some work which would help you. The University has nothing in the way of typewriting or in library work, which it couldarrange with you for. Will you not take this letter to Mr. McLean and see at once what he can do in the matter.

Very truly yours,

September 24, 1901

Mr. Sakae Shiya,

5488 Hills Avenue,

Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Sir:-

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Very truly yours,

, August 31,1901.

Mr.Sakae Shioya,

5488 Ellis avenue, Chicago,Illinois.

My Dear Sir:-

I think we can arrange for you to take the work during the next three quarters. If you will present this letter to my Secretary during the last week of September, he will give you a voucher for the Autumn Quarter. I am glad to know that you have been so successful.

Yours very truly,

August 31,1901.

Mr.Sakae Shioya,

5458 Mills avenue, Chicago,Illinois.

My Dear Sir:-

I think we can arrange for you to take the work during the next three quarters. If you will present this letter to my Secretary during the last week of September, he will give you a voucher for the Autumn Quarter. I am glad to know that you have been so successful.

Yours very truly,

This is so good that you cannot refuse, but I should think you would be ready to cry quits! W.R.H.

The University of Chicago

June 27. 1900.

President William R. Harper.

Dear Sir:—

I think you had recived my letter which I wrote few days ago as you were starting here to Europe. But on that time I could not get your answer. So I thought you were very busy and had not time to settle my request. I believe that you understand enough my actual situation by that letter, but please let me write again about that matter.

From one month ago I took Typhod fever. I was very bad, so send out to Hospital. But by the getting better I came back school

day before yesterday. This was a great misfortune and it is a strong blow in present situation. I lost my health utterly now, so Dr Small advised me to take rest a while without study if it possible and I hope so for reconstruction of my healthagain. But as you know, it is my situation of bare struggle for Existence in here. By the struggle for bread and butter, it is impossible to take rest, because it was main cause of my sickness. I think, you will say that it is not time to consume energy excessively now, but Future plane is point to centralize whole energy. Well, it is not wise policy to spend life in here by negative way. Negation of life is a process into darkness.

So this misfortune of my health gave me more strong conclution to go back to Home country and to take actual and positive life with whole interest.

But as I wrote before and as you know, poverty is my partner as it was at past. It is hardest thing to realize my plane to go Home and to publish my work as a first step to appear into nation. Only refuge is your philanthrophic hand. I presume that I can repay in two years, or it is sure in five years.

Necessary expenses will want $250.00; but I said that, if I get $50.00 it will help great. So I request you $300.00 as I did before. By this your deep sympathy I will be a man of positive life, and whole my genious will be realize

in history. I have strong self-confidence of my great future mission to the mankind, and I must fulfill some of it. I hope that I may be a great figure of East some days after by your help.

I like to see you about this matter by whole heart, but I am not yet strong enough to see you. Now I lost my usual job, so question of bare struggle for existence is at face. How I must I go; for bread and for Home? This letter is only hope in my actual situation. I believe you shall help me very gladly in positive way. Trusting your sympathetic hand,

yours respectfully

J. Izoe.

97, N. D. Hall.

Japan

Japanese Students

6

Ch. D. K. May 18. 1899.

President W. R. Harper.

Dear Sir:-

I think it is short way to write than meet with you in busy hour concerning this my request.

Since I came here, many your students asked to me that "did you ask to President Harper to begin a new course of Japanese language in this institution?"

I have heard also that, some schools in France and Germany, is already spend to study of our language.

That is the necessary circumstance of harmony between the Eastern and the Western civilization. I suppose that, 20th century, is the contact, struggle, and harmony of two current of civilization of the world; East and West; yellow & white, monarchy and Democracy, and Pantheism and Monotheism.

Universities of America and Europe necessary should open their door to the oriental language. From this point of view, isn't it necessity to sacrifice a platform of your institution? Don't you think so?

The light of the civilization of Japan has been America. The United State as an instructor has done good for

to his smart pupil. History of near half century has brought about an intimate relationship between two nations. He who has done taught to new nation, also has responsibility to recommend to the world about this young nations thought and literature. Don't you think so, Dr Harper?

National and Diplomatic movement in the history has been friendly relationship between two nations; and in my mind, future activity it will be common close and warm understanding each other. This tendency necessary push to study each national thought and institutions, and it is to haste to call attention to my language. But it

true?

Since your late honorable war and geographical expansion, it is not only expansion of Rational power, but also commercial expansion in the East. This early lead to hurry for study of Japanese language.

After all, there is one great merite to request to open your institution for my language. It is that, study of Japanese is also Chinese. Study of one nation's language lead us to understanding of two nation's thoughts and literature. Therefore it is the shortest way to the student of oriental civilization.

Study of oriental language, henceforth, is necessary among western people. From above reasons I sincerely request you to give one platform of your university to the my Mother tongue.

In the staying in your country, I wish to offer something my gift to your people for my fatherland's honors. I believe that, to teach your people my language, is most patriotic and humanly dead.

If you agree to my plan, please give me opportunity as you can arrange for it, then I will surely build up foundation of it. I have heard that Chicago University is leader

of progressive institutions in your country. I will write no more longer, because I am trusting in your broad mind and prophetic observation. I am

yours very truely.

J. Jazoe.

1

Doshisha, Kioto, Japan
July 26, 1893.

Yuasa

68

Japanese

Please return

My Dear President,

Year after year my works in school are increased and so it became hard to me to keep my promise to you. When I left New Haven, nearly two years ago, you requested me to write to you once a month, and I said "yes". But when I said it to you, I could not think that my work here is so busy as now. I can not keep my "yes" very well but, President, excuse me, for it comes not from my neglection but from my Biblical works which you ~~with~~ requested me to do as much as I can.

As our school was closed at June 30, I went to the Summer School in Suma

Portlandia, Oregon
July 26, 1873.

My Dear President,

Your letter from my work in school are sincerely and do it become hard for me to keep my promise to you. When I left Fox Island, I really thought you requested me to write to you once a month, and I said "yes". But when I said it to you I could not think that my work was so it do study as I am. I can not keep my "yes" very well but President, because me, for it cannot not from my very position but from my Building work which you work me to do as much as I can. respectfully

My Sun school was closed at June 30, I went to the summer school in Salem

where is by the sea coast and not far from Kioto. It was opened from July 8 to 20. There were pastors, teachers, students, girls, and ladies. All together 600 men were attended to our lectures. I delivered one lecture on Wisdom Literature and two lectures on Book of Job. Mr. Harada was there too.

Kioto is very hot. Now I am in vacation. I wish to escape from book-reading and do nothing but to swim in water and to catch fishes. So I have decided to go and stay one month in Awaji Island. Awaji is one of the most beautiful Islands of Japan. How much shall I spend my money in going

to such a island as a gentleman? It costs not high. It may be too strange to you. I wish to let you know that living is not hard in Japan. One month vacation needs only 10 yen (=$6.50 in American gold). I will go by the Ray Road of 3 hours ride from Kioto to a sea shore town called Akashi. It costs 55 sen (100 sen = 1 yen) Then I will cross the sea 6 miles from Akashi to Awaji island.

This small boat costs only 5 sen. Of course, I will have a good dinner before I will cross the sea but it needs 40 sen.

I can stay in the best hotel at Awaji island 20 sen

to buy a labour of a
gentleman? It costs not
much. It may be the chance
to give. I would to let you
know the saving is not lost
in Japan. One month vacation
nearly only 10 yen (=$5.50 in
American gold). I will
go by the day hence if I
have mile from this to
a day above two called
Atami. It costs 55 sen
(100 sen = 1 yen) then I will
save the sen 6 would pass
to Atami labour.
This small boat costs only
5 sen. Of course, I will
have a good dinner before
I will know the sen but it
seems 40 sen.
I am sitting in the best
hotel at Atami labour 20 sen

each day for first class boarding and room. So one month (30 days) needs 6 yen. I will use 2 yen for water melons, Icy waters, some little instruments for catching fishes and other expenses, but not ice cream (which is not here) I will need 1 yen more when I will go back home. If my wife be there, she will need 15 yen. Wife is an expensive thing! All together 25 yen (= $ 10, 25 in American gold) are enough for a gentleman's 30 days summer vacation in the beautiful island of Awaji.

Of course, this is for natives, not for foreigners.

I have put into my trunk ~~trunk~~ the Old Testament in the Jewish Church (Robertson

each day for quite a few months
and seems. So one month
(30 days) needs 6 yen. I will
give 2 yen for water-wheel,
fifty sen(?), some little institu-
tions to certain fellows and
other expenses, that not is
sure (which is not here)
until next 1 yen more return I
will go back home. If my
uncle is there, the will
need 1? yen. This is an
expensive thing! All together
we need (= $10 in American gold)
are enough for a gentleman's
30 days summer vacation in its
beautiful island of Awaji.
Of course, this is for training,
not for foreigners.
I have got into my
~~trunk~~ trunk the old testament in
the Jesuit Church (Protestant

Smith new edition), Graetz's History of the Jews (easy reading), Hebrew Bible and lexicon, Byron's Childe Harold, Gilbert's The Poetry of Job and some Japanese books.

The study of Comparative Religion is becoming important more and more in Japan. Japan is a land of Religions! Here it is easy to collect its facts. Doshisha is going to have a Religions Museum in the new theological Hall which is building and will be finished next september.

I am appointed by our faculties as one of its comittees. We begin this new museum with a hope to collect all

Secred writings, wood or gold images, musical instruments and other Secred things of Buddism, of Shintoism, of Roman Church and of other oriental religions.

Now is the time to make such a Museum in Japan.

10 years after now it will be almost impossible to make it even here. Only trouble is that, though there are many good images which are made by the famous artst in Ancient time and many old inscriptions which are written by the religious founders, they cost very much. We can not have at first so good museum as we expect, untill we got some money.

I will write you about it more detail sometimes after.

as we expect.

Pres. Rigway of the Biblical Institute in Evanston came to Kioto. He was very sick. He is still in the Doshisha Hospital. I met Mrs. Rigway few days ago and he was better at that time.

Pres. Kozaki of our School Doshisha will go to Chicago, leaving Japan August 19, to attend the Religious assembly in the world fair.

He wishes very much to see you when he goes there. I trust you will be glad to see him. You will be pleased to hear from him about our School. I think, you can not find any body better than Pres. Kozaki

to hear of the present condition of the Christian Churches and of the public or private educations in Japan. Pres. Kozaki needs surely your help.

I shall write you again after I come back from vacation-travel.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely

Richiro Yuasa

Mrs. Hooper for me -

Do you know of Mr. Fenollosa of Art Museum here? he knows more about Japanese & Chinese Art, than any living man, (I believe) ~~little~~ little as we may think it, there is a vast deal to be learned from these unknown peoples - If you could have him lecture next year - I feel he has ideas with which you must have close companionship.

Will you pardon me the suggestion -

Yours Respectfully

Mrs Ordway Partridge

Partridge

Studios, Milton, Mass.

June 9th 93

(13)

B2

Jakobsen

Dear President Harper;

I have not been able to reply to your courteous invitation before this date - I regret now to say that my coming this June is impossible. Am awaiting the Committee Gen. Stewart L. Woodford, whom you, no doubt know, & other gentlemen to see my Equestrian Statue of Grant for Brooklyn -

I thank you for the honor in asking me - had not that unfortunate illness come upon me I should have been in Chicago & had the pleasure of talking before you upon American Art, a subject close to my heart - Please Great

Asada

Rev Wm Scott Watson
Tower hill
Guttenberg P.O. N.J.

Honolulu, H.I.
July 9, 1893

Johansen

53

Dear Dr. Harper,

I am now stopping in Hawaii, on my way home. I expected to see you before I left Chicago, but for some important reasons I was not able so to do. I was very sorry that I could not go to your receptions to the Graduating students, but thought you would excuse me if I told you that I was then extremely busy, getting ready to go home.

I am glad indeed that I have completed the work, and am now only ten days from my dear mother. No words

can tell how grateful I feel for your constant kindness and assistance ever since I came to America. I do not know how to repay you. All I can do is to introduce into Japan your method of teaching Semitic and other languages, and of interpreting the Word of God. I think I shall have to teach both at the Methodist Seminary and the Presbyterian Theol. School in Tokyo. Mr. Yuasa is teaching Semitics in a Western city of Japan, and I expect to settle down in our Metropolitan city and revive the studies of the O. T. there.

We are trying to get two or three scholarships in our O. T. department of the Methodist Seminary, and as many in the N. T. department. These scholarships will be about $50 each. But if we can not secure enough money, we shall have some minor scholarships of less than $50. Doctor, would it be impossible for you to take special interest in our School, and help our practically new departments, by persuading some wealthy friends of yours to establish some of these scholarships in our School? If we can not have permanent scholarships, we should be glad to receive them even for a few years. If you fail to get anything like this, would you kindly give us some help to establish prizes for our Biblical students. You must not think this a denominational enterprise, for the purpose is nothing but to encourage our earnest students of the Bible. If you have no sympathy with

this my plan, I have still another thing to tell you. We are thinking of offering a prize every year for the best paper on some O. T. subject. This will be open to any student in the theological schools of Japan. If you will help us carry out even this plan, we shall be exceedingly happy.

One thing more. It is the custom of one of our Summer schools in Japan to invite some eminent scholars from abroad, and ask them to give a series of lectures. Two years ago we had Prof. Drummond, and last year Prof. Ladd of Yale. I wonder if you can spend a Summer in Japan within a few years, and stimulate the minds of

our young Biblical students.
Of course, this is not an official communication, but I should like to know what you think about it, before I recommend your name to the Board of Managers.

Hoping that you are well,
I remain,
Yours Very truly,
E. Asada.

P.S. Please address me at
"Aoyama College, Tokyo, Japan."
EA.

Doshisha, Kioto, Japan.
Jan. 31, 1892.

My Dear President,

Your favor of Dec. 14th has been received. It gives me great joy to hear from you about your help to give the Hebrew Bible and dictionaries to the Doshisha theological library. Your Hebrew Manuals and Grammars which my students ordered to America have come few days ago. I commenced to use them in my class. I think this is the first time of using your books among the Japanese students (not among American Missionaries). Hebrew is an elective course in Doshisha. We are teaching many languages - English, German, French, Greek, Latine, Chinese and Classical Japanese besides Hebrew. I hope I shall have a summer school in next summer for Hebrew study if I could gather the students.

In the winter vacation of this year, I went to my home 200 miles from Kioto and gave 7 lectures of the O.T. Study to the people in my native town. It was really a

"University Extension". I am writing something about Biblical literature in a paper called "Christian" every week. Mr. Harada has come back from America and became the pastor of the Church in Tokio instead of coming to our School. It makes me more busy. I tell you, Dear President, it is true that the Bible must be studyed with head as well as heart. It is not only the book of Cities, theologians but that of people. The love of God and man is only way to understand it. I need Christ in order to teach the Word of God. My work is very slow but sure. Remember me in prayers. Please give my best regards to Mrs. Harper and your Children. My wife wishes to give her best regards to you though she has never seen you in person. By the way, I could not send you my December letter. Excuse me from it. I will send money for the O. and N. Testament Student and Hebrica.

Yours Truly

K. Yuasa.

Answ'd
N. Fitts

Kyoto, Japan
Oct. 13 1891.

My Dear Professor,

It is a long time since I have written you but I have not forgotten that I have promised to write you once a month. Now I want to begin this duty from this month (October). I have none but the following three things which I must tell you and thank God for them.

1st. I married few days ago with a girl who was in love with me seven years, though any engagement has not been made before. My wife is famous in Music. She is good Christian.

I am living in my new house.

2nd. Since I returned Japan, I gave my lectures to the Christians and un-Christians sometimes in my native town, sometimes in Tokyo, the greatest city of Japan, and sometimes in the College or the Churches of Kyoto where I live now.

My subjects were –
"How to Study the O. T." –
"Prophet and Preacher" –
"The Book of Isaiah" –
"Biblical Creticism" –
"Inspiration of the Bible".

3rd. As I have began my works in Doshisha College, I am teaching Pentateuch (now Genesis) – The Book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and English literature (now "Hamlet" in Shakespeare).

Jun Kusuno

Doshisha, Kioto, Japan
November 6, 1891.

My Dear Professor,

Again one month is passed since I wrote you. this is my second letter to you after I returned Japan. I might say to you many things but I write you this. As I told you before, those who are studing Hebrew under me are 35 young men. All of them can understand English. They can use your "Manual and "Grammar" of Hebrew. Ten of them ordered to buy your manual and Grammar through a Professor of Doshisha who takes care of buying books

Rodinda, Tuita, Samoa
November 6, 1891.

My Dear Professor,

Again one month is passed since I wrote you. This is my second letter to you after I returned Samoan things but I write you this. Do I tell you before, that we are studying Samoan words, we are 35 young men. All of them can understand English. They can use your "Manual and Grammar" of Samoan. Ten of them ordered to buy your manual and Grammar through a Professor of Rodinda who takes care of buying books

from U. S. A. Some of them are very poor and yet so anxious to learn the Word of God in the Original. They have pure motive but their means is not enough.

Have you not any friend who has power and heart to give 5 Hebrew Bibles, 3 Davies' Hebrew Lexicons, 4 or 5 your Manual and Grammar of Hebrew (Old editions are enough because I afraid their price is too much) to the theological Library of Doshisha college but not to the students directly?

I know that you have such a friend who can give those books but you need him to fill first your "Children" (I mean American Students).

Your N. & A. above of them
are very poor and yet to
compared to learn the blood
of God in the original. They
have pure motive but their
meaning is not enough.
Have you not any friend
who has power and heart to
give 5 dollars Bibles, 3
Hymns' dollars deposited, 4 or
5 pure Hymns and power
now of dollars (Get editions
are enough because I spend
them price is for records) to
the theological students of
Robinson college but not to
the students directly?
I know that you have
much a friend who can give
those books but you need
him to fill first your "Children"
(I mean Armenian students).

But remember, Dear Professor, that "the dogs under the table eat of the Children's crumbs." (Mark 7:28) I ask you for Our Lord's sake but not my own desire.

I am very glad that I read my work on the Book of Proverbs in the O. and N. T. Student of September. where are you now? I think in Chicago. I could not get your address in Chicago and so I send this to New Haven.

"Good by" till next month! Please give my best regards to Mrs. Harper and your Children!

Yours Truly
K. Yuasa

P. S. I send a picture of my wife and myself.

But remember, Dear Professor,
that "the dogs under the
table eat of the children's
crumbs." (Mark 7:28) I
ask them for Our Lord's sake
but not my own sake.

I am very glad that I
read my work on the Book of
Proverbs in the Lord M. J.
Attendant of Septeumber.
Where are you now? I
think in Chicago. I
could not get your address
in Chicago and so I send
this to New Haven.

"Good by" till next
month! Please give my
best regards to Mrs. Harper
and your children!

Yours truly
M. Wade

P.S. I send a picture of
my wife and myself.

Beside this I am teaching Hebrew by lecture. It is hard to teach Hebrew without text book. I think every thing is hard to begin. This is the first study of Hebrew since Japan was created by God. But my students are 38. Most of them are going to buy your manual and Grammar of Hebrew. I hope they can use your books from next term.

where are you now? I suppose you came back from Europe. please give my best regards to Mrs. Harper and your Children.

Yours ever

K. Yuasa

P. S. Please send me "The Old and New T. Student" for this year and "Hebrica" too. I will send money for them. My address is

Prof. K. Yuasa
Doshisha, Kyoto, Japan

I think I have something more but I could not remember now and so I will write you again next month.

Japanese disciple introducing Dr. Harper's methods in Japan. Harper wants him to write a letter once a month.

Japanese Students

Doshisha, Kyoto, Japan.
Mar. 18. 1892.

My Dear President,

As I have just gained freedom from taking care of my wife who had a fever many days which made me busy, I write now to you though I could not send last month any word to you. My wife has not yet leave her bed but she is far better to-day. She will be all right soon.

I lived with my brother in the same house since I came back from America untill last month. I am now living in my own house. It is small and yet lovely. It is surrounded with the gardens of pines, bamboos and flowers. It is situated near the Imperial palace in the northern part of the city of Kyoto. I can go to Doshisha University ground by 7 minutes from my house.

My family consists of 3 persons - myself, my wife and a servant girl. I wish to have one more being. I mean a dog.

It is strange thing. It is very hard to find a pure Japanese dog in Japan. Most of our dogs to-day are the mixed

of the American and the Japanese. I feel that human family needs God's blessing more and more. I am sorry to hear by your last letter that Mr. Monroe cannot help us this time but I trust God and you in this matter. My Hebrew class is very well. I am delighted with the good news of your University which I read in "Christian Union" and other papers. I am very glad to hear that your University work is growing as the rising sun. I gave a lecture of your life to the students and teachers of Doshisha few days ago. Its subject was "Pres. W. R. Harper as an educator."

I am an admirer of our old Japanese Classics in words (not in spirit). I do not believe that the Japanese literature have hitherto had a sacred poem at all. I, therefore, desire to study carefully and slowly the Book of Job and the Song of Songs. I wish first to translate these sacred dramas of Man and Woman into Japanese poems. They shall be published not in Kana but in Roman letters. It is my ambition to introduce the Biblical literature into Japan. Tell me what forces or articles are best for this study when you write me! I send a new calendar of Doshisha to you. My respects to Mrs Harper!

Yours ever

K. Fraser

1

Clement

Japanese

List of Early Japanese Emperors.

(Officially issued and revised).

File under Clement

	Years of Reign.	Date of Accession.	Date of Death.	(about death) Age.
1. Jimmu.	75	B.C. 660	B.C. 585	127
2. Suizei.	32	581	549	84
3. Annei.	37	548	511	57
4. Itoku.	33	510	477	77
5. Kōshō.	82	475	393	114
6. Kōan.	101	392	291	137
7. Kōrei.	75	290	215	128
8. Kōgen.	56	214	158	116
9. Kaikwa.	59	157	98	111
10. Sujin.	67	97	30	119
11. Suinin.	99	29	A.D. 70	141
12. Keiko.	59	A.D. 71	130	143
13. Seimu.	59	131	190	108
14. Chūai.	8	192	200	52
*Jingō (Empress Regent).	* 109	201	269	100
15. Ōjin		270	310	110
16. Nintoku	86	313	399	110
	16) 1037		17)	1834
	Average reign. 65		Average life.	108

Note.- When a famous Japanese scholar was troubled by a foreigner with the impossibilities of this table, he retorted that these excessive "ages" were "no more wonderful or unreasonable than the ages of the patriarchs in the Bible"! Here there may be mistakes in names, or order, or years; or the names may be ethnic (families?).

* Her reign is officially included in that of Ōjin.

Ed. W. Clement.

List of Later Japanese Emperors

(Official).	Reign	Accession.	Death.	Age.
17. Richū		A.D. 400	405	67
18. Hanzei.		406	411	60
19. Ingyō.		412	453	80
20. Ankō.		454	456	56
21. Yūriyaku.		457	479	—
22. Seinei.		480	484	41
23. Kenzō.		485	487	—
24. Ninken.		488	498	50
25. Muretsu.		499	506	18
26. Keitai.		507	531	82
27. Ankan.		534	535	70
28. Senkwa.		536	539	73
29. Kimmei.		540	571	63
30. Bidatsu.		572	585	48
31. Yōmei.		586	587	69
32. Sujun.		588	592	73
33. Suikō (Empress)		593	628	75
34. Jomei.		629	641	49
35. Kōkyoku (Empress).		642	—	—
36. Kōtoku.		645	654	59
			17)	1063
		Average life		62½

Inasmuch as the Emperor abdicated early, this column is very worthless. There is a reasonable length of reign.

Note.- These names are certainly historical; and the dates are probably correct, in the main. Some of the other names are, perhaps, historical.

E. W. Clements.

Clement

no date

Japanese Cosmogony.

In the beginning, heaven and earth were not separated, the perfect principle and the imperfect principle were not disjoined. Chaos, under the form of an egg, enveloped all things. The world, floated in this mass, "like a fish in ~~the~~ water, or the yolk in an egg". This chaos contained ["a germ",] the breath of life, self-produced, including the germs of all things. Then the pure and the perfect elements or principles ascended and formed the heavens; and the dense and impure elements or matter coagulated and became the earth." Then the young land floated in the water like oil, and drifted about like a jelly-fish". Out of the soft, warm earth sprouted a shoot of the Eryanthus Japonicus (a kind of ~~reed~~ rush), from

which were born two deities. After these came seven generations of "gods", all "sexless" and "self-begotten".

Then the gods "separated the primordial substance into the five elements — wood, fire, metal, earth, water". In the seventh generation of these gods the male and the female principles were first manifested — in Izanagi (male) and Izanami (female). These two begat the Sun-goddess, the Moon-god (dess?), the Sea-god, the Fire-god, and others. The Earthly deities, marrying among each other, begat rice, wheat, millet, beans, sorghum and other articles of food. In the course of time, from the marriage of Prince Fire Fade with the daughter of the Dragon King under the sea, was born Jimmu, who, in 660 B.C., (if we believe and follow pure tradition*), founded the Empire of Japan.

* The first absolutely sure date in Japanese history is 461 A.D.

E. W. Clement.

N. B.

This account is made by combining the important elements of several stories, which differ only in the details. It may be expanded into a long but interesting paper.

The similarity, even in this condensation, and also in the more detailed account, to Graeco-Roman mythology is remarkable. At the Folk-Lore Congress last summer I outlined some points of resemblance, and shall investigate the subject in all possible details. The story of Japanese cosmogony reads like an almost literal translation of the early portions of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

The similarity with the Hebrew account seems slight.

Has it not the usual puerilities and absurdities of the extra-Biblical accounts?

E. W. Clement.

Clement

Suggestive Thoughts.

I. Japan feels kindly toward the U.S., because
   1. Perry opened Japan.
   2. U.S. has been friendly & just towards Japan.
   3. U.S. is nearest neighbor across the Pacific.

File under clement

II. Japan is interested in Chicago, because
   1. It is a "live city".
   2. It is the destined metropolis of the U.S.

III. Japan has shown that interest by
   1. A donation of $5,000 after the "big fire".
   2. Large appropriation ($500,000) for World's Fair.
   3. Donation of palace on Wooded Island.
   4. Most generous donations to the Columbian Museum.

IV. Japanese civilization & institutions are worthy of special study, because
   1. They are unique
   2. They are the culmination of Oriental development.
   3. They have valuable features & lessons in { Similarity. Contrast.
   4. They have a grand future.

V. The University of Chicago was the first institution to admit Japanese to its faculty.

VI. The University of Chicago should also be first to have Japan & the Japanese a branch of study.

Department of Japanese civilization & institutions.
Instructor? Docent? Lecturer?

Clement

The Japanese ~~do~~ apparently have no elaborate stories corresponding to those of "The Origin of Man and his First State of Innocence", "The Garden of Eden and the Beginnings of Sin", "Cain and Abel and the Beginnings of Civilization", "The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men: Angels and Giants"; ~~and~~ "The Deluge"; "The Dispersion of Nations", and "The Confusion of Tongues". They also lack any sense of shame in nakedness. I wonder what bearing these points would have upon the subject of the origin of the Japanese (Mongolian?) race. It seems very certain that the Japanese are descended from ante-diluvians; and quite probable that their ancestors were "pre-Adamites" or "non-Adamites". Some scholars call them "Cainites".*

Ernest W. Clement.

* others think them the lost tribes of Israel!

(over)

The following gives the nearest Japanese approach to "Cain and Abel" and "The Deluge":—

"The sons of Ninigi were named Princes Fire Flash and Fire Glow. While fishing, they had a quarrel, and Prince Fire Flash went down beneath the sparkling ocean waves to Rin-Gu,* the Palace of the Dragon King of the world under the sea; there he married the King's daughter, the Jewel Princess. After a time xx the Dragon King xx sent Prince Fire Flash back to Earth xx armed with the jewels of the ebbing and flowing tides. With these he was able to cause or to quell a flood of waters. He raised one that threatened to drown the whole world, and then his brother Fire Glow behaved himself. Prince Fire Glow begged pardon, and became the servant of his brother, who possessed the wonderful tide jewels".

* Hades (death)?

[From Dr. Griffis' "Japan: In History, Folk-Lore and Art".]

Ernest W. Clements.

Japanese Students

Pre state

Japan Women's University,
Koishikawa-ku Tokyo
Japan. July 27th.

President Judson.

Dear sir:-

How are you getting along these hot days? The heat seems to be especially unbearable this summer. Are Mrs. Judson and all your family well?

Thank you so much for your trouble in writing me in return to the last letter. Owing to your kind answer, I told Miss Takeichi to write to you about her wish and purpose to study, and ask your personal help to find some means for her self support.

The other day she came to me and said that she was very anxious to learn your answer, for the time for matriculation of your school is coming. I suppose you are very busy on your business. But if I could be induced by your great kindness again, I beg to let me know whether Miss Takeichi can get some means for self support or not. It is a great delight

Joshi Daigaku University.
Tokyo-fu-Tokyo
Japan. July 27th.

President Hadley.

Dear Sir:—

How are you getting along this hot day? The heat seems to be especially unbearable this summer. Are Mrs Hadley and all your family well?

Thank you so much for your trouble in writing me in answer to my last letter. Seeing it was hard answer, I did Miss Tatsuki to write to you about her work and appears to study and ask your personal help to find some means for her self support.

The other day she came to me and said that she was really anxious to leave your country for the time for satisfaction of your school is coming. Suppose you are only busy or your business. But if I should trouble by your great kindness again, I beg to let me know whether Miss Tatsuki can get some means for self support or not. It is a great delight

of us both, if she is able to meet such a happy chance.

I am glad to know that your University is succeeding in every attempt, and thanks to your kind aid, my school is, too, going on very well.

Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Judson.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. M. Inouye.

of an death, if she is able to meet such a tedious
chance.

I am glad to hear that your University
is succeeding in every attempt, and thanks
to your kind aid, my school is, too, going on
very well.

I remember me very kindly to them.
Judson.

Yours very truly,

Jno. M. Avery.

List of Japanese Alumni from 1910 to 1913.

4 Shiro Tashiro, Ph.D., '12, - 46 Physiology Bldg, U. of C.

6 Katsuji Kato, Ph.D., '13, 3219 Groveland Ave.

1 Heiji Nishinuma, A.M., '11, Prof. Hiroshima Nor. Coll., Tappocho, Hiroshima, Japan.

2 Kazuyoshi Tajima, A.M., '11, Army, 91 Nedamachi, Nakaku, Nagaya, City, Japan.

7 Jitsutaro Takatani, A.M., '13, - Tokyo, Japan.

~~Tojiro Katakura, Ph.B., '10 - Gov. Official, Civil Adm., Dairen, Manchuria.~~

3 Yoshio Ishida, S.B., '12, Grad. Student, 817 E. 58th St.,

5 George Jiuji Kasai, Ph.B., '13, Kapsu, Japan.

8 Kiyoshi Iyabe, A.M., '13, Room 54, Middle Divinity Hall, U. of C.

H.W. Dignan

Japanese Students who have taken Degrees

1892 - 1913

1893	Eija Asada, Ph.D.
1901	Enos H. Yoziaki, A.M.
1903	Sokae Shioya, Ph.M.
1906	Frank N. Otsuka, D.B.
1907	Kunisabura Nakagawa, A.M.
1907	Shigeo Yamanouchi, Ph.D.
1907	Gen-ichiro Yoshioka, Ph.D.
1907	Toru Sato, Ph.M.
1908	Yoshitaro Nakumara, J.D.
1910	Tojiro Katakura, Ph.B.
1911	Heiji Hishinuma, A.M.
1911	Kazuyoshi Tajima, A.M.
1912	Yoshio Ishida, S.B.
1912	Shiro Tashiro, Ph.D.
1913	George Jiuji Kasai, Ph.B.
1913	Katsuji Kato, Ph.D.
1913	Jitsutaro Takatani, A.M.
1913	Kiyoshi Yabe, A.M.

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奉存候然ハ愚弟與平儀
在學以來兼々御懇命ヲ
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為メニ種々ノ御配慮被成
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御禮奉申上候頓首敬白

明治四十三年十月　日　常川佐吉
拜

シカゴ大學總長ジヤドソン先生
貴下

Extracted from the

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF JAPAN.

VOL. XVIII. PART I.

THE TOKUGAWA PRINCES
OF
MITO.

By E. W. Clement.

(Read 16th October, 1889.)

THE TOKUGAWA PRINCES OF MITO.

By E. W. Clement.

(Read 16th October, 1889.)

This paper can make no claim to originality, for it is only a compilation, whose inception and completion were as follows. During the past year, in the advanced classes of the Ibaraki Common Middle School, I assigned "The History of Mito" as a topic for compositions. Having become greatly interested in the essays which were presented, from various ones I culled the most important facts: then, with the help of two of the teachers of the school, I gathered other facts, and harmonized as far as possible the conflicting statements: and finally I verified or corrected the same, and obtained yet more important material, through the kindness of Mr. Kwan Kurida, a well-informed historian, who is now engaged in collating valuable facts for the *Dai-nihonshi*, the famous history of Japan. In some instances, although the English is not perfectly accurate, I have quoted the exact phraseology of certain students. Therefore, to them, to Professors Tani and Obara, and to Mr. Kurida, belongs the credit of the facts of this production, although they are not responsible for all matters of opinion expressed herein. As I have become more and more interested in my studies in this line, I hope to be able to continue them, both for the purpose of correcting the mistakes of this paper, and of collecting other important material from this new field. Although, as local history, it may not have much general interest now, I trust that, since in time the national history must be written from local history, it may hereafter be found useful.

And now, although I have written so much by way of explanatory preface, I venture, by way of introduction to my subject proper, to trace briefly the history of this part of the country, before it came into the possession of the Tokugawa family. When the Mito castle was first built, I have not ascertained: but, according to my informants, the first famous prince of this region was Taira Kunika, in the reign of the Emperor Daigo (898-931 A.D.). Taira Daijō, as he is also called, was a son of Prince Takamochi, the first ancestor of the famous Taira family. Not Mito, however, but Ishida, of Makabe county, was the place of his residence: while his grandson, Taira Koremoto, and his descendants, lived in a place called Mizumori. But in the twelfth century, Baba Sukemoto, belonging to a branch of the Taira family, came to this place, then called Baba; and his descendants lived here, and some of them enlarged the castle. This state of affairs continued till 1427, when Yedo Michifusa, defeating Baba Mitsumoto, took possession of this place, which was then for the first time called Mito.

This name, as you are aware, is a compound of *mizu* and *to*, and, therefore, means "water-door." There is a tradition that in very ancient times the ocean, which is now 3 *ri* to the east, extended to this place; and that the mouth of the Naka River was here: hence the name. This is quite probable; for the upper town (*Kami-ichi*) of Mito is on the verge of one of the low-lying hills of the Tsukuba range, and the land between it and the ocean is very low and flat. Moreover, in support of this theory, I may quote what Messrs. Satow and Hawes say in their "Hand-Book of Japan" about the Tsukuba Mountains. On page 470 I read as follows:— "Tsukuba is said to be composed of two Chinese words meaning 'built bank,' and the legend is that Izanagi and Izanami constructed the mountain as a bulwark against the waves of the Pacific Ocean, which they had forced to retire to the other side of Kashima, formerly an island in the sea. This tradition is in accordance with the fact recently verified by geologists, that the eastern shores of

Japan have been gradually rising during many centuries past." It seems probable, therefore, that Mito obtained its name from a geographical fact which had passed into the traditions of its people. Indeed, according to one informant, Mito was the original name, changed to Baba, and restored by Yedo Michifusa.

In 1590 the Yedo family gave way to Satake Yoshishige, who soon after was succeeded by Satake Yoshinobu. The latter in the Sekigahara campaign (1600) was an ally of Toyotomi Hideyori, and, after the defeat of the latter, was removed by the victorious Iyeyasu to Akita in Ugo (1602).

When Iyeyasu divided the spoils of war among his adherents, in 1602, Mito fell to the lot of his fifth son, Takeda Nobuyoshi, who came from Sakura in Shimōsa, but died the same year. Inasmuch as he had been adopted into the Takeda family, he is not included among the Tokugawa Princes of Mito.

If these dates are correct, there was a short interval till 1603, when Tokugawa Yorinobu, the tenth son of Iyeyasu, assumed the lordship of Mito. In 1609 he was transferred to Suruga and Tōtōmi, and ten years later to Ki-shiū, where he became the ancestor of the Tokugawa Princes of Kii. In his place Tokugawa Yorifusa, the eleventh son of Iyeyasu, was assigned to Mito with an estate of 280,000 *koku*.* He is the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty of Mito Princes; and it is with him, therefore, that my subject properly begins.

Yorifusa, born in 1603, ruled in Mito from 1609 till his death in 1661, after which he was known as Ikō. At that time the most prominent lords of Japan were the Tokugawa Princes of Kii, Owari and Mito. These three families were given, on account of their influence with the *bakufu*,† the appellation of the *go-sanke*, or the "honorable three houses." As one student expressed it, "These three branches bore the responsibility of protecting the main body; and especially the Prince of Mito, who, though inferior as regards the possession of wealth, in power far exceeded the

* Increased in the time of Tsunayeda to 350,000 *koku*.

† The Shōgunate or Government of the Shōgun.

others, assumed the office of advising the government, and usually stayed at Yedo." In Yedo he laid out the Kōraku-yen, in which he built a mansion for himself and his successors: which place is now the site of the Arsenal. It is said of Iyeyasu, that, while he liked, he also feared Yorifusa: and, when the former was dying, he told his heir, Hidetada, that Yorifusa was "like a sword in its sheath,—safe, if kept there, but dangerous, if unsheathed." This probably had reference to the courage and ambition of Yorifusa, who, when a boy, had wished for many vassals, that he might obtain as much power as possible. It was said that he feared no man; and certainly in his government he pursued a strong and fearless policy. His eldest son, Yorishige was first made ruler of Shimodate with 50,000 *koku*, and afterwards of Takamatsu in Sanuki with 120,000 *koku*: while his second son, Mitsukuni, became his successor in the Mito domain.

Mitsukuni, born in 1628, had been made heir when he was only five years old. At the age of seven, one day, with his father he watched the beheading of some criminals. The night was very dark: but, when his father asked him if he could bring the heads of those men, he unhesitatingly replied in the affirmative. He then went alone to the place of execution, searched in the darkness for the corpses, took hold of the heads, and brought them by the hair to his father.

When his father died, Mitsukuni did not wish to succeed; but, by order of the *bakufu*, he had to assume the power. He then called together his brothers, and said to his elder brother: "I am very much ashamed to supplant you. I wish to make your eldest son, Tsunakata, my successor." Therefore he did so; and he also adopted Tsunayeda, the second son of his elder brother; while his own son, Yoritsune, became the heir of that elder brother. In those days, when a lord died, his favorite servants usually committed *hara-kiri*; so that, when Yorifusa died, a few tried to kill themselves; but Mitsukuni prevented them from carrying out their intention. Afterwards the government prohibited that practice.

In the government of his *han* (principality), Mitsukuni, although he is said to have been sometimes cruel to those who opposed him, appears in the main to have adopted a kind and wise policy. He often disguised himself, and, going around to the villages and hamlets, examined the condition of the common people. He helped poor families; and, as an example of industry, cultivated his own rice-field. "He prohibited luxury, and made taxes low." For several continuous years the dry season was very severe, so that the crops suffered great damage, and the taxes could not be paid in full. Accordingly, Mitsukuni diminished by half his own supply of dishes, food, and clothes. He also formed a plan to build public granaries in many places. On account of this storing of provisions, when, in the seventh year of Tempō (1836), there came a great famine, not a person perished within the dominions of the Prince of Mito. Mitsukuni also published books on medicine, and distributed them among the people. He made a light-house at Minato, the port at the mouth of the Naka River: he built large ships, and sent his subjects on voyages to Manchuria. He planted pine-trees on the way-side of Koganegahara, which is a plain in Shimōsa on the direct road between Mito and Yedo. He opened many pastures; and he planted many useful trees such as the *kōzu* (paper-mulberry), *urushi* (lacquer), and *haze* (wax). He brought mollusks from Yedo to Iso, a sea-shore village 3 *ri* from Mito; and from Yezo, he brought stones on which *kombu* (an edible sea-weed) was growing. In religious matters his policy was thorough: on account of abuses of the priests, he destroyed many Shintō, and about 900 Buddhist, temples; but he was a protecting patron of the oldest and most famous temples of both kinds.

But Mitsukuni, or (to call him by his posthumous name) Gikō, is best known, perhaps, as a scholar and a patron of scholars. In his time the government, favoring Chinese learning, literature, and religion, established a library and a school, and built a temple to Confucius, in Yedo. To this library the Prince of Mito presented many old Japanese

books, such as the *Nihonshoki*, the *Zokunihonki*, etc. But not being content with these opportunities, which were outside of his own domain, he collected books, and established a library called the Shōkōkan. The succeeding princes added to it from time to time, so that now it amounts to more than 200,000 volumes, most of which are Chinese and Japanese works, though a few Dutch books on natural history and zoölogy are included. This library is not thrown open to the public; but by the kindness of Mr. Kurida I was permitted to see it. At that time I was also shown 45 models, about the size of an ordinary dog-kennel, and of various styles, of Confucian temples. In the Shōkōkan Mitsukuni not only collected many valuable works, but he also called in "a host of scholars from all parts of Japan," and invited to Mito a learned Chinaman, named Shu Shunsui. The latter was among those Chinese scholars, who, when the Ming dynasty was overthrown by the Shing dynasty, fled from China, and found refuge in Japan. Shu Shunsui died in Yedo in 1682 at the age of 83, and was buried at Mount Zuiriu, about 15 miles north of Mito. This place, which is the burial-ground of the Mito Princes, is reached by passing through Ōta, where the Satake family's castle was located. The tomb of this Chinese scholar is in the heart of the woods among the sepulchres of the princes. His monument is inscribed on the front with his name and titles, and on the other three sides with his biography.*

It was also during the time of Mitsukuni that another Chinese, named Shinyetsu, became a priest of the Gion (Buddhist) temple in Mito, and, dying here, was buried within the precincts of that temple.†

It is said of Mitsukuni, that he ordered his scholars, instead of following the custom of shaving their heads, to let their hair grow long.

Thus, with excellent Chinese and Japanese scholars under his patronage, Mitsukuni began literary labors on his own account. He wrote the *Jōzambunshū*, a collection of 20 volumes of essays on various subjects; the *Jōzaneisō*, a collection of 5 volumes of his Japanese poems; the *Reigiruiten* (510 volumes), treating principally of various Japanese rites and ceremonies; and, last but not least, the *Dainihonshi* (242 volumes), a history of Japan. This last work, "written in the purest Chinese," began with the reign of Jimmu Tennō, and was brought by Mitsukuni "down to the time when the two imperial courts became united in one" (1393 A.D.). The subsequent princes gradually added to it, and circulated it by copied manuscripts, "until 1851, when the wide demand for it induced its publication in print" [Griffis]. The present work of Mr. Kurida in connection with it, under the patronage of the present members of the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family, is the compilation of important geographical, agricultural, commercial and monetary facts. The original work includes "a chronological record of events and biographies of particular persons;" and, although it often needs explanatory notes, "it is considered to be the most complete ever written in this country."

* For further particulars of Zuiriu see Note A.

† See Note C.

This history, according to my pupils, "stated the relations of emperor and subject." It also "affected the minds of the people, and brought on the Revolution." But I do not need to rely on the opinions of young men yet in school; for I may also quote Dr. W. E. Griffis, who in his turn quotes Mr. E. M. Satow. The former in his "Mikado's Empire," although he makes two little errors (in the date of Mitsukuni's birth, and in the number of the volumes of the *Dainihonshi*) writes very appreciatively of that history. He speaks of it as "the classic which has had so powerful an influence in forming the public opinion which now upholds the Mikado's throne." On the same page (298) he says: "The tendency of this book, as of most of the many publications of Mito, was to direct the minds of the people to the Mikado as the true and only source of authority, and to point out the historical fact that the Shōgun was a military usurper." He also quotes the words of Mr. Satow, who called Mitsukuni "the real author of the movement which culminated in the Revolution of 1868."

But now I presume, that you are perplexed, as I was at first, because the Mito princes of the Tokugawa family, in the time of Mitsukuni and afterwards, were working against the Shōgun in favor of the Emperor. In the case of Mitsukuni, this feeling found expression not merely in words, written and oral. He also raised a large monument at Hyōgo to Kusunoki Masashige, the famous general of the Emperor Go Daigo in the fourteenth century. He did this, it is said, to excite once more feelings of royalty; for he understood well the advantages of nationality. Another says that the Tokugawa Shōguns were wicked, while the Mito Princes were good; and, therefore, as light can have no fellowship with darkness, the latter were opposed to the former. Yet again it has been suggested, that jealousy of the other two branches, Owari and Kii, was the prime cause. The domain of Kii was 555,000 *koku* and that of Owari was 550,000 *koku*. Moreover, just before his death, Iyeyasu had issued a law, that, in default of an heir to the Shōgun's throne, the successor should be chosen from one of those two houses (Kii and Owari), and that the Princes of Mito should be only advisers of the Shōgun. It seems likely that jealousy, or ambition, may have been the motive in the case of Nariaki, in the present century, as we shall see later: but with Mitsukuni, who seems to have had an aversion to the responsibilities of authority, patriotism was undoubtedly the motive. However it may be, the Mito Princes were almost always found in opposition to the Shōgun and in loyalty to the Emperor. And, if any one is especially delighted in tracing the revenges of history, let him take careful notice of the following facts. Only once during the régime of the Tokugawa Shōguns did any of the Mito branch attain to that exalted position, and then by adoption into another family. And after the long-waged warfare of the Mito Princes against the usurped power of the Shōgunate, it was that one Mito Shōgun, Keiki, who was compelled to surrender that office to the Emperor.

Chiefly, it is probable, on account of its literary activity, Mito, to quote from a pupil, "became the first place throughout the whole empire of Japan." I cannot, moreover, refrain from quoting the boastful language of another pupil, who wrote: "Therefore Mito made great progress in literature, while other countrymen sank into an ignorant condition." Such an extremely egotistical statement we must receive with several grains of salt: but, making allowance for the exaggerations of local pride, we must acknowledge that Mito, at least in the realms of literature, was at that time famous and influential. The name of Mitsukuni was known in China, Corea, and other countries; and "foreign deputies never neglected to inquire after his health." Dr. Griffis says: "The province of Mito was especially noted for the number, ability and activity of its scholars." The schools of Mito were the best in the Empire.

In 1690 Mitsukuni, probably on account of his political principles, was obliged by the *bakufu* to resign the government of his clan to his adopted heir, Tsunayeda. Mitsukuni therefore retired to Nishiyama, near Ōta, to the north of Mito. In this cool and beautiful place, where crane abounded, he could live very quietly. The day after he gave up the power, he was promoted by the Emperor to the position of *chūnagon*. When he was going back from Yedo to Mito, he left for his heir a poem, which contained the following four points of advice:—

I. Govern with mercy.
II. Calamities arise from the harem (*okugoten*).
III. Do not violate the laws of the *gorin*, which are defined in Dr. Hepburn's dictionary as "the five human relationships of father and son, master and servant, husband and wife, friend, and brother."
IV. Morning and night think about loyalty.

Mitsukuni died at Nishiyama in 1700 at the age of 73.

As previously stated, Mitsukuni had made his elder brother's first son, Tsunakata, his heir, and had adopted the second son, Tsunayeda. By the death of the former, the latter became the heir and the next Prince of Mito. He had been born in 1656; and he died in 1718. I have only a little

to write concerning him: that he indicated the time of day by beating a drum instead of a bell; and that he was a learned man, who had the honor of lecturing before the Shōgun. After his death he was called by the name Shikkō.

His successor was Munetaka, a son of Yoritoyo, of Sanuki, and a great-grandson of Yorishige, Gikō's elder brother. He was born in 1705, and ruled till his death in 1730. He also was a learned man and economical. He once taught his subjects a rough lesson in economy. He was to go at a certain time to Zuiriu to worship at the sanctuary of his ancestors: therefore, the officers of the villages along the way, being anxious to make the road as neat as possible, spent a great amount of labor and money for that purpose. When he reached a village, called Kawai, and saw what had been done, he stopped, and, having told them that he ought not to walk on such a neat road, went another way to Zuiriu. He was very fond of reading: and, as he liked the sea-shore, he lived usually at Minato. He issued ten articles of laws for the *samurai*. He tried, as he said, to pursue a middle policy between the severity of Ikō and the mildness of Gikō. His posthumous name is Seikō.

He was succeeded in 1730 by Munemoto, who was then only two years old. During his rule, in 1764, the castle was burnt, and rebuilt in the same place. In his Yedo mansion, and outside the gate of the Mito *Saibansho*, he hung boxes for complaints against the administration. He personally gave instruction to the *Samurai* of his province. When he died in 1766, he received the name of Riokō.

Haruyasu, born in 1751, came next. A few years after he came to the power, he ordered his officers, high and low, to give their written opinions concerning the best method of restoring the finances of the province to a good condition. He diminished his own expenses, and ordered his subjects to economize in food and clothes. He advised the Buddhist priests, who had grown lazy and ignorant, to be more active and studious. He removed some of the minute restrictions respecting the *samurai*.

During his rule Tanuma Gemba no Kami was one of the

Shōgun's council *(Gorōjiu)*, and, although a bad man, had gained great influence with the Shōgun (Iyeharu). This councillor liked flattery and bribery; and in these things he was imitated by others throughout Japan. Finally, by a movement in which Mito had a great share, he was obliged to resign: and Matsudaira Sadanobu, one of the best councillors ever known, took his place, and carried out a system of reform.

In 1792 the first Russian fleet came to Yezo. The government ordered all the important places in the maritime provinces to be strongly fortified. Therefore, the Prince of Mito not only fortified Hitachi, but he also made large ships, hired good captains from Nagasaki, and trained his subjects in military and naval affairs. He thought it very important to examine the condition of Yezo, in order to be able to protect that island against the Russians; and he therefore sent a Mr. Kimura to Yezo to make such investigations.

Haruyasu was also a learned man, and wrote two or three books. He had what was a rare thing at that time,—a good knowledge of geography, astronomy and natural history. He died in 1805, received the title of Bunkō, and was succeeded by Harunori, born in 1773.

This prince, posthumously known as Bukō, liked reading, shewed great talent in writing Japanese poetry, and was a very skilful warrior. When he was very young, happening to see a small snake, he asked one of his attendants the name of that object. The attendant answered, that it was only a little animal, and need not be dreaded. Thereupon Harunori remarked, "Then you should not be afraid of me, as you are of my father." When he came to power, he forbad all bribery. Before his time various princes borrowed money from rich men, and occasionally, on account of the pressure of financial embarassments, diminished by half the allowances of the *samurai*: but Harunori stopped such practices. He improved the army laws, and increased the military supplies.

In 1816, upon the death of Harunori, Narinaga, who had been born in 1797, came into power. In 1823, some

fishermen discovered a foreign ship off the coast of Hitachi, and had an opportunity to go aboard. In the ship they found many swords, guns, etc.; and they saw the crew getting oil from whales. When they returned to the shore, they notified the officers of these facts. So great alarm was felt throughout this province, and also in all the provinces on the eastern shore of this island, that soldiers were sent to the coast to guard against the expected invasion. During the same year twenty or more foreign ships were seen off Hitachi; and the next year twelve foreigners who had landed at the village of Ōtsu were seized. The excitement reached its highest point: but, upon the explanation of interpreters, that these men landed only to obtain water and fuel, the foreigners were released. Many young *samurai* were dissatisfied with what they called "a weak policy." But the prince, it is said, was not at all afraid, because he had previously learned from Japanese interpreters in Nagasaki the condition of foreign countries. He had also there learned that many foreign ships might subsequently come into Japanese waters, but that they would not prove dangerous, since they were only fishing-vessels.

This prince, known after his death as Aikō, was very fond of music, Japanese and Chinese poetry, and a connoisseur of old and rare works of art. He had his educational officers write a book upon the old customs of the gentry *(buke)*, and a history of Mito from Ikō to Bukō. He was a strict, grave, but kind man, called by the people "a second Gikō;" and his early death in 1829, was greatly lamented.

Aikō had no son, but a brother named Nariaki. Before the death of the former, his ministers, Sakakibara, Akabayashi and others, took the power, and caused misgovernment. As they were afraid of the sagacity of Nariaki, they secretly concerted with a state-councillor, Mizuno Dewa-no-Kami, and formed a plan to make Shimizu-Kō, a son of the Shōgun, the heir of the Mito principality: but that plan became known to the public. Kawase, Aizawa, Fujita and others, indignant at this action, went to Yedo, and asked to

have Nariaki made the next Prince of Mito. In this they succeeded; and, when Nariaki came into power, he dismissed his brother-ministers, and took Fujita and other talented men in their places. This was the origin of the great "civil war" of Mito between the so-called *Kantō* (Wicked Party), consisting of the opponents of Nariaki, and the *Seitō* (Righteous Party), comprising Nariaki's friends. There was also a band of neutrals, called aptly the *Yanagitō* (Willow Party): but these are not especially mentioned in the chronicles of this strife. From the time of Nariaki's accession, the Kantō, being naturally offended, were planning to recover their power at the first opportunity, which, however, did not come for more than a decade. And as, after that time, the local contest became more or less connected with the great political agitations of the entire nation, I shall stop here to write a little about Nariaki's personal accomplishments and local policy.

He seems to have been a very learned, energetic and ambitious man. In the words of one of the pupils, he "personally took the work of governing with great diligence, so that the luxury which hitherto had possessed the minds of the people, left no trace in less than a year, and an air of simplicity and honesty was breathed in every place of country or city." He built a place called *Kōdōkan*, in which he instructed the *samurai* in civil and military subjects; and in this spot he planted 1,000 plum trees, which in their season still shed forth their beauty and fragrance. Before he retired and gave up the government of his clan to his successor, he laid out on the western edge of the city what is now known as the *Tokiwa Kōyen* (Tokiwa Park), and there he built for his comfort a house called the *Kōbuntei*. In one part of this retreat, which is beautiful beyond description, he set up a huge stone, containing a Chinese inscription, written by himself, and explanatory of the object of the *Kairaku-yen*. [For a translation of this inscription see Note B.]. Adjoining this park is the Shintō temple, called the *Tokiwa jinja*, where Nariaki is enshrined as Rekkō, together with Gikō.

At first the opinions of Nariaki concerning public matters were gladly received by the *bakufu*. In regard to Yezo, he gave the wise advice that that island should be opened, settled and cultivated, because of its important position and prospective wealth. In connection with foreign affairs, he appears in history as the hater of foreign influence and the leader of the *Jōi* party: but I am not exactly satisfied in in my mind as to the real motive of his policy. I have heard from a well-educated Japanese, whose name, however, I am not at liberty to mention, some statements which indicate that Nariaki was not at first so bitter an enemy of foreigners as he afterwards appeared to be. For he is said to have sent, through a Japanese who managed to get away to America, a letter inviting the Americans to come to Japan and attempt to open intercourse with the Japanese. This letter, moreover, brought to Japan by Commodore Perry, and sent by him to the Japanese government, is said to be now among the official archives. And, if we may believe the story, that after Nariaki's death among his personal effects were found a Bible and a pictur eof the Virgin Mary, it would seem that at some time or other he had also been studying Christianity. He is known, at any rate, to have been no great friend of Buddhism; for at one time "to provide the sinews of war, he seized the Buddhist monasteries, and melted down their enormous bronze bells and cast them into cannon" [Griffis.]. One of these cannon can now be seen at the Tokiwa Shintō temple above-mentioned.

Now I have no proofs of the truth of these reports, which are both affirmed and strenuously denied: but I give them so that they might, perhaps, be either proved or disproved-if any one has good evidence. I am aware that, if they are true, they tend to make out Nariaki as inconsistent or dema, gogical. But it is not the historian's duty to show every one as an ideal personage: and it is especially difficult, in studying the history of those confused times in Japan during the last fifty years, to fathom men's motives. The JAPAN MAIL of April 1, 1889, in noticing editorially Mr. Fukuzawa's

"History of the Japanese Parliament," says concerning the part played by the *samurai* in the Revolution of 1868:—"Mr. Fukuzawa well describes how they hid their broader purpose under the *Jōi* battle-cry; how they coquetted with their liege lords and the Court at Kyōto; how they accomplished the overthrow of the Shōgunate and of feudalism, and how they became, rather by force of events than of set purpose, the pioneers of Western civilization." And surely in the history of that revolution, there is found no greater "inconsistency" than that of the Imperialists, who, having overthrown the Shōgunate "under the *Jōi* battle-cry," afterwards adopted for themselves the foreign policy which they had vehemently opposed! I am not, however, aware that political "inconsistency" is always a terrible sin; for in every country a Duke of Wellington, or a Sir Robert Peel, or an Earl of Derby, must sometimes yield to the power of public opinion. But it is not necessary to discuss this question any further, until the above-mentioned reports concerning Nariaki are proven either false or true: therefore, I pick up "the thread of my discourse."

In 1844 the *bakufu*, being envious of Nariaki, sequestered him and did not allow him to take part in any government affairs. Consequently Fujita and others of the *Seitō* were also sequestered; and Yūki and other *Kantō* men resumed power and opposed the policy of Nariaki. It was during this period, probably in 1848, that Nariaki retired from the active government of the clan in favor of his son, Yoshiatsu. In 1853, when, as one of the boys expressed it, "foreign ships were dancing near our islands," the Shōgun released Nariaki, and, recognizing his ability, ordered him to attend to the fortification of the maritime provinces. At that time also, Nariaki discovered the intrigues of the hostile faction (the *Kantō*), and advised his son not to employ their leader, Yūki. In 1855, at the time of the great earthquake in Yedo, Fujita was among the victims, but Nariaki escaped. This Fujita, by the way, was among the number of those who obtained a posthumous rank from the Emperor at the time of the promulgation of the Constitution. In the year

immediately following the earthquake, Nariaki was an adviser of the *bakufu*; but, as he had been appointed to that position only to satisfy public opinion, he had but slight influence. Yūki and others of the *Kantō*, seizing another opportunity, formed a conspiracy: but they were discovered, and put to death.

In 1858 the Shōgun (Iyesada) became sick and died without a proper heir. The Emperor and many Lords favored Nariaki's seventh son, Keiki, who had been adopted into the Hitotsubashi family: but the Prime Minister, Ii Kamon no Kami, paying no regared to the opinion of the Princes of Owari and Echizen, made Iyemochi, the young Prince of Kii, Shōgun. In the eighth month of that year the Emperor sent orders to the Mito *Chūnagon* to help the *bakufu* to drive out the foreigners. But Ii, because he foresaw that, if the *samurai* had intercourse with the officers of the Emperor, they would obstruct the policy of the *bakufu*, was very angry. Therefore, he seized many persons, some of whom he put to death, and others he imprisoned. In 1859 Ii compelled Nariaki to retire again to Mito; and at the same time he tried to annul the order of the Emperor, but failed. In the 1st year of *Manyen* (1860), sixteen Mito *samurai* with one from Satsuma, as a student poetically expressed it, "scattered the crimson maple leaves in the white snow of the Sakurada;" in other words, at the Sakurada gate of the palace they assassinated the Prime Minister, Ii, who had always been the bitter enemy of Mito. In September of the same year, Nariaki ended his eventful career. His wife, known as Teihō-in, still survives, at the age of 86, and is hale enough to make a trip now and then to Mito and Zuiriu. She lives in Mukōjima, Tōkyō.

In 1861 some Mito men made an attack on the English Legation, then located in the Tōzenji, a Buddhist temple, in Takanawa; but they were repulsed. In the following year three Mito men were among the number of those who attempted at the Sakashita gate to assassinate the then Prime Minister, Andō Tsushima no Kami. After that the *bakufu*, regarding the current of public opinion, decided

that the Shōgun should go up to Kyōto the next year, to see the Emperor and settle the public policy. The Emperor sent an order to Yoshiatsu, of Mito, to come to Kyōto the next year with the Shōgun. Consequently in 1863 the Shōgun, and Yoshiatsu with him, went to Kyōto, where a council was held; but they failed to agree upon a policy. Only the Prince of Nagato (Chōshiu) supported the opinion of the Emperor and insisted on the *Jōi* policy.

From about this time all Japan began to be very much disturbed. To quote again from a pupil, "The fearful evening in Paris continued day after day in Japan." Fujita Koshirō, a son of the former Fujita, and a brother of one of the present secretaries of the Ibaraki *Ken*, was then a youth of only 23 or 24, but very active. He collected an army of Seitō men, and intended to make Nikkō a base of operations; but, failing in this, he took up a position on Mount Tsukuba. Ichikawa, the Kantō leader, getting an army from the *bakufu*, tried to dislodge Fujita; but he failed, and returned to Mito. Then Fujita, returning the compliment, attacked Ichikawa in Mito, but was repulsed. Yoshiatsu, the *daimyō*, wishing to reconcile these internal dissensions, sent to Mito as his representative Matsudaira Ōi no Kami, of Shishido. He came down with many soldiers: but Ichikawa, disliking many persons who were under Matsudaira's banner, refused to receive him, and fired on his party. Then Matsudaira, having effected a junction with the army of Fujita, went to Minato. Ichikawa, obtaining help from the *bafuku* of many thousand soldiers, several times defeated his opponents; and in Mito, becoming very haughty, imprisoned or killed the wife and children of many *Seitō* men. But one day Ichikawa sent a messenger to make peace, and allowed Matsudaira to enter Mito. But that was only a deep-laid trick, by which he obtained possession of the persons of several of his enemies. Matsudaira, because he had united with the Tsukuba army, and had fired at the soldiers of the *bafuku*, was sentenced to commit suicide by *hara-kiri*. Several of his attendants were beheaded; and many persons surrendered to Ichikawa and the *bakufu* army.

But Fujita and Takeda with a small force were still at large; and they now planned to make their way, via the Nakasendō, to Kyōto. Repulsing many attacks on the way, they arrived in January, 1865, at Imashō in Echizen. It was very cold; the snow was deep; food was scanty; they were very tired; and in front of them was the large army of the Prince of Kaga. Therefore they were obliged to surrender. The Princes of Kaga, Inaba, Bizen, Hamada, Shimabara, and Kitsuregawa, the last five of whom were brothers of the Prince of Mito, entreated the *bakufu* to pardon the captives; but in vain. Of the survivors 136 were banished, and 350 were put to death.

In 1867 Iyemochi, the Shōgun, died, and Hitotsubashi Yoshinobu, or Keiki, was made the successor. But the Revolution could no longer be prevented; and, before the year was out, Keiki had resigned his power to the Emperor, Mito, of course, at first sided with the party of the Shōgun, who was his own brother; but, when the latter resigned and became a royalist, Mito sent soldiers to Mutsu and Dewa, and shared in the victory of Hakodate. In 1868 Yoshiatsu died, and was known thereafter as Junkō; while his brother. Akitake, the eighteenth son of Rekkō, became the Prince of Mito.

The overthrow of the Shōgunate produced a complete reversal of the situation of affairs in Mito. Ichikawa and others of the *Kantō*, after making a vain attempt to find refuge in Aidzu, returned to Mito about 800 strong, and entered the Kōdōkan. The other faction, taking new hope, soon raised an army against them. Then, to quote once more from the poetically inclined student, "the men belonging to the two factions alternately attacked, defended, butchered till all the young men of steady heart sank to earth, all the magnificent buildings from the castle to the Kōdōkan turned to ashes, all splendor changed to the cry of evening ravens and to the song of night insects, leaving only plum-trees and monuments to reflect the old dream." The prosaic fact is, that the *Kantō* was defeated; and its leaders fled, but were finally captured. Ichikawa, when taken, was brought back

to Mito, and publicly crucified in broad daylight. Thus terminated the civil war, in which, according to the amazing statement of one of the students, "the good men were all killed!" Another very concisely wrote: "To-morrow of the storm there is nothing; only numerous poor widows."

In response to my inquiry concerning the objects and principles of the two factions, I received the following answer: "The aim of the *Seitō* was to obey the will of Nariaki, to improve military enterprises, to raise the glory of our country, to respect the Emperor, and to help the government: but the *Kantō* sought only wealth and pleasure through peace." This statement sounds rather one-sided, except possibly in the acknowledgement that the *Kantō* sought peace, which acknowledgement is, however, rather indefinite. Moreover, the very titles of the factions, "Wicked" and "Righteous," have the nature of a prejudgment. I can not learn that the *Kantō* gave themselves any particular appellation: but they called their opponents by the suggestive name of the *Tengutō*, (the Hobgoblin-party). In the absence, however, of sufficient material for forming a fair judgment, I refrain now from any further attempt at an historical analysis or criticism: but, if I have opportunity, I hope to make that civil war the subject of special study.

At the time when feudalism was abolished in Japan, Akitake returned his power to the Emperor, but served awhile after that as governor of his former principality. A few years ago he "retired from active life" *(inkyo suru)*, and is now residing at Mukōjima in Tōkyō. He was succeeded as head of the Mito family by Marquis Tokugawa Atsuyoshi, the present Japanese Minister to Italy. Thus with Akitake ended the Tokugawa dynasty of Mito Princes after a sway of about 260 years. Two among them, Gikō and Rekkō, attained more than local fame; and these two have been called "the bright flowers of Japanese feudalism." During the first two centuries of this period Mito, though not rich, seems to have been quite famous and fairly prosperous. But the civil war was destructive of its power and prosperity; and the city and province are only now begin-

ning to recover from the evil effects. The castle was burned in 1873, perhaps by an incendiary, though it is not positively known. A disastrous conflagration in 1886 (December) proved also beneficial to the city in the subsequent erection of more attractive and substantial buildings. The people who not many years ago were opposed to communication with foreign countries, gave a cordial welcome, and have extended kind treatment, to the foreigners living with them. On the site of the castle stand the commodious modern buildings of the Ibaraki Common Normal School. Within the walls of the Kōdōkan, where formerly the *samurai* were instructed by Rekkō, and where afterwards the bullets of internecine strife whistled and left their impress, little boys and girls now gather daily at a Kindergarten. A railroad is now in successful operation; and business is improving. The inhabitants, therefore, indulge the hope, that the rising generation may restore Mito to at least a measure of the prosperity and influence which it enjoyed under the Tokugawa Princes.

[NOTE A.]

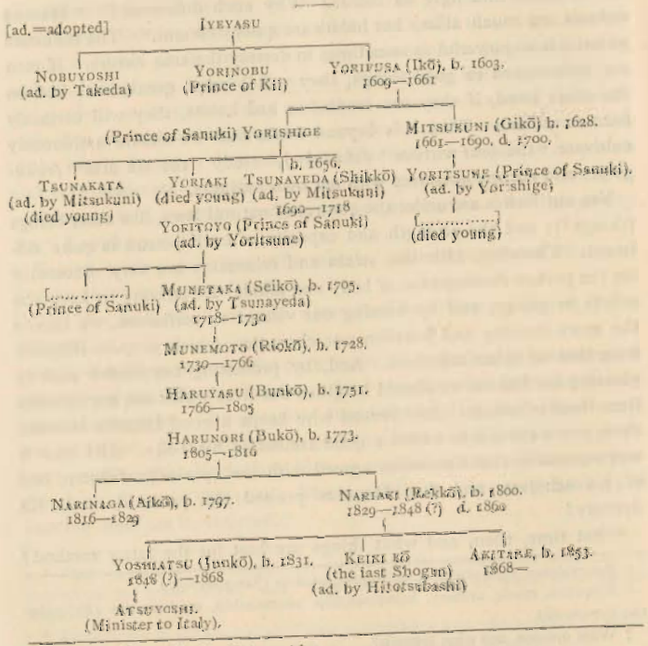
THE SEPULCHERS AT ZUIRIU.

The burial-ground of the Tokugawa Princes of Mito at Zuiriu is a spot of wild natural beauty. The sepulchers, of course, are artificial; but all else is as rough as nature itself. The road from Ōta is down-hill and up-hill. Just before you reach Zuiriu, on the right side of the road, is an immense cherry-tree, which was planted by Gikō about 200 years ago, and a shoot from which has become a large tree in front of the Kōdōkan in Mito. The parent tree bears the name *hata-zakura* (flag-cherry). At the entrance of the burial-ground, you must register at the keeper's office; then, procuring a guide for five *sen*, you climb rough stone steps to the first sepulcher. As the style of construction is the same in every case, I need describe it but once, and then shall mention the little difference in other respects.

To reach the enclosure of the tomb, you must ascend ten smooth granite steps; and then you can look through the railing, but can not enter. The monuments are of marble; and they stand, as you look in, with the prince on your left, and his wife on your right. In Junkō's

mausoleum there are three tombs, because his first wife died in her youth, and he married a second time. In Rekkō's mausoleum, which, with Ikō's, I did not visit on account of their distance from the others, there are two tombs: for, although Rekkō's wife is not yet dead, her sepulcher is ready. Each monument rests upon the back of a tortoise,* and is inscribed with only the name of the deceased. The enclosure contains no special decorations, except Bunkō's where a pine-tree grows, whose purpose I could not ascertain. The young princes of the family all lie buried in one compound; but there, with one or two exceptions, the tortoise is lacking. Below Gikō's sepulcher is a smaller tomb made by himself, and called *Bairi-sensei no haka* (The plum-village teacher's tomb). I was told that Matsudaira Ōi no Kami, who during the civil war was compelled to commit suicide, is also buried at Zuiriu; but I did not see his tomb. I have already mentioned the Chinaman's sepulcher, which is pretty, but plainer than the others, and lacks the tortoise. Having made the rounds, just as you come out where you entered, you pass on your left the store-house which is said to contain many interesting and valuable relics.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



* Symbol of long life (?)—Chinese idea.

[NOTE B.]

HISTORY OF THE KAIRAKU-YEN.

Over the heaven there hang the sun by day and the moon by night. On the earth rivers flow and mountains lie. Here all things, vegetable and animal, grow, thrive and propagate their species. This discharge of their functions is due to the positive and negative laws, which keep their own way, and to the cold and heat, which, coming alternately, never change their proper order. To take a more common illustration, if we wish to keep a bow in good condition, after we use it, we must take off the string. Likewise a strong blooded horse can not gallop many miles without stopping: unless we give him proper rest, he will soon become fatigued, or perhaps die.

Man is the most favored being, and is the highest and noblest of all creatures. But some are as pure and incorrupt as divinity; and some are as mean and ugly as beasts. Why such difference? "Human natures are much alike; but habits are quite different." The influence of habit is so powerful as sometimes to destroy the true nature. If men are accustomed to good things, they will become gentlemen: but, on the other hand, if they are cradled in bad habits, they will certainly become ruffians. Then it is beyond doubt that we should assiduously cultivate "the four virtues" *(shi-toku)*,* study "the six arts" *(roku-gei)*,† and occupy ourselves with our own business.

Yet our bodies are under the control of natural laws, like other beings (things?); and the strength and capacity of each person is quite different. Therefore, alternate strain and relaxation are very necessary for the perfect development of body and mind. By striving to keep our minds in purity, and by nursing our virtues to perfection, we should the more develop and broaden our character, which is quite different from that of other creatures. And, by promoting our health and by pleasing our hearts, we should lengthen our lives which are not different from those of others. Any person who keeps a good balance between these two ways can be called a good trainer of his body. Ah! then it was reasonable that Confucius agreed with the opinion‡ of Sōten, one of his scholars, and that Mencius praised the proverb‡ of the Ka dynasty!

What time, then, and what things are best for the latter method?

* Benevolence, righteousness, politeness, wisdom *(Jin-gi-rei-chi)*.

† Etiquette, music, archery, horsemanship penmanship, mathematics *(Rei-gaku-shu-gyo-sho-sū)*.

‡ What opinion, and what proverb?

The spring morning, when flowers are still sleeping in dew, and the autumn evening, when the moon has just uncovered her veil of cloud, are the best hours for the recreations of those who study. And hawking birds in the green summer fields, and chasing game in the bare winter woods, are the recreations best suited to those who cultivate military arts.

I have gone around through almost all parts of my province. I have visited many mountains and various rivers. To the west of the castle I have found an open spot, from which Mount Tsukuba is visible, and the quiet waters of Semba [lake] are seen from above. Yonder hills and knolls, which are concealed by white streaks of mist, and the neighboring country, mantled by a sheet of vivid verdure, embellished with mingled tints of forests, are laid out just in one picture. On the mountains there are growing vegetables and thriving animals; and in the water there are fishes and dragons *(riu, tatsu)*. Indeed, this is a place which can give the utmost pleasure to both wise and kind persons.* It is, therefore, the place best suited to gratify our noblest pleasures.

Consequently, I planted several thousand plum trees, built two pavilions, cleared away the bushes, and brought stones. I not only intend to make this the place for my retirement; but I also wish to have my people enjoy themselves here, as I do. What a pleasant thing it would be, if they, following my principle, should not spend their time idly, but should cultivate their virtues, pay good attention to their occupations, and at their leisure bring their wives, children and friends; walk about the garden; write poems, sing songs and make music among the handsome flowers; drink wine or sip tea in the bright moon-shine; or fish in the lake! In short, they may enjoy themselves as much as they wish and take moderate relaxation. I am very glad, indeed, to share their enjoyment; and, therefore to make my purpose known, I call this garden the "*Kairaku-yen.*"†

Tempō, tenth year [1839], fifth month. All composed and written by Keizan [*nom-de-plume* of Rekkō].

[On the back of the stone are inscribed the following RESTRICTIONS (*Kinjō*)].

It is forbidden to enter the park before six o'clock in the morning, or after ten o'clock in the evening. The two sexes are forbidden to take recreation together. Intoxication, disorderly conduct, and vulgar music are forbidden. It is forbidden to pick the flowers and fruits of the plum-trees in the park. It is forbidden to anyone, except a sick person, to ride in a *Kago* in the park. The regulations concerning fishing and hunting must not be violated.

* There is evidently a reference here to the Chinese sayings that "kind men, like mountains, are never moved," and "wise men, like running water, never become stagnant."

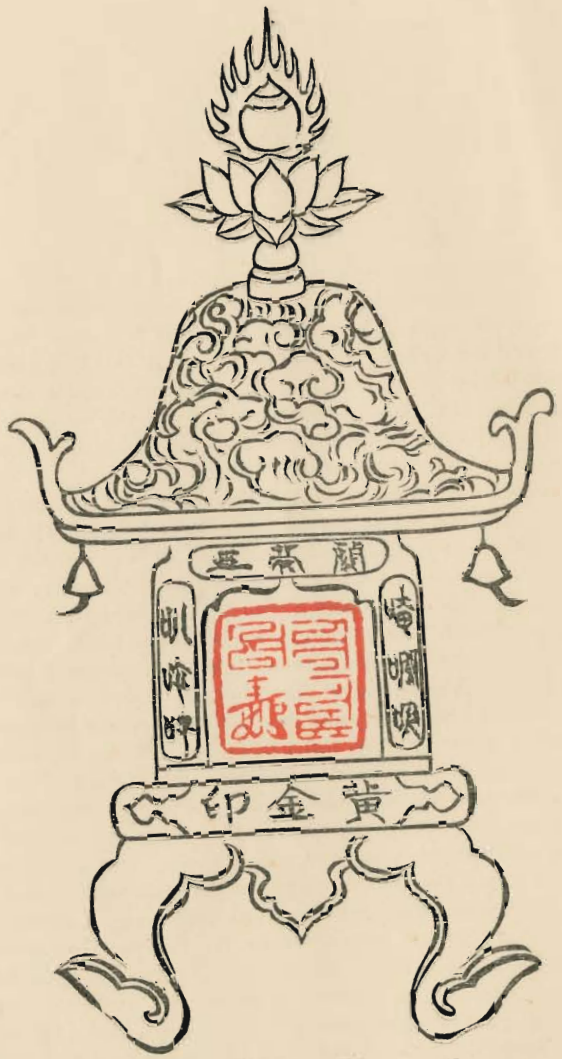
† *Kairaku-yen* is the equivalent of *tomo ni tanoshimu sono*, which means "a garden for recreation together," and may be loosely translated "social enjoyment park."

[NOTE C.]

THE GRAVE AND RELICS OF SHINYETSU.

I visited the Gion temple the other day, and, by the kindness of the priest, was permitted to see not only the grave, but also many relics, of Shinyetsu. The grave is situated at the back of a small compound, which, as it bears on the front gates carvings of the Tokugawa crest, evidently belonged to that family. The monument is made of granite, and is quite plain. It is inscribed only in front, with the words *Yishō-kaishinyamatosho no tō*, which mean literally "Long life, prosperity, opening mind, great priest's tomb."

The relics are, of course, kept in the temple, and are about ten in number. The first one shown me is considered the greatest treasure of the temple. It is the gold seal, about 1,000 (?) years old, of Kangu, a famous Chinese warrior. The accompanying paper contains a drawing of the pagoda-like box in which it is kept, and an impression made with the original itself. There are also two strings of beads; one of 108, made of agate; the other of 54, made of *hōten*, a kind of pearl said to be found in the head of a thousand year old crane. A *hosu*, or short wand, is shown, with a horse-hair tassel attached. The priest's incense-box is very finely carved; and his baton (*nioi*), received from his teacher, is said to be 700 or 800 years old. His bronze mirror was first used by a Chinese Emperor (Gentoku) about 1,000 (?) years ago: and indeed, it is dim enough now to make that story credible. The back is carved with a figure of a dragon, which, instead of having three toes, as usually represented, has five toes, or claws, and is, accordingly, called *goso-hōkyō*. The mirror-box, with very thick lacquering, is all broken to pieces. There are also three *kakemono*, the first two of which are the work of Shinyetsu himself. One is a picture of Shaka, whose head is enveloped in a sun, as a symbol of prosperity. At the top is a short essay upon Shaka's countenance. The second is a picture of Daruma, who is represented with ear-rings. At the top is a short sketch of that saint's life. The third *kakemono* is very large, and contains only the drawing of a tiger. This was once the property of Gensō, a Chinese Emperor of the Tō dynasty. These relics were exhibited with pride and kindly explained to me by the present priest (Hagiya Shōhō), who is the twenty-first in succession from Shinyetsu. The latter died in the eighth or ninth year of Genroku (1695 or 1696).



The seal of the Chinese Warrior, Kangu.

A Monument giving the history of the Kairakuen.

INSCRIPTION ON A STONE SET UP BY THE PRINCE OF MITO (REKKŌ) NEAR THE ENTRANCE OF THE FIRST PARK.

偕樂園記

天地有日月一道行焉恒其所以健弓無一塞一弛而恒勁馬有一馳一息而其性命者以一陰一陽成山川曲成萬物之靈而其人者萬物之靈也夫人性相近習遠而充四端以修其德優遊乎天地之間自然之理保其天性而不失其人倫之大者君子之於小人馬也譬諸物而不一息弓而不遺禽獸草木各得其所者也固矣鳴呼孔子之與曾點孟軻同何相遠則何也在則馬焉有其人必殲之存心修德以存其性命者也其安形怡神養其性命者與是君子或則必其習於小人也宜成萬物相遠者

北米合衆國

シカゴ大學總長ジヤドソン様

1

緘

昭和五十三年十月

日本國東京市四ッ谷區
四ッ谷塩町三丁目廿八番地

常川佐吉

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ヽ念ヽ種ヽ御配慮

成候

謹啓不盡候

奉存候

平穏

今後御ヽ

以來ヽ

在學

敬白

追而

御愛顧

御厚遇

御恵賜

仕候

井

(Please return)

THE MITO CIVIL WAR.

By

Ernest W. Clement.*

(Read 11th February, 1891.)

To the true historian a mere list of names and dates, however necessary for establishing facts, ~~are~~ insufficient. is/ Inasmuch as he sees in history "one increasing purpose," he desires to trace the progress of mankind, and to indicate as clearly as possible the causes and the effects. Herein he at once encounters a difficulty, and soon ascertains, that he must distinguish carefully between what are only occasions, and what are real causes. For instance, if we are studying the American Revolution, we can not apply the word "cause," either to the Lexington and Concord affair, or to the Boston Massacre, or to the Tea Party, or even to the Stamp Act. Those were merely occasions which made manifest the real cause, and helped to bring on a conflict which was inevitable, as long as the American colonies felt the injustice of "taxation without representation."

Likewise, if we study the Japanese Revolution, we are confronted with the same distinction. For instance, it can not properly be claimed, that either the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse; or the civil strifes, which, beginning at Mito, spread to other principalities; or personal jealousies within the *bakufu* ranks,-were causes of the Revolution of 1868. They were only occasions which manifested the real feeling, and helped to bring on a conflict which was inevitable, as long as there was a strong sentiment of hostility to the usurping Shōgunate, and of loyalty to the Emperor. I do not claim, as some have claimed, that the Mito Civil War was one of the causes of the Japanese Revolution: but I deem its history interesting and important as the record of one of the links in the chain of occasions which finally brought on that Revolution. The flame which had been secretly smouldering was fanned into sight by the internal strife of the Mito clan; and, then

* See Note A.

spreading into other parts of the land, after the opening of the country burst forth eventually into the conflagration of the Revolution. Or, to apply the figure, the feeling of loyalty to the Emperor had been for a time almost smothered, and only kept alive in secret; but in the Mito Civil War it was first publicly manifested, and gradually gained such power as finally to restore Imperialism to its legal position.

In like manner, when I seek the the cause of the Mito Civil War, I must draw the same distinction as previously. One person says, that the war arose from the rivalry between two schools situated in the city of Mito; while another says, that its cause lay far back in the teachings of Mitsukuni (1661-1700), whose profound sentiments of loyalty to the Emperor were handed down from generation to generation, and developed toward the Shōgunate a feeling of hostility, which in turn reacted and produced in the Mito *han* two parties. It is probably true, that the quarrel between the two schools was the first outbreak of factional spirit, which, gradually increasing in vehemence, finally culminated in the Civil War. But it is also very evident, that this quarrel would have been confined to the Mito *han*, and, perhaps, would not have developed into actual war fare, if it had not become mixed with the intrigues of national politics. In other words, the quarrel between the schools would have been a comparatively insignificant affair, if it had not afforded a rallying—point for the pro-*bakufu* and anti-*bakufu* parties. In the Japan of that day, it was not possible to draw a distinct line of demarkation between local politics and national politics; the mutual relations, social and political of the *daimyōs*, precluded local isolation; and the intricate system of espionage, so skilfully managed by the Shōgunate, gave an opportunity for frequent interference in the internal affairs of the clans. It seems likely, therefore, that the prime cause of the Mito Civil War, as of the Revolution, is to be found in the intensely Imperialistic sentiments which had been instilled by the teachings of Mitsukuni.

Perhaps, therefore, I may be pardoned, if I go back a little to ascertain how the Tokugawa Princes of Mito came into hostility to the Shōgunate of their own family. I can easily imagine, that at first jealousy may have played some part in stirring up the family strife; for it would have been only natural for Mito, relegated to the lowest position among the "three honorable houses," and deprived, whether justly or unjustly, of the privilege of furnishing an heir to the Shōgunate, in case the direct line failed, should have felt somewhat aggrieved, and should have more or less lost interest in the maintenance of the Shōgunate. But this motive was probably lacking in the case of Mitsukuni, the second prince, who, being a man of letters and of peace, gave himself up to literary pursuits. The study of Japanese history and literature was revived; the *Dai nihon shi** was written, which indirectly pointed out the fact that the Shōgun was a usurper, while the Emperor was the descendant "in an unbroken succession" from the gods. Thus from time to time strongly Imperialistic feelings were instilled into the minds of the Mito clansmen, so that most of them gradually became ardent haters of the Shōgunate. I am inclined to think, then, that jealousy may have produced an indifference towards the maintenance of the Shōgunate; and that this feeling of indifference was gradually developed into a feeling of hostility, by the literary and historical pursuits of the Mito house. But these generalizations concerning the abstract causes will become clearer as we follow the concrete events of history; therefore, let us plunge "*in medias res*" of the Mito clan.

At the beginning of this century, there was in Mito a learned Chinese scholar, named Tachihara Jingorō, who occupied the honorable position of head librarian of the Shōkō-kwan. Among his pupils was one Fujita Jirozaemon, the son of an old-clothes merchant. This person from youth showed great ability in understanding Chinese; so that, casting aside the humble propession of his father, he diligently studied under Tachihara. In time he obtained the honor of becoming a teacher, was subsequently promoted to be a *Samurai*, and thus gained for himself a number of students. Fujita next formed the purpose of writing *shi* (history of industry, arts, etc) as an appendix

* "Great Japanese History."

to the *Dainihonshi;* which Tachihara insisted on not attempting at all to write minutely on those topics, and wished merely to discuss them very briefly here and there in appropriate places in the main part of the work. Moreover, Fujita thought, that, as *Dainihonshi* had been given only as a private title, it should not be publicly used without obtaining the Emperor's sanction; but Tachihara thought such a course unnecessary.

At about the same time Fujita built a school and named it "*Seiransha*," which means "bluer than original blue." This phrase gave an opportunity to some scholars, envious of their old school-mate, who had risen, like Cicero, "with no favor of ancestry," to slander Fujita to Tachihara on the ground that the former was too proud and too ambitious in openly hinting, that he was wiser than his teacher. This slander greatly iritated Tachihara, who was already on unpleasant terms with Fujita, and who, though the latter is said to have apologized several times, went so far as to erase Fujita's name from his list of pupils. The trouble between the teachers infected their pupils, who began to take part in the dispute, which continued to create ill-feeling within the clan.

In 1829 Prince Narinaga, posthumously known as Aikō, died without an heir: but there was a brother, named Nariaki, who was a very bold and active man. Some of the Mito vassals, fearing his sagacity, attempted to have a son of the Shōgun made heir of the principality, but failed; and thus Nariaki became the next prince. When he came to the power, he reformed many abuses, and improved the condition of all parts of the administration of affairs. He was wise enough to perceive the disunion of his subjects arising from the rivalry of the two schools; and he tried to effect a reconciliation by employing both parties. From the Fujita party he selected Fujita Toranoshin (son of the teacher); Toda Ginjirō and Kawase Shichiroemon; from the Tachihara party he chose Tachihara Jintarō (son of the teacher), Komiyama Jiroemon and Tanabe Shōsuke. His efforts were not in vain, so that for a while things went on very smoothly and peacefully.

Ten years later (1839) he was expected back in Mito

after the expiration of his legal residence in Yedo. A great agitation then arose in Mito. It seems that previously, on account of the famine which swept the Empire in 1836, the allowance of *samurai* had been diminished half, and that many were suffering not a little in consequence of the scanty income. They realized, that, if the prince returned to Mito, he would be sure to review their military drill. "Spear and sword were red with rust; the lacquer of the sword-sheath had been scratched off; the armor was too old to wear on such a public occasion; the horses were lame and exhausted; and there was no money for putting these things into a proper condition." Consequently many of the vassals formed a league, into which some higher officers also entered, and petitioned the prince not to return to Mito, unless he restored the allowance of the *samurai* to the former amount. The prince was very much enraged, and deprived two councillors of their offices.

The next year (1840) Nariaki returned to this province, and removing from the chief offices the old and incapable men, appointed in their places young and active persons. Udono Heishichi and Toda Ginjirō became first councillors; Takeda Hikokurō and Yūki Torajū, second councillors; and Fujita Toranoshin, the privy councillor. Later Yūki was promoted to be first councillor, and was greatly trusted by his master. In 1841 Nariaki opened the famous school, called Kōdō-kwan, and prepared to lay out the Kairaku-yen, which is now the Tokiwa Park of Mito.

In 1842 the *bakufu*, in fear of foreign incursions, especially on the part of Russia, ordered all princes, whose dominions bordered on the sea-shore, to make strong fortifications along the coast. Nariaki, accordingly, fortified the coast of Hitachi; and also, seizing the old bronze bells of Buddhist temples, he had them cast into moulds, and manufactured into cannon; "so that throughout the province there were no deep knells to disturb the sweet dreams of midnight, and the noisy booming of guns was heard all the day long." He had frequent

drills and reviews of the troops, and trained even his waiters in riding and hunting. It is said, that, while he was overseeing the work at the Kairaku-yen, he compelled young boys, both of high and of low rank, carry stones where he ordered. He also issued an ordinance to give the public funds to the lessees upon the condition, that they provide good armor and weapons, and serve as soldiers whenever they might be needed. With this he gave out another ordinance, that the private lending should be *gradually* drawn in, so that the needy borrowers should not suffer by being too hard pressed. The lenders were greatly troubled by this enactment; and some of them were obliged to give away the whole amount of their loans.

There is but little doubt, that the policy of Nariaki was right; but it is equally true, that it was radical. His subjects had been living in idleness and laziness, and had become quite weak. They needed to be stirred up, but probably more gradually, to a sense of the necessity for vigorous action. But against the prince's radical measures, there soon arose murmurs and complaints among his vassals. Ōmine Daihachi, a lender, who, in consequence of the above enactment, had lost considerable money, was the leader of the discontented party. He persuaded Fujita Shushō, who had formerly been deprived of an office, and who must not be confounded with the more famous man of the same name, to enter the league. All persons who were displeased with the prince's radical reforms;—in the lower classes, the sextons whose business it had been to ring the bells destroyed by the prince; in the upper classes, those who had lost their offices,—joined the league. Inasmuch as Fujita Shusho was originally a pupil of Tachihara, many of his old school-mates, through their envy of the other Fujita, became allied to the league. But, strange to say, Tachihara himself served faithfully under Nariaki, and won the latter's favor. Fujita Shushō, however, gained the ear of Yūki, a first councillor, who finally became the central figure of the league.

Thus far the dispute had been confined to the Mito clan; but now it becomes mixed with national politics, and is much more difficult to trace through all the mazes of those confused times. Now the disaffected *samurai* through the councillors of the Shōgun, and the Buddhist priests through the abbots of Uyeno and Shiba, accused Nariaki of plotting a formidable intrigue against the Shōgun. Their efforts proved so successful, that in 1844* Nariaki was compelled to abdicate in favor of his son, Yoshiatsu. At the same time Udono and two other councillors received an official reprimand; and Toda and Fujita and some subordinates were deprived of their offices, and imprisoned. Yūki, Okitsu, Yatabe and others now obtained the control of affairs, and "screamed with gratification." Takeda Hikokurō, a second councillor and a person of integrity and loyalty, grieving at what he deemed "the totally unprovable accusations against his master," secretly concerted with a *Kōri-bugyō*,† went up to Yedo, and complained of the state of affairs in a letter to the first councillor, Mizuno, who it is said, was somewhat able to recognize the situation. But the *bakufu* sent them back to Mito, where they became prisoners. The next year two sons of these loyalists went to Yedo for the same purpose, and met the same fate; and from this time many others went up to the metropolis on a similar errand. The Yūki party used all its power to prevent this; so that there was a great disturbance in this city, and the Mito vassals became divided into three parties. One party, called *Yūki-tō* from the name of its leader, is better known as the *Kan-tō* (Wicked Party,); while the opposing faction, consisting of Fujita, Toda and their friends, then went by the name of *Tengu-tō* (Hob-goblin Party), but is commonly known as the *Sei-tō* (Righteous Party); and a "third party," called *Yanagi-tō* (Willow Party), comprised "those who, having no principles, vacillated between the other two parties, helping whichever one was favorable to them." Inasmuch, however, as the good titles were self-applied, and the bad titles were bestowed by rivals, we can not

* Not 1848, as stated in "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito."

† The head-man of a *Kōri*, or *gun* (County).

judge the parties from their appellations. The so-called "Wicked Party" consisted of those who friendly to the policy of the Shōgun; the so-called "Righteous Party" comprised the enthusiastic royalists, and supported the policy of Nariaki; while the so-called "Willow Party" undoubtedly included some true independents, who, not from fickleness, but from principle, refused to become implicated in the strife. In the following pages we shall employ the terms "*Sei-tō*" and "*Kan-tō*," as they seem to have been most commonly used by native writers.

"In July of the 6th year of Kayei [1853] the American fleet stole into the quiet waters of Yedo Bay, which had never before been ploughed by a western vessel, and, amid with the roaring of cannon, loudly knocked at the door of Uraga to awaken us from our long sleep." Thereupon, as the *bakufu*, now too late, recognized Nariaki's foresight, the latter was summoned to come out once more into public life; and Fujita, Toda and others were replaced in their former position. Nariaki, in answer to the inquiry in regard to the foreigners, insisted upon declaring war: but his true aim seems to have been to rouse up, by the cry of fighting, the relaxed spirits of the people, and to maintain the dignity of the Empire.

In Mito now the Yūki party, having been detected in its schemes, began to melt away "like the dew in the sunlight." The leader was to have been put to death, and escaped meeting that fate only by the kind intervention of his rival, Fujita; but he was imprisoned in the mansion of a great vassal. All the patriots of the Empire now looked toward Mito: but, unfortunately, in the great earthquake of 1855 Toda and Fujita fell victims. (Fujita is said to have lost his life in saving that of his mother). The death of these two able men was much lamented by all persons, except their enemy, Yūki, who, when he heard of it, had his son entreat the Prince of Takamatsu, a branch of the Mito family, to obtain pardon for him. But all his secret plans were discovered; and he and many of his followers were condemned to death in 1856.

From this time the intenal affairs of Mito might have proceeded quietly, if the matters of the Empire had not begun to enter into greater confusion. As the policy of the *bakufu* in regard to foreigners was only to obtain a temporary peace, many patriots went up from their provinces to Yedo or Kyōto, and, severely condemning the mismanagement of the *bakufu*, loudly cried out for fighting to "expel the barbarians." The policy of Kyōto was in direct opposition to that of Yedo, so that there were constant clashings between the two authorities. In 1858 the *bakufu* sent Hotta Masaatsu to Kyōto to explain the unavoidable necessity of opening the country, and to receive the sanction of the Emperor in the matter: but, as the Kyōto officials were too strong for Hotta, he failed.

About the same time the Shōgun, Iyesada, became very sick. Most persons, as the impending difficulties could be solved only by a prince wise and experienced, begun to look toward Keiki, the seventh son of Nariaki, as the next Shōgun. After a short time, when Hotta returned from his fruitless mission to Kyōto, his influence begun to decline, and Ii Naosuke, Prince of Hikone, became the Prime Minister (*Tairō*) of the Shōgun. Ii, rejecting the advice of Owari, Echizen and other powerful princes, raised to the Shōgunate a young prince of the family of Kii; and, as the American ambassador urged the promised answer, finally made the treaty without the Imperial sanction. Viewed only by its effects upon the Shōgunate, this bold move may properly be called a "mistake," as it undoubtedly exhibited so clearly the usurping power of the Shōgunate as to make its speedy downfall certain. But viewed from the ultimate influences upon the development of civilization in Japan, it must be denominated as a shrewd stroke to cut the Gordian knot of internal complications. I believe that even the enemies of Ii admit, that he was a very sagacious statesman, whom it was difficult to over-reach.

The Emperor, hearing of the haughty conduct of Ii and of his insulting move in the matter of foreign treaties,

was very much provoked. By the advice of same officers who were in intimate relations with many patriotic *samurai* (who were all revolutionists, desiring to sever the connection between Kyōto and Yedo), the Emperor, through Ukai Kichizaemon, the Mito agent in Kyōto, sent a letter to the Mito prince. This letter, quoted in Griffis's "Mikado's Empire" from Satow's translation of "*Kinsei Shiriaku*," contained the following instructions:—"The *bakufu* has shown great disregard of public opinion in concluding treaties without waiting for the opinion of the court, and in disgracing princes so closely allied by blood to the Shōgun. The Mikado's rest is disturbed by the spectacle of such misgovernment, when the fierce barbarian is at our very door. Do you, therefore, assist the *bakufu* with your advice; expel the barbarians, content the mind of the people; and restore tranquillity to his majesty's bosom." It is true, that among the *samurai* who had planned this move were some Mito men: but the ex-prince, Nariaki, having been ignorant of the affair, was much troubled how to dispose of the letter. It is said, moreover, that after Perry's arrival Nariaki's "anti-foreign" views, if he honestly held such views, began to change to opinions more favorable to foreign intercourse.

The bold *Tairō* (Ii) now sent Mabe Shimōsa no Kami up to Kyōto to apologize for his mistake, as he put it; but it was only a pretext. Mabe, a remorseless fellow, during his stay in the capital, arrested many reformers, among whom were Ukai and his son, and carried them to Yedo. He also compelled some Imperial officers, who were very anxious to restore the declining dignity of the legal government, to resign. Ii, through the influence of Prince Kujō,* with whom he was in close relations, in 1859 condemned Ukai and others to death, and sentenced Nariaki, on the ground that "his heart was not good," to be imprisoned for life in Mito.

About the same time the *bakufu* demanded that Prince

* Prime Minister of the Emperor.

Yoshiatsu should return the Imperial letter. At this the Mito vassals were much stirred up; and such men as Takahashi Taiichirō (the leader of the radical party) tried to compel the officer not to obey the unlawful command. Nariaki and his son, the prince, wished to obey the command; and, therefore, the former issued instructions to that effect to his subjects. But, none the less, one *samurai*, in order to warn the officer who was to carry the letter to Yedo, committed suicide. The messenger, named Ōba,* was so much moved by this event, that he declined to start immediately, on the pretext that his body was too much stained by blood to carry the holy document. One month later (in March, 1860) seventeen Mito and one Satsuma *samurai* at the Sakurada gate assassinated Ii Kamon no Kami.* In September of the same year that his great rival was thus put out of the way, Nariaki died, as some say, poisoned by the *bakufu* party. His death took place, according to the native calendar, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, when by immemorial custom the Japanese people in the evening flock to the parks and other public places or to special localities to view the bright and silvery autumn moon. But the faithful vassals of Nariaki, even to this day, shutting themselves up in their houses, refuse to desecrate the memory of their master by indulging in the merry pastime of *tsukimi* (moon-view). Nariaki received the posthumous name of *Rekkō* (Orderly Prince), by which, as well as by his *nom-de-plume*, Keizan, and by his official rank, *Chūnagon*, he is well known to the public.

A thorough analysis of the character of this remarkable man is will-nigh impossible. All portrayals of his character, whether by friend or by foe, are probably more or less colored by prejudice; so that I hardly feel competent to form a satisfactory judgment. In the main, however, I see no reason to modify the opinions expressed in a

* His head was not brought to Mito, and publicly exposed, as is stated in "Mito Yashiki." See Note B.

paper which I had the honor of reading before this society in 1889 upon "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito."* Nariaki was undoubtedly a very intelligent, able and ambitious man. Unlike most of the *daimyōs*, who were content to leave the trying matters of government to favorites, and to live in drunkenness and debauchery, this Mito prince undertook personally, and performed diligently, the government of his clan. In this management of affairs, he did not in the least encourage the lazy habits and easy life into which the people had fallen through continuous decades of peace; but, possibly, by too sudden and too strict reforms, he attempted in his own clan to rouse up again the old martial spirit of Japan. Though he was, probably, kind-hearted, he was also irascible, and could not brook opposition: but I doubt whether he was as boorish as he is represented on some pages of "Mito Yashiki." That novel, however, presents to us an exceedingly vivid and accurate picture of Nariaki and his times.

In regard to Nariaki's policy in national and international affairs, the perplexity is the greatest: but I am still inclined to adhere essentially to the views previously expressed before this society.* The present members of the Mito family resent a little my suggestion, that "jealousy, or ambition, may have been the motive" which prompted him in his opposition to the Shōgunate. They say that he never disobeyed the Shōgun; and that he was not opposed to the institution of a Shōgunate, but to the usurping power of the Shōgunate; in other words that he wished not so much to overthrow, or abolish, entirely the Shōgunate, as to degrade it to its proper position, subordinate to the Emperor. Perhaps. I expressed it a little too strongly by using the definite article, and ought to have said, "jealousy may have been a motive." I am sure that it would have been only human nature for a man of Nariaki's active and ambitious character to

ital.

* Vide Vol, XVIII, Part I, of the "Transactions" of this society.

become jealous of the power of Ii, Prince of Hikone, who was only a *fudai*, and of the ascendency of Kii in the Shōgunate. This impression is strengthened by the circumstance, that Owari, which, like Mito, though one of the "three honorable houses," was entirely slighted in the various successions to the Shōgunate, likewise became disaffected and intensely Imprerial. But, while I still think, that jealousy may have been one of the motives impelling Nariaki to his attitude of opposition to the Shōgunate, or to the *bakufu*, I do not wish to place undue preponderance upon that, or to slight the Imperialistic sentiments, which, instilled into the minds of Mito lords and vassals by the teachings of Gikō (Mitsukuni), must have become by the beginning of the present century a strong inherited idea. I am willing, therefore, to modify my original statement, and to say, that jealousy was, perhaps, a minor motive, and loyalty to the Emperor was the major motive.

Taking up now international affairs, I wish to reiterate my previously expressed opinion,* that Nariaki, though the leader of the *Jōi*, or anti-foreign party, may not have been at heart so much opposed to foreign intercourse. He was a student of geography, and himself constructed some wooden globes, one of which he presented to the Emperor, and two or three of which may now be seen in one of the buildings of the Shōkō-kwan, in Mito. He was also a student of western science, history, and, perhaps, even of the despised "foreign sect," Christianity. He may, possibly, have been led into anti-foreign opinions through the influence of his privy councillor, Fujita, who has been well described as follows:— "A stern *samurai* of the old type, highly educated and loyal to the traditions of his time, he set himself stoutly to oppose foreign intercourse, and doubtless used his influence in that direction with the well-known *Chūnagon*, the Prince of Mito, whose confidential adviser he was."† But I am

* Vide Vol, XVIII, Part I, pp. 14 and 15, of the "Transactions."

† JAPAN WEEKLY MAIL for February 15, 1889.

rather inclined to think, that to a great extent the complications of national politics affected his opinions on international affairs. Even a superficial student of Japanese history knows, that among the Revolutionists of 1868 were many patriots, who had been opposed to the foreign treaties, because the *bakufu* was in favor of them; who, though not personally inimical to foreign intercourse, had used the "*Jōi* battle-cry" as a pretext for arousing the nation against the alarmingly increasing usurpations of the Shōgunate; and who, having once succeeded in restoring the Emperor to his ancestral power and dignity, proceeded further, by opening intercourse with the nations of Asia, America and Europe, to develop a "New Japan." I have an idea, that this Prince of Mito was of the same type as the Princes of Satsuma and of Chōshū, who were also "*Jōi*" partisans; and that, had he lived till the Revolution, he would have had a prominent share, not only in its destructive phase, but also in the constructive phase which followed.

After the death of Ii, the policy of the *bakufu* naturally underwent some change; and the order to Mito to return the Emperor's letter of instructions was recalled. But Andō Tsushima no Kami, who succeeded Ii, "was too obstinate and ignorant to learn anything from his predecessor," and pursued an unwise course. In February of 1862 seven conspirators, of whom six (not "three," as I stated before)* belonged to Mito, attacked and wounded him near the Sakashita gate. A few months later, the Emperor sent Ōhara Saemon no Kami to Yedo, with Shimazu Hisamitsu and 600 soldiers to guard him. As a consequence of this Imperial ambassador's visit, the son of Ii was stripped of 100,000 *koku* of his dominion; Mabe, Andō and others either received the official censure, or were divested of more or less property; Ukai and other reformers were pardoned; and posthumous honors were bestowed upon Nariaki.

* Vide Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 16, of the "Transactions."

In 1863 the Emperor called the Shōgun, Iyemochi, and many of the chief princes (including Mito), to meet at Kyōto, to consult about the foreign policy: but nothing definite was determined. Soon there were risings of reformers, led by Imperial officers, and comprising in their ranks some Mito men, and having in the Mito *han* many sympathizers; but they failed to accomplish anything. However, a young man, named Fujita Koshirō, son of Nariaki's privy councillor, in disgust at the weakness of the *bakufu*, held secret consultations with many who were of a similar opinion; and finally, in the early part of 1864, he "hoisted a reformation banner in the cold wind of Mount Tsukuba, which soon became the vortex of a hurricane which swept over the neighboring provinces." Recognizing himself to be too young (only about 25) to conduct the mob-like army, he made Tamaru Inanoemon, an old and popular soldier, general of the forces. The army was collected, not only from Hitachi, but also from Shimōsa, Shimotsuke, Utsunomiya and Shinano. Removing from Mount Tsukuba, they intended to fortify themselves at Nikkō; but, failing in that purpose, they took possession of Ōhira-yama, near Tochigi, in Shimotsuke, and remained there for a time. From that place they sent forth their declaration of "*Sonnō Jōi*" ("Honor the Emperor and drive out the barbarians"). Prince Yoshiatsu, hearing of the movement, sent two persons (Yamakuni and Tachihara) to dissolve it. These men persuaded Fujita and his band to go back to Mount Tsukuba, and lie quiet there, where no princes of the neighborhood dared attack them.

Meanwhile the policy of Kyōto, for some reason or other, began to change, and to coincide with that of Yedo. Then the remnants of the *Kan-tō* party, which had been for a long time lying dormant, lost no time in attempting to regain their former position. The leaders, such as Ichikawa Sanzaemon, Satō Zusho, Asaina Yatarō and others, collected the pupils of the Kōdō-kwan, and persuaded them, that, if the "robbers" in the province were not

annihilated, the future of the Mito family would be uncertain. They went up to Yedo with about 700 young men, advised the "fickle prince" to try to put down the "rebellion," and accused Takeda Hikokurō, a councillor, and others. Consequently Takeda and Sugiura were expelled from their positions, and Ichikawa and friends became councillors. Ichikawa tried to have Takeda put to death: but the old patriot, being rescued from that fate, was imprisoned in Mito.

In July of that year (1864) the *bakufu* sent out an army against Tsukuba; and Ichikawa joined it with 300 pupils: but about a month later they were severely defeated at Shimozuma, their head-quarters. Those *samurai* who were in Mito were not a little enraged at the condition of affairs, and, compelling Takeda, though he was under imprisonment in his own house, to join the expedition, went up to Yedo. A number of merchants and farmers united with them, so that "a great current flowed day and night toward Yedo." But the *bakufu* prohibited the Mito vassals from passing the barricade at Matsudo, in Shimōsa; and permitted only a few persons to enter Yedo. Those who succeeded in passing through saw Yoshiatsu, and used all their powers to prevail upon him to displace the Ichikawa party. Finally they succeeded; Ichikawa and others were deprived of their offices, and were ordered to be imprisoned.

At that time, of the *Kan-tō* leaders, Satō only was in Yedo; and he unlawfully went down with several hundred men to Mito. On their way, he met Ichikawa, who, after the defeat at Shimozuma, was hastily returning to Yedo. The latter, however, changed his route, and, together with Satō's party, entered Mito by the road from Kasama, in order to avoid the rival party, who were crowding along on the main road to Yedo. Miura Tadafusa, the guardian of the Mito castle, refused to permit the *Kan-tō* men to enter the castle; but, being unable to prevent them from forcing an entrance, committed suicide. The *Kan-tō* leaders, then, in spite of the protests of the wise widow

, some of whom were secretly killed in prison

; and put to death even some women and children.

of Nariaki, imprisoned some of the councillors, the wives and children of Takeda and others; arrested about 70 "*Jōi*" partisans; ~~and~~ destroyed the houses of some merchants who went up to Yedo with the *Sei-tō samurai*. ~~(My former statement,* that the *Kan-tō* "killed" women and children has been denied on good authority; so that I am glad to make the correction).~~

The Tsukuba army, which had a little before removed its head-quarters to Ogawa, in East Ibaraki Country, hearing of the successful entrance of the rival party into Mito, invaded this city with only 300 men, but were repulsed. In August the *bakufu* sent out a second army against the *Sei-tō*. Tanuma Gemba no Kami was the leader; and the soldiers were numerous (13,000) and well-disciplined. Only a few days later, Prince Yoshiatsu, who wished to quell the disturbance peacefully, despatched Matsudaira Ōi no Kami, of Shishido, as his agent, to undertake the difficult task of pacification. Sakakibara, Torii, Ōkubo, Tani and other eminent Mito vassals accompanied him, and the party of Takeda followed; so that the whole company numbered about 3,000. On the way, they met slight opposition; and, when they reached this city, they were unexpectedly welcomed with bullets by Ichikawa's men. The latter proved so strong, that Matsudaira found it impossible to enter at once, and retired first to Isohama and Iwaimachi, and afterwards to Minato. Here he was soon joined by Fujita, who, declining the aid of the mercenary and turbulent rabble from all parts, kept only his picked and brave Mito men.

In September Tanuma arrived at the town of Yūki, whither Ichikawa went, and persuading him to assist against the Minato army, thus gained a large re-inforcement. Matsudaira then tried to enter Mito, but was repulsed with great loss, and retired again to Minato, where he was besieged by Ichikawa's and Tanuma's united forces. This large army slowly but steadily encompassed Minato; so the circle of the besieged grew narrower day by day. "The fields and groves of the neighboring villages were filled with the cold and silvery light of bright armor and polished weapons. In the night the torch-lights of the sentinels changed the eastern sky into red." The army in Minato, especially the old Tsukuba band, fought bravely in many battles; but in vain.

~~* Vide Vol, XVIII. Part I, p. 17, of the "Transactions."~~

7

In the *bakufu* army was a young officer, who sympathized with the misfortune of Matsudaira, and purposed to arrange good terms of peace for him. One day in November, in the midst of a battle, he came, unarmed and waving a fan, into Minato, and called for Matsudaira. He then recommended Matsudaira to go to Toda Kōzuke, who had just come down from Yedo, as the commander of the besieging force. Matsudaira, although many of his vassals objected to such a rash course, a few days later, with only twenty of his vassals, proceeded to Toda's camp. Just before his departure he acknowledged to Takeda that his attempt was rash and dangerous; but added, that if his death could prove their true purposes, he would die willingly; and then he separated in tears from his companions. The next day it was reported in Minato through a letter from one of his vassals, that Matsudaira had gone with Toda to Yedo: but this was only a scheme on the part of Ichikawa to deceive the Minato army. In truth Matsudaira, having fallen into the hands of a relentless enemy, because he had, by opposing an official army of the *bakufu* technically committed treason, was deprived of his offices, and compelled to commit suicide by *hara-kiri*. The vassals who were with him suffered the same fate.

Several days after Ichikawa tried to divide the Minato forces by persuading Sakakibara, Tani, and others, who were already regretting that they "had entered the whirlwind," to surrender. A large number surrendered their swords to Ichikawa, and about 100 were put to death. But the Tsukuba contingent, having stood to the last, determined to push their way to Kyōto.* Only 800 veterans, guided by the old and heroic Takeda, began to take the unsafe journey; but they were afterwards joined by 200 more. "Their tired feet had to climb many steep passes, and creep down countless dangerous precipices. Their weary arms must break various strong barricades, and kill thousands of opponents. In the interval of 150 *ri* there lay endless hardships and calamities." They pushed through Shimotsuke (where they defeated the army of the Kurobane *han*), Kōzuke (where

*To see Keiki, Nariaki's seventh son.

they defeated the army of the Takasaki *han*), Shinono (where they defeated the armies of the Takashima *han* and the Matsumoto *han*), and in the middle of January, 1865, arrived in Mino. There hearing that a large army filled the usual road into Ōmi, they changed their course, and, entering Echizen, reached the village, Niho, near Imashō. "The keen north-west blast froze the fingers of the warriors; the snow was knee-deep; their clothes were thin; food was scanty; and a large army stood before them." Filled with disappointment, Takeda sent the Prince of Kaga a letter, begging him to pity the sufferings which they had incurred on account of their patriotism. Finally they surrendered, and were at first treated with generous hospitality.*

* To see Keiki, Noriaki's seventh son.

That Takeda, Fujita and their band were on their way to Kyōto, was known to Keiki, who was then in the capital, and who was appointed commander-in-chief of the army despatched against them. He went, however, with the main body of the army only as far as Kaizu, in Ōmi; while the van pressed on, and finally intercepted the fugitives. The commander of the Kaga army was one Nagahara Jinshichirō, who was very loyal and kind, and knew the true reason, why Takeda and the others had taken up arms. He went to the head quarters at Kaizu, and apologized for them to Keiki; but could not obtain pardon. Keiki, in his heart, wished to save them: but he feared, that, if he was too kind to his own subjects who had risen against the *bakufu*, he might be accused of complicity with them. At that time in the *bakufu* army was a cruel officer, named Yūi Zusho, who wished to show them no pity; and notwithstanding that many princes (Kaga, Inaba, Bizen, Hamada, Shimabara and Kitsuregawa) and officers entreated for pardon, insisted on putting them to death. The prisoners, in the meantime, had been removed to Tsuruga, and imprisoned in three temples, where they were treated, like common criminals, with great cruelty. (Among the number was an old woman of 56, who was the mother of one of Takeda's soldiers, and preferred to be killed with her son than to die in Mito). Finally about the

middle of March, 136 were condemned to banishment; Takeda (aged 62), Yamakuni (aged 62), Fujita and about 350 others were put to death: but, by some good fortune, Takeda's grandson, aged 18, escaped. In May the wives, children and grand-children of Takeda, Yamakuni and others were put to death in Mito; and the heads of Takeda's wife, 8 year old son, and 12 year old grandson, were exposed to the public.

[See Note D.]

Thus the *Kan-tō* gained a complete victory, which was enhanced by the fact, that the allowances of their partisans were increased. But the effects of this short, but terrible and bloody, strife could be plainly seen. "The appearance of the city was that of a ruined place: houses were deserted, and gardens were desolated; only cherry flowers were white, and pine-trees were green, as in the old days." The slaughter of this internecine strife had been so dreadful, that the vitality of Mito clan was completely drained; and Mito, therefore, had no important part in the actual hostilities of the Revolution, which she ought to have been found as a leader, side by side with Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, etc. In fact, Mito has not yet fully recovered from the desolating effects of that civil war; and has now but slight influence in official circles.

The Revolution of 1868, of course, changed entirely the state of affairs in Mito. The *Kan-tō* who favored the Shōgun, at first intended to stay in the castle; but learning, that many of their followers were on the point of deserting, they fled to Aizu. The remnants of the *Sei-tō*, improving the opportunity, sent an army against them. Finally the strong castle of Aizu, though garrisoned by brave soldiers, sunk to the ground. Ichikawa, Asaina and others then turned back, and again entering Mito, where there was only a small number of old *samurai*, almost succeeded in getting possession of the castle. But re-inforcement of *Sei-tō* men soon appeared, and, after bloody fighting, defeated the *Kan-tō* forces. The latter fled into Shimōsa; but, being quickly pursued were completely destroyed. Asaina and his son were killed; Ichi-

Kato died in Echigo; some who failed to make their escape from Mito were put to death by the Seito.

kawa escaped, but the next year (1869) was arrested, brought to Mito, and publicly crucified in broad daylight.

When peace was finally established, the bodies of some who had been killed, had died, in other provinces, were allowed to be buried in Mito. The family of Matsudaira Ōi no Kami was re-established. In 1875, at Matsubara, in Tsuruga, where the bodies of Takeda, Fujita and others repose, a temple was dedicated to those brave warriors. In 1878, when the Emperor visited the Hokuriku-dō he stopped at Tsuruga, and contributed 500 *yen* to that temple. In 1880 a large monument was built, for which the Governor of Shiga *Ken* wrote inscription. Last year, at the time of the promulgation of the constitution the elder Fujita was promoted in rank; and about the same time the younger Fujita, Takeda and others were enshrined among the heroes to be worshipped at the Shōkonsha, in Tōkyō; while Ichikawa and others of the *Kan-tō* received pardon. In Mito now the old hatred between the factions has disappeared, and peace reigns; and one of the *Kan-tō samurai* is watchman of the cemetery at *Zuiryū*, where lie the mortal remains of some, whom in their life he bitterly fought, but in their death he zealously protects.

In conclusion, permit me to say, that I am aware, that there are indefinite and unintelligible matters in this paper. The materials at hand were very confusing and often contradictory; so that sometimes it was impossible to ascertain with certainty the truth. I am also aware, that, strictly speaking, the Mito Civil War was of short duration, and occupies an exceedingly small portion of this paper. But it was not possible to limit this topic to its literal interpretaion; for the war would be completely unintelligible without a consideration of the causes and occasions which led to the bloody battles. And, although actual hostilities did not break out till in the '60's, the spirit of jealousy and strife was stirring up the Mito *han* from at least as far back as the beginning of the present

century. I understand, that the Mito family are supervising the preparation of a history of the Civil War, and purpose to treat the subject impartially. I trust, that work will throw light on the indistinct phases of that strife, and will enable students of Japanese history, local and national, to form an accurate and unprejudiced of the Mito Civil War, which undoubtedly had no small share in precipitating the Revolution of 1868.

[NOTE A.]

I wish to acknowledge my special indebtedness, in the preparation of this paper, to a colleague, Professor C. Tani, who, by consulting various native works, and furnishing me with translations, has rendered most valuable assistance.

[NOTE B.]

THE SAKURADA ASSAILANTS.

The number of assailants in this affair has been variously stated at "sixteen," "seventeen" and "eighteen." The discrepancy may have resulted from the fact, that one person gives the number only of Mito *samurai;* while another includes the one Satsuma *samurai* who was connected with the affair. I am able now to correct all former mistakes, including my own,* and to verify the number "eighteen," given in Chapter XXIX of "Mito Yashiki." The names of the *samurai* are as follows;—

Sano Takenosuke.	Ōzeki Washichirō.
Arimura Jiroemon.	Koibuchi Kaname.
Hasuda Ichigorō.	Ōkubo Sanjūrō.
Kurosawa Chūzaburō.	Mori Gorokurō.
Saitō Kemmotsu.	Sugiyama Yaichirō.
Inada Jūzō.	Moriyama Hannosuke.
Hirooka Yojirō.	Yamaguchi Tatsunosuke.
Masuko Kimpachirō.	Hiroki Matsunosuke.
Kaigo Saganosuke.	Seki Tetsunosuke.

* Vide Vol. XVIII, Part 1, p. 16, of the "Transaction."

Of these Arimura, the Satsuma man, being severely wounded, committed suicide on the spot; Kaigo and Seki ran away, and escaped punishment; the remaining fifteen, having confessed to the authorities, were in due time put to death. Sano was the leader.

[NOTE C.]

ANECDOTES OF TAKEDA AND FUJITA.

The following incidents of that remarkable retreat are taken from Nos. 79 and 80 of the *Kokumin no Tomo*, which gave an interesting sketch of "Takeda Kōunsai," otherwise known as Takeda Hikokurō, or Takeda Iga no Kami:—

On Nov. 14 (o.c.) they arrived at Shimmachi, which was defended by the large army of the Takasaki *han;* so that they had to change their road, and encamped that night at a village which belonged to a small prince, who offered no resistance. The next day they reached a village, called Nanuka-machi, which was a military post of the Maeda family. When they were about to enter the barricades, they found only one *samurai*, who, dressed in ceremonial robes, sat genteelly by the side of the gate. The aide-de-camp of the army waved his fan, and the army stopped at once. Then dismountng, the aide-de-camp inquired of the solitary *samurai*, whether he were a vassal or not of Maeda, and if so, whether he could permit them to pass through. The *samurai* answered: "It is unlawful, of course, for you to walk through in arms: but, though my province is too small and too weak to resist you, yet, if I allow you to pass through without shooting an arrow, there will be no excuse for me to plead to the *bakufu*. Be kind enough, therefore, to pass along another road; but if that is impossible, cut off my head. As long as I live, I should not permit you to pass the town." The young men of the army, hearing this, excitedly cried out: "Down with him! Down with him." But Takeda stopped them, and changed his route. This solitary *samurai*, it is said, great drunkard, who frequently indulged in abusive language to the disgust of others, and who voluntarily ventured to ward off the calamity which was hanging over that place!

At another village (Shimonida) the inhabitants sent a messenger to implore the army not to spend the night there; because, if the pursuing army should come up with them, the battle must take place within that village. Takeda refused to change the orders already given to the army to stop there; but promised, if his pursuers caught up with him, to leave the village. And it so happened that near

day-break the Takasaki army reached that village, and Takeda, agreeable to his promise, withdrew his army out of the village, and gained a victory.

That same night Fujita stopped at the house of a man, named Sugihara. When the alarm was given of the arrival of the enemy, he was still in bed. Hearing the sound of the guns and the noise of the cannon, he rose calmly and washed his face. When a messenger of the army came from head-quarters to urge him to make haste, he, as if not hearing the message, deliberately finished his breakfast, and then went out. Very soon he came back, and saying that he was cold, asked for a cup of *sake*. When his host gave it to him, he said: "This is too little; please give me another larger cupfull." The host, having intended to ask Fujita to write a poem on a fan, took this opportunity to proffer his request, which Fujita granted. The host then requested one more poem, which Fujita agreed to write, if he could have one more cup of *sake*. Then, having received his drink, and having written another poem, he went out to the battle field. This rather a striking illustration of the stoical calmness of the ancient *samurai* even under trying circumstances, and is the more interesting, because Fujita was only twenty-five year of age.

[NOTE C.]

FAREWELL POEMS.

The following poems, of the *morituri salutamus* order, were written just before the death of the composers, and are supposed to represent the feelings of each, in view of the appproaching fate. They are characteristically Japanese in many respects.

I. Written by Takeda, on screen in a hotel in Imashō, Echizen; and supposed to represent his anxiety concerning the future of his country.

"Fuku tabi ni
Hana ya ikani to
Tachitsu itsu
Kokoro-zukushi no
Haru no yama-mori."—

"At every blast of the wind, the mountain-watchman in the spring is exceedingly anxious [lit. "Standing"] how the flowers [will fare].

Japanese Affairs

Asiatic Society

IMPERIAL CONSULATE OF JAPAN

705 CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BLDG.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A.

85

Chicago, Ill., May 12, 1910.

Sir:-

I have the honor to inform you that, the Imperial Government of Japan has ordered me to assume charge of this Consulate, and that having received official recognition from the Honorable Secretary of State of the United States of America, I have this day, entered upon my official duties, in this capacity, relieving Mr. Y. Tomota, Chancellor, who has been temporarily in charge of this Consulate.

Trusting that the former most cordial relations between our offices may be continued, and with every assurance of my highest consideration, Sir,

I have the honor to remain,

Your obedient servant,

(K. Yamasaki.) K. Yamasaki.

Consul of Japan.

Mr. Harry P. Judson, L. L. D.,

President of University of Chicago,

Chicago, Illinois.

85

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(K. Yamasaki.)

Consul of Japan.

Mr. Harry P. Judson, L. L. D.,

President of University of Chicago,

Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir:-

I beg to acknowledge your favor of the 12th inst. announcing your entering on your official duties as Imperial Japanese Consul in Chicago. I shall hope soon to have the pleasure of meeting you personally, and that the pleasant and friendly relation between the Consulate and the University which has always existed heretofore may continue, as I am sure it will under your wise administration and your important duties.

Very truly yours,

H. O. G.

Mr. K. Yamasaki,
Consul of Japan in Chicago,
705 Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Chicago.

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